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**POLYMORPHOUS PREJUDICE: LIBERATING THE MEASUREMENT
OF HETEROSEXUALS' ATTITUDES TOWARD LESBIANS AND GAY MEN**

by

SEAN GARLAND MASSEY

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York**

2004

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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AbstractPOLYMORPHOUS PREJUDICE: LIBERATING THE MEASUREMENT
OF HETEROSEXUALS' ATTITUDES TOWARD LESBIANS AND GAY MEN

by

Sean Garland Massey

Advisor: Professor Suzanne C. Ouellette

Public opinion polls suggest a growing complexity in heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Existing unidimensional measures of sexual prejudice, however, were not designed to assess attitudinal complexity and cannot adequately reflect these trends. A new multidimensional measure of sexual prejudice was proposed. This measure was designed to (a) provide a more complex view of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men; (b) to incorporate overt as well as subtle forms of sexual prejudice in the measure - similar to the approach taken by modern racism and sexism researchers; and (c) to include additional scale content that takes seriously theories from the early gay liberationists and more recent queer theorists. Three questionnaire studies of undergraduates were conducted. In study one, an exploratory factor analysis produced a 7-factor measure of sexual prejudice that assessed variation in participants': (1) levels of traditional heterosexism, (2) tendency to deny that anti-gay discrimination continues, (3) aversion toward gay men and (4) aversion toward lesbians, (5) judgment regarding the value of the gay and lesbian movement for society overall, (6) comfort with traditional sex/gender roles, and (7) likelihood to endorse pro-gay pro-lesbian stereotypes. In study two, confirmatory analyses of the 7-factor measure found it to adequately describe the

variation in a new set of data. Validity checks included in study two provided additional empirical support. In study three, test-retest comparisons found the subscales comprising the measure to be reliable over time. The independence of traditional heterosexism and other more subtle measure of sexual prejudice (denial of continued discrimination, aversive heterosexism, resist traditional sex/gender roles, and pro-gay pro-lesbian stereotypes) supported a modern heterosexism theory. A predicted moderating effect of essentialist beliefs on sexual prejudice was not supported.

Dedication

I'd like to dedicate this dissertation to my son Alfred Jerome Massey. As I write this dedication it is difficult for me to imagine the future that awaits him. It is my hope that this research can make a small contribution toward the better understanding and eventual elimination of sexual prejudice, and thereby helps to create a safer, more diverse and more tolerant world in which he can realize his fullest potential. I'd also like to dedicate this dissertation to my father Jerry Gene Massey. He was a true scientist, in character if not profession, a good man with a radical mind, who would have loved to take this journey with me. I miss him.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

“I've said repeatedly that we love the sinner but we don't like the sin. I'm all for various types of freedom for any American, whatever their proclivities, but I do realize the Biblical standard says that homosexuality is wrong.”

Pat Robertson, founder and president of the Christian Coalition, *responding to questions about the gay speaker at the Republican National Convention*

“I do not favor discrimination against people because they're homosexual... we shouldn't discriminate against any group of Americans, including gay Americans, who are willing to work hard, pay their taxes, obey the law and be good citizens... [BUT] I have long opposed governmental recognition of same-gender marriages... this has always been my position on gay marriage.”

Bill Clinton, 42nd President of the United States, *about signing the Defense of Marriage Act*

According to data from public opinion polls collected over the past 23 years, the attitudes of U.S. heterosexuals toward gay men and lesbians are becoming progressively more favorable (Correl, 1999). Upon closer examination, however, these data also reveal that attitudes toward homosexuals are becoming increasingly complex. Those questions pertaining to whether or not egalitarian principles should apply to gay and lesbian Americans do reveal a consistent trend toward tolerance. When questions address other aspects of gay life, however, the trends are not as pronounced and, in some cases, have remained relatively static. As the quotes at the start of this chapter suggest, questions relating to egalitarianism have consistently resulted in more favorable opinions than those relating to the perceived morality of homosexuality (Correl; Herek, 1994). Both Robertson and Clinton – each far from the other on the political spectrum – advocate an egalitarian stance toward gay people, while also articulating definite (though slightly different) boundaries to this freedom. Both remain entrenched in a set of heterosexist

values that require opposition to changes in heterosexually biased social customs such as marriage.

Recent events have suggested that even when positive trends are observed, these shifts may be unstable. In the months following the *Lawrence v Texas* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in June of 2003, a decision that decriminalized gay sex throughout the country, a USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll suggested a dramatic shift in public attitudes away from supporting the legalization of homosexuality and similar shift away from endorsing gay and lesbian civil unions (Newport, 2003). Although claims of an anti-gay backlash have been tempered by arguments from the scientific community that these shifts are artifacts of *order effect* and the wording of questions (Herek, 2003), it is also possible that the *Lawrence* decision served to heighten feelings of ambivalence toward gay people that have long been simmering in the minds of U.S. heterosexuals.

Although there are reasons to be hopeful, the debate concerning what level of inclusion gay and lesbian Americans will have in U.S. society is far from over. It is clear that the equal protection sentiments included in Justice O'Connor's addendum to the majority decision in the *Lawrence* ruling must now confront powerful opposition from many in the general public. Consequently, the need for psychometric instruments that are sensitive to the complexities and fluctuations in heterosexuals' attitudes is becoming more and more pressing.

Attempts to measure heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians have a long history and can be traced back to the 1970s (Hegarty and Massey, in press). These early attempts conceptualized sexual prejudice as multidimensional, as deriving from a variety of sources and fulfilling many different psychological needs. The theoretical

orientation of many of the researchers investigating these attitudes was reflective of the sexual liberationist political philosophy popularized by gay and lesbian activists of the time. *Homophobia*, the term used most frequently to describe sexual prejudice, suggested an ego-defensive process resulting from, among other things, a heterosexual male's aversion toward his own homoerotic potential. Attitude scales included a variety of content, including not only indicators of egalitarianism and tolerance, but also of sexual values, expressions of sex-related guilt, indications of gender schematicism, gender-role beliefs, and anxiety.

As gay liberation gave way to liberal reform as the dominant philosophy guiding the gay movements' approach to social change, social psychological conceptualizations of sexual prejudice also changed. Theories of sexual prejudice began to de-emphasize ego-defense and as a consequence measures of *homophobia* fell out of favor. The newly coined *heterosexism* operationalized sexual prejudice in terms of a single attitudinal dimension ranging from benign tolerance of to overt hostility toward gay men and lesbians. In addition to a change in political philosophy, this shift can also be attributed to at least two other factors: a theoretical argument concerning the nature of attitudes that excluded cognitive (beliefs) aspects, and a social psychology that favored brevity at the expense of comprehensiveness.

Consequently, the existing social psychological instruments designed to measure heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians do not adequately reflect the full variation and complexity in attitudes demonstrated by these sociological data. This dissertation project was initiated with the goal of designing a new measure of sexual prejudice that can keep pace with shifting social and political perspectives concerning

homosexuality, and more accurately assess the range of perspectives that may comprise the attitudes of any single individual.

The current study

Old and new scale items were collected and created to reflect traditional forms of sexual prejudice and the nuances of modern sexual prejudice. In addition, previous conceptualizations of sexual prejudice were expanded in order to incorporate the universalizing (Sedgwick, 1993) theories of queer theorists and the early gay liberationists. Three waves of data were collected. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted on the first wave of data and a preliminary multidimensional measure of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbian and gay men emerged. A confirmatory factor analysis was conducted on the second wave of data in order to assess whether or not the emergent model adequately described variation among this new set of data. These data were also used to assess the construct validity of the model by determining whether or not the new measure behaved predictably in relation to other related measures. The final wave of data was used to assess the reliability of each of the measure's subscales across time.

The final product of this effort was a multidimensional measure of sexual prejudice composed of seven subscales, each assessing distinct content areas of sexual prejudice. The overall model provided a very good fit to the data in both the exploratory and confirmatory analyses and was found to be a valid and reliable alternative to the existing unidimensional measures. The final scale assessed heterosexual participants' attitudes toward gay people along seven subscales, including: *Traditional Heterosexism* – ranging from complete acceptance of gay people as equal members of society to their

total condemnation as immoral or sinful; *Denial of Continued Discrimination* – ranging from the belief that discrimination against gay men and lesbians is an ongoing problem in society to the belief that discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem; *Aversion Toward Gay Men* – ranging from ease and comfort in interactions with gay men to the strong desire to avoid contact; *Aversion Toward Lesbians* – ranging from ease and comfort in interactions with lesbians to the strong desire to avoid contact; *Value Gay Progress/Diversity* – ranging from the view that gay people and the gay and lesbian movement have contributed nothing of value to society to the view that the accomplishments of the gay movement have enhanced society; *Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles* – ranging from comfort and acceptance of traditional ascribed sex and gender roles to feelings of discomfort with and the need to resist traditional ascribed sex and gender roles; and *Positive Stereotypes* – ranging from the total rejection of the notion that unique positive qualities exist as a consequence of being gay or lesbian to the endorsement of a variety of positive characteristics associated with gay men and lesbians.

Several of these factors reflect more subtle forms of sexual prejudice, very much in line with both modern prejudice theories and the beliefs of the sexual liberationists. Paralleling the modern and aversive racism research of Sears (1988), McConahay (1986), and Gaertner and Dovidio (1986), these factors included denial of continued anti-gay discrimination and aversive heterosexism. Several other factors, not found in the modern racism literature and unique to modern heterosexism, also emerged, reflecting participants' views about the advances made by the gay movement, their level of comfort or discomfort with traditional sex and gender roles, and their endorsement of "positive" stereotypes of gay men and lesbians. A final factor emerged that offered a glimpse into

people's beliefs about the origins and flexibility of sexuality. This last factor, however, did not demonstrate enough internal coherence or contribution to the overall statistical adequacy of the model itself to be included in the final measure.

The chapters that comprise the rest of this dissertation provide a narration of this research project, from conceptualization, through each step in the scale development process, to the discussion of the significance and limitations of the final scale.

Chapter two provides an overview of the recent trends in public opinion polls related to sexual prejudice, followed by an historical review of the sexual prejudice literature – starting with the first studies in the early 1970s through the development of Herek's (1984) widely cited Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale and Kite and Deaux's (1986) Attitudes Toward Homosexuality scale. The earlier studies of sexual prejudice included a variety of attitudinal content in their measures. Most included items that tapped into ego-defensive expressions of anti-gay prejudice and the relationship between sexual prejudice and gender role beliefs and transgressions. The more recent studies resulted in measures that assessed sexual prejudice along a single hostile-tolerant dimension.

Chapter three summarizes insights gathered from the modern racism and sexism and well as queer theoretical literatures and formulates a new theoretical model of sexual prejudice. This model places overt old-fashioned sexual prejudice and expressions of pro-gay egalitarianism on a single dimension, and views them as distinct from a variety of other more subtle manifestations of prejudice. Like the modern racism and sexism model, overt sexual prejudice may not be disappearing all together. Instead, it's possibly being expressed through the denial of the existence of ongoing discrimination toward gay

people. Like the aversive racism some White's express toward Blacks, heterosexuals may experience defensive reactions to being in close proximity to gay people – especially same-sex homosexuals. However, unlike modern racism's focus on the Protestant Work Ethic and meritocracy, this modern heterosexism model highlights the influence of other factors, including: expressions of anti-gay religious beliefs (with the view that religious values are protected from the demands of social desirability and egalitarianism), adherence to conservative standards of sexual morality and gender role expectations (Biernat, Vescio, & Theno, 1996). In addition to concerns from the modern prejudice literature, this new model of sexual prejudice takes into account concerns found in the queer theory literature. Many of these postmodern ideas about the problematic relationship between beliefs about the fundamentality of sexuality (and gender) categories and attitude measurement represent a return to the earlier gay liberationist ideas about sexual fluidity and liberation from homophobia.

Although not exhaustive in its operationalization of the potential components of sexual prejudice, this new model utilizes ideas from the sexism and racism literatures to argue for a modern heterosexism – suggesting that egalitarianism should be assessed independently from other symbolic and affective forms of heterosexism. A variety of content comprises this new measure: denial or awareness of continued anti-gay anti-lesbian discrimination, endorsement of traditional beliefs regarding sex and gender roles, and defensiveness regarding interactions with gay men and lesbians. In order to reintroduce ideas from the liberationist past, this model also proposes that heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay people are also influenced by or reflective of their dependence on social norms, comfort with traditional sex/gender roles, opinions about differences and

diversity, and attributions about the origins of sexual orientation. The end of chapter 3 includes an outline of the methodology guiding this study and a description of how the initial items comprising the new multidimensional sexual prejudice measure were selected.

Chapter four describes the first of three studies conducted during this dissertation project. In this first study undergraduates from the University of Texas at Austin completed the proposed measure. An exploratory analysis of the items comprising this measure revealed 7 factors: traditional heterosexism, denial of continued discrimination, aversive heterosexism, value gay progress, resist traditional sex/gender roles, positive stereotypes, and mutability beliefs. Analyses of the internal consistency of the mutability subscale resulted in its elimination from the final model. In addition, while initially loading on a single factor, hindsight and a revisiting of the past literature resulted in the aversive heterosexism items being split into two separate subscales: aversion toward gay men and aversion toward lesbians.

Chapter five describes the second study of this dissertation project. During this second study, items comprising the 7-factor model that emerged from the exploratory factor analyses in Chapter four were again completed by undergraduates, this time at the University of Texas at Austin, Texas A&M University, St. Edward's University and Austin Community College. The model was found to be a very good fit to the data collected. In addition, these subscales were found to relate to other social and personality measures, such as authoritarianism and social dominance orientation, in ways that, in most cases, were consistent with theoretical predictions for each factor. Interpersonal contact was found to also relate to the various subscales in predictable ways.

Chapter six describes the final study. In this third study, the reliability of the model was assessed using data collected from another group of undergraduates from the University of Texas at Austin. Students completed the measures once and then again one week later. Each of the subscales was found to be stable and reliable across time.

It is important for the reader, in proceeding through the narration of this project, to view this research as a first step in a program of ongoing research that will not only clarify the model presented in this dissertation, but will also be sensitive to the continual shifts in and redefinitions of sexual prejudice that will unquestionably occur on the path toward its final elimination. To this end, the seventh and final chapter of this dissertation outlines the limitations of this project and goals for future research.

Chapter 2: Review and Historical Analysis of the Sexual Prejudice Literature

The following chapter provides a review of the various attempts to measure sexual prejudice over the past 30+ years. This review starts with a discussion of current sociological data taken from public opinion polls of the American public. These data are intended to make clear the need to return to a multidimensional approach to the measurement of heterosexuals' increasingly complex attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, and serve to frame the overview of the studies that follows. This review is intended to provide the reader with a historical analysis of the sexual prejudice research, focusing not only on the development and findings of these studies, but also on the shifting professional and political motivations that may have guided the research.

Trends in U.S. Attitudes Toward Homosexuality.

According to the General Social Survey (Correl, 1999), over the past 23 years, attitudes toward gay men and lesbians have become progressively more favorable. The magnitude and consistency of these changes, however, depends on the particular issues being investigated. Questions that tap an egalitarian ethic (e.g., employment or freedom of speech) tend to reveal more dramatic pro-gay shifts than those that have to do with religious beliefs. For example, although the majority of U.S. residents see gay men and lesbians as deserving of equal and fair (egalitarian) treatment and are generally opposed to discrimination in employment, education, and housing, they continue to oppose same sex marriages, permitting gay men and lesbians to work with or adopt children, and they continue to view homosexuality as morally wrong (Dworkin & Dworkin, 1999; Herek, 2000).

As shown in Table 1, between 1973 and 1996, the percentage of a sample of the general public that agreed that “a homosexual man should not be allowed to teach in a college or university” decreased from 49.9% to 23.0%, an decrease of 26.9 percentage points in a pro-gay direction. Similarly, when asked whether a “homosexual should be allowed to make a speech,” the number opposed dropped from 36.1% in 1973 to 17.5% in 1996, a decrease of 18.6 percentage points in a direction that supports gay rights. The

Table 1. Shifts in public opinion regarding homosexual rights over the past 23 years.

Question		1973 (n=1446)	1996 (n=1778)	Change (1973 to 1996)
What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex?	Always wrong	72.5%	61.0%	-11.5
	Almost always wrong	6.7%	5.1%	-1.6
	Sometimes wrong	7.7%	6.0%	-1.7
	Not wrong at all	11.2%	27.9%	16.7
If some people in your community suggested that a book in favor of homosexuality should be taken out of your public library, would you favor removing this book, or not?	Favor removing	44.5%	29.0%	-15.5
	Do not favor removing	55.5%	71.0%	15.5
Suppose this admitted homosexual wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?	Yes, Allowed	63.9%	82.5%	18.6
	Not allowed	36.1%	17.5%	-18.6
Should [a man who admits that he is a homosexual] be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?	Yes, allowed	50.1%	77.0%	26.9
	Not allowed	49.9%	23.0%	-26.9

NOTE: From the General Social Survey, 1973 to 1996.

shift was less pronounced, however, when the question pertained to the dissemination of information about homosexuality and did not tap directly into egalitarian concerns. For example, between 1972 and 1996, a sample of the general public supporting the “*censorship of books that looked favorably at homosexuality*” decreased from 44.5% to 29.0%, a decrease of 15.5 percentage points, also in a pro-gay direction. When the question pertained to the morality of homosexuality, however, the shift was the least pronounced. Between 1973 and 1996, the percent of a sample of the general public who saw “*relations between adults of the same sex*” as “*always wrong,*” decreased only slightly from 72.5% to 61.0%, a decrease of only 11.5 percentage points in a pro-gay direction. It is significant that as recently as 1996, almost 30% of Americans still supported censorship of gay-related materials from public libraries and a majority (at least 61%) viewed homosexuality as wrong.

This inconsistency between opinions having to do with the equal rights of gay people and opinions having to do with the morality or acceptability of homosexuality can be found in other surveys as well. Recent data collected by the Gallup News Service (Newport, 2001) offers additional support for the conclusion that aspects of U.S. attitudes toward homosexuals are becoming more positive while at the same time becoming more complex. For example, although the past 25 years have shown a gradual decrease in the belief that it is okay to discriminate against homosexuals in employment – dropping from 33% in 1977 to only 11% in 2002, as shown in Table 2, the percentage of people opposed to the legalization of homosexuality has remained relatively constant – ranging from 43% opposed to decriminalizing homosexuality in 1977 to 42% opposed in 2002. In addition,

as of 2002 a majority of Americans (51%) opposed the legal recognition of gay civil unions.

Table 2. Shifts in public opinion regarding homosexual rights from 1977 to 2002.

Question	1977	2002
In general, do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights in terms of job opportunities?	33% should <u>not</u> have equal rights	11% should <u>not</u> have equal rights
Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?	43% should <u>not</u> be legal	42% should <u>not</u> be legal
Would you favor or oppose a law that would allow homosexual couples to legally form civil unions, giving them some of the legal rights of married couples?		51% Oppose gay unions

NOTE: From Gallup News Service Poll.

Similarly, participants' views about employing homosexuals seem to depend on the particular occupation in question and its potential for influencing beliefs and the important social values of others (e.g., clergy are defenders of morality, elementary school teachers shape the development of children, and service men and women may symbolize American strength). As shown in Table 3, when asked in 2001 whether a homosexual should be hired as a salesman, only 6% were opposed. When asked whether a homosexual should be hired as a doctor, a member of the President's Cabinet, a soldier in the armed forces, a high school teacher, a member of the clergy, or as an elementary school teacher, however, the percent opposed was much larger.

In summarizing these data, Yang (1997) and Herek and Capitanio (1996) report that although most heterosexuals indicate that gay men and lesbians should not be denied basic civil rights, such as employment, and agree, to some extent, that gay couples should not be denied health insurance and visitation rights at hospitals, most still regard

homosexuality as “wrong” and “unnatural”, express disgust toward the subject of homosexual sex, and generally oppose same sex marriage and gay adoption.

Table 3. Acceptable Occupations for Homosexuals in 2001.

Do you think homosexuals should or should not be hired for each of the following occupations?	Those saying “no”
Salesman	6%
Doctor	18%
Member of President’s Cabinet	21%
Armed Forces	23%
High School Teacher	33%
Clergy	39%
Elementary school teacher	40%

NOTE: From Gallup News Service Poll.

Several conclusions have been drawn from these data for the purpose of this dissertation project. The positive trend in the attitudes of a predominantly heterosexually identified sample toward gay men and lesbians should be acknowledged. It appears, however, that the magnitude of this shift differs for those questions that emphasize the fair treatment (egalitarianism) of gay men and lesbians and those reflecting moral acceptance of homosexuality or its perceived proliferation (including questions related to contact with children). Egalitarianism continues to have an increasingly favorable influence on heterosexuals’ overall evaluations of gay people, while anti-gay values, negative stereotypes, and ego-defensive reactions continue to exert a negative influence.

This ambivalence may be responsible, in part, for the seeming backlash, documented in public opinion polls after the landmark *Lawrence v Texas* decision, by the U.S. Supreme court, striking down the remaining laws that criminalize gay sex. In the months following the *Lawrence* decision, a dramatic shift in support for the decriminalization of homosexuality was observed in USA Today/CNN/Gallup polls

(Newport, 2003). As shown in Table 4, those in favor of decriminalizing homosexuality dropped from 60% in May of 2003 to 48% in July of the same year; those who viewed homosexuality as an acceptable alternative lifestyle dropped from 54% in May to 46% in July; and those favoring the legalization of same-sex civil unions dropped from 49% in May to 40% in July.

Table 4. Conservative shift in public stance on gay rights.

	May 2003	July 2003
Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?	60% (legal)	48% (legal)
Do you feel that homosexuality should be considered an acceptable alternative lifestyle or not?	54% (acceptable)	46% (acceptable)
Would you favor or oppose a law that would allow homosexual couples to legally form civil unions, giving them some of the legal rights of married couples?	49% (favor)	40% (favor)

NOTE: From Gallup News Service Poll.

Some have argued that this shift reflects a backlash in popular support for gay rights (Newport, 2003). Others have suggested that this shift is due in part to methodological issues (specifically, order effects between the studies and the particular ways question were being asked) and is not necessary an indication of a drop-off in overall acceptance of gay people (Herek, 2003).

Review and Historical Analysis of Previous Measures of Sexual Prejudice

In order to identify the potential factors underlying these trends in public opinion, it is useful to examine the shifting historical context in which the various attempts to operationalize and measure sexual prejudice have taken place. During its early development, the concept of sexual prejudice was considered to be a multifaceted construct. Researchers recognized and based their operationalizations on the premise that

attitudes were complex and arose from multiple sources. This multi-component view was consistent with the functionalist perspective that had been guiding attitudes research in general (Katz, 1960). Eventually, however, conceptualizations of sexual prejudice shifted toward a single dimension model. This change was due in part to the need for simpler psychometric instruments and a theoretical shift in the proposed nature of attitudes, but also reflected shifts in the dominant political philosophy of the gay and lesbian movement from sexual liberation to social reform (D'Emilio, 1983; Weeks, 1985; Kitlinger, 1987). The early attempts to measure sexual prejudice reflect the liberationist ideas of the time – theorizing sexual prejudice in terms of sex-phobia and gender threat. Later attempts at measurement, however, were consistent with a social reform philosophy – theorizing sexual prejudice in terms of intergroup conflict.

Distinctions between the philosophies of the gay liberationists and those of the social reformers parallel the distinction between “universalizing” and “minoritizing” approaches to understanding the question of sexual definition and sexual prejudice described by Sedgwick (1990). According to Sedgwick, a “universalizing” view (similar to the liberationists’ views) is the belief that homosexuality and attitudes toward homosexuals are of “continuing, determinative importance in the lives of *[all] people across the spectrum of sexualities* [emphasis added]” (p. 1). A “minoritizing” view, on the other hand, (similar to the views of the social reformers) is the belief that these issues are “of active importance primarily for *a small, distinct, relatively fixed homosexual minority* [emphasis added]” (p. 1). Instead of claiming that one perspective is superior to the other, Sedgwick argues that both approaches are part of the common sense view of sexuality and are therefore important to the pursuit of a gay affirmative political agenda.

The following discussion will similarly argue that both perspectives are important and that to privilege one perspective over the other will lead to an incomplete science of sexual prejudice.

Homophobia and Homoerotophobia

Clinical psychologist George Weinberg, (1972) is credited with coining the term *homophobia* (Oxford English Dictionary, 1991). He defined homophobia as the “dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals” (Weinberg, p.4) and suggested that it was a consequence of a variety of factors including: religion, fear of being homosexual, repressed envy of the freedom from tradition that gay people seem to have, a threat to values, and fear of death. According to Weinberg, some heterosexuals seek symbolic immortality through their children. Their belief that gay people don’t want or can’t have children, and are thereby rejecting this route to immortality, leads to existential anxiety or fear of death. In his highly influential book *Society and the healthy homosexual* (published in 1972), as well as in later interviews (Ayyar, 2002), he acknowledged the influence of the gay liberation movement on his thinking. Essays that eventually comprised the chapters of *Society and the healthy homosexual* were published in the gay liberationist magazine *Gay* (edited by gay liberationist pioneers Jack Nichols and Lige Clarke). Positioning himself solidly within gay liberationist philosophy, Weinberg suggested that he “would never consider a patient healthy unless he had overcome his prejudice of homosexuality” (1972, p.1). Psychoanalyst Wainwright Churchill (1967) was also influential to scholarly thinking about sexual prejudice at the time. In his book, *Homosexual behavior among males*, he describes “homoerotophobia”, a concept similar to homophobia, as the psychological consequence of living in an “erotophobic” society.

Both Weinberg and Churchill conceptualized sexual prejudice from a psychodynamic orientation (although Weinberg has distanced himself from the psychoanalytic perspective in general), defining the operation of sexual prejudice in terms of ego-defense and locating its origins in sex-phobic and sexist societies. As will be discussed below, their ideas were influential to the theorizing of early attitudes researchers (Smith, 1971; McDonald and Moore, 1978; Larsen, Reed and Hoffman, 1980; Hudson and Ricketts, 1980).

Sexual Prejudice and Factor Analysis

The earliest attempts to create reliable and valid psychometric instruments capable of measuring the varied content of sexual prejudice were limited to internal consistency measures and item-total correlations to assess the coherence of the items representing each latent construct. Later attempts at measurement were better able to assess this coherence and structure due in no small part to the increasing acceptance of the factor analysis technique. This statistical procedure allowed the researcher to assess the structural relationships among items and to assess whether or not these items coherently represented a latent construct.

Although this procedure is valuable in its intended purpose, it is sometimes misused. Many of the studies utilizing factor analysis procedures go beyond an assessment of the structure of the items included in the study and draw conclusions about the content not represented by the items included in the measure. According to Pedhazur and Schmelkin (1991), a common error across factor analytic studies in general is the lack of theoretical explanation prior to the selection or creation of items to be analyzed. They warn, “factor analysis is not and should not be a blind process in which all manner

of variables or items are thrown into a factor analysis ‘grinder’ in the expectation that something meaningful will emerge” (p. 591). The process of factor analysis is useful for determining the correlations among and independence of a group of items, but not for uncovering “real dimensions” or the “reality underlying a set of indicators” (p. 591). As Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) point out, the problem with factor analysis is that emergent factors are dependent on the set of items used to elicit judgment, not on the actual latent construct. Existing items can only represent dimensions they were created to represent. Dimensions that are under-operationalized or simply missing will not manifest in the analyses. Since the implied dimensions are based on a set of items created by the researchers to represent the dimensions they were interested in, and not all possible dimensions, factor analysis cannot answer the question of appropriate content. A thorough theoretical formulation is necessary prior to the development or testing of items and sufficient validity assessments should be made following scale construction.

The foundation of any factor analytic study, therefore, should be the theoretical generation of items. This is not to say that a researcher shouldn’t inductively assess factor structure based on the results of factor analysis. Factor analysis can help to reveal the probable structure of the content being exposed to analysis. This analysis, however, can offer no evidence of content validity – that the emerging factors are a sufficient elaboration of the construct of interest. If scale items operationalize the content of only one dimension of a multidimensional construct, factor analysis will reveal only a one-factor model. Unfortunately, most of the historical literature pertaining to the developmental of measures of sexual prejudice lacks detailed information about item generation. Or, in the case of Herek’s (1984) ATLG, there was a reliance on scale items

from previous studies. It is possible, therefore, that the full content of sexual prejudice remains unexamined and that a more thorough, complex, model can be developed.

Keeping these concerns in mind, the following historical review focuses on the development of measure of sexual prejudice, discussing the successes as well as the limitations of each study. Special attention is paid to the use of factor analysis and the conclusions drawn from these analyses.

Homophobia Scale (H-Scale)

Kenneth Smith (1971), an associate of George Weinberg, conducted the first-ever study attempting to measure heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men¹. His research began with a promising critique of the victim-centered nature of most of the past research on homosexuals, and called for studying the "milieu" (p. 1089) or society in which the homosexual person lives - specifically the *homophobic* individual. His 9-item homophobia scale or H-scale (Appendix A) was an attempt to measure heterosexuals' "negative or fearful responding to homosexuality" (p. 1089).

The validity and usefulness of this scale was explored by comparing *homophobic* (high scoring) and *non-homophobic* (low scoring) individuals on a variety of theoretically related variables. In summarizing the responses of 93 male and female undergraduates, Smith found that homophobic people were more "status conscious, authoritarian, and sexually rigid" (p. 1093) than non-homophobic people, and he concluded that

¹ An interesting historical note is that Smith was working toward a master's degree at the time his homophobia research was conceptualized. Previously pursuing a career as an actor, his growing interest in psychology led him to approach Weinberg for career guidance. After reading Weinberg's view on homophobia, Smith set out to measure this intriguing construct (Weinberg, personal communication, June 25, 2003).

homophobic people may not see homosexuals as comprising a legitimate minority group that is deserving of rights.

Because Smith did not elaborate the theory behind his *homophobia* construct at the start of his study, it was difficult to assess the adequacy of his items in representing its full content. Although he describes *homophobia* as a negative evaluation and fear, he goes no further in his explanation of how he derived his 9 items. Although in his introduction he implies that both affective (fearful) and cognitive (negative) elements are part of the attitudinal experience, he offers no specific theoretical model describing the nature of attitudes. These two concerns may be explained in part by the limiting format of *Psychological Reports*.

At the time this study was conducted, factor-analysis was not a method commonly utilized in scale development. Consequently (and also due to the small number of participants in his study), factor analysis was not conducted on the items comprising the H-scale, nor was an alpha-coefficient reported to evaluate its internal consistency. Smith's measure also failed to distinguish between attitudes toward gay men and attitudes toward lesbians. As others have pointed out (Black and Stevenson, 1984), when no other identifying information is available, participants responding to the term "homosexual" may actually be describing their attitudes toward only gay men.

Even with the lack of theoretical articulation, it was possible to derive inductively some sense of what Smith was trying to get at with the particular items he selected for his study. Two content areas were apparent. First, most of the items comprising the H-Scale were ego-defensive in nature, assessing participants' levels of discomfort with being in the proximity of a homosexual. Items like "It would be upsetting for me to find out I was

alone with a homosexual,” “I find the thought of homosexual acts disgusting,” and “If a homosexual sat next to me on a bus I would get nervous” all imply an aversive and affective response possibly due to repressed fear.

In addition, items such as “homosexuals should be locked up to protect society” and “I would be afraid for a child of mine to have a teacher who was a homosexual,” reflect the belief that homosexuals are threatening and dangerous and that some form of social control is warranted. These items may also serve a more value-based or symbolic function. Although concern over contact with children may be based on a belief that gay men are dangerous sexual predators, it may also be based on the concern that children will be taught that homosexuality is o.k. and that variation in sexual orientation is permitted – a threat to heterosexual dominance.

In contrast to the defensive items, Smith also asked questions that suggested the more direct influence of symbolic beliefs such as “a homosexual would be a good president of the United States” and “homosexuals should be allowed to hold government positions.” Positively stated, these items suggested an egalitarian ethic may also influence people’s views.

Even with its limitations, it is important to recognize the significance of Smith’s study as the first ever attempt to investigate the attitudes of heterosexuals toward homosexuals published in a psychological journal. Researchers of sexual prejudice frequently cite this study and items from the H-scale have been included in several recent attempts to investigate attitudes toward gay men and lesbians (Herek, 1987).

Attitudes Toward Sexual Practices Scale (ATSPS): homosexuality Sub-Scale (anti-H)

Dunbar, Brown and Amoroso (1973) also considered sexual prejudice to serve a variety of psychological functions, including ego-defense. They viewed attitudes toward homosexuality as being related to society's attitudes toward sexuality in general. In their development of the Anti-H (anti-homosexuality) subscale of their Attitudes Toward Sexual Practices scale (ATSPS), they argued that sex-negative societies are more likely to condemn homosexuality than are sex-positive societies and hypothesized that individuals with the most sex-guilt will have the most negative attitudes toward homosexuals – suggesting a potential interaction between value-expressive and ego-defensive functions.

Also outlining a psychodynamic model, Dunbar et al. argued that the increased sexual awareness that comes about during a heterosexual male's encounter with a homosexual male, or when thinking about homosexuality, confronts established (introjected) anti-sex values and produces a defensive response (reaction formation) – in the form of an anti-homosexual attitude. In addition to the link between anti-homosexual and anti-sex attitudes, they proposed that those with anti-homosexual attitudes will also be more rigid in their gender roles and will judge feminine characteristics in men as indicative of homosexual tendencies and, therefore, threatening.

To investigate the theoretical connection between attitudes toward homosexuality and attitudes toward sex in general, Dunbar et al. constructed 3 attitude scales, (1) attitudes toward homosexuality or anti-homosexual scale (anti-H), (2) attitudes toward heterosexual sex practices, or liberal-conservative scale (L-C), and (3) attitudes toward one's own sexual impulses, or concern-guilt scale (C-G). The anti-H scale (which was

not provided in their published study) was comprised of 14 items meant to assess affective responses toward homosexuals and homosexuality. These items were derived from a variety of sources, including the California F scale (Adorno et al.), Psychology Today and from theories of homophobia held by gay liberation organizations. This last approach was quite innovative and demonstrated an awareness by these researchers of the importance of the gay and lesbian “standpoint” (Hartsock, 1983) in understanding sexual prejudice. The final content of this scale was described as – assessments of social distance and feelings about social discrimination (unfortunately an “etc.” limited their articulation of the theory behind item generation).

One hundred and twenty-six undergraduate students² completed the anti-H, L-C, and C-G scales as well as an instrument assessing their belief in various sex-role stereotypes and their belief that male homosexuals were likely to possess feminine characteristics. By comparing the upper and lower quartiles of anti-H scores, Dunbar et al. found support for their hypotheses. Anti-homosexual participants were significantly more conservative and negative regarding sexual practices in general, and expressed significantly more sex guilt. In addition, they were significantly more rigid in terms of their view of “appropriate” sex-roles, and were significantly more likely to perceive a male with feminine characteristics as being homosexual. Dunbar et al. warn, however, that because their correlations were so small their conclusions are tentative.

The alpha-coefficient for the anti-H scale was .86 suggesting satisfactory internal consistency. In addition, the anti-H scale correlated positively with the Liberal-Conservative scale ($r=.39, p<.005$) and Concerned-Guilt ($r=.24, p<.005$) supporting the

² No information about participants’ gender was provided.

construct (convergent) validity of the scale and suggesting both value-based and defensive sources for antihomosexual attitudes.

Additional support

Further support for the notion that defensive processes are operative in anti-homosexual attitudes comes from later research by Cuenot and Fugita (1982). Using Dunbar et al.'s ATSPS, they predicted that although many heterosexuals experience negative affect when interacting with homosexuals, they are being more and more restricted by social convention from acting in an overtly negative manner. When such a person interacts with a homosexual, therefore, defensive processes will be engaged and aversive behaviors will result.

To test this proposition, 80 undergraduate heterosexual (participants' sexuality was presumed by the researcher) students (40 male and 40 female) were randomly assigned to an interview situation with a person they either believed to be homosexual or a person they believed to be heterosexual. Participants completed portions of the ATSPS scale pre- and post-interview. The researchers then measured the speed with which participants answered questions.

Difference between pre- and post-interview scores on the anti-H, L-C and C-G scales were calculated for each participant. Those participants interviewed by a perceived homosexual, although no more negative in their expressed attitudes toward homosexuals, talked faster and became more conservative (post-interview) in their views about sexual permissiveness. According to Cuenot and Fugita these findings suggested that anti-homosexual affect was being displaced due to social pressure to present oneself as egalitarian. The displaced affect was influencing the self-expressive value of sexual

conservatism, which implied that symbolic beliefs (a cognitive system) were being activated during the evaluative process. They argued that the increased sexual conservatism might serve to protect an ego threatened by homosexuality.

Unfortunately, Dunbar et al.'s scale itself was not included in either of these published studies, so it was not possible to conduct an inductive analysis of the content of the construct operationalized by their scale. In addition neither study included a factor analysis of the proposed items, and both studies failed to distinguish between attitudes toward gay men and attitudes toward lesbians.

The link these researchers describe between the condemnation of homosexuality and the condemnation of most other forms of non-normative sexuality (including heterosexual practices) is consistent with theoretical arguments put forth by the sexual liberationists. One way an “ideology” reproduces itself is by dictating those behaviors that are normal and natural as well as those considered aberrant. Dominant (hetero)sexual ideology similarly constrains the sexual behaviors of both the dominant and the marginalized (Rubin, 1984). Sexual permissiveness permits a wider range of sexual expression and, therefore, threatens one of the mechanisms that maintains heterosexism – the legitimization of only certain forms of sexual expression and the condemnation of others.

Dunbar et al.'s finding – that those who ascribe to rigid gender roles are more likely to condemn homosexuality – was also consistent with liberationist theories of sexuality. As pointed out by radical feminists (Wittig, 1993), patriarchy requires a rigid distinction between genders in order to operate. Heterosexism reinforces the gender dichotomy and, therefore, helps to reinforce patriarchy. The existence of homosexuality,

on the other hand, threatens this division and to some extent threatens patriarchy. Those whose views are more consistent with sexist ideology may find it necessary to condemn homosexuality in order to preserve those values. As a consequence, those who hold firm to a gender dichotomy will be more likely to express anti-gay prejudice than will those who feel less comfortable with traditional gender role expectations.

Finally, these findings support the notion that negative attitudes toward gay people are finding subtle ways to be expressed – through the endorsement of rigid gender role beliefs, expressions of sexual conservatism, or through implicit aversive behaviors, suggesting the possibility of symbolic, modern and aversive sexual prejudice.

Attitude Toward Homosexuality Scale (ATHS)

Additional support for the importance of conservatism toward sexuality and gender roles and sexual prejudice is found in MacDonald, Huggins, Young and Swanson's (1973) attempt to operationalize the "nature, needs and values of the non-homosexual person [toward homosexuals]" (p. 161). In addition to defending against the fear of homoerotic potential, sexual prejudice was thought to be a consequence of the need to maintain and enforce rigid gender role behaviors in men and women. MacDonald et al. suggested that heterosexuals' attitudes toward homosexuals can serve symbolic functions in two ways – by protecting conservative standards of sexual morality as well as by maintaining a gender schematic world view. These social mores reinforce typically masculine behavior in men and typically feminine behavior in women.

To provide support for this theory, they developed four scales – attitudes toward intimacy, premarital sexual permissiveness, equality between the sexes, and attitudes toward homosexuality (ATHS) – and administered these scales to 101 undergraduate

students and faculty (47 male and 57 Female) participants. The 28-item ATHS (see Appendix C) had an alpha of .93 ($\alpha=.96$ for male respondents and $\alpha=.89$ for female respondents) (MacDonald and Games, 1974). As predicted, anti-homosexual attitudes were negatively correlated with support for gender equality ($r=-.65, p<.01$) and were also significantly and positively correlated with sexual conservatism (although the actual statistics were not provided in the published article). Partial correlations of these two constructs revealed that anti-gay attitudes were more highly associated with rejection of gender equality than with sexual conservatism (MacDonald et al., 1973).

It is unclear whether MacDonald et al. used factor analysis to determine the structure of the ATHS items. Although factor analysis was used by these researchers to determine the structure of the Sex-Role Survey (MacDonald and Games, 1974), no indication of additional factor analysis was given in any of the published reports using the ATHS (MacDonald et al.; Price).

An inductive analysis of the content of the ATHS was possible, however, using theoretical discussions found in MacDonald et al.'s studies (1973; MacDonald & Games, 1974) and ATHS items reported in Price's (1982) look at high school students' attitudes toward homosexuality. From this analysis it was determined that the ATHS assessed content areas including beliefs about homosexuals' deservingness of equality (egalitarianism), mental pathology, social threat, gender atypical behavior, criminal nature, morality, and quality of relationships, as well as expressions of personal revulsion, concern over homosexuals' social influence and contact with children, and comparison between homosexual and heterosexual relationships.

Additional support.

MacDonald and Games (1974) attempted to correct for several acknowledged oversights in MacDonald et al.'s (1973) original study. A modified version of the ATHS, now including two separate measures of attitudes toward male homosexuality (ATHSM) and lesbianism (ATHSF), was collected from 197 (94 male and 103 Female) undergraduates. The authors' goal was to replicate MacDonald et al.'s previous findings, comparing a modified (Male & Female) version of the ATHS to a measure of support for gender equality and semantic differential assessments of woman, man, lesbian, and male homosexual targets in terms of evaluation, activity and potency adjectives (as well as several other scales).

No significant differences were found in male and female participants' attitudes toward male homosexuals and lesbians (on the ATHSF and ATHSM scales), and no significant differences were found in attitudes toward the two target groups when the responses of male and female participants were combined.

Differences were found, however, among the various semantic differential measurements. In terms of the potency adjectives (including items like "strong-weak", "constrained-free", and "soft-hard"), [heterosexual] men were rated most potent, followed by lesbians, [heterosexual] women, and then male homosexuals. In terms of the evaluation adjectives (including items like "sociable-unsociable", "good-bad", and "kind-cruel"), however, [heterosexual] women were rated most favorably, followed by [heterosexual] men, male homosexuals and then lesbians (who were rated least favorably). In addition, positive correlations were found between the evaluation and potency semantic differential assessments of [heterosexual] men ($r=.21, p<.01$) and

negative correlations were found between the evaluation and potency semantic differential assessments for [heterosexual] women and lesbians ($r=-.27, p<.001$; $r=-.15, p<.05$). According to the authors these data suggest that perceived sex-role non-conformity (i.e., a [heterosexual] woman or lesbian being potent) negatively impacts participants' evaluations of lesbians.

In addition, those participants who described [heterosexual] men as being more potent held more negative attitudes toward homosexuals and those participants who described [heterosexual] women and male homosexuals as being more potent held more positive attitudes toward homosexuals. These last findings offer additional support for the relationship between sexist ideology and anti-gay anti-lesbian attitudes. This finding also supports the idea that positive beliefs about gay people (stereotypes) are related to positive attitudes. Scholars have suggested that negative beliefs are both the consequence and cause of negative evaluations (Allport, 1954; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975).

Several additional findings support the construct validity of the ATHSM & ATHSF scales. Correlations between participants' levels of sexual permissiveness and their attitudes toward male homosexuals and lesbians were significant (negative) for female respondents only. That is, female participants who believed that sexual permissiveness was okay for both [heterosexual] men and [heterosexual] women were also more favorable toward male homosexuals. Female participants' attitudes toward lesbians, however, were influenced only by their belief in sexual permissiveness for [heterosexual] women. Support for equality between the sexes was associated with more favorable attitudes toward both male homosexuals and lesbians for both male and female participants. Finally, irrespective of the gender of the participant, cognitive rigidity,

authoritarianism (F-scale) and low tolerance for ambiguity predicted less favorable attitudes toward male homosexuals and lesbians (with one exception – the rigidity of female respondents did not impact attitudes toward lesbians).

As stated earlier, arguments from the radical feminist tradition suggest that the endorsement of rigid gender roles reinforces not only sexism, but also heterosexism and that anti-lesbian attitudes serve to reinforce not only heterosexism, but also sexism. Although it could be argued that the refusal of some gay and lesbian people to conform to the expectations of either sexism or heterosexism will lead to increased anti-lesbian and anti-gay attitudes (at least among the unenlightened privileged), it can also be argued that conforming to these demands will only serve to reinforce the injustice that these ideologies perpetuate. Attempting to appease heterosexuals' (and many homosexuals') anxieties about gender may only serve to reinforce sexism and heterosexism.

It is likely, therefore, that an individual's views about the necessity or correctness of rigid gender role expectations actually represents a facet of his or her attitudes toward gay men and lesbians.

Homosexual Attitude Scale (HAS)

One of the first studies to explicitly utilize factor analysis as a way to determine the underlying dimensions defining heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men is found in Millham, San Miguel and Kellog's (1976) development of the Homosexual Attitude Scale (HAS) (Herek, 1984). Their intention was to identify the underlying structure of heterosexuals' attitudes toward male and female homosexuals by including a wide range of theoretically relevant components (beliefs and behavioral dispositions) in their analysis. Millham et al. offered a complex conceptualization of sexual prejudice prior to

item selection and criticized other scholars for “oversimplifying” and presenting monolithic views of these anti-homosexual attitudes.

Seven hundred ninety-five male and female heterosexual undergraduates³ were presented with a list of 38 items representing,

“...a wide spectrum of opinions concerning homosexuals’... emotional reactions, status under the law, their mental health, acceptance of various behavioral stereotypes, and moral-ethical aspects of homosexuality.” (p. 4)

Similar to MacDonald et al.’s ATHS scale (1973), Millham et al.’s items include content assessing beliefs about homosexuals’ deservingness of equality (egalitarianism), mental health, like/dislike of the other sex, gender atypical behavior, criminal nature, morality, and types of relationships and sex behaviors, as well as expressions of personal revulsion and anxiety, concern over homosexuals’ social/political influence and contact with (and desire to seduce) children (see Appendix B).

Millham et al. also added items assessing participants’ beliefs about the level of creativity and prevalence of STDs in homosexuals, as well as their desire to have homosexual friend, preference for male versus female homosexuals, comfort with homosexual family members, and the need to control the activities of homosexuals as a group. In addition, items were included that assessed belief in particular origin theories of homosexuality (i.e., it’s natural, it’s a choice, or it’s due to some foundational psychosexual experience in childhood). Separate versions of the HAS were created using the term “Male Homosexual” and “Female Homosexual” to refer to the gender of the target (although some items refer to both gay men and lesbians).

³ Specific gender breakdown was not provided.

An inductive analysis of the items comprising the HAS reveals a complex picture of attitudes. Instead of only affective evaluative statements, cognitive evaluative statements (favorable and unfavorable stereotypes or beliefs) about homosexuals were also included. Unlike many of the other studies of attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, Millham et al.'s study included several items that went beyond tolerance. Endorsement of these positive beliefs about homosexuals (i.e., "male homosexuals are more creative than heterosexuals" and "I would like to have male homosexual friends") would indicate that participants saw some inherent value in gay people.

Seven hundred ninety-five male and female participants were asked to respond dichotomously whether each of the statements were "true" or "false"⁴. A principle components factor analysis with an orthogonal (varimax) rotation⁵ was run on the responses. Six factors emerged: a *repressive-dangerous* factor - representing heterosexuals' belief that homosexuals (both male and female) are criminally dangerous and predatory and are, therefore, the justifiable targets of legal and social sanctions; a *personal anxiety* factor - similar to Weinberg's (1972) and Smith's (1971) notion of "homophobia" and Churchill's (1967) "homoerotophobia", highlighting the (affective) discomfort and disgust of some heterosexuals with being in close proximity to gay men and lesbians; two factors related to *preference for female over male homosexuals* and

⁴ This is the major critique of Millham et al., cited most frequently in the studies that followed. A dichotomous response results in a restricted range, limited variance, and extreme responses (Herek, 1984).

⁵ Orthogonal rotation assumes that the emergent factors will be unrelated to each other. When dealing with concepts like attitudes toward a target group, it is unlikely that any one aspect of an attitude will have no influence on other aspects. For this reason, orthogonal rotation is considered by many to be a theoretically unsound choice for factor rotation (Pehazur and Schmelkin, 1991). An oblique rotation, which assumes there is a relationship among factors, is a more reasonable choice.

preference for male over female homosexuals; a *cross-sexed mannerisms* factor that included items indicating a belief that homosexuals act in gender atypical ways; and a *moral reprobation* factor, related to the belief that homosexuality is morally wrong.

Interestingly, the variance explained by the repressive/dangerous and personal anxiety factors varied according to the sex of the target. For male homosexual targets the *repressive-dangerous* factor explained 55.6% and *personal anxiety* explained 10.1%. For female homosexual targets, on the other hand, the *repressive-dangerous* factor explained only 14.4% of the variance in items, whereas *personal anxiety* explained 52.7%.

From these results the authors suggested that personal anxiety is more important in the evaluation of female homosexuals and the repressive-dangerous factor is more important to the evaluation of male homosexuals. Although these differences are indeed puzzling, Millham et al.'s conclusions about their meaning are unwarranted. Variance explained by a latent factor is the proportion of the total variation in all the items explained by that factor and is related to how well a set of items hangs together. The results do suggest that the items that comprise the personal anxiety factor hang together better for female homosexuals than for male homosexuals and that items that comprise the repressive-dangerous factor hang together better for male homosexuals than for female homosexuals. This could be due to the way items are worded or the way the personal anxiety and repressive-dangerous items are differently conceptualized for female and male homosexuals. These results do not reflect, however, how thoroughly the latent construct itself has been operationalized by the set of items, and does not relate to the relative importance of a particular latent construct among other constructs in influencing a heterosexual person's attitude toward male or female homosexuals.

In addition to scale development, Millham et al. investigated the relationship between personal contact with homosexuals and attitudes. Participants completed a series of question concerning their level of contact with homosexuals. Those participants that reported having a homosexual friend or relative were less anxious and less likely to express moral condemnation or advocate repression.

An important contribution made by this study was that affective and cognitive responses, shown by the first two (personal anxiety and repressive-dangerous) factors, were demonstrated to be independent. Beliefs supporting the repressive-dangerous factor (i.e., “Male homosexuals are more likely to commit non-sexual crimes than are heterosexuals” and “Male homosexuals should be required to undergo psychotherapy”) are likely to arise from the heterosexual person accepting as valid, discourses within the legal professions related to criminal nature of homosexual behavior as well as positions taken by the psychological community related to the mental health of homosexuals. Affective reactions suggested by the personal anxiety factor (i.e., “It would be very easy for me to have a conversation with someone I know to be a male homosexuals” and “I think male homosexuals are disgusting”), on the other hand, may be the result of a homophobia-like reaction – based in fear and the result of a maladaptive defensive process or, perhaps, “a defensive-style of personality” (p. 9).

Their independence suggests that a person can be relatively positive in terms of their beliefs about male homosexuals while maintaining negative ego-defensive reactions. One limitation of this conclusion is that a correlation matrix for the 6 factors was not included in Millham et al.’s study. If these factors are distinct but highly correlated, this kind of ambivalence may be less likely.

Other factors in this model offer additional support for the notion that different value-based functions can have an independent influence on participants' responses to male homosexuals and lesbians. The *cross-sexed mannerisms* items (i.e., "It is usually easy to identify a male homosexual" and "Most male homosexuals have some identifiable feminine characteristics") suggest that perceived gender non-conformity of gay men and lesbians (see also MacDonald et al.) is independent of the other variables. Similarly, *moral reprobation* items (i.e., "male homosexuality is a sin" and "male homosexuality is a perversion") which relate to heterosexuals seeing homosexuality as a threat to basic values they hold dear and feel are important to their own self-concepts (Herek, 1986) were also independent of the other factors.

The last two factors, heterosexuals' *preference for same gender versus other gender homosexuals* (i.e., "male homosexuals are more revolting than female homosexuals" and "I would rather have a lesbian sister than a homosexual brother"), are difficult to interpret. From an ego-defensive perspective it makes sense (and it has also been supported empirically) that heterosexuals are more disturbed by same- versus other-gender homosexuals. It is unclear, however, why Millham et al. would include these items when they intended to conduct separate factor analyses for male and female targets. It is likely that these two factors will be highly correlated.

To summarize, the results of Millham et al.'s study suggest that moral evaluation (moral reprobation), defensive reactions (repressive/dangerous and personality anxiety) and gender role nonconformity (cross-sexed mannerisms) each play an important and distinct role in sexual prejudice.

Homosexual Threat Inventory (HTI)

The next study, conducted by Mosher and O'Grady (1979), involved the creation of a scale to measure *homosexual threat*, which they described as a personality syndrome, rooted in gender role socialization and the formation of male eroticism. Homosexual threat, according to their review of the previous literature, comes from: (a) the need to bolster one's confidence in one's gender role, (b) the need to repress homosexual tendencies in oneself, and (c) the general lack of tolerance for homosexuality and homosexuals. It is a highly ego-defensive process that also involves concerns about values and violations of social norms.

They argue that because men are highly aroused by visual erotic material, and tend to objectify those in that material, heterosexual men who witness homosexual sex (in the form of homosexual pornography) will either objectify or identify with the targets, experience arousal, homosexual threat, and a subsequent combination of disgust, anger, shame and guilt.

To develop the homosexual threat inventory, Mosher and O'Grady combined items from a previous study of male homosexuals (Weinberg & Williams, 1974) with 47 new items generated by the researchers (see Appendix D). An assortment of items was chosen to represent the constructs in question. Although the meaning of many of the items was clear (i.e., "I've never met a gay man I didn't like" and "homosexuality may best be described as an illness"), the relationship of a few of the items to heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men was more difficult to determine (i.e., "you can tell a pansy by the flowers and butterflies that he wears" and "the slogan 'better blatant than latent' appeals to me since latent homosexuals are more insidiously sick").

Still other items (although suggesting relatively positive attitudes toward homosexuality: e.g., “to love another man is to know the heights of the human soul” and if reversed “I could never bring myself to suck another man’s cock”) have been criticized by Herek (1984) as being “locker room language” (p. 40) and do seem more likely to reveal a homosexual orientation than a perception of threat. There may, however, be some benefit of using “real world” language to talk about attitudes. One of Mosher and O’Grady’s goals was to identify an aversion to homoeroticism. It is unlikely that a “cleaned up” version of this scale would elicit the kind of defensive processes that the researchers were looking for. As was revealed in their findings, however, none of these criticized items loaded above .40 on any of the factors.

The remaining items included beliefs about homosexuals (e.g., “homosexuals have fewer social skills than heterosexuals” and “homosexuality is best described as an illness”), personal disgust (e.g., “there is nothing as perverse and sickening as a swishing homosexual queen” and “I’d rather be dead than queer”), beliefs about the relationship between masculinity and heterosexuality (e.g., “a real man is exclusively heterosexual”), concerns about one’s own gender role and sexual orientation (e.g., “I look effeminate” and “I’m afraid I might have homosexual tendencies”), and personal aversion (e.g., “I would not mind being seen in public with a person who has the reputation of being homosexual” and “Homosexual should stay in their own gay bars and not flaunt their deviance”).

One hundred and four undergraduate men completed the questionnaire. Through a process of item analysis, the list was reduced to 21 items. The resulting scale had low alpha coefficient (.58), suggesting relatively poor internal consistency among the items.

Together with several other measures, these items were then administered to 215 undergraduate men. A principal component factor analysis using a orthogonal (varimax) rotation revealed a three factors model: (1) *hostility toward homosexuals to bolster hyper-masculinity* (explaining 66% of the variance in item), (2) *fear and denial of personal homosexual tendencies* (explaining 19.1% of the variance) and (3) *lack of tolerance for homosexuality* (explaining 14.1% of the variance).

An examination of the factor matrix revealed that although each factor had an eigenvalue above 1, only 10 items loaded above .50 on any of the factors (meaning that for the remaining 11 items, less than 50% of their variance was explained by any of the factors). In addition, factor 2 and 3 had only 1 item each exceeding .50. It was possible that these loadings would improve if an oblique rotation were used. There was no information about possible correlations between factors.

To summarize, poorly conceptualized items, low internal consistency, and low item loadings limited the conclusions that could be drawn from this study. In addition, Mosher and O'Grady fail to adequately articulate their theory empirically –in terms of how their items are generated and in the validation of their scale. However, their consideration of the role that masculine gender roles, erotic socialization, and sex negativity might play in male heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men, make this study an important theoretical contribution to the sexual prejudice literature.

Heterosexuals Attitudes Toward Homosexuality Scale (HATH)

The connection between sexual prejudice and the variables conformity, conservative religious ideology, and authoritarianism was explored by Larsen, Reed and Hoffman (1980) in their design and validity tests of the Heterosexual Attitudes Toward

Homosexuality (HATH) scale. Following the lead of Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), Larsen et al. considered attitudes to be the “affective and evaluative components determined by a person’s beliefs. Attitudes in turn contribute to a person’s intentions about behaviors toward the attitude object.” (p. 247). In a rather dramatic shift in approach from other attitude researchers, Larsen et al. approached the assessment of sexual prejudice by specifically surveying participants’ beliefs about the attitude object.

Three studies were conducted to investigate the relationship between a variety of personality and demographic factors and heterosexuals’ attitudes toward homosexuality. In the first study, 70 statements were collected from a range of written sources reflecting various beliefs about homosexuality and homosexuals (equal number of positive and negative items were used). Forty-three male and 37 female college students completed the preliminary survey. Item-total correlations were calculated and the top 20 items (see Appendix E) with highest correlations were selected for the final scale.

In second study, a group of 38 male and 32 female college undergraduates completed the HATH scale, as well as a survey of their sex, age, academic standing, and frequency of church attendance. Females were found to be slightly more favorable toward homosexuality than men (although this difference was not significant). It was also determined that students who majored in liberal arts were more tolerant than those majoring in business. Those students who attended church regularly also held more negative attitudes.

In the third and final study, a sample of 106 female and 72 male (and an additional 24 students who didn’t provide a gender) completed the HATH as well as measures of peer attitudes toward homosexuality, religious ideology, authoritarianism,

feelings of inadequacy, and childhood trauma. This time female participants were found to be significantly more tolerant toward homosexuality than were male participants. Positive evaluations by one's peers led to a more positive attitude toward homosexuality. This finding was only significant for male respondents. Lastly, low levels of religiosity and authoritarianism predicted significantly more favorable attitudes than did higher levels. Interestingly, the relationship between authoritarianism and attitudes toward homosexuality was more pronounced for female respondents.

These data provided additional evidence that attitudes toward homosexuality are impacted by a variety of factors, including conservative religious values, peer influence, authoritarianism, and defensive reactions to ego-threat. In addition, gender was found to moderate the influence of peer influence and authoritarianism. The positive effect of peer influence on attitudes toward gay people was greater for males and the negative effect of authoritarianism was greater for females. In their conclusion, Larsen et al. are pessimistic about the success of educational efforts aimed at confronting ego-defensive evaluations directly, and advocated instead for confronting "the institutional framework of conservative punitiveness, i.e., churches and organizations which provide major normative support." (p. 256).

Attitude Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG)

The goal of Herek's (1984) widely-cited program of research developing the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale was to address the question of how many factors were needed to adequately explain heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, given the wide variety of conceptualizations and previous attempts to measure sexual prejudice found in the literature. In his review, Herek expressed concern

over the large number of possible factors found in the literature that claimed to explain the variations in heterosexuals' attitudes toward homosexuals, and suggested that by combining the items from these previous studies in a series of factor analyses he could clarify the structure of anti-gay attitudes. Herek grounded his definition of attitudes themselves in the theoretical works of Fishbein and Ajzen, describing them as a non-cognitive affective evaluative process - making a distinction between beliefs about a group and attitudes toward them. His methodological approach was to conduct a step-by-step analysis of each of the previous measures, adding items in groups, assessing their adequacy and then adding more items.

This series of 4 studies began with a reanalysis of MacDonald's highly cited ATHS. Seventy-two (40 Female, 32 Male) undergraduates completed the 28-item questionnaire. An exploratory analysis, using oblique rotation, revealed 3 factors. The first factor, that Herek described as having to do with *condemnation/repression*, explained 43% of the variance and the remaining two factors, *denial of similarities between heterosexuals and homosexuals* and *personal revulsion/threat*, explained the remaining variance (6%, 5%). All three factors were somewhat correlated with each other (.25 to .53).

Herek suggested that for efficiency's sake items representing the smaller two factors (possible artifacts of the particular items being used) should be dropped (suggesting, without explanation, that a unidimensional scale was more desirable). The items to be dropped, however, were conceptually coherent, and theoretically relevant. It would have been more reasonable theoretically to add items to more thoroughly elaborate the *denial of similarity* and *personal revulsion/threat* factors.

Items from MacDonald et al.'s (1973) study were then combined with those from Smith (1971), Levitt and Klassen (1974), and some newly created items (no theoretical background was provided for these items). One hundred and four (57 female and 47 male) undergraduates completed this 47-item questionnaire. The exploratory analysis of these items, again using oblique rotation, produced 3-4 factors. Again, a single *general tolerance/condemnation* factor emerged that explained 42% of the common variance. The remaining factors were related to *beliefs about homosexuals* and a *desire to avoid contact and keep away from children*. Combined, these smaller factors explained 8-9% of the common variance (specific variance was not provided) and correlated with the larger factor ($r=.34$ to $r=.59$).

Herek pointed out that the single tolerance/condemnation factor explained such a large portion of the variance, and the smaller factors so little, that it was reasonable to assume that a unidimensional model provided the best explanation for variation in the data. In addition, he suggested that the factors related to beliefs about homosexuals should be dropped, arguing from a single-component model of attitudes-as-affect, asserting that *beliefs* are not the same thing as attitudes (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977). Herek's post-hoc decision is troubling – a theorist's conceptualization of attitudes should take place prior to item selection. Variance explained by a particular factor is unlikely to have anything to do with which attitude model (single- or three-component) is correct.

The next step involved taking items that loaded singly on each of the factors and combining them with additional items created to offer support for the smaller factors. This was the first time in Herek's analysis that an attempt to fill out content of the attitude construct was reported. Unfortunately, no information was provided about which

factor content was expanded and how individual items were chosen. One hundred and thirty (66 female and 64 male) undergraduates completed this 59-item questionnaire. Again, the exploratory analysis of these items, using oblique rotation, revealed 3 factors. The *condemnation/tolerance* factor explained 35-35% of the variance and two smaller factors, one related to *beliefs about homosexuals* and the other *comparing heterosexual and homosexual relationships*, explained approximately 5% of the variance each. The smaller two factors were correlated with the condemnation/tolerance factor ($r=.30$ and $r=.50$).

Herek's final analysis involved adding Millham et al.'s (1976) items for a total of 66 items. In addition separate questionnaires were created to distinguish between lesbian and gay male targets. Four hundred and thirty-seven (276 female and 161 male) undergraduates completed the lesbian questionnaire and 469 (282 female and 187 male) different undergraduates completed the gay male questionnaire. An exploratory analysis, using oblique rotation revealed two factors, *condemnation/ tolerance* explaining around 34% of the variance (this figure varied slightly but non-significantly for male and female participants and for gay male and lesbian targets) and a *beliefs* factor explaining 6% of the variance.

Herek used this final analysis to draw several conclusions relevant to the question of attitude structure: (1) he suggested that a unidimensional scale was the most "appropriate"; (2) all other items should be dropped from the scale because minor factors explained so little of the variance and because these minor factors are related to beliefs and not affect (and, therefore, aren't really attitudes); and (3) a separate homophobia scale was no longer warranted because it is encompassed within the condemnation/

tolerance factor. Herek's final point was that (4) the scale could be used for both gay men and lesbians because there was very little difference in their scores.

This last conclusion may be related to the belief factor being dropped. Although on a general (egalitarian) level, it is likely that heterosexual people see gay men and lesbians as being similar, in terms of stereotypes, however, they may be seen differently (Kite and Deaux, 1987). If major differences between male and female participants and gay and lesbian targets were due to the difference of beliefs about gay men and lesbians, these differences would not manifest in a scale that under-operationalized measurement of these beliefs.

To shorten the list of items, Herek computed item-total correlations for both gay male and lesbian versions of the final scale. The top 20 items (with the highest correlations to the total score) were selected to represent the ATLG with 10 items representing the ATG portion and 10 items representing the ATL portion (see Appendix F).

Throughout Herek's reanalysis of the previous attitude scales, a belief factor has consistently emerged from the data accounting for between 5 and 6 percent of the common variance. Following a single-component model of attitudes it is reasonable to eliminate this factor. Following a tri-component model of attitudes, however, it would be more reasonable to attempt to elaborate and stabilize this factor. Although Herek did attempt some elaboration of his factors, no empirical exploration of the range of heterosexuals' beliefs about gay men and lesbians was reported. Prior to a decision to drop the beliefs factor, an attempt should be made to determine its usefulness in

understanding the relationship (specifically behaviors) of heterosexuals toward gay men and lesbians.

In addition to beliefs, the importance of heterosexuals' *comparisons between heterosexual and homosexual relationships* may have been underestimated. These comparisons may be related to heterosexist ideology and therefore have an important place in understanding and assessing heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Herek's final scale included very few items assessing strong affect or aversion toward gay men and lesbians. This may have contributed to lack of strong gender of target related differences.

Additional construct validity support for the ATLG

Several other measures correlated with the ATLG and offered support for its construct validity. Those scoring higher on the ATLG: (a) had more traditional attitudes toward sex roles, (b) had a stronger belief in the notion of the "traditional" family, (c) were more dogmatic, (d) more frequently attended church, (e) were more religiously conservative, (f) had little personal contact with gay men, and (g) had fewer gay and lesbian friends.

Other studies also demonstrated this link between personal contact and attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Herek and Capitanio (1996), collecting data from a two-wave national telephone survey, used a shortened version of the ATLG scale. The first wave of data was collected from 538 (46% Male, 54% Female) participants. Five hundred five self-identified heterosexuals (94% of sample) were asked questions about their attitudes toward gay men and their level of personal contact with gay men.

Although most participants expressed unfavorable attitudes toward gay men, those

participants with more contact with gay men also expressed more favorable attitudes toward gay men. In addition, participants who knew two or more gay men had more favorable attitudes than those who knew only one.

The second wave of data was collected from those first-wave participants who were willing to be interviewed again. Three hundred eighty-two (no gender breakdown was provided) self-identified heterosexuals (response rate was 71%) were interviewed. This time they were asked questions about their attitudes toward gay men *and lesbians* and their level of personal contact with gay men *and lesbians*. Again, although most participants expressed unfavorable attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, those with more contact with gay men or lesbians also expressed more favorable attitudes toward these groups. Finally, those participants who knew three or more lesbians or two or more gay men had more favorable attitudes than those who knew fewer.

Kite Homosexuality Attitude Scale (Kite HAS)

The final study to be included in this review is Kite and Deaux's (1986) development of the Homosexuality Attitude Scale. Similar to Herek, their approach involved conceptual and psychometric critiques of previous studies, and the conceptualization of attitudes as distinct from beliefs. Unlike Herek, however, Kite and Deaux took a grounded approach to item selection, gathering a new set of relevant items from the "stereotypes, misconceptions, anxieties... and prejudices" (p. 139) identified from conversations between a representative of a gay rights group and a psychology class, various media sources, psychology textbooks, and from other issues the researchers considered important. In addition, their final scale includes several "belief" items –

“gays dislike members of the opposite sex” and “gay people like to dress up in the opposite sex’s clothing”.

A 40-item instrument was created that included items having to do with heterosexuals’ “attitudes, beliefs and anxieties about homosexuals” (p. 139). The questionnaire was administered to 40 (gender not specified) undergraduate students. Item analysis and feedback from students resulted in a reduction of the scale to 25 items.

The modified instrument was then administered to 569 (260 male and 269 female) undergraduates (at two universities). Again item analysis was conducted and the instrument was reduced to 22 items. The final instrument (see Appendix G) was completed by a sample of 1342 undergraduates. A factor analysis, using oblique rotation, was conducted on the data. Two highly correlated (at .73) factors were found. The first factor explained 42.4% of the common variance and the second factor explained 5.7% of the common variance. No information was provided regarding the nature of the second factor. Kite and Deaux argue that skree plot analysis and the high alpha coefficient (.93) for the overall scale suggest that a single factor model sufficiently explains the data.

In two subsequent studies, Kite and Deaux offer support for the validity of the HAS. Using a sample of 630 (gender not specified, but included both female and male) undergraduates, significant correlations were observed between the HAS and other theoretically relevant attitude measures. As Herek found using the ATLG, women and men who had more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men were also the more critical of *feminism* and more likely to endorse traditional sex roles. In addition, those men who reported being more feminine themselves held more favorable attitudes toward gay men and lesbians than did those men who reported being less feminine, suggesting

that gender self-concept was also influential. In a second set of studies, Kite and Deaux observed the impact of these attitudes on heterosexuals' behaviors toward gay men and lesbians. Sampling 144 male undergraduates, they found that individuals who held negative attitudes toward homosexuals, when put in a situation where they had to interact with an individual that they thought was homosexual, rated that person more negatively than those with a favorable attitude.

Summary

The idea that heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men are multidimensional and informed by a variety of factors is not new. As pointed out in this review, the psychological literature is full of attempts to capture the components and identify the structure of these attitudes. In the last 20 years, however, those interested in measuring sexual prejudice have relied more and more on unidimensional models that obscure the multidimensional nature of sexual prejudice suggested by past research and by the public opinion data discussed at the start of this chapter.

The earlier multidimensional conceptualizations of sexual prejudice provide important and useful theoretical insight and direct content that can aid in the conceptualization of a new comprehensive measure of sexual prejudice. Smith's (1971) H-Scale scale was intended to assess the levels of discomfort and aversion heterosexuals experienced when in the proximity of gay men and found that heterosexuals scoring higher on this measure of homophobia were more "status conscious, authoritarian, and sexually rigid" (p. 1093) than those scoring lower. Dunbar, Brown, and Amorosa (1973) suggested that heterosexuals' attitudes toward homosexuality were related to society's attitudes toward sexuality in general and that hostility toward homosexuals might be

related to defensiveness or sex-guilt derived from anti-sex values. MacDonald, Huggins, Young and Swanson (1973) operationalized the “nature, needs and values of the non-homosexual person [toward homosexuals]” (p. 161), suggesting that heterosexuals’ attitudes reflect or support societal values by protecting conservative standards of sexual morality as well as helping to maintain a gender schematic world view⁶. Other studies have suggested that personal anxiety, various gender-role related beliefs, and moral condemnation (Millham, San Miguel, & Kellogg, 1976), homosexual threat, hyper-gender role enhancement, fear of personal homosexual tendencies, and a lack of tolerance for homosexuality (Mosher & O’Grady, 1979) comprise sexual prejudice.

Many of Herek’s (1984; 1994) concerns about the large number and wide variety of scales purported to measure sexual prejudice are reasonable, and the ATLG does provide a short, reliable, and easily administrable scale with good predictive validity that has proven to be a useful tool in identifying various antecedents to and general trends in sexual prejudice. However, the unidimensional nature of the ATLG limits its ability to represent the variety of psychological functions suggested by the complex trends in attitudes revealed in the sociological data discussed at the start of this Chapter.

In fact, Herek (1986) has acknowledged the importance of considering the multiple factors that influence sexual prejudice. Given this preponderance of evidence for multidimensionality, it is unclear why a unidimensional model remains the standard for the field. One explanation is that brevity and simplicity are privileged in the social

⁶ Although the influence of traditional gender roles on anti-gay prejudice has remained uncontested in the literature, the connection between schematic gender self-concepts (as measured by the BSRI) and anti-gay prejudice was eventually rejected (and except in cases of hyper-gender-role orientation) in favor of gender role beliefs (Whitley, 2001).

sciences, sometimes at the expense of comprehensiveness. Another explanation for this shift to a unidimensional model, and the focus on a single “hostile-tolerant” dimension, may have to do with the political climate at the time the ATLG was being developed. As scholars who have studied the historical trends in the gay and lesbian civil rights movement (D’Emilio, 1983; Weeks, 1985; Kitzinger, 1987) have suggested, the sexual liberationists’ philosophy of social change eventually ceded dominance to liberal reform strategies. As Herek (1994) has acknowledged, his sexual prejudice research, while certainly gay affirmative, has proceeded from a liberal reform perspective that de-emphasized the measurement of defensive processes and instead focused on egalitarian beliefs and inter-group conflict.

Given the trends discussed earlier, it is also likely that heterosexuals’ attitudes towards lesbians and gay men have changed since the ATLG was originally formulated. Because the beliefs and legal policies at the time the ATLG was developed may have been more consistent with the moral condemnation of homosexuality, heterosexuals’ attitudes may have also been more coherent and the construct unidimensional. In the 20 years since then, however, many things have changed. For example, a number of states have passed anti-discrimination and hate crimes legislation and openly gay public officials have been elected to public office across the United States. The representations of gay people have been expanded due to a variety of social and political forces, including visible social activism in response to the AIDS epidemic, changes in the laws and entertainment industry’s policies concerning gay subject matter, a growing gay and (questionably) lesbian consumer market and subsequent increased interest from media and business (demonstrated in the increase in gay-focused advertisement and

programming such as the makeover program *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy* and reality dating show *Boy Meets Boy*), the increasing visibility of the national gay and lesbian rights organizations, expansion of educational policies and curriculum to include the lives of gay men and lesbians as well as the impact of heterosexism, and (mostly in the context of cultural and literary studies) entire departments have been established to focus specifically on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered lives.

Finally, because psychological research is ongoing, the body of psychological literature pertaining to lesbian and gay lives, heterosexism, as well as the study of prejudice toward other groups, has expanded dramatically. Given these changes, one would expect there to be shifts in the organization of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men and researchers approaches to studying them.

Chapter 3: Proposing a Multidimensional Model

In the following chapter the case will be made that heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men can be best understood in terms of their positions along several related but distinct attitudinal dimensions: pro-gay egalitarianism, various expressions of modern and aversive heterosexism, and "queer" or postmodern consciousness. The chapter begins by drawing on research from the race, sex, and sexual prejudice literatures to propose that the conceptualization and subsequent operationalization of new measures of sexual prejudice must consider how modern manifestations of sexual prejudice may differ from old-fashioned forms. In addition, potential relationships between these modern forms of heterosexism and other attitude-related variables will be discussed.

In the second section of this chapter the theories and concerns voiced by gay liberationist, radical feminist, queer, and postmodern scholars will be discussed. It will be argued that the lack of positive content in current measures of sexual prejudice reflect the assimilationist politics of the liberal reform movement and limit these measures' ability to accurately assess pro-gay pro-lesbian attitudes. It will also be suggested that an accurate understanding of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men cannot be adequately obtained without considering the evaluator's beliefs about the relationship between sexual ideology and categories of sexual orientation, and that the epistemological stance of the evaluator may influence the content of his or her egalitarian concerns. The potential impact of these liberationist or "queer" perspectives on the conceptualization and operationalization of sexual prejudice will be discussed.

In the third and final section of this chapter the research protocol for this dissertation project, resulting from the critiques and concerns offered in the previous chapters, will be outlined.

Egalitarianism vs. Modern Conceptualizations of Prejudice

Around the time that the first models of sexual prejudice were being developed, social psychological understanding of the nature of racial prejudice was undergoing a change. Expressing dissatisfaction with the ability of earlier measures of racism to predict worthwhile outcomes, and in their search for more subtle measures of racism to compensate for the increasing sensitivity of modern test-takers to the demand for socially desirable responses to questions about race, theorists began to reconceptualize existing measures of racial prejudice. These “symbolic,” “modern,” and “aversive” racism measures were found to predict anti-black attitudes even in the face of a strong desire to appear non-racist. Now a part of the racial and sexist attitudes literature, the insights offered by these approaches have failed to be embraced by those studying sexual prejudice. In order to make sense of the complex trends in sexual attitudes described in Chapter 2, connections between the ideology of racism, sexism, and egalitarianism and the expression and measurement of racist and sexist attitudes will be reviewed.

Symbolic and Modern Racism

Beginning in the mid-1970s, in response to noticeable shifts in Whites’ attitudes toward Blacks (Kinder & Sears, 1981; McConahay & Hough, 1976; Katz & Hass, 1988; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986) and men’s attitudes toward women (Swim, Aikin, Hall & Hunter, 1995; Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995), new psychometric approaches (i.e., “modern”, “symbolic”, “neo-”, “aversive”, and “ambivalent” racism and sexism

theories) were being developed to assess attitudinal complexity in racial attitudes and attitudes toward women. One of the major theoretical contributions of these new approaches was to tease apart the influence of general egalitarianism (the absence of old-fashioned or hostile prejudice) from that of other value-based (symbolic) and affective (aversive) factors.

These researchers suggested that although shifts in generalized egalitarianism had created seemingly favorable corresponding shifts in overt racial attitudes and overt attitudes toward women, old-fashioned racism and sexism had gone “underground” and had not disappeared altogether. Although it was now less acceptable for Whites to express overt hostility toward Blacks, and for men to express overt hostility toward women, racism and sexism are pernicious in their search for expression. Other, less overt, value systems continued to operate reproducing or maintaining racism (e.g., Protestant work ethic/meritocracy) and sexism (e.g., benevolent sexism/chivalry), and continue to influence intergroup interactions.

In addition, although “old-fashioned” instruments were able to identify some variations in racist and sexist attitudes, they were less useful in predicting corresponding behavior (i.e., voting behaviors), and were highly susceptible to social desirability (McConahay, 1986). The new symbolic (Sears, 1988), modern (McConahay, 1986), and ambivalent (Katz & Hass, 1988) racism measures were better suited to assess the complex nature of Whites’ attitudes toward Blacks. Similarly, the new modern (Swim, Aikin, Hall & Hunter, 1995), neo- (Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995) and ambivalent (Glick & Fiske, 1996) sexism measures were better suited to assess complexity in men’s attitudes toward women.

Kinder and Sears (1981) and McConahay and Hough (1976) identified the first modern conceptualizations of racism – “symbolic racism” – arguing that a new, less obvious and more prevalent kind of racism was replacing “old fashioned racism”. Changes in society’s values, they pointed out, have led to an increase in generalized egalitarianism. As a result, beliefs in White supremacy, segregation and overt discrimination were now being discouraged, replaced by a live and let live attitude. Unfortunately, those changes did not eliminate expressions of racism; they instead altered the way it was being expressed (Schuman, Steeh, & Bobo, 1985).

Kinder and Sears argued that racism is being expressed symbolically through cultural values that aren’t obviously racist. Based in affectively charged “abstract principles of justice” (p. 94), racism is learned early in life and is not necessarily based in personal experiences or intergroup competition for resources (McConahay, 1986). Symbolic racism, therefore, is a combination of anti-Black affect and traditional values (i.e., the Protestant work ethic, meritocracy, individualism, and the need for a stable, predictable status quo), which are not only present in the old-fashioned conservative racists, but also in people who considered themselves to be liberal and who are likely to condemn old-fashioned racism (Sears, 1988).

McConahay and Hough (1976) eventually coined the term “modern racism” to describe contemporary (post-civil rights movement) manifestations of racism. They suggest that “modern racism” is a better description than “symbolic racism,” pointing out that “old-fashioned racism” is also a symbolic representation and the term “symbolic” could, therefore, be misleading. Some of the anti-Black beliefs that define a modern racist attitude are – (a) because old-fashioned racism is a thing of the past, overt

discrimination in housing, education and employment are rare to non-existent (resulting in the condemnation of those Blacks who are less successful in the current “non-racist” society) (Sears, 1988)⁷; (b) Blacks are pushing too hard and fast for acceptance (and into places where they are not welcome); (c) social policies supporting the advancement of Blacks in U.S. society (i.e., affirmative action, entitlement programs, busing, etc.) are unfair to Whites and result in “reverse discrimination;” and (d) the accomplishments and successes of Blacks are often undeserved because they have been obtained unfairly.

Evidence for the predictive validity of modern racism is found in studies by Sears and McConahay (1973), which demonstrated that modern racism was a better predictor of voting behavior than was old-fashioned racism, in a racially charged political contest. McConahay’s (1986) research further demonstrated that modern racism is less reactive to social desirability and contextual demands than is old-fashioned racism.

According to Sears, however, symbolic racism should not be used to describe all instances of racial prejudice – old-fashioned racism still exists and measures of old-fashioned racism (that assess anti-racial-egalitarianism) are not entirely obsolete. Because people can manifest symbolic racism while showing little or no sign of old-fashioned racism, however, these two types of racism may represent related but somewhat independent dimensions. McConahay (1986) reports that modern racism and old-fashioned racism are correlated with coefficients ranging from .59 to .70, suggesting distinct, but related constructs.

⁷ Modern racism and sexism theories are based on the presumption that a large enough amount of racism and sexism do in fact still exist in U.S. society. A denial of this fact, therefore, is a manifestation of racism.

Modern Sexism and Neosexism.

This notion of a new “modern” form of prejudice similarly impacted researchers’ approach to the study of sexism. Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter (1995) and Tougas, Brown, Beaton, and Joly (1995) used the modern and symbolic racism models to investigate similar observed shifts in the nature of men’s attitudes toward women. They suggested that although existing sexism scales – i.e., the Attitudes Toward Women scale (AWS) (Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1973) – were able to identify more overt forms of sexism and have revealed favorable (more egalitarian) trends in men’s attitudes toward women, other more subtle forms of sexism were slipping through the conceptual gaps in these instruments (Swim et al.).

Similar to old-fashioned racism, the AWS (a measure of “old-fashioned” sexism) relies on the willingness of respondents to endorse stereotyped beliefs about women and to advocate the unequal treatment of women. Those concerned with appearing fair and non-prejudiced (egalitarian), but who might still hold sexist beliefs, are unlikely to appear sexist on this instrument. When combined, the items comprising the modern sexism scale factor independently from the items comprising the measure of old-fashioned sexism (Swim & Cohen, 1997). According to Swim et al., although modern sexists may be generally egalitarian in their beliefs, they lack an awareness of continued gender inequality. Similar to modern racism, therefore, the modern sexism scale assesses three different beliefs about women: (a) the belief that discrimination against women is no longer a problem, (b) condemnation of demands for fair and equal treatment, and (c) resentment about programs and social policies (i.e., affirmative action) that support the advancement of women.

Evidence for the predictive validity of modern sexism is found in studies showing that those scoring high on modern sexism are more likely than low scorers to overestimate the representation of women in traditionally male professions and to suggest that this difference is due to innate biological differences between women and men and not to discrimination (Swim, Aikin, Hall, & Hunter, 1995). Old-fashioned sexism scales did not reveal these trends. In addition, neosexism was demonstrated to be a better predictor of negative attitudes toward affirmative action (Tougas, Brown, Beaton, & Joly, 1995) and modern sexism was demonstrated to be a better predictor of pro-Woman voting behaviors (Swim et al., 1995) than were measures of old-fashioned sexism.

Ambivalence in Whites' Attitudes Toward Blacks

Once multiple factors were determined to influence racial and sexist attitudes, it was possible for researchers to confront the issues arising from possible attitudinal consistency/inconsistency. This led to aversion and psychological ambivalence research.

The modern racism theory and research suggested that egalitarianism and traditional values such as the Protestant work ethic and meritocracy were having simultaneous but separate influences on Whites attitudes toward Blacks. Katz and Hass (1988) argued that because these two value systems both contributed (independently) to Whites' racial attitudes, they might lead to simultaneous positive and negative evaluative judgments. White's attitudes based on egalitarianism led them to evaluate Blacks favorably seeing them as equal participants in American society and deserving, therefore, of equal treatment and respect. White's attitudes, based in the Protestant work ethic and in the context of large scale economic disparity, however, led them to evaluate Blacks negatively, seeing them as lazy, overly demanding, and undeserving of help. Pro-Black

attitudes (based in egalitarianism) were shown to factor independently from anti-Black attitudes (based in meritocracy).

Working within a cognitive consistency framework, Hass, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey and Moore (1992) demonstrated that these ambivalent attitudes could conflict, and this conflict could result in a negative affective response. Fifty undergraduate participants were asked to complete an ambivalent racism scale and a mood inventory, and then to listen to an audiotape of various pro-Black and anti-Black opinions about an attack by a group of White teenagers on three Black men in a predominantly White neighborhood in New York. Afterward half the subjects were asked several questions about the episode described on the tape – creating a condition in which their racial attitudes were salient. The other half were asked question that had nothing to do with race – creating a condition of non-salience. Finally, both groups were asked to complete another measure of mood.

The results support a connection between attitudinal ambivalence and mood. When placed in a situation in which their racial attitudes were made salient (completing questions about the content of the tape), subjects experienced more negative emotion as reflected in the post-tape mood inventory. Those subjects identified as having more racial ambivalence, however, experienced an even greater negative shift in mood than did those with less racial ambivalence.

Hass et al. argue that those who are made aware of inconsistencies in their values experience this inconsistency as a threat to their self-regard. Ambivalent participants experience both concern for and judgment of the victims in the attack and, as shown above, this inconsistency may result in a significant negative shift in mood. Hass et al. also suggest that the more equal the attitudes are in their intensity, or the more extreme

the attitudes are in general, the more intense the conflict will be. One possible consequence is that those experiencing a great deal of salient ambivalence may need to act in extreme (either favorably or unfavorable) ways toward the target group in an effort to reduce the tension between equally held attitudes – emphasizing one valence over the other and reducing the tension (Hass et al.).

Aversion in Whites' Attitudes Toward Blacks

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) also explored the affective and behavioral implications of inconsistencies between affect and values in relation to racial attitudes. Like Katz and Hass, they argued that although popular shifts toward liberal egalitarian values have resulted in the growing belief that all people, including Blacks, deserve equal treatment, this value has not successfully eliminated the negative affect some Whites experience when interacting with Blacks. Racism continues to impact even those Whites who are sympathetic to victims of racism, support anti-racist public policies, and see themselves as liberal and non-racist. As Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) put it, “sympathy without additional feelings of friendship or respect does not in our view represent a truly positive racial attitude” (p. 62). These inconsistencies in values and affect can result in shame and discomfort and may have implications for behavior.

Gaertner and Dovidio (1977) found that when in a laboratory situation, where they had to interact with both Blacks and Whites, Whites tended to sit further away from Blacks than Whites; made less eye contact; were less friendly; and attempted to get out of interactions with Blacks as quickly as possible. In addition, although they were less likely to engage in overt discrimination, aversive racists did discriminate when put in situations where they were provided with non-racist explanations for their anti-Black

behavior. For example, aversive racists were more likely than non-aversive racists to hang up the telephone on stranded motorists who they suspected were Black, before the full extent of their need could be made known (Gaertner, 1973); when confronting a person in need while in the presence of others, the “diffusion of responsibility” or “bystander effect” (Darley & Latane, 1968) was more dramatic (that is, they were more likely to rely on others doing what was needed) when the person needing help was Black than when the person was White (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1977); and finally, aversive racists were more likely than non-aversive racists to attribute their own unwillingness to provide assistance to a Black co-worker to that coworker’s presumed inferior intelligence or lack of qualifications (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1981). As these data demonstrate, the expression of anti-Black behavior is not absent, but surfaces in situations that lack a normative structure defining appropriate action.

Gartner and Dovidio (1986) suggest that aversion results because many Whites are unwilling to accept changes in or to even admit the existence of their privileged status. Since the benefits of this privilege are experienced as inconsistent with an egalitarian self-image, interactions with Blacks can be anxiety provoking and can activate ego-defensive reactions – the motivation to cut short or avoid a prolonged interaction.

Modern Heterosexism

As Kitzinger (1987) points out, the theory guiding the past operationalization of sexual prejudice echoes ongoing debates between traditional liberalism and more radical notions of social change. Liberal humanists, she argues, approach social change by pursuing the accommodation and legitimization of differences and, ultimately, assimilation into the dominant society (see also Tong, 1989). From this standpoint, a

pro-gay attitude means using heterosexuality as the norm or standard by which gay people are evaluated – it suggests that gay people are okay because they are not different from straight people. Or, if they are different, it is because of something beyond their control. The liberal humanistic perspective framing the sexual prejudice literature, Kitzinger argues, locates prejudice in individuals and neglects the ideological forces that shape and reinforce their perspectives. Critical approaches to change, on the other hand, view people as embedded in unjust ideological systems (e.g., racist, sexist, classist, heterosexist, etc.) that influence the distribution of power (privileging some and marginalizing others). These approaches call for the dismantling of these unjust structures, often through collective action. Differences, rather than being minimized or assimilated, are celebrated.

Because liberal humanism has guided the more recent operationalization of sexual prejudice (Herek, 1984), pro-gay egalitarianism and tolerance have been the primary standards of pro-gay attitudes and can be found in items like, “State laws regarding private, consensual lesbian behavior should be loosened,” “Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in schools,” “A woman’s homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation,” and “Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle and should not be condemned.” These measures tend to focus on discriminatory acts at an individual level. When social change is called for, that change typically involves the accommodation of the offending differences, but not the de-privileging of dominant “norms”. There is little indication that *revolutionary* social change is a necessary and desired outcome, nor is there recognition of the positive qualities or

enhanced perspectives that may come from gay and lesbian standpoint (living outside the sexual/gender majority).

As discussed in Chapter 2, significant advances in the civil rights and protections of gay men and lesbians are apparent and have been documented. Inconsistencies, similar to those pertaining to racial attitudes as pointed out by Sears (1988), are common, however, in public attitudes, legislative agendas, and political organizing. For example, at the same time civil protections are being established for gay people in employment, housing and education, and as more severe penalties are being required for crimes motivated by hatred toward those of particular sexual orientations, legislative agendas antithetical to the rights and well being of gay men and lesbians are being argued in both state legislatures and at the federal level.

Subtle forms of symbolic prejudice are apparent as well. Despite evidence to the contrary (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999; American Psychological Association, 2002; Barnes & Massey, 2001), some believe discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem in our society. Consequently, claims of oppression by gay men and lesbians appear disproportionate to any real problems that might exist. Opposition to legislating “special rights” for homosexuals has been voiced during legislative debates. The “liberal” media are condemned for supporting and promoting the gay and lesbian “lifestyle” and agenda at the expense of “traditional” values.

This growing complexity in social and political discourse around the status of sexual minorities, as well as in individual attitudes, suggests that new psychometric approaches, similar to modern racism and sexism, are needed to assess “modern” manifestations of sexual prejudice. Few instruments, however, have been developed

recently to assess the complex and potentially ambivalent nature of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

One exception (and the only attempt to measure modern sexual prejudice discovered in this review) was the research of Raja and Stokes (1998), who proposed a "modern homophobia" scale. Their three-factor model is comprised of: (a) a *personal discomfort* subscale – assessing participants' aversion to gay men and lesbians, comprised of items that assess the "urge to avoid personal contact... due to feelings of discomfort" and "beliefs that gay men and lesbians are sick and perverted"; (b) an *institutional prejudice* subscale – assessing participants' more symbolic beliefs, including items assessing agreement with "organizational or systematic practices that exclude gay men and lesbians" (p. 118), such as "I would not vote for a political candidate who was openly gay" and "Gay men want too many rights"; and (c) an unexpected *deviance/changeability* subscale – comprised of items like "Female homosexuality is a psychological disease" and "Gay men could be heterosexual if they really wanted to be."

Although Raja and Stokes' measures were correlated with another measure of homophobia (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980), they do not provide the reader with any evidence that their modern measure was *superior* to this measure. Validity testing was not conducted in order to contrast their "modern" notion to old-fashioned notions of homophobia. Finally, notions like "denial of continued discrimination," "moving too fast," and "receive an undeserved advantage" that are central to the modern racism and sexism literatures, were not include among the items comprising the modern homophobia scale. Their results, however, were interesting. The independence of *personal discomfort* from *institutional prejudice* suggested that attitudes serving an ego-defense

function may be independent from attitudes serving symbolic beliefs. Items comprising the *Deviance/Changeability* subscale, a construct suggesting (albeit in rather anti-gay rhetoric) the mutability of sexual orientation, factored separately from items related to *personal discomfort* and *institutional prejudice*. Unfortunately, specific correlations among the subscales were not provided in order to assess the direction of the relationships among the subscales. The negative wording of the *Deviance/Changeability* items, however, makes it likely this factor would correlate *positively* with the other measures of anti-gay anti-lesbian prejudice. This suggests (furthering arguments made by Hegarty, 2002) that immutability beliefs may not always be synonymous with pro-gay attitudes.

Aversive Heterosexism

In addition to symbolic expressions of racial prejudice, modern racism theorists (Sears, 1988; Gartner & Dovidio, 1986) point out that modern racial prejudice may also manifest as an intensely affective response. This affect may intensify when the apparent contradiction or ambivalence between egalitarian values are contrasted with prejudicial beliefs and feelings (Hass, Katz, Rizzo, Bailey & Moore, 1992). Similarly, entrenched heterosexist values may also result in anti-gay anti-lesbian affect and discriminatory behaviors. As stated earlier in this paper and as suggested by the data in the Gallup New Service surveys (Newport, 2001), although heterosexuals may now be less likely to express overtly hostile attitudes and behaviors toward gay men and lesbians, they may continue to express discomfort or aversion when in close proximity to homosexuals and try to avoid close interactions.

One way that aversive prejudice has been demonstrated in other studies is through implicit indicators, such as the quickness of personal interactions, one's likelihood to help in situations of ambiguous responsibility, etc. The threat posed by possible interactions with gay men and lesbians may also have to do with entrenched traditional gender role beliefs. As a consequence, aversive heterosexism may be implicitly or subtly expressed through the endorsement or reifying of traditional inflexible gender roles.

Three studies have demonstrated negative behavioral implications of psychological ambivalence in attitudes toward gay people. Similar to Gaertner and Dovidio's aversive racism telephone study described above, Moreno and Bodenhausen (2001) demonstrated that those who hold pro-gay egalitarian beliefs about gay people, but also experience negative affect, may exhibit anti-gay discriminatory behaviors when provided with a subtle or socially acceptable way to do so. Heterosexual participants who endorsed pro-gay egalitarianism, but also experienced anti-gay affect, behaved more negatively toward gay people than did those who didn't experience negative affect, but only when they were provided with an indirect or subtle opportunity to do so (i.e., evaluating a written argument by a gay person that included grammatical mistakes and spelling errors). When no subtle or indirect channels were provided, no behavioral differences were observed between the pro- and anti-affect participants.

Hegarty, Pratto, and Lemieux (in press) also documented ambivalent behaviors in a series of vignette studies of heterosexual participants' reactions to gay and straight targets' expressions of discomfort in gay or straight social situations. The vignettes described a gay or straight guest being taken by a gay or straight host to a bar consistent with the host's sexual orientation (and counter to the guest's sexual orientation).

Participants' reactions to the guest's expressions of discomfort, the host's responsibility toward the guest, and their ideas about what the host should have done differently were recorded.

Participants agreed that it was understandable for both gay and straight guests to feel uncomfortable being taken to a bar that did not fit their sexual orientation, but felt the straight guest's discomfort was more appropriate than that of the gay guest. In addition, the gay host was expected to do more things to eliminate or prevent the discomfort of their straight guest than was the straight host. It was more acceptable for straight hosts to decide for a gay guest that he could be taken to a straight bar, but gay hosts were expected to consult with straight guests before going to a gay bar. In addition, higher scores on the ATLG resulted in the perception that the gay guest's complaints were *less* appropriate and the straight guest's complaints were *more* appropriate.

Ironically, when the study was repeated but with the guests stifling their discomfort instead of expressing it openly, the participants changed their views and suggested that both the gay and straight guests should express their discomfort to the host! Although gay people are expected to be outraged by overt discrimination (or possible violations in etiquette by their straight friends) – suggesting that participants felt that gay people are indeed entitled to fair and decent treatment – gay and straight people were not judged equally when it came to expressing their reactions to that discrimination or unfair treatment. This “double-bind,” as Hegarty et al. describe it, is the consequence of living in a world full of heterosexual ambivalence.

Finally, Kite and Deaux (1986) examined the impact the knowledge of a research partner's sexual orientation would have on “tolerant” and “intolerant” participants' liking

of that research partner. They found that even those participants who were “tolerant” (in terms of Kite and Deaux’s unidimensional measure of sexual prejudice) liked their partner less when they were told that person was gay than were those who were not so informed. Although “intolerant” participants were more negative in their evaluation of the gay partner overall, the presence of a negative shift in liking for tolerant participants suggests some other variable (perhaps some form of aversion) was at play.

These studies point out that implicit forms of prejudice, existing along side explicit egalitarian values and the desire to behave in a socially desirable way, are continually searching for channels of expression. When an opportunity presents itself (i.e., appropriate amount of interpersonal space, length of conversation, amount of criticism leveled, an evaluations of rudeness, judgments of responsibility, and simple liking or disliking), latent sexual prejudice will manifest.

Limitations in using the Modern Racism model

Although general egalitarianism is thought to share a single dimension with old-fashioned racism and sexism, it was not clear at the start of this study that there was a similar relationship between general egalitarian beliefs pertaining to sexuality and traditional forms of heterosexism. According to the sociological trends discussed earlier, belief in the fair treatment of gay men and lesbians seems to exist in conjunction with more entrenched concerns about the morality of homosexuality and concerns about gay people having contact with and influencing children. It appears, therefore, that egalitarianism and those aspects of heterosexism based primarily on moral condemnation might actually be independent dimensions.

Greater similarity was expected between modern racism and modern *heterosexism* in terms of heterosexuals' tendency to deny that discrimination against gay people continues. As overt homophobia becomes more unacceptable, it is likely that many heterosexuals will come to express their heterosexism in terms of the belief that gay and lesbian people have obtained all necessary rights and may feel that discrimination is no longer a major problem in our society. As a consequence, some may feel that the protests and demands made by gay people are disproportionate to any existing problem; that the gay movement is pushing too hard and too fast for additional "special" rights and privileges; and heterosexism will continue to manifest itself symbolically in their beliefs and values.

The particular values symbolically represented by modern prejudice are expected to be different for heterosexism than they were for racism (see Biernat, Vescio & Theno, 1996). The history of Black and gay civil rights are not entirely parallel. For example, the Protestant Work Ethic and the myth of meritocracy are thought to shape the expression of modern racial prejudice (e.g., the rejection of affirmative action policies). Although economic consequences of anti-gay oppression have been documented (Badgett, 1995), gay and lesbian affirmative action does not exist in the United States. The symbolic prejudice expressed by modern heterosexuals may not focus on policies like affirmative action, economic competition, or reverse discrimination in employment⁸.

⁸ This lack of perceived economic threat may be changing. As economically well-off (mostly) gay men and lesbians become a more visible minority, realistic group conflict effects may result in them being targeted as an economically threatening outgroup to the heterosexual ingroup. It is possible that this concern is already present in traditionally more accepting job sectors, such as the art and entertainment industries (Piore, 1997; Gluckman & Reed, 1997).

Instead, their concerns are likely to be organized around their discomfort with the increasing visibility and changing representations of gay and lesbian people and the unfairness of shifting social values. For this reason, modern heterosexuals may interpret favorable (and open) representations of gay people in the media as unnecessary over-exposure (a notion somewhat parallel to the “unfair advantages” and “reverse discrimination” items defining modern racism).

In addition, a different sort of competition plays a part in modern attitudes toward gay people. Instead of competing for economic resources, heterosexuals may perceive a growing threat to their values and traditions and feel the need to compete for the right to define those values and traditions. Deep-seated heterosexual values have been identified in the sexual prejudice literatures discussed in the previous chapter. These include sexual conservatism, traditional gender role beliefs, moral condemnation, fear of personal homosexual tendencies, and heterosexual bias. These values are not necessarily *modern* in the sense that they are *new*. As symbolic values, however, they may be more resistant to change and may have avoided public censure. In an era of pro-gay egalitarianism, they may now offer a vehicle for the expression of modern sexual prejudice.

Sears (1988) and McConahay (1986) both point out that modern prejudice is based on “principles of justice and diffuse negative feelings” (p. 94) and not on personal experience with group members or direct intergroup competition. This argument suggests that modern prejudice should be more resistant than old-fashioned forms of prejudice to the documented effects of intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2000).

Summary

Because overt hostility toward lesbians and gay men is becoming more and more discouraged, and the values of our society have shifted to view gay people as deserving of equal access to housing, employment, and healthcare, it is likely that remaining hostility toward gay people is being expressed more subtle ways. Although perceiving themselves as pro-gay, and even with the best intentions, many heterosexuals may encounter within themselves long-held values and defense-provoking fears that are inconsistent with their sense of themselves as decent and fair-minded people.

A measure of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men must include items ranging from old-fashioned hostility to general egalitarianism. In addition, the measure must include an assessment of modern heterosexism, including the beliefs that:

- Anti-gay discrimination is no longer a major problem in our society;
- The protests and demands made by gay people are disproportionate to any existing problem;
- The gay movement is pushing too hard and too fast for additional "special" rights and privileges; and that
- Gay people are overexposed in the media and educational curriculum.

In addition, a modern heterosexism scale should assess heterosexuals':

- Endorsement of traditional (heterosexist) sex and gender-role beliefs; and
- Aversion to being in close proximity or "compromising" situations with homosexuals.

Discriminant and Convergent Validity

Several psychological concepts shown in the past to be related to sexual prejudice offer additional support for the construct validity of this new multidimensional measure.

Both right-wing authoritarianism (Larsen, Reed, & Hoffman, 1980; Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Ægisdóttir, 2000) and interpersonal contact (Herek & Glunt, 1993) have been shown to influence heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Previous research suggests that these constructs may have greater influence on some aspects of sexual prejudice than others.

Authoritarianism and Modern Heterosexism

Authoritarian personalities have long been associated with negative attitudes toward gay people (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950). Smith's (1971) early research on attitudes toward gay men found that authoritarian heterosexuals were more likely to be hostile toward gay men than those low in authoritarianism. While the influence of authoritarianism on prejudice toward other stigmatized groups has not been as robust, having been replaced by other constructs like social dominance orientation (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), authoritarianism's relationship to sexual prejudice has remained strong.

The influence of authoritarianism, however, may not be equally strong for all dimensions of sexual prejudice. Right-wing authoritarians (RWA) (Altemeyer, 1988) submit easily to authority and, consequently, endorse the values expressed by that authority, and condemn groups rejected by the authority⁹. As the research of Whitley (1999) and Larsen, Reed and Hoffman (1980) suggests, therefore, authoritarianism may

⁹ Because of this relationship, observing the influence of high levels of authoritarianism on various components of sexual prejudice among a sample of participants may serve as a proxy for variations in the attitudes and beliefs of political and religious leadership in general.

have a differential impact on affective responses, stereotypes and attitudes connected to equality enhancement.

In a survey of 429 undergraduates, Whitley (1999) found that those high in RWA were more likely to experience greater negative affect and were more likely to endorse negative stereotypes of homosexuals than were those low in RWA. Whitley's (1999) data also reveal that RWA does not correlate highly with what he calls "equality enhancing" attitudes. Of theoretical concern, however, was Whitley's operationalization of these "equality enhancing" attitudes. To assess these attitudes, McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism Scale (MRS) was used to measure attitudes toward Blacks and an adapted version of Swim, Aiken, Hall and Hunter's (1995) Modern Sexism Scale (MSS) to assess attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Both the MRS and MSS, however, were designed to assess the denial of continued discrimination, not attitudes towards equality enhancement¹⁰. McConahay and Hough (1976) argue that the point of developing a modern racism scale was to create a more subtle measure of racism in the face of growing socially desirable egalitarianism. Although egalitarianism was inconsistent with racism, racism exerted itself through the more subtle modern racism – expressed through the denial of continued discrimination, traditional values, and anti-Black affect. The theoretical foundation of modern prejudice, therefore, is based on it being distinct from egalitarianism/old-fashioned prejudice.

Whitley also found that although those high in authoritarianism were *more likely* than those low in authoritarianism to experience negative affect toward or to endorse

¹⁰ As a consequence, these data suggest that RWA will not correlate highly with the tendency to deny that discrimination continues.

negative stereotypes of gay people, they were *not more likely* to do so toward Blacks. One explanation is that this difference reflects the social values espoused by cultural and religious authorities. Condemnation of gays by influential cultural and religious leaders is more common than similar public condemnation of Blacks (due, perhaps, to the longer history and struggle for racial equality than for gay rights in the U.S.).

These values being expressed by political and religious authorities regarding gay men and lesbians, however, may include *both* anti-gay heterosexist values and moderate (and increasing) amounts of pro-gay egalitarianism. The fundamental beliefs of someone high in authoritarianism, therefore, may include antigay stereotypes, and negative affect *as well as* pro-gay pro-lesbian egalitarian values.

Although his operationalization of modern heterosexism was problematic, Whitley's conclusion – that inconsistent messages sent by cultural and religious authorities will mean that authoritarianism will have less influence on attitudes toward the equality enhancement of gay people than it will have on expressions of anti-gay affect and the endorsement of gay and lesbian stereotypes – is probably still appropriate (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994).

Social Dominance Orientation and Modern Heterosexism

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) is an individual difference variable (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), which has been described as “anti-egalitarianism,” connected with the desire that one's own group dominate and be superior to other groups. Antigay stereotypes for a person high in SDO act as “hierarchy-legitimizing myths” - a symptom of the need for dominance and not the expression of a sanctioned social value (Whitley, 1999). While RWA does distinguish between general attitudes toward gays

and Blacks, SDO does not depend as strongly on the opinions of social leaders.

Therefore, SDO should predict racial and sexual prejudice groups equally.

In the study described above, Whitley (1999) compared the relationship between SDO and participants' attitudes toward Blacks to the relationship between SDO and participants' attitudes toward gay people. Those high in SDO experienced negative affect toward, endorsed negative stereotypes of, and denied continued discrimination (using a corrected interpretation of Whitley's operationalization) toward both Blacks and gay people. Both racial and sexual prejudice, therefore, may have to do in part with the need for dominance. Unlike racial prejudice, however, sexual prejudice may also be impacted by the continued overt public condemnation of gays by political and cultural leaders.

Assessing participants' levels of authoritarianism and SDO should offer additional support for the construct validity of the proposed multidimensional measure of modern heterosexism. Because authoritarians support the current values advocated by their leaders, and because heterosexist values continue to be part of officially sanctioned political and religious rhetoric, there should be a larger correlation between authoritarianism and the moral condemnation of gay people than between authoritarianism, pro-gay egalitarianism and other forms of modern heterosexism (e.g., denial of continued discrimination). In contrast, SDO should correlate equally with all factors (negatively with pro-gay egalitarianism and positively with modern heterosexism and moral condemnation).

Influence of Personal Contact

The contact hypothesis is based on the notion that positive personal experience can improve inter-group relations. As Allport (1954) put it,

“prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals” (p. 281).

The influence of interpersonal contact on heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men is robust and has been well documented (Herek & Capitano, 1996). The causal direction of the contact effect, however, remains unclear. The results from contact studies suggest that those high in sexual prejudice will avoid contact with gay people. As Herek points out, however, it is also likely that gay people will attempt to avoid those who are higher in sexual prejudice.

In a large meta-analysis of the contact literature, Pettigrew and Tropp (2000) demonstrated that the effect of interpersonal contact on heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men is stronger than its effects on any other form of prejudice. In addition, contact had a stronger effect on affect-based measures of prejudice than with measure that assess prejudice in terms of stereotypes and beliefs.

According to Herek and Capitano (1996), contact has its effect by forcing the individual to reconcile his or her (favorable) instrumental experiences with an individual gay person with long-held attitudes toward gay people, and to thereby shift the positive evaluation of this individual to the larger minority group. In other words, the person experiences positive feelings toward an individual gay person and, because of those feelings, “individuates and personalizes” (p. 414) gay people.

In an attempt to demonstrate the relationship between interpersonal contact and heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, Herek and Capitano (1996)

questioned 538 self-identified heterosexuals (46% Male, 54% Female) about their attitudes toward gay men (using Herek's 3-item Attitude Toward Gay Men scale) and their level of personal contact with gay men. Although most participants expressed unfavorable attitudes, the attitudes of those participants with more contact were found to be more favorable. A second wave of data was collected from those participants from the first wave who were willing to be interviewed again. This time 382 (no gender breakdown was provided) self-identified heterosexuals (response rate was 71%) were interviewed. Again, although most participants expressed unfavorable attitudes, those with more contact with gay men or lesbians expressed more favorable attitudes.

In their research, Herek and Capitanio used a unidimensional instrument to measure attitudes toward gay men. Slightly different predictions can be made, however, when considering the influence of interpersonal contact on multidimensional attitudes¹¹. Equal status contact should still influence attitudes based in equality concerns. Liberal humanists believe that egalitarianism is something that should be expanded to include all those marginalized by historic oppression (Tong, 1989). Egalitarianism, therefore, is based on the principle that *all people* should be treated equally and be allowed to participate fully in society in an autonomous and self-fulfilling fashion. To apply egalitarian beliefs to homosexuals, therefore, requires that another group be subsumed within those to be accorded fair and humane treatment. By "individuating and personalizing" gay people, interpersonal contact may serve to humanize and make deserving of fair and humane treatment.

¹¹ Unfortunately, the meta-analysis of the contact literature discussed earlier (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000) did not distinguish among the particular values impacting prejudice.

Allport suggests, however, that contact may have its limitations. In the quote at the start of this section, Allport points out that prejudice “deeply rooted in the character structure” of the individual may resist the positive influence of inter-group contact. Because modern prejudice is learned early in life and is not necessarily based on personal experience (Kinder & Sears, 1981), it may reflect deep-seated core values held by the person and is likely to resist the favorable effects of interpersonal contact. These modern aspects of sexual prejudice, therefore, should similarly resist the favorable effects of interpersonal contact.

Kinder and Sears (1981) and McConahay and Hough (1976) point out, however, that modern prejudice is also *affectively* charged. Gaertner and Dovidio’s (1986) discussion of “aversion” points to the importance of an affective dimension. As pointed out earlier, affective measures of prejudice seem to be particularly susceptible to the effects of interpersonal contact (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2000). It is likely, therefore, that interpersonal contact will have less impact on symbolic aspects of modern heterosexism, while continuing to influence anti-gay affect.

Gender differences and interpersonal contact

It is possible that other variables will moderate the effect of interpersonal contact. Herek and Capitanio (1996), for example, found that heterosexual women reported more contact with gay men than did heterosexual men and suggested that heterosexual men, therefore, may have less opportunity than do heterosexual women to be favorably influenced by interpersonal contact. This relationship is likely to create a cycle of increased prejudice. Contact influences sexual prejudice, which in turn influences contact. Because heterosexual men are more likely to hold more anti-gay attitudes than

are women, their contact with gay men will be restricted. This lack of contact will likely increase their negative attitudes, and so on.

Authoritarianism and interpersonal contact

Herek and Capitano (1996) also found that people who are politically liberal report more interactions with gay men than do people who are politically conservative. This suggests that authoritarians, who are also likely to be politically conservative, will be less likely to have contact with gay men. However, in an analysis of a probability sample of 937 English-speaking adults in the United States, Herek and Glunt (1993) found that although interpersonal contact had an impact on the attitudes of those reporting a liberal or moderate philosophy, it had little or no effect on those participants reporting a conservative political philosophy. This finding suggests that even when experiencing interpersonal contact with gay men, the rigid political philosophy of authoritarians may be resistant to the influence of that contact.

Gender Differences in Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men

Gender differences have been commonly reported in studies of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Herek, 1988; Kite, 1994). Heterosexual males typically express more negative attitudes toward gay people than do heterosexual women (Herek, 1988) and, overall, attitudes toward gay men are more negative than attitudes toward lesbians (Herek, 2000).

These differences have also been shown to interact. Heterosexual males' attitudes toward gay men are typically more negative than their attitudes toward lesbians. One explanation for this difference is that the fear or *phobia* of homosexuals, based in part on the nature of heterosexual masculinity (Herek, 1987) and male gender role beliefs, seems

to be more prevalent among men than women (Kite, 1994; Herek, 1987). When encountering gay men, heterosexual men may experience ego-defensive aversion that is not experienced as frequently by heterosexual women.

LaMar and Kite (1998) found evidence of a similar same-sex aversion in women. In a study of the attitudinal responses of 270 heterosexual men and women, they explored gender differences in terms of a 4 dimensional model of sexual prejudice that included: *condemnation/tolerance* (which included items related to egalitarian values), *morality*, *attitude toward contact*, and *stereotypes* subscales. The heterosexual men in their sample were found to be more negative than were the heterosexual women in terms of *condemnation/tolerance*, *morality* and *attitude toward contact*, but not *stereotypes*. In terms of *condemnation/tolerance* and *morality*, heterosexual men evaluated gay men more negatively than they evaluated lesbians, but no gender-of-target differences were found in the attitudes of heterosexual women. For the *attitude toward contact* subscale, heterosexual men evaluated gay men more negatively than they evaluated lesbians, and heterosexual women evaluated lesbians more negatively than they did gay men, suggesting that contact with other-sex homosexuals may tap into the gender related ego-defensive processes discussed above.

Gender differences and egalitarian concerns

One area of sexual prejudice where gender differences do not seem as pronounced is egalitarian concerns. Raja and Stokes (1998) found that while heterosexual women and men experienced more *personal discomfort* with other-sex than same-sex homosexuals, they did not differ in terms of their endorsement of *institutional prejudice*. Kite and Whitley (1996) similarly failed to find a gender difference in attitudes toward

homosexual civil rights and suggested that this was due to that aspect of sexual prejudice being predominantly influenced by global beliefs about equal rights (egalitarianism) and not more specific gender beliefs. One reservation in using this prediction to guide this study, however, is that egalitarian values are also highly (negatively) correlated with social dominance orientation, which has been found to correlate significantly with gender (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994; Whitley, 1999; Whitley & Aegisdottir, 2000). Therefore, one might expect some gender differences in egalitarian values because men have been found to show more social dominance orientation.

Authoritarianism, however, has shown only small to moderate correlations with gender (with women showing slightly higher levels of RWA). It is likely therefore, that the differential relationship between RWA and pro-gay egalitarianism and modern heterosexism discussed earlier (i.e., RWA will be more strongly correlated with modern heterosexism than pro-gay egalitarianism), will be true for both male and female respondents.

Differences in Attitudes Based on Target's Gender

As LaMar and Kite (1996) point out, gender differences are less likely in terms of egalitarianism because this concept represents a more general (global) value and may be less connected with the gender of the evaluator. It is likely that heterosexuals' attitudes (both male and female) based in egalitarian values will be similar toward gay men and lesbians. The various components of modern heterosexism, however, may interact with the gender of target differently. Denial of continued discrimination is also likely to show little gender-of-target differences. Aversion will likely reflect the cross-gender effect discussed earlier – i.e., heterosexual women will experience more aversion toward

lesbians than toward gay men and heterosexual men will show more aversion toward gay men than toward lesbians. Traditional values will probably be more favorable toward lesbians and less favorable toward gay men. Traditional values related to religious condemnation of homosexuality have typically focused on male homosexuality. Traditional values related to gender role transgression have been shown to elicit greater condemnation when the transgressor is male than female (Martin, 1990). Finally, traditional values related to sexual conservatism will also result in more negative evaluations of gay men. Although women typically suffer the brunt of social sexual repression, lesbians occupy a precarious ambivalent space in the sexual imagination of heterosexual men. Although male homosexual behavior will unquestionably be condemned, female homosexuality may activate fantasies of sexual conquest and ménage à trois – resulting in a demeaning but *benevolent* (Glick & Fiske, 1996) evaluation.

Queer and Postmodern Conceptualizations of Sexuality

The next issue guiding the formation of a multidimensional model of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men relates to emergent postmodern/*queer* concerns about the relationship between a person's implicit theory of the origins of sexual identity and the content of his or her expressions of sexual prejudice. As Hegarty (2002) points out, there is an assumed fundamental link in the U.S. between belief in the immutability (specifically, belief in the genetic/biological origins) of sexuality and the holding of pro-gay attitudes. This perceived link is consistent with attribution theory – which suggests people view *stigmatized* behaviors more positively if they seem to be beyond a person's control (e.g., if one is born that way) (Hegarty; Whitley, 1990). Hegarty and others (see Weinrich, 1995) have argued, however, that this relationship is

not as universal or inevitable as (or even always in the direction that) attribution theory suggests. Instead, it is likely the consequence of a particular set of beliefs being used to further a pro- or anti-gay stance. For example, the presumption that *choice* means *guilty* and *born that way* means *innocent* can instead be *choice* means *liberated* and *born that way* means *genetic aberration!* The relationship between immutability beliefs and pro-gay attitudes is not fixed and can be influenced by a variety of factors, including one's sexual politics. In the following section, it will be argued that the operationalization of attitudes toward, "gay men," "lesbians," and "bisexuals" depends in part on how one's sexual ideology constructs the relationship between sexual prejudice and beliefs about the mutability of sexual orientation categories.

Although most gay affirmative psychologists express an awareness of the political aspects of sexual identity and are clear that heterosexist ideology is the driving force behind sexual injustice (see chapter 2 for a review), the particular ways in which heterosexism operates in their theories varies considerably. These differences in understanding will influence the way a researcher defines the problem of sexual injustice and how and where that injustice will be fought.

As discussed earlier, pro-gay liberal reformers see social justice in terms of the elimination of discrimination and the acquisition of equal rights and opportunities for the gay, lesbian, and bisexual community – a community organized around what has been described as a kind of "ethnic identity" (Weeks, 1985, p. 198). Advocates of *Queer Theory* in cultural, literary and, more recently, social scientific studies, however, have articulated the idea that the categories of "gay", "lesbian", "bisexual" and "heterosexual" themselves may sometimes serve as tools of heterosexist ideology and, as a consequence,

may be detrimental to the well-being of all. For these theorists, social justice involves the recognition that the “technology” of sexuality – the language that describes categories of sexual orientation, sexual pathology, sexes and genders, etc. – is part of the very ideology being contested. They argue that although discrimination and inequality are bad, obliviousness to the constructed nature of sexual orientation categories strengthens heterosexism. The scientific view that these categories are essential, distinct, and inherently meaningful serves to reinforce the dominance of heterosexist ideology and ultimately oppresses all people – straight and gay. The need to choose among or conform to a “normal” set of sexual identities (and to the behavioral and psychological expectations related to those identities) necessarily limits the polymorphous potential of an individual. Bringing “Gay” and “Lesbian” into the realm of normal doesn’t solve the problem of heteronormativity, it simply puts new restrictions on what is normal – proscribing particular boundaries to the way one must be “gay” or “lesbian”, stigmatizing those who don’t fit cleanly into these sexual orientation categories.

Jagose (1996) describes the “queer” movement as resulting from dissatisfaction with the “liberationist and identity conscious politics” (p. 130) of the gay, lesbian and feminist movements. Critics of the liberal reformer’s ethnic model of gay and lesbian identity suggest that it assumes universal experiences among those negatively impacted by heterosexism. For this unity to exist, however, the gay and lesbian community has had to

“...tacitly agree to leave unexplained any internal contradictions which undermine the coherence we desire for the imagined certainty of an unassailable commonality or of incontestable sexuality” (Cohen, 1991, p. 72).

Because many do not fit within this “universal” frame, many have been excluded and many different ways of living have been de-legitimized.

One example of this exclusion and resulting queer discontent is found in the history of the lesbian feminist movement. In what has been referred to as the feminist “Sex Wars” (Kennedy & Davis, 1993; Jagose, 1996) of the 1980s, some lesbian feminists began to challenge what they viewed as repressive feminist frameworks and offer alternative theories that were more representative of and that better incorporated women’s actual lived experiences. Issues of sexuality and desire such as sadomasochism (Allison, 1994) and non-monogamy (Califia, 1984), which were often overlooked or condemned by feminists, found expression within the queer movement.

Another example of the formation of a queer political consciousness can be found within the gay and lesbian community’s response to the AIDS epidemic (Jagose, 1996). Initially, AIDS was considered a “gay” disease, one that disproportionately affected a particular group of people – gay men. This assumed connection between the virus and the identity, however, was flawed. Non-gay identified people became sick. Because they didn’t fit the established profile of person with AIDS, women were dying from AIDS related complications without ever getting an AIDS diagnosis (Wolfe, 1990).

The virus’ epidemiological reality and intense activism by committed advocates forced researchers and activists to admit the obvious inconsistency between homosexual identity and homosexual behavior. In addition, because many people living very different lives were becoming infected, AIDS created an opportunity for very diverse groups of people to come together in terms of what Jagose describes as *affinity* instead of assuming an identity based on *essential* qualities or specific behaviors.

In both of the examples given above, assumptions about what constitutes “normal” beliefs and behaviors and what sorts of challenges confront a “typical” member of a community have had real consequences for those who found themselves outside these definitions.

The structures reinforcing what is “normal” are pervasive, according to queer theorists, and the struggle for sexual justice takes a person into just about every aspect of socio-political tradition (Warner, 1993). Warner argues that “the sexual order blends with a wide-range of institutions and social ideology, so that to challenge the sexual order is sooner or later to encounter those other institutions as problems” (p. x-xi; see also Althusser’s “ideological and repressive state apparatus”, 1971). Queer theorists, like critical theorists, require that, because common-sense understanding of sex and sexuality is molded and reinforced by so many of social institutions, it is necessary to go beyond demands for equality or tolerance and attempt to restructure these institutions (Warner, 1993). For most, therefore, queer represents a political identity (Crimp, 1993), providing:

“... a flexible space for the expression of all aspects of non- (anti-, contra-) straight cultural production... unlike gay lib, it doesn’t believe in natural polymorphous sexuality – but instead challenges the normalization of any identity ... is based on ‘resistance’ to regimes of the normal” (Warner, 1993, p. xxvi).

A queer approach to social change is different from that of the liberal reform approach advocated by many within the modern gay and lesbian rights movement. Instead of arguing for inclusion in existing social institutions, conventions and mores, queer activists argue for the rejection, or at least a healthy suspicion, of all normalizing forces. Queer theorists critique liberal reformers reliance on ethnic models of social change, suggesting that these perspectives help maintain the existing power system by treating the categories of oppression as natural, innate, and unchangeable. They argue

that it's the very belief that these categories are in fact natural, innate and unchangeable, that allows these particular systems of oppression to function.

Butler (1990) and Sedgwick (1990) suggest that behaving in ways that destabilize sex and gender categories can serve to combat heterosexism and therefore serve gay affirmative goals. Sedgwick distinguishes between the "minoritizing" view of sexual struggle that suggests that those suffering from sexual injustice are only lesbians and gay men and the more "universalizing" perspective that takes the position that sexual injustice, as an oppressive ideology, oppresses all people, including heterosexuals. According to the minoritizing view, sexual oppression is the lot of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered individuals and impacts heterosexuals by throwing into question their commitment to fairness and equality. The universalizing perspective, in contrast, argues that heterosexism shapes all relationships in our society including the relationships among *heterosexual men* and between *heterosexual men* and *women*. Sedgwick points out that this universalizing view has not typically guided the gay affirmative movement. Although influential in early liberationist attempts to combat sexual injustice, the universalizing perspective became less favored as the minoritizing approach of liberal reform became a dominant force in the movement (for further discussion see Hegarty and Massey, in press).

These concerns have direct implications for the assessment of attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Although all people with a consciousness of queer concerns may not share a set of cultural traditions necessary to the establishment of an ethnic-type identity, they share a relationship to the dominating ideological discourse of heterosexism (Butler, 1990). Warner (1993) states, "Queerness rejects a minoritizing logic of

toleration or simple political interest-representation in favor of a more thorough resistance to regimes of the normal.” (p. xxvi). It is still the “wide field of normalization, rather than simple intolerance” (p. xxvi) toward which any social change must be directed.

Struggling for the rights of lesbians and gay men to live freely in society may seem to be a reasonable goal. Most proponents of queer theory would likely demand this for all people (while remaining skeptical of the naiveté of such a utopian demand). In fact queer consciousness may correlate with many of the items comprising measures of humanitarianism-egalitarianism. Where the “queer” and liberal reform perspectives diverge is in their tendency to use a claim of normalcy to argue for access – or the use of “normal” as a justification for inclusion or exclusion. The idea that “normal = moral superiority” or morally justified entitlement is at the heart of anti-gay oppression. This variation on the “naturalistic fallacy” should have special significance for social psychologists. Concerns about moving from what “is” to what “ought” to be is echoed in the introductory sections of most social psychology texts. As long as particular forms of sexual desire and behavior are privileged and labeled as “normal”, others will be condemned as a consequence.

For some queer theorists, the queer critique means that all categorization is bad and that all designations must be rejected in order to reject heterosexism. Other interpretations, and the perspective endorsed by the author of this dissertation, suggest instead that queer activism is about being aware of how categorizations facilitate the operations of power, but realizing at the same time that categorization is inevitable, inescapable, and necessary. Given that we are immersed in dialectical power struggles,

categorization also serves multiple interests. As Warner (1993) states, “normal sexuality and the machinery of enforcing it do not bear down equally on everyone, as we are constantly reminded by pervasive forms of terror, coercion, violence, and devastation.” (p. xxvi). Just as “gay,” “lesbian,” or “bisexual” identities can be a source of stigma, or can oppress those who don’t fit the definition of what a gay person should be or should want, they can be and have been ways of organizing oppressed people in order to confront social injustice. Their significance in this respect should not be underestimated.

Queer theory does not necessarily demand the rejection of categories of sexual orientation all together. It requires, instead, that these categories be actively resisted, reconstructed, articulated differently, exchanged for others, etc. A queer critique can fundamentally disrupt existing “common sense” to the extent that new approaches become apparent. For example, a researcher who takes a *minoritizing* approach to understanding sexual prejudice may ask, “Why do straight people hate gay people or gay and bisexual people?” If that researcher approaches the task from a *universalizing* perspective, the question changes to “What are the ways in which heterosexism operates, how does it limit the expression of sexuality for all people, what are the consequences of those limitations, and in what ways can heterosexism be and is it being resisted?”

What is important to remember, however, is that recognizing the fallacy of essentialism may in fact give a person another important resource in combating or resisting the operations of heterosexism and provide a glimpse into the operation of a kind of heterosexist *false-consciousness* (Jost, 1995). Although people cannot escape categories (some would argue that an ideology free world is a utopian fantasy), they can

reshape them, redefine them, play with them, or create new ones, thereby weakening the ability of these categories to serve the interest of an oppressive ideology (Butler, 1990).

Since queer theory challenges all normalizing social and scientific discourses, one is forced to wonder if there is any empirical evidence for the points argued by the queer theorists. For some queer theorists, the attempt to offer evidence (or the belief that evidence can be offered - or that such evidence means anything if offered) is contrary to the queer perspective (Kitzinger, 1995). Given that the post-modern roots of queer theory attempt, among other things, to challenge the primacy of the scientific discourse (Gergen, 2000), and given that this dissertation is an empirical project based in the positivist social psychological tradition, this concern is warranted.

One possibility for a queer science, however, is to use science to point out the paradoxes and inconsistencies of any given normalizing project. Similar to Butler's (1990) description of "drag" as a way of destabilizing gender or sexual ideology, queer social science must provide ways of destabilizing the normalizing discourses of science. Consider the essentialist notion that sexual orientation, sexual categories, and sexual identity are innate, meaningful, and universal ways of thinking about people. This assumption has led to volumes of research attempting to find the specific mechanisms that "cause" homosexuality (see LeVay, 1991; LeVay & Hamer, 1994; McFadden & Pasanen, 1999). This science has typically focused on how homosexual brains, fingers and ears have deviated from the (heterosexual) norm – making gay physiology an aberration of the heterosexual norm (Hegarty, 2002).

A queer social science can point out the wide range of political ironies found in these studies and demonstrate how these studies are rife with construct validity problems.

The *performance* of science (using notions like construct validity) can be a way of demonstrating the impermanence and political nature of our scientific conclusions. For example, several studies (Laumann, Gagnon, Michael & Michaels, 1994; Golden, 1987; Rust, 1992) have pointed out the problems inherent in neglecting the distinction between identification, behavior and attraction in social science research, which Laumann et al. define as: how a person thinks of himself or herself, the appeal of sex with someone of the same gender, and the person's actual sexual practices respectively. Although the researchers making these argument may not have incorporated "queer" into their list of personally relevant attributes, the conclusions they have drawn from their research may further a queer agenda.

For example, in their large-scale study of sexuality in America, Laumann, Gagnon, Michael and Michaels (1994) strongly criticized past operationalization of sexual orientation. They found that *identification*, *attraction*, and *behavior* overlap in only 24% of men who reported some form of same gender sexuality, and in only 15% of women who reported same gender sexuality.

Similarly, Golden (1987) found very divergent patterns in the relationship between sexual identity, attraction, feminist politics, and beliefs about immutability among lesbians at a northeastern women's college. Golden concludes that,

"Sexual identity is not always congruent with sexual behavior... [and] the assumption that we inherently strive for congruence between sexual feelings, activities and identities may not be warranted... permanent congruence may not be an achievable state." (p. 31).

The work of Rust (1992) also points out the problems inherent in operationalizing sexual identity. An analysis of 323 questionnaires self-administered to White Women who identified themselves as "lesbian, bisexual, or who choose not to label their sexual

orientation, or who are not sure what their sexual orientation is” but who have “questioned or rejected a traditional heterosexual identity” (p.370), demonstrated that the criteria for belonging to the groups “lesbian” and “bisexual” (whether that membership is self- or other-ascribed) varies a great deal among women.

Rust’s data suggests that for lesbians both homosexual and heterosexual feelings and (past) behavior can coexist, as long as current behavior is only homosexual. For bisexual women, however, current behavior does not relate to the boundaries of bisexual as long as there are both homosexual and heterosexual feelings are present. As Rust puts it, “most of self-identified lesbians and bisexual women who participated in this study occupy the [same] disputed territory... the difference does not lie as much in personal experience as it does in the conceptual framework by which experience is interpreted.” (p. 381).

Finally, Kitzinger (1987) demonstrates how one’s attitudes toward lesbians can vary depending on one’s understanding of the nature or purpose of the category of lesbian. In her study and subsequent book, *Social Construction of Lesbianism*, she introduces (or rediscovers) the q-sort methodology as a way of investigating attitudes toward lesbians. Although q-sort cannot identify distinct dimensions along which participants vary, it does reveal the range and complexity of different views held by the participants¹². Kitzinger contrasted the various clusters resulting from the responses of her participants. Her results suggest that to be valid, attitude measures must: (a)

¹² Although Kitzinger has shown the q-sort methodology to be an excellent tool for investigating the complexity of prejudice and identifying ambivalence, as a method it is too labor intensive (in terms of both administration and analysis) to be useful in measuring the attitudes of large populations.

distinguish between those who view lesbianism as a political identity and those who see it as an innate essential quality; (b) operationalize a set of attitudes that can be both supportive of lesbians due to an egalitarian/humanitarian ethic, and rejecting due to negative affect (i.e., disgust) and/or benevolent heterosexist beliefs; and (c) allow biological-, developmental- and choice-based explanations for sexual orientation to reflect positive and negative evaluations.

Summary

Sampling for this dissertation project has relied upon the meaningfulness of the categories “gay/homosexual” and “straight/heterosexual” for the recruitment of research participants. Doing so, however, was not to claim essential meaning for these categories beyond the subjective consciousness of the participants, nor did it imply that these designations necessarily reference fundamental qualities or differences. By asking participants to self-select into categories of “heterosexual,” and then to evaluate an imagined “homosexual”-other, the instability and permeability of these categories can be highlighted. For example, it may in fact be the secret knowledge that sexual orientation categories are *not* essential, and that the sex/gender borders are not secure, that produces a defensive and negative evaluation from “heterosexual” participants.

This project uses a queer perspective to consider the ways in which ideologies have shaped historical attitudes research and continues to shape the questions that researchers do and do not ask. In this way, it is intended to be both critical and generative - examining the ways in which different political ideologies can draw attention to different aspects of attitudes research.

“Queer theory” is not a philosophy widely held among social scientists and has a much larger following in English, Performance Studies, and Cultural Studies departments. In addition, even fewer people outside academia may have had the opportunity to read and consider queer theory. A concern that arises in attempting to operationalize the principles of queer theory, therefore, is that they may only be relevant to a small set of ivory-tower academics and has very little application in the “real world”. It is possible, however, that a wider audience endorses the principles of queer theory than ascribes to themselves the label “queer theorist”. In an attempt to assess whether the principles of queer theory have any validity outside the academy, therefore, the last proposed factor in this multidimensional measure of heterosexuals’ attitudes toward lesbians and gay men assesses levels will be called “queer consciousness.” Those with queer consciousness may:

- Express suspicion of any social force that attempts to “normalize” a particular set of beliefs;
- Resist sexual and gender social codes that ascribe fixed binary (homosexual-heterosexual) and ternary (homosexual-bisexual-heterosexual) identities;
- Reject biological or psychodynamic explanations for sexual orientation in favor of ideological/political explanations; and
- See difference (including sexualities that have been marginalized by the dominant sexual system – such as sadomasochism) as something that should be celebrated but reject the need to name or classify them.

Because of the concerns just expressed, however, this construct must be operationalized generally and in such a way as to be accessible to those outside of academic departments.

Discriminant and Convergent Validity

Validity testing for a construct like queer consciousness is not a simple process. Measures that operationalize this sort of resistance to “regimes of the normal” do not currently exist in the literature and since queer consciousness predicts a different epistemological stance toward sexual identity and prejudice, predictions regarding the endorsement of policy positions are difficult. It is likely that some participants who are higher in queer consciousness will reject the liberal reform demands for assimilation into existing social conventions – such as legalized gay marriage, serving in the armed forces, or leading a Boy Scout troop – seeing them as a form of capitulation. Others, however, may admit to the political utility of collectively challenging these policies – but reject the notion that to do so requires a coherent community.

One area of validity testing that may prove fruitful, however, concerns expected differences in the way sexual prejudice is defined by those high or low in queer consciousness. Because an awareness of the mutability of sexuality is central to queer theory, those higher in queer consciousness are likely to reject the notion that sexual categories reflect some innate universal quality or that they are an inherently meaningful way to distinguish between people. Therefore, those higher in queer consciousness will be less likely than those low in queer consciousness to use essentialist arguments to justify their attitudes toward gay people. Although statements endorsing essentialist explanations for sexual orientation (e.g., “Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men”) are generally consistent predictors of pro-gay attitudes (at least in the U.S. – see Hegarty, 2002), they are predicted to be less likely to play as a part in the attitudes of a person high in queer consciousness.

Additional Concerns Related to Attitude Measurement

As stated at the start of this proposal, several additional concerns regarding the content of the proposed sexual prejudice model will guide this study. The first concern is that – although the suggestion that attitudes serve multiple psychological functions is not new and has been argued in the sexual prejudice literature, it has failed to significantly impact the operationalization of sexual prejudice. The second concern is that theoretical debates regarding the correct composition of attitude – as a single- (affect) or multi- (affect, cognition, behavior) component construct – has had little impact on how sexual prejudice has been measured. The third concern is that the existing hostile-tolerant measurement of sexual prejudice fails to consider the possibility that heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians extend beyond simple tolerance to include items representing positive evaluations.

Functions of Attitudes

The idea that attitudes serve multiple functions is not new. Katz (1960) suggested that we hold our attitudes because they help us meet several different needs. The needs or functions can be *instrumental* or *utilitarian*, attitudes toward the object will be based on past experiences with an object and on reducing costs and maximizing rewards or benefits; *ego-defensive*, attitudes will serve a defensive function, protecting the person from psychic conflicts aroused by some unacceptable truth about himself or herself; *value-expressive*, attitudes help the person express some core value or belief; or in the service of *knowledge*, attitudes reflect a persons understanding of the world and need for cognitive consistency and structure.

Herek (1986) introduced the first formal theory connecting heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians to the earlier functionalist theories of Katz (1960). In his neo-functional approach to attitudes, Herek suggested that attitudes serve *experiential-schematic*, *defensive*, *social expressive* and *value-expressive* functions. In a series of studies with undergraduates, Herek demonstrated that participant evaluations of gay men and lesbians were based on several different factors – including previous experiences or interactions with gay and lesbian people (experiential-schematic), feelings of revulsion or disgust (ego-defensive), concerns about the opinions and respect of others (social-expressive) and the need to express their beliefs and core values (value-expressive).

Functional Consensus/Divergence

Herek went on to expand on these notions. Because attitudes can be informed by an assortment of different experiences, ego-concerns and conflicts, educational histories, group interests and values, a person's attitudes toward a particular object can derive from a wide-range of sources (Herek, 1984; 1999; 2000; Maio & Olson, 2001). In two recent articles (Herek & Capitano, 1998; Herek, 1999) Herek argues that the particular function served by holding an attitude toward a group can vary greatly from culture to culture and even within a particular culture. Because the functional meaning of an attitude object is constituted by the cultural system in which it is embedded,

“the meanings that attitude objects have for an individual are rooted in her or his relationship with others and the larger society, and developed through social interactions, both direct (e.g., experiencing or discussing the attitude object with others) and indirect (e.g., observing portrayals of the object in mass media)” (p. 3).

Herek (1999) suggests that some objects in a culture have large variability in meaning and can serve multiple functions. He describes objects that vary in meaning within the

society as being *functionally divergent* (i.e., serve different functions for different groups) and objects in which the meaning is less variable within the society as being *functionally convergent*, as serving basically the same function for everyone. So to understand the sources for an attitude toward a group or to understand the function that an attitude serves, it is necessary to look at the cultural meaning the target has in the society, or culture, of the evaluator.

Herek (1999) describes functional divergence and consensus as being group-level phenomenon. It is unclear from these discussions whether an individual's evaluative response to a particular group must serve a single function or whether several functions at once can influence that person's response. Herek never states, however, that variation in functional relevance or multiple functional motivations won't exist within a single individual.

The multiple ideological positions operating within a society at a particular time are not necessarily isolated from one another. In a society like the United States, where most people are raised and socialized in the context of several inconsistent ideologies concerning sexuality (individualism, egalitarianism, heterosexism, patriarchy, etc.), attitudes toward lesbians and gay men are likely to serve a wide range of highly divergent functions. In addition, because of the multiple sources of information guiding each individual's acculturation (i.e., parents, friends, media, churches, schools, political leaders, etc.), it can be argued that when evaluating gay men and lesbians many heterosexuals will be attempting to meet multiple and divergent psychological needs.

For example, imagine a heterosexual man, raised in an environment (by a family) promoting egalitarianism, but also holding heterosexist values (value-expressive

function). He eventually goes off to college and is exposed to a pro-gay pro-lesbian curriculum that encourages him to think of gay people as deserving of fair and equal treatment. But he finds himself experiencing conflict regarding his own masculinity when around gay men (ego-defensive function). Overall, however, his experiences interacting with gay and lesbian people have been positive (experiential-schematic function). Eventually, he joins a fraternity that encourages homophobic attitudes from its members (social-expressive function).

How would a social psychologist best assess the inevitable complexity of this man's attitudes toward gay men and lesbians? Although Herek (1999) goes to great length to describe the various sources for attitudes, he does not discuss the *implications* of a person holding attitudes toward a group that serve multiple functions at the same time. One possibility is that if the basic social knowledge transferred during socialization is contradictory or inconsistent with his newly acquired values, he may experience a kind of "personal functional divergence" concerning gay people.

It is also possible that this person will experience no consequences or perceive no inconsistency due to these seemingly contradictory functions. Attitudes that appear contradictory to the researcher may not hold the same meaning or significance for the person holding the attitude. For example, he may see nothing inconsistent in supporting gay and lesbian employment rights (which he may see as under the purview of government) while opposing gay and lesbian marriage (which he may see as a cultural or religious institution). In addition, the consequences or inconsistencies may also be situationally dependent – that is they may occur only in situations that make the contradiction salient. For example, it may only be in an erotically charged situation (or

possibly men who hold hyper-gender role self-concept) that his attitude will serve its ego-defensive function and conflict with his egalitarian values.

The potential consequence of any perceived inconsistency in function or in its corresponding attitude is an empirical question. In order for such a question to be answered, however, instruments are necessary that are capable of assessing multiple sources for and potential complexities of attitudes. Unfortunately, Herek did not sufficiently integrate his functionalist research with his attitude research. Theoretically he makes the connection, and functions are offered as antecedents to heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, but empirically these notions remain distinct.

Empirical support for functional variation in attitudes toward gay men and lesbians

Research conducted by Hegarty (2002) provides an illustration of the important role functional divergence can play in shaping the content of attitudes toward gay people. It challenged the idea that the link between believing that sexuality is innate and unchangeable is a universal predictor of pro-gay attitudes. In a study conducted with undergraduates in both the United States and Britain, he explored two possible explanations for the connection between immutability beliefs and tolerance toward lesbians and gay men. The first possible explanation was that the connection between immutability and attitudes toward gay people is consistent with attribution theory. From this perspective, people who see homosexuality as innate, or immutable, see it as something that can't be helped and, therefore, as something deserving of tolerance. The contrasting explanation was that attitudes toward gay people are influenced by immutability beliefs because immutability beliefs have been constructed to represent

tolerance in the United States. Because attitudes toward gay people serve a value-expressive function, the beliefs one holds about gay people will also reflect those values. From this perspective, the connection between immutability beliefs and pro-gay attitudes (although common in United States) is not universal.

In a study of 97 heterosexual students from the U.S., Hegarty found that, although students' endorsement of immutability beliefs did predict their attitudes toward gay people, this connection was moderated by whether or not they agreed that immutability beliefs represented a pro-gay attitude. In addition, in a second study, this time conducted with 72 heterosexual students in Great Britain, no clear connection was found between immutability beliefs and attitudes toward gay people. In both samples, however, viewing the sexual orientation binary (homosexual/ heterosexual) as important, natural, and a distinction that does not tolerate ambiguity, continued to be significant in predicting condemning attitudes toward gay people.

Attitudes: "ABC" or Just "A"?

The next concern relates to the debate in the literature over whether attitudes are the affective evaluation of a target group (best represented by a single aggregate affective component) or are instead a complex interweaving of affective responses, cognitions (stereotypes as well as symbolic beliefs), and behaviors (actual past behavior and behavioral intentions) – best represented by a more complex multi-component model. It will be argued that one's conclusions in this debate have significant implications for how one not only conceptualizes sexual prejudice, but also how one attempts to measure it.

Contrasting Views on The Nature of Attitudes

Herek (1984) and others (Thurstone, 1929; Triandis, 1971; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Kite & Deaux, 1986) have argued that attitudes are affective responses toward an object based on the evaluation of beliefs about the object. According to these scholars, because attitudes are the affective response, and beliefs (cognitions) serve as an antecedent to this response, attitudinal measurements should focus only on the affect. Others have argued (Rosenberg & Hovland, 1960; Greenwald, 1968; Zanna & Rempel, 1988) and demonstrated empirically (Breckler, 1984; Haddock, Zanna & Esses, 1993), however, that three attitudinal components – affect, cognition and behavioral intentions (as well as past behaviors), contribute independently to the evaluation of an object, and are, therefore, important to measure (see also Eagly & Chaiken, 1993).

Zanna and Rempel (1988) offer the most detailed multi-component definition, suggesting that attitudes are the,

“...categorization of a stimulus object along an evaluative dimension based upon, or generated from, three general classes of information: (1) cognitive information, (2) affective/emotional information, and/or (3) information concerning past behaviors or behavioral intentions,” (p. 319)

and suggest that measurements of attitude should distinguish between affect (emotions or feelings associated with a particular attitude object) and overall evaluations assessing the “worth or goodness” (p. 319) of an object. Breckler (1984) demonstrated that items measuring a person’s cognitions about, affective reactions toward and behavioral expectations involving an attitude object (Breckler used snakes as the attitude object) factor independently from each other. Haddock, Zanna, and Esses (1993) offered additional empirical support for the importance of all three attitudinal components, demonstrating that stereotypes, symbolic beliefs, affect, and past behaviors contribute

independently to heterosexuals' overall evaluations of homosexuals (measured generally using an evaluation thermometer). Unfortunately, although discussing in detail the independent contributions of each of these components, none of these scholars explore the possibility of these components leading to simultaneous independent evaluations.

A person's final cognitive evaluation of an attitudinal object, therefore, may come from *affective responses* – based on past favorable or unfavorable interactions with the attitude object, and/or gut reactions to the object based on defensive processes such as displaced or projected aggression resulting from repressed fear or anxiety in one's self; *cognitive responses* – such as beliefs or stereotypes about the object, various symbolic beliefs or values associated with or threatened by the object; and *behaviors* or *behavioral intentions* toward the object (Breckler, 1984). What's important to note is that each of these components may result in *different* evaluative responses. To be comprehensive, therefore, an attitude scale should include content that assess all three components of the attitude construct, drawing items from potential affective, cognitive and behavioral reactions to the target group.

Maio and Olson (2001) suggest that people's beliefs, feeling and past behaviors comprise their attitudes. In addition, they argue, that these components are not necessarily consistent with one another. They point out that the particular functions that an attitude serves can contribute to the consistency or inconsistency of these attitudes.

As discussed earlier, previous studies of sexual injustice have frequently resulted in items assessing beliefs about lesbians and gay men loading independently of items assessing affect (Herek, 1984; Kite & Deaux, 1986). Researchers justified the decision to drop items comprising the belief factor(s) by emphasizing the low variance explained,

and by suggesting that “beliefs are not attitudes” (Herek, 1984) Their final scales, however, continued to include items like “Lesbians are sick” (Herek, 1984) and “Gays dislike members of the opposite sex” (Kite & Deaux, 1986), suggesting that, definitions aside, beliefs continue to be a significant component of these measures. In addition, several studies that focused primarily on stereotypes, or beliefs, about gay men have suggested that these beliefs include evaluative content that may vary along multiple dimensions (Madon, 1997; Kite & Deaux, 1987; Staats, 1978).

In two studies surveying the attitudes of 164 (study 1) and 156 (study 2) undergraduates, Haddock, Zanna, and Esses demonstrated that whereas stereotypes and utilitarian concerns are more likely to influence the attitudes toward lesbians and gay men of low-authoritarians, those scoring high in right-wing authoritarianism are likely to be highly influenced by symbolic values.

Haddock et al. also suggest that different the kinds of beliefs a person holds may be independent. Stereotypes and values (symbolic beliefs) exert different influence on heterosexuals’ attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Those high in right-wing authoritarianism based their attitude toward homosexuals on symbolic beliefs. Those low in RWA, however, based their attitudes toward homosexuals on their stereotypes and past behaviors.

Positive Attitudes

The final concern about existing measurement of heterosexuals’ attitudes toward lesbians and gay men has to do with the lack of positive content in its existing operationalization. As pointed out earlier, most instruments assessing heterosexuals’ attitudes allow these attitudes to range from hostility to tolerance (see Herek, 1984 and

Kite & Deaux, 1986). In these studies, strong agreement with negatively worded items represents overt hostility. Strong agreement with positively worded items, however, represents at best a live-and-let-live tolerance of gay and lesbian people. For example, consider the following negatively worded items taken from Herek's ATLG. The item "Lesbians just *can't* fit into our society," when rejected indicates that the participant thinks, "Lesbians *can* fit into our society". Similarly, the item, "Homosexual behavior between two men *is just plain wrong*" when rejected indicates that the participant thinks, "Homosexual behavior between two men *isn't wrong*" but does not imply that the evaluator thinks the behavior is right, good or desired (see Appendix F). Only occasionally does strong agreement with a favorable item indicate significantly positive feelings – such as valuing or seeing gay or lesbian people as providing some personal, group, or societal benefit (see Appendix G). For example, Kite and Deaux (1986) included the item "I see the gay movement as a positive thing."

One explanation for this lack of positive content is that heterosexist ideology (privileging heterosexuality as the normal and valued way of being) requires that other ways of being are not encouraged. It is in the best interest of heterosexist ideology that a pro-gay attitudes measure never envisions homosexuality as a positive, perhaps even desired, quality. Endorsing egalitarianism, but ending tolerance, allows heterosexuality to remain privileged.

Sedgwick (1993) explains further in her essay, "How to bring your kids up gay." While many heterosexuals support the basic rights of *adult* gay men and lesbians, most balk at the idea that society should encourage the creation of *more* gay people. Sedgwick supports this conclusion by pointing out the tendency among psychologists and

psychiatrists to pathologize gender non-conformity in children, which has been reported by many researchers to be a common element in the retrospective life stories of adult gay men and lesbians (Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1979; 1989). The urge to “cure” early childhood gender non-conformity, she argues, is motivated by the perceived threat that these children will grow up to be gay or lesbian. Heterosexism, in the final equation, wishes gay people into “oblivion” (Sedgwick, 1993)

So what does a positive attitude look like, and what psychological factors could motivate a person to resist heterosexism? Positive attitudes may result from: a *radical anti-heterosexist* perspective that sees and values gay and lesbian people for actively resisting heterosexist and/or patriarchal oppression; a *cultural homosexuality* that values gay people for some inherently superior qualities they may possess; or a kind of anti-gay anti-lesbian *benevolent heterosexism* in which heterosexuals express subjectively favorable attitudes toward gay people that ultimately reinforce heterosexist values.

Pro-Diversity and Anti-Heterosexism

Positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men extending beyond tolerance might be motivated by pro-diversity values. Since lesbians and gay men offer diversity to society, they are good for society and are therefore valued. These positive attitudes may result from empathy and affinity that anti-heterosexist heterosexuals feel toward the struggle gay men and lesbians face when they are forced to confront the hostile heterosexist society. Similarly, those concerned with social justice and activism may see gay people as contributing to progressive social change and positive attitudes toward gay people may be a way to express commitment to progressive social change. Positive attitudes toward lesbians may also result from a radical feminist perspective that views

institutionalized heterosexism as a tool of patriarchy. For radical feminists, lesbianism represents a successful way to combat patriarchy (Kitzinger, 1987).

Cultural Homosexuality and the Gay Standpoint

Positive attitudes extending beyond tolerance may represent “cultural homosexuality”, similar to the cultural feminism of the 1970s-80s (Echols, 1989). Cultural feminists (related to the radical feminists discussed above) suggested that women – because of biology or perhaps because of some quality acquired due to their unique position or “standpoint” an oppressed group marginalized by patriarchy – hold many qualities that are superior to those of men and good for society (i.e., if most leaders were women, being less aggressive and more emotionally expressive, could lead to the elimination of war). Cultural *homosexualists* may argue similarly that gay men and lesbians, by living in opposition to dominant and conventional heterosexism, have acquired certain traits and qualities that are superior to those of heterosexuals (i.e., the belief that gay men are more creative, non-aggressive and emotionally available than are heterosexual men; the belief that lesbians are more politically conscious, strong and independent than are heterosexual women). Preliminary research by Massey (2003), investigating the negative and positive stereotypes of gay men and lesbians held by heterosexual men and women, found that many *positive* stereotypes of gay men and lesbians were known to heterosexuals; that many of the stereotypes of gay men were different from those of lesbians (and vice-versa); and that the stereotypes of lesbians and gay men known by heterosexual men differed somewhat from those known by heterosexual women. Yet, for both gay men and lesbians, these positive stereotypes included respect for their willingness and ability to resist the negative aspects of

male/female gender roles and to successfully and sometimes heroically respond to anti-gay oppression.

Benevolent Heterosexism

Although some of the attitudes of lesbians and gay men held by heterosexuals may seem to be positive, these attitudes may not always serve the best interest of gay people and may instead represent “benevolent heterosexism” – similar to the benevolent sexism described by Glick and Fiske (1996).

Glick and Fiske’s ambivalent sexism inventory (ASI) was based on the idea that men’s attitudes toward women come from three different values - dominant and protective paternalism, competitive and complementary gender differentiation, and hostile and intimate heterosexuality. Each dimension of the ASI varied on a bipolar pro- and anti-woman continuum and although hostile and benevolent sexism were conceptually distinct, they defined the hostile and benevolent poles of the paternalism, gender differentiation, and heterosexuality subscales. Hostile sexism (subjectively negative) was comprised of dominant paternalism, competitive gender differentiation and hostile heterosexuality whereas benevolent sexism (subjectively positive) was comprised of protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation, and the need for heterosexual intimacy.

Because Glick and Fiske were less concerned with the affective consequences of cognitive inconsistencies in attitude and more with pointing out the ironies and justice concerns of the individual-societal inconsistencies, they left the influence of egalitarianism out of their conceptualization of the positive dimension of ambivalent sexism, suggesting that “people are not as concerned with appearing sexist as racist” (p.

494). In fact, they argue that egalitarianism plays little role in ambivalent sexism. Although egalitarianism is clearly antithetical to dominant paternalism, competitive gender differentiation and hostile heterosexuality, it is clearly not the same as protective paternalism, complementary gender differentiation and the need for heterosexual intimacy.

Glick and Fiske suggest that although benevolent sexist items may be perceived by men to be pro-woman, they are ultimately sexist and harmful – suggesting, “benevolence is not a good thing, despite positive feelings. Because it’s based in traditional stereotyping and masculine dominance the consequence are often damaging” (p. 491-2). There may be similar differences to be found among heterosexuals’ subjective evaluations of gay men and lesbians. Some heterosexuals may hold subjectively favorable opinions about gay men and lesbians and act in subjectively positive ways, but their beliefs may ultimately contribute to the furtherance of heterosexist ideology. For example, to some heterosexuals gay people may represent a kind of exotic social commodity and lesbians may serve as sexual object in the fantasies of some heterosexual men.

Predictions and Procedures

The goal of this dissertation project was to construct and verify a new measure of heterosexuals’ attitudes toward gay men and lesbians that: (a) considered all the various components of pro- and anti-gay attitudes (affective, cognitive and behavioral); (b) considered the multiple and divergent sources of (or psychological functions served by) these attitudes; (c) extended the range of evaluative valence (specifically their positive content) beyond that assessed by previous measures; and (d) took into account the

multiple ideological perspectives that structure heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians.

To this end, a hypothetical multi-factor model was proposed. It seemed unlikely that any gay affirmative stance could exist without including some amount of egalitarian content reflecting a minoritizing (Sedgwick, 1990) orientation, so the first factor, "Pro-Gay Egalitarianism," was predicted to assess attitudes serving egalitarian values (see Figure 1). Although critical of many aspects of the liberal reform perspective, even queer theorist would find it difficult to discuss queer activism without using words like "gay" or "lesbian" (Jagose). The second factor, "Denial of Continued Discrimination," third factor, "Aversion," and fourth factor, "Traditional Values," were predicted to assess a variety of entrenched heteronormative values thought to continue to influence the attitudes of pro-gay heterosexuals. In the same way that measures of modern racism and sexism included items that operationalize symbolic forms of racism and sexism, this proposed factor includes items tapping into entrenched or "modern" heterosexist values. Also similar to modern racism and sexism, this factor includes items that operationalize the belief that anti-gay discrimination is no longer a major problem in our society; that the protests and demands made by gay people are disproportionate to any existing problem; that the gay movement is pushing too hard and too fast for additional "special" rights and privileges; and that gay people are overexposed in the media and educational curriculum. Diverging from a modern racism framework, this factor includes items assessing participants' *endorsement or rejection of traditional (heterosexist) sex and gender-role beliefs*, their *aversion or comfort to being in close proximity* or "compromising" situations with homosexuals, and their *expressions of moral*

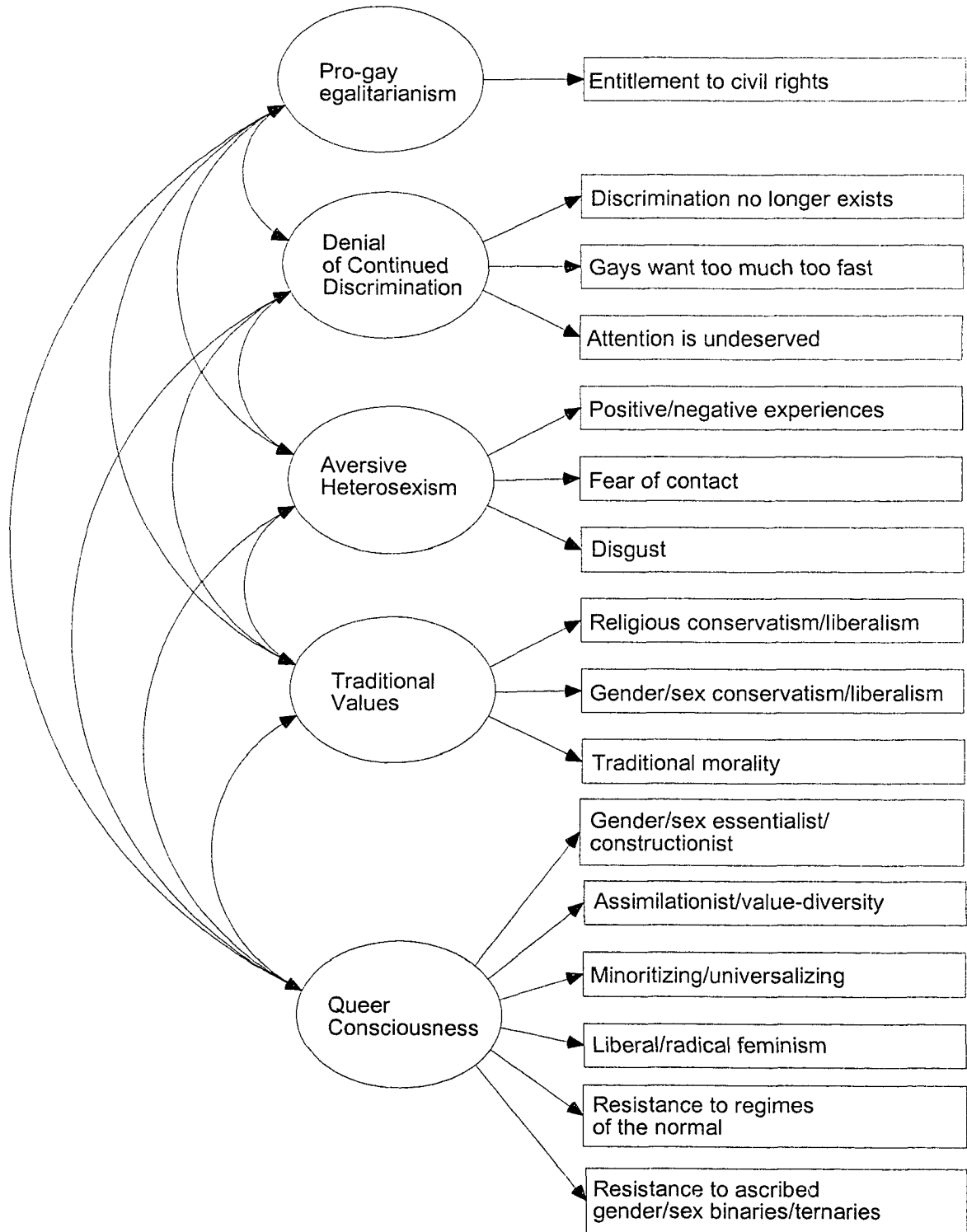


Figure 1. Proposed Factor Model for the Multidimensional Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale.

condemnation or acceptance (which is predicated to represent an acceptable “modern” way to express sexual prejudice, independent of egalitarian beliefs). The first four factors were operationalized to include items that revealed affective, cognitive, and behavioral evaluative tendencies. They also included items worded in such a way as to extend beyond simple tolerance to valuing.

The final factor, “Queer Consciousness,” was predicted to assess whether participants view heterosexism in terms of an ideology that negatively impacts only a small minority of “homosexuals” or an ideology that impacts all people – homosexual and heterosexual. This factor was comprised of items that were intended to reveal whether a person expresses suspicion of any social force that attempt to “normalize” a particular set of beliefs; resists sexual and gender social codes that ascribe fixed binary and ternary identities; rejects biological or psychodynamic explanations for sexual orientation in favor of ideological/political explanations; and/or see difference (including sexualities that have been marginalized by the dominant sexual system – such as sadomasochism) as something that should be celebrated but reject the need to name or classify them.

Predictions

Given what was learned from a thorough review of the literature, several expectations were offered for the subsequent data. First, it was predicted that a multidimensional model of heterosexuals’ attitudes toward gay men and lesbians would explain a larger portion of the variance among items than will a unidimensional model and that at least five independent factors will present themselves in the analysis – these

are: pro-gay egalitarianism, denial of continued discrimination, aversive heterosexism, traditional values, and queer consciousness.

In addition, it was predicted that these factors would differentially correlate with other related factors. Right-wing authoritarianism was predicted to correlate strongly (and positively) with the modern heterosexism subscales (denial of continued discrimination, aversive heterosexism, and especially the traditional values component) but to correlate less strongly (and negatively) with pro-gay egalitarianism. Social dominance orientation was predicted to correlate strongly with both pro-gay egalitarianism (negatively) and the modern heterosexism subscales (positively) at equal levels. Participants with a greater amount of contact with gay people were predicted to express greater levels of pro-gay egalitarianism and experience a reduction of anti-gay aversion. Amount of contact should have less impact, however, on the symbolic aspects of modern heterosexism as expressed through the denial that discrimination against gay people continues and traditional values.

Because people with queer consciousness have a different understanding of the epistemology of sexuality and its relationship to prejudice, the organization of their attitudes toward lesbians and gay men should differ from those with little queer consciousness. It was predicted that the items reflecting beliefs in the immutability of sexual orientation would play a lesser role in comprising the attitudes of those participants high in queer consciousness. In addition, queer consciousness was predicted to correlate equally with measures of social dominance orientation (negatively), authoritarianism (negatively), and with measures of humanitarianism-egalitarianism (positively).

Procedure

Data for this project were collected in 3 stages. The first stage was conducted in order to retrieve data for an exploratory factor analysis. The second stage was conducted to retrieve data for a confirmatory factor analysis of the previously determined model, and to test the construct validity of the subscales from that model. The final stage of data collection, conducted in two parts – one congruently with stage 2 and a second part one week later – was completed in order to assess the reliability of the subscales.

Undergraduate social science students at several institutions in Central Texas, including University of Texas at Austin, Texas A&M University, St. Edward's University and Austin Community College, completed paper and pencil (in person) and web-based (over the Internet) questionnaires. Approval was obtained from the Institutional Review Boards of all four institutions for each stage of data collection. At each stage, participants were told that they were involved in a research project investigating the various attitudes and beliefs that groups hold toward other groups. They were assured that their names would not be associated with their answers to the survey questions. Informed consent was obtained from all participants. All students were provided with information describing the study and provided contact information for the researcher and available nearby mental health resources.

University of Texas at Austin

Students from the University of Texas at Austin taking Introduction to Psychology at The University of Texas at Austin are required to complete 5 hours as a research participant (in order to avoid the possibility of coercion, students are given the option to opt-out of research participation by completing a written essay). Available

research projects are posted in a centralized location near the psychology office.

Recruitment of participants involved posting a flyer that included the researcher's name, the title of the project, any participant selection requirements, and a series of blanks in which participants sign-up. These postings do not include information about the nature or topic of the study. Students sign up for studies that fit their schedules, making the possibility that a particular student will sign up for a particular study semi-random.

Austin Community College and St. Edward's University

Students from ACC and St. Edward's University were recruited from Introduction to Psychology and Sociology classes. Recruitment involved several social science instructors from both schools announcing the study in their classes. Students who agreed to participate were given a survey, consent form, and stamped addressed envelope, and were asked to complete both of them on their own time, away from the classroom, and to return them in separate envelopes by mail to the principal investigator. Students were assured that their participation in the project was optional and that they would receive no course credit for participating or penalty for declining. They were also informed that once they receive the survey instrument, they were under no obligation to complete it.

Texas A&M University

Students from Texas A&M University were recruited from Intercultural Communication classes in the Speech Communication Department. Participation in this study served as an optional extra-credit assignment (one of two possible assignments worth 10 points added onto the 400 comprising the final course grade) for students enrolled in Intercultural Communication classes (SPEECH 335). The course instructor made an announcement (see Appendix N) about the optional extra-credit assignments,

and passed out instruction sheets for each at the start of the semester. Students were given 2 weeks to complete either extra-credit assignment. The instruction sheet for the research option (see Appendix O) included the address of the project's website and instructions for completing the online survey. The instruction sheet for the paper option (see Appendix P) was passed out simultaneously. Other than extra course credit, no compensation was offered for participation in this study.

Question Concerning Adequate Sample Size

There are many different opinions concerning the adequate sample size for factor analysis. A review by Pedhazer and Schmelkin (1991) found suggested samples sizes ranged from at least 200 to as many as 2000. Some suggested that one needed a sample as large as 10 times the number of items, others suggested that samples should be based on the number of factors expected and not the number of items, and still others suggested between 500 and 1000 participants were needed. Pedhazer and Schmelkin fail to take a position on this argument and simply suggest that those interested in conducting factor analyses "use large samples" (p. 625). Rindskopf (personal communication, 2000) suggested that approximately 200 more participants than items was a reasonable minimum.

Instruments

Multidimensional Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Lesbians Scale (MATLG)

A battery of 181 items was developed in an attempt to fully represent self-identified heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. More items than necessary were selected or created for the purpose of determining inductively which items best represent the constructs being considered. This instrument was comprised of

items intended to address the concerns raised in the earlier review and includes a variety of content areas, including: feelings of hostility or tolerance toward gay people, the sense that gay people are the same as heterosexuals, the overall quality of previous encounters with gay people, denial of ongoing discrimination against gay people, feelings of personal aversion to gay people, belief in social reform or social liberation approaches to sexual injustice, opinions concerning the value of the sexual diversity, beliefs about patriarchy and sexism, explanations for the origins of sex and gender categories, and views about gender roles, sexuality and legal issues concerning lesbians and gay men. Items were grouped along three dimensions: pro-gay egalitarianism, modern heterosexism, and queer consciousness. Within each content area, items were included that assessed participants' feelings, beliefs and behaviors toward the gay men and lesbians. For each dimension, participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with a series of items, ranging from 1, "completely agree" to 5, "completely disagree".

As shown in Appendix H, items for the different content areas were created from scratch or borrowed from existing measures of racism, sexism and heterosexism, to (a) operationalize neglected content areas – such as positive stereotypes or liberationist beliefs/values, and (b) balance out existing items from other scales in terms of gender or the valence (positive/negative) or the item wording – such as "I would like to have more lesbian friends." Items were then reviewed by colleagues of the researcher to determine their fit for the construct they were attempting to operationalize. Items that were exceedingly redundant, unclear, double barreled, or vague were dropped.

The initial measure included items from Herek's (1984) Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale and Kite and Deaux's (1986) Homosexual Attitude

Scale, both of which tapped into pro-gay egalitarianism and traditional values; items from Katz and Hass' (1988) study of racial ambivalence; and items from Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter's (1995) measures of old-fashioned and modern sexism, which were modified to reflect modern sexual prejudice. Items were also borrowed from Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith's (1997) Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity, including items from their *Ideology Scale: Assimilation, Humanist, and Oppressed Minority* subscales.

A variety of items tapping into queer and radical feminist concerns were created from common themes within the queer theory and radical feminist literatures (Warner, 1993; Jagose, 1996; Rubin, 1984; Sedgwick, 1990; Kitzinger, 1987). Several items were borrowed directly from Kitzinger's (1987) Q-sort study of attitudes toward lesbianism, and Hegarty's (2002) measure of mutability and fundamentality beliefs about sexual orientation. In addition, several items from Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, and Smith's *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity* and Katz and Hass' *Racial Ambivalence* scales were modified to help define the liberal reformer/assimilationist pole of the queer consciousness construct.

In addition to the battery of sexual prejudice items, several other scales were selected for this study to act as tests of the construct validity of the final measure. Based on their usefulness in previous research (Whitley, 1999; Katz & Hass, 1988; Herek & Capitanio, 1996), these scales included measures of Right Wing Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation, Humanitarianism/Egalitarianism, as well as a questionnaire assessing amount of contact with gay men and/or lesbians.

Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)

This 23-item scale (see Appendix K) is taken from Altemeyer's (1988) 30-item Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) scale, designed to measure people's level of "deference to established authority, aggression toward out-groups when authority permits that aggression, and support for traditional values when those values are endorsed by authorities (p.126, Whitley, 1999). The six "deceased" items (Altemeyer, 1988) were not included. In addition, following Whitley's lead, one item measuring attitudes toward homosexuality was removed to reduce overlap between RWA and the attitude scale being developed and tested in this study. The RWA scale includes items such as "It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds" and "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn" and has shown good internal consistency with alphas ranging from .87 (Whitley, 1999) to .90 (Zwillenberg, 1983, cited in Christie, 1991). In terms of validity, the RWA-scale has shown predictive validity toward issues like "acceptance of law as basis of morality", "acceptance of establish authority and law"; and "punitiveness toward sanctioned targets" (Christie, p. 552).

Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)

This 14-item scale (see Appendix L) measures "one's degree of preference for inequality among social groups" (Pratto, F., Sidanius, J., Stallworth, L. M., & Malle, B. F., 1994, p. 741). Participants indicate their level of positive feeling associated with a series of statements on a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (very negative) to 7 (very positive). A higher score represents greater social dominance orientation. Previous

research with the social dominance orientation scale has demonstrated that the scale is unidimensional and has high internal consistency with an alpha of .83. The validity of this scale has been supported. In a large-scale survey of 1952 college students, social dominance orientation was found to correlate positively with participant attitudes of political conservatism, nationalism, patriotism, and anti-Black racism as well as support for military programs and the Republican Party. In addition, social dominance correlated negatively with support for gay rights, women's rights, entitlement programs and pro-environment programs.

Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism Scale (HE).

This 10-item scale (see Appendix M) measures participants' levels of communalism, "adherence to the democratic ideals of equality, social justice, and concern for the other's well-being" (p. 894). Participants indicate their level of agreement with a series of statements a 6-point scale, with higher scores meaning stronger egalitarian values. Previous research with the humanitarian-egalitarian scale has demonstrated that the scale is unidimensional and has high internal consistency with an alpha of .84. The validity of the humanitarian-egalitarian scale was demonstrated by Katz and Hass (1988) who found discriminant validity between the HE and a measure of belief in the Protestant work ethic (belief in a just world) as well as convergent validity in that the HE was positively correlated with pro-Black attitudes. Additional convergent support for the HE was found in Phillips and Ziller (1997) who found that HE was correlated with non-prejudice.

Personal Contact

One variable that has been found to relate to participants' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians is their level of actual experience or contact with gay men and lesbians. In order to assess this level of contact, participants completed a series of questions, drawn from the work of Herek and Capitanio (1996) (see Appendix J). The first question asks participants if they have "any male or female friends, relatives, or close acquaintances who are gay, [lesbian,] or homosexual" (p. 414) (lesbian was added to Herek and Capitanio's original question). This question was followed by the question, "How many?" Participants are then asked a series of questions about the two gay or lesbian individuals (or single individual, if they know on one person) they feel closest to. These questions include, "What is that person's gender?", "Is that person (a) immediate family, (b) other family, (c) close friend, (d) other friend, (e) or close acquaintance?", "How did you learn about this person's sexual orientation?", and "Has he/she ever told you directly that he/she is gay or lesbian?" (questions drawn from Herek and Capitanio, 1996, p. 414).

The next three chapters describe the results from the analysis of the data for the three stages. Chapter four describes the exploratory factor analysis. Chapter five describes the confirmatory factor analysis and tests of construct validity. Chapter six describes the results of the test-retest reliability analysis.

Chapter 4: Exploratory Factor Analysis

The Multidimensional Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men scale was completed by 269 undergraduates enrolled in Introduction to Psychology at The University of Texas at Austin (n=207), St. Edward's University (n=6) and Austin Community College (n=56). These participants also completed questionnaires assessing basic demographics (including sexual orientation) and personal experience interacting with gay men and lesbians. The demographic survey (see Appendix I) included questions about participant age, level of education achieved, religious affiliation, SES, race, gender, region of the country where participant grew up and whether that was in an urban or rural setting, political party affiliation, and sexual orientation.

Demographics of Participants

As shown in Table 5, approximately 46% of participants in stage one were female and 54% were male¹³. The age of these participants ranged from 17-59, with a median age of 19 (mean age was higher at 21). Sixty-nine percent of participants were White, 18% were Asian/Pacific Islander, 9% reported being of mixed race, 3% were Black, and <1% were Native American. Fourteen percent of participants identified as Hispanic. Almost all participants (96%) reported being heterosexual, with only 4% identifying as gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, or other.

In terms of the Texas population in general, this sample represents an undersample of Females, Blacks, and Latinos and an oversample of Asians. Participants

¹³ The gender distribution for Texas observed in the 2000 census was 49.6% male and 50.4% female. The median age was 32.3. Race distribution was 73% White, 12% Black, 2.3% Asian, 1% Native American. Latinos represented 32% of the population in Texas. Only 11.5% of Texans reported average family income to be over \$80,000.

were mostly 19-year-old White non-Latino men and women originally from urban and suburban areas of the Southern and Southwestern U.S. Most were unmarried and identified as Protestant, Catholic, or non-religious. There were slightly more Republicans than Democrat in the sample, and most described their politics as moderate to liberal. Over half indicated that their family income exceeded \$80,000 annually, suggesting economic privilege. In terms of students attending the University of Texas, this sample offered a fairly accurate representation across gender, race, and ethnicity (Latinos).

Table 5. Demographics of Participants in Exploratory Factor Analysis

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
<i>School</i>		
UT Austin	207	77.00
Austin Community College	56	20.80
St. Edward's University	6	2.20
<i>Total</i>	<i>269</i>	<i>100.00</i>
<i>Gender</i>		
Female	121	45.66
Male	144	54.34
<i>Total</i>	<i>265</i>	<i>100.00</i>
<i>Missing</i>	<i>4</i>	
<i>Age</i>		
17	1	0.38
18	52	19.62
19	109	41.13
20	49	18.49
21	18	6.79
22	10	3.77
23	5	1.89
25	3	1.13
27	2	0.75
28	2	0.75
29	2	0.75
33	2	0.75
35	2	0.75
37	1	0.38
40	1	0.38
46	1	0.38

Table 5. (cont.)

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
48	1	0.38
49	1	0.38
50	1	0.38
56	1	0.38
59	1	0.38
<i>Total</i>	265	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	4	
<i>Race</i>		
White	181	69.35
Asian/Pacific Islander	47	18.01
Mixed	24	9.20
Black	7	2.68
Native American/Alaskan	2	0.77
<i>Total</i>	261	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	8	
<i>Hispanic (y/n)</i>		
Yes	38	14.13
No	231	85.87
<i>Total</i>	269	100.00
<i>Sexual Orientation</i>		
Heterosexual or Straight	255	95.86
Gay/Lesbian or Homosexual	5	1.88
Other	3	1.13
Bisexual	2	0.75
Queer	1	0.38
<i>Total</i>	266	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	3	
<i>Years in College</i>		
1st year	151	56.77
2nd year	80	30.08
3rd year	25	9.40
4th year or greater	10	3.76
<i>Total</i>	266	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	3	
<i>Number of Children</i>		
None	254	95.49
One	7	2.63
Two	4	1.50
Three or more	1	0.38
<i>Total</i>	266	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	3	

Table 5. (cont.)

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
<i>Geographic Residence</i>		
Mountain/southwest	102	38.93
South/southeast	92	35.11
Central/Midwest	43	16.41
Other	12	4.58
Northeast/mid-Atlantic	8	3.05
Pacific coast	5	1.91
<i>Total</i>	262	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	7	
<i>Household</i>		
Large city	113	42.48
Suburb	85	31.95
Small town	33	12.41
Small city	31	11.65
Farm or wilderness	4	1.50
<i>Total</i>	266	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	3	
<i>Relationship</i>		
Never married	231	87.50
Cohabiting/domestic partnership	16	6.06
Married/widowed	12	4.55
Divorced/separated	5	1.89
<i>Total</i>	264	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	5	
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>		
Protestant	70	26.32
None	63	23.68
Catholic	59	22.18
Other	51	19.17
Hindu	8	3.01
Buddhist	6	2.26
Muslim/Islam	5	1.88
Jewish	4	1.50
<i>Total</i>	266	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	3	
<i>Religious Preference</i>		
Moderate	84	31.82
Does not apply	77	29.17
Liberal	69	26.14
Conservative	34	12.88
<i>Total</i>	264	100.00

Table 5. (cont.)

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
<i>Missing</i>	5	
<i>Religious Attendance</i>		
Never	39	14.77
Once, few times	107	40.53
1-3 times/month	80	30.30
Weekly or more often	38	14.39
<i>Total</i>	<i>264</i>	<i>100.00</i>
<i>Missing</i>	5	
<i>Political Party</i>		
None	91	34.21
Republican	78	29.32
Democrat	56	21.05
Independent	17	6.39
Green party	14	5.26
Other	7	2.63
Libertarian	2	0.75
Socialist	1	0.38
<i>Total</i>	<i>266</i>	<i>100.00</i>
<i>Missing</i>	3	
<i>Political Ideology</i>		
Moderate	91	34.47
Liberal	76	28.79
Does not apply	59	22.35
Conservative	38	14.39
<i>Total</i>	<i>264</i>	<i>100.00</i>
<i>Missing</i>	5	
<i>Family income</i>		
\$0-\$20,000	12	4.58
\$20-\$40,000	39	14.89
\$40-\$60,000	35	13.36
\$60-\$80,000	47	17.94
\$80-\$100,000	47	17.94
\$100+	82	31.30
<i>Total</i>	<i>262</i>	<i>100.00</i>
<i>Missing</i>	7	

NOTE: n=269.

Exploratory Factor Analyses

The items comprising the Pro-Gay Egalitarianism/Modern Heterosexism components and the Queer Consciousness component of the scale were analyzed separately, as Queer Consciousness was expected to have a moderating effect on Pro-Gay Egalitarianism. Specifically, participants' scores on the Queer Consciousness subscale were expected to affect the structure and loadings of various items comprising the Pro-Gay Egalitarianism/Modern Heterosexism subscales.

Analysis of Pro-Gay Egalitarianism/Modern Heterosexism items.

Because it was suspected that any factors resulting from these analyses would be related, exploratory factor analysis was conducted using a maximum likelihood extraction with an oblique (PROMAX) rotation of the resulting factors. In order to determine the best model to describe the relationship among the items, the resulting chi-square of the Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi^2=12662.52$) was compared to that of the 1-through 10-factor models. As shown in Table 6, fewer factors than expected resulted

Table 6. Chi-square tests for Pro-Gay Egalitarianism/Modern Heterosexism Scale.

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variance</i>
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	12662.521	.001	---
1 Factor Model Chi-Square	6554.159	.001	48.24
2 Factor Model Chi-Square	5746.959	.001	6.37
3 Factor Model Chi-Square	5199.454	.001	4.33
4 Factor Model Chi-Square	4661.342	.001	4.25
5 Factor Model Chi-Square	4254.742	.001	3.21
6 Factor Model Chi-Square	3902.322	.001	2.78
7 Factor Model Chi-Square	3595.403	.001	2.65
8 Factor Model Chi-Square	3358.813	.001	1.64

NOTE: Numbers in the variance column indicate the additional variance that is explained when additional factors are added to the model.

from these analyses. The 1-factor model explained 48.24% of the variance ($\chi^2=6554.16$), the 2-factor model explained an additional 6.37% of the variance ($\chi^2=5746.96$), and the 3-factor model explained an additional 4.33% of the variance ($\chi^2=5199.45$). A 4-factor model explained an additional 4.25% of the variance ($\chi^2=4661.34$). Because an attempted interpretation of this 4-factor was inconclusive, the 3-factor model was determined to be the best empirical and theoretical fit to the data. Together the 3 factors explained 58.94% of the variance among the items.

As shown in Table 7, the first factor - *Modern Heterosexism: Moral Condemnation*, was comprised of 52 items (loading at .2 or higher), such as “Female

Table 7. Pattern matrix for items comprising Pro-Gay Egalitarianism/Modern Heterosexism Scale.

<i>Item</i>	<i>Factor</i>		
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
(mh33) Female homosexuality is a sin. ^a	-1.036	-.342	
(mh40) Homosexuality is just as moral a way of life as heterosexuality.	.977		
(mh38) Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.	-.944		
(pge14) If two people really love each other, then it shouldn't matter whether they are a woman and a man, two women or two men.	.845		
(mh35) Male homosexuality is a perversion.	-.816		
(pge8) Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned.	.766		
(mh34) The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.	-.759		.270
(mh41) Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.	.745		
(pge4) Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.	.723		
(mh37) If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.	-.715		
(mh27) People should be encouraged to explore all aspects of their sexuality as long as no one is hurt.	.702		

Table 7. (cont.)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Factor</i>		
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
(mh28) Sexual exploration with both sexes is an important part of human development.	.701		.269
(pge17) It is important for gay and lesbian people to be true to their feelings and desires.	.655		
(pge6) Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.	.609		
(pge13) It is important for society to embrace its lesbian and gay members.	.607		
(mh26) Information about homosexuality as a viable alternative lifestyle should be kept out of high school sex education classes.	-.573		
(pge12) A sign of progress is that gay men and lesbians are in the mainstream of America more than ever before.	.555		
(pge3) State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.	.545		
(mh24) The idea of male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me.	-.541	.211	
(mh36) Lesbians are sick.	-.518		
(ah6) I would not be too upset if I learned my son were a homosexual.	.489	-.206	
(mh23) Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural division between the sexes.	-.478		
(mh16) It is easy to understand the anger of lesbian and gay rights groups in America.	.477		-.267
(ah18) Seeing images of same-sex affection on television or advertisements makes me uncomfortable.	-.461	.223	
(pge10) Lesbian and gay people should be able to live their lives without interference by heterosexual society.	.443		
(pge5) Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.	-.441		
(mh10) Because America is predominantly heterosexual, it is important for lesbians and gay men to be out and open about their sexuality.	.411		
(mh7) Gay and lesbian job seekers should be given special consideration in hiring.	.395	.266	.213
(pge19) Lesbians and gay men should strive to be full members of the American political system.	.388	-.224	
(pge7) Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in school.	-.377	.266	
(mh6) The typical public school is not as good as it should be in providing equal opportunities for its lesbian and gay students.	.371		
(ah11) I would like to have more lesbian friends.	.368		
(mh31) Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.	-.366		.322

Table 7. (cont.)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Factor</i>		
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
(pge11) All people, regardless of sexual orientation, should be able to choose who they love.	.350		
(mh21) Gay men and lesbians would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on gay issues.	-.341		.277
(mh17) It is easy to understand why gay and lesbian rights groups are still concerned about societal limitation of homosexuals' opportunities.	.329		-.290
(mh2) Too many lesbians and gay men still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their sexual orientation.	.303		
(pge2) A woman's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.	.302		
(mh8) Many heterosexuals show a real lack of understanding of the problems that lesbians and gay men face.	.298		
(mh5) Gay men and lesbians have more to offer than they have been allowed to show.	.289		
(ah9) I feel very comfortable around lesbians.	.273		
(mh1) It's surprising that gay and lesbian people do as well as they do, considering all the obstacles they face.	.244		
(ah15) I try to avoid contact with gay men.		.875	
(ah17) It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a gay man.		.847	
(ah5) I would like to have more gay male friends.		-.693	
(mh25) Gay men aren't real men.		.677	
(ah4) I'm uncomfortable when gay men act feminine.		.663	
(pge16) The gay and lesbian people I know are good people.		-.633	
(ah7) Gay men make good friends.		-.626	.264
(ah1) I think male homosexuals are disgusting.	-.293	.616	
(ah12) I worry when I'm around gay people that someone will think I'm gay.	.210	.606	
(ah8) The more lesbian and gay people I meet, the more I like them.	.223	-.590	
(mh18) Gay men can't be masculine.		.534	
(pge18) All people, regardless of their sexual orientation, have their strengths and limitations.		-.483	
(mh30) Lesbians aren't real women.		.473	.261
(mh29) Lesbians can't be feminine.		.455	.202
(mh19) I wish lesbians would act more feminine.		.432	
(pge9) Gay people and straight people have more commonalities than differences.	.216	-.420	
(pge15) Gay men and lesbians are very productive people.		-.399	

Table 7. (cont.)

<i>Item</i>	<i>Factor</i>		
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
(mh22) I wish gay men would act more masculine.		.391	
(ah13) It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a lesbian.		.353	.273
(ah2) I'm uncomfortable when lesbians act masculine.	-.211	.349	
(ah16) Lesbians make good friends.		-.348	
(ah19) I feel very comfortable around gay men.		-.329	
(pge1) Lesbians just can't fit into our society.	-.256	.323	
(ah3) I try to avoid contact with lesbians.	-.229	.317	
(mh39) Books that portray lesbianism as a sickness or aberration should be withdrawn from schools and public libraries.		-.261	
(mh32) Sex is much more than a way to reproduce.			
(mh4) Most lesbians and gay men are no longer discriminated against.			.613
(mh14) On average, people in our society treat gay people and straight people equally.			.564
(mh11) Discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem in the United States.			.549
(mh9) It is rare these days to see people make fun of gay men and lesbians.			.508
(mh13) It is rare to see gay men and lesbians treated in a homophobic manner on television.			.508
(mh15) Society has reached the point where gay people and straight people have equal opportunities for advancement.			.495
(mh3) Most big corporations in American are really interested in treating their gay and lesbian employees equally.			.365
(mh12) Lesbians and gay men often miss out on good jobs due to discrimination.	.236		-.340
(ah10) Sometimes I seek out a friend just because she's a lesbian.	.256		.313
(ah14) Sometimes I seek out a friend just because he's gay.	.229		.304
(mh20) Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of lesbians and gay men than is warranted by their actual experiences.			.253

NOTE: Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization. ^a Factor loading above 1.00 is possible with oblique extraction because items represent regression coefficients and not correlation scores. However a score above 1.00 does suggest high degree of multicollinearity in the data (Jöreskog, 1999).

homosexuality is a sin,” “Homosexuality is just as moral a way of life as heterosexuality,” and “If two people really love each other, then it shouldn't matter whether they are a woman and a man, two women or two men.” Many of the items comprising this scale came from Herek's ATLG scale, suggesting that moral condemnation comprises a significant portion of the ATLG. In addition, items related to beliefs in the essential nature of sexuality also loaded onto this factor.

Contrary to initial predictions, most of the proposed items relating to *Pro-Gay Egalitarianism* also loaded on this factor instead of comprising an independent pro-gay egalitarianism factor. The rejection of Moral Condemnation (a low score) represents the presence of pro-gay egalitarian values. Moral Condemnation may, in one sense, represent the kind of “old-fashioned” anti-egalitarianism described in the symbolic and modern racism literature and should not be considered a form of modern prejudice. In the case of attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, however, the term “old-fashioned” may also be inaccurate. As demonstrated in the public opinion surveys described at the start of this paper, moral condemnation of gay men and lesbians still represents a significant attitudinal position of a majority of heterosexual Americans.

Although moral condemnation may seem old-fashioned, in the sense that it has been around for a long time, it may be better described as embedded *Traditional Heterosexism* – one that has and continues to influence the relationships between heterosexual and homosexual members of society. Since this form of prejudice has not disappeared it is reasonable to conclude that *Traditional Heterosexism* should be considered a component of, or subscale comprising, *Modern Heterosexism*. The second factor - *Modern Heterosexism: Aversion* – was comprised of 32 items (loading at .2 or

higher) describing a desire to avoid contact with or disgust when in the proximity of gay people, such as “I try to avoid contact with gay men,” “It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a gay man,” and “I would like to have more gay male friends,” and gender criticisms of gay people, such as “Gay men aren’t real men” and “Lesbians can’t be feminine.” The third and final factor - *Modern Heterosexism: Denial of Continued Discrimination* – was comprised of 22 items (loading at .2 or higher) indicating the denial of continued discrimination against gay people, such as “Most lesbians and gay men are no longer discriminated against,” “On average, people in our society treat gay people and straight people equally,” “Discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem in the United States.” Correlations among factors range from .38 to .68 (see Table 8).

Queer Consciousness/Liberationist Beliefs

Because the Queer Consciousness construct was not modeled after existing validated scales, its structure was uncertain. It seemed reasonable, however, to assume that any resulting sub-factors would be related. An exploratory factor analysis was conducted using a Maximum likelihood extraction with an oblique (PROMAX) rotation

Table 8. Correlations Among Traditional Heterosexism, Aversive Heterosexism, and Denial of Continued Discrimination Scales.

<i>Factor</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
(1) Traditional Heterosexism	1.000	.688	.384
(2) Aversive Heterosexism	.688	1.000	.380
(3) Denial of Continued Discrimination	.384	.380	1.000

NOTE: Higher scores on the Traditional Heterosexism and Aversive Heterosexism scales indicate more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Higher scores on the Denial of Continued Discrimination scale indicate the rejection of claims that discrimination against lesbians and gay men is still a significant problem in society.

of the resulting factors. In order to determine the best model to describe the relationship among the items, the chi-square resulting from Bartlett's test of sphericity ($\chi^2=9426.16$) was compared to that of the 1- through 10-factor models. As shown in Table 9, more factors than predicted resulted from an analyses of the queer consciousness items. The 1-factor model explained 36.35% of the variance ($\chi^2=5999.31$), the 2-factor model explained an additional 8.25% of the variance ($\chi^2=5222.53$), the 3-factor model explained an additional 5.23% of the variance ($\chi^2=4728.80$), and the 4-factor model explained an additional 4.79% of the variance ($\chi^2=4277.49$). A 5-factor model explained an additional 4.5% of the variance ($\chi^2=3853.64$). Because an attempted interpretation of this fifth

Table 9. Chi-Square Tests for Queer Consciousness Scale.

<i>Factor</i>	<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Variance</i>
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	9426.157	.000	
1 Factor Model Chi-Square	5999.310	.000	36.35
2 Factor Model Chi-Square	5222.528	.000	8.25
3 Factor Model Chi-Square	4728.804	.000	5.23
4 Factor Model Chi-Square	4277.490	.000	4.79
5 Factor Model Chi-Square	3853.639	.000	4.50
6 Factor Model Chi-Square	3563.589	.000	3.07
7 Factor Model Chi-Square	3310.650	.000	2.96
8 Factor Model Chi-Square	3090.960	.000	2.33

NOTE: Numbers in the variance column indicate the additional variance that is explained when additional factors are added to the model.

factor was inconclusive, the 4-factor model was determined to be the best empirical and theoretical fit to the data. Together the 4 factors explained 54.62% of the variance among the items.

As shown in Table 10, the first factor - *Value Gay Progress/Diversity* – was comprised of 34 items (loading at .2 or higher) related to the belief that gay people made a unique and valuable contribution to the diversity of society, such as “I see the lesbian

and gay movement as a positive thing,” “The accomplishments of the gay and lesbian civil rights movements are something to be admired,” and “If my daughter told me she thought she might be lesbian, I would encourage her to explore that aspect of herself.”

The second factor - *Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles* – was comprised of 25 items (loading at .2 or higher) describing resistance to or rejection of ascribed sex/gender roles and expectations, such as “I feel restricted by the gender label that people attach to me,”

Table 10. Pattern Matrix For Items Comprising Queer Consciousness Scale.

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factor</i>			
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
(eb63) I see the lesbian and gay movement as a positive thing.	.820			
(eb60) The accomplishments of the gay and lesbian civil rights movements are something to be admired.	.764			
(eb62) If my daughter discovered she was lesbian, and was happy about it, I would be happy.	.742			
(eb52) If my son discovered he was gay, and was happy about it, I'd be happy.	.732			
(eb73) Society is enhanced by the diversity offered by lesbian and gay people.	.720			
(eb18) The advances made by the gay and lesbian civil rights movement have improved society overall.	.684			
(eb49) Lesbians are giving Feminists a bad name.	-.679			
(eb64) Gay men and lesbians should be admired for living their lives in the face of adversity.	.666			
(eb19) The gains made by gay men and lesbians have done nothing to improve the lives of all people.	-.662			
(eb71) Society has nothing to learn from lesbians and gay men.	-.652			
(eb69) If my daughter told me she thought she might be lesbian, I would encourage her to explore that aspect of herself.	.630	.302		
(eb33) Doctors and psychologists can help people to change their sexual orientation	-.624			
(eb65) The gay and lesbian movement is really just about gay men.	-.614	.215	.218	
(eb54) If my son told me he thought he might be gay, I would encourage him to explore that aspect of himself.	.614	.264		
(eb11) The same forces that have led to the oppression of gay men and lesbians also led to the oppression of other groups.	.582			
(eb53) I admire the strength shown by lesbians.	.574		.219	

Table 10. (cont.)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factor</i>			
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
(eb59) This country would be better off if it were more willing to assimilate the good things in lesbian and gay culture.	.554		.264	
(eb32) Bisexual people are fooling themselves and should make up their minds.	-.551			
(eb66) Lesbians make exceptional parents.	.527			
(eb39) Lesbianism is fundamentally a political statement - not a sexual preference.	-.525			
(eb25) Homosexual relationships are fundamentally different from heterosexual relationships.	-.516			
(eb72) Gay men make exceptional parents.	.455		.225	
(eb55) The gay and lesbian movement is really just about white people.	-.452		.291	
(eb20) The better life is for gay men and lesbians the better it is for all people.	.438			
(eb12) Homophobia creates problems for straight people too.	.436			
(eb13) The impact of homophobia extends far beyond the lives of gay people.	.396	.212		
(eb16) Sexism hurts both women and men.	.380			
(eb4) Not all people should want the same things sexually.	.374			
(eb40) Gay men and lesbians should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals.	.370	-.327		
(eb48) It's sometimes necessary to disrupt the status quo in order for things to change.	.322			
(eb14) I could easily live my life without ever thinking about gay people.	-.318			.232
(eb56) Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as gay or lesbian.	.302			
(eb31) My sexuality has as much to do with my political beliefs as it does with anything else.	-.264	.202	.250	
(eb23) A person's stated sexual orientation is usually in total agreement with his or her sexual behavior.				
(eb44) Lesbianism is a blow against the patriarchy (i.e., society structured by men for men).				
(eb8) I feel restricted by the gender label that people attach to me.			.804	
(eb5) I feel restricted by the sexual label that people attach to me.			.788	
(eb7) I feel limited by the sexual behaviors that are expected of me.			.776	
(eb3) I feel restricted by the sexual rules and norms of society.			.687	
(eb10) I feel restricted by the expectations people have of me because of my gender.			.639	

Table 10. (cont.)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factor</i>			
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
(eb17) I worry about the privileges I get from society because of my sexual orientation.		.500		
(eb22) I believe that most people are basically bisexual.	.227	.446		
(eb9) It seems to me that the labels "man" and "woman" aren't really very useful ways to describe the differences between people.		.427		
(eb1) I like to change things about myself just to test the limits of what's normal.		.426		
(eb24) I often feel like I have more in common with the other sex than with my own.		.391		
(eb41) Gay men and lesbians need to threaten the system to achieve their goals.		.386		
(eb47) It may be necessary for some established heterosexual traditions to be abandoned for lesbians and gay men to achieve their goals.		.297	.286	
(eb6) It seems to me that the labels "gay," "straight," or "bi-" aren't really very accurate ways to describe people's sexuality.		.294		
(eb28) A person's stated sexual orientation is usually in total agreement with his or her sexual desire.		-.285		
(eb45) When it comes to lesbian and gay rights, slow steady social change is better than swift sudden social change.		-.283		
(eb2) I like to try new things sexually just to test the limits of what's normal.		.258		
(eb30) Most people who identify as heterosexual can be erotically attracted to people of the same sex.		.247		.205
(eb36) Most people who identify as homosexual can be erotically attracted to people of the other sex.				
(eb70) Gay men are more emotionally available than are heterosexual men.			.722	
(eb68) Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about being friends to women.			.702	
(eb61) Being gay can make a man more compassionate.			.668	
(eb58) Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about fashion.			.626	
(eb51) Gay men are more creative than are heterosexual men.			.587	
(eb57) Being lesbian can make a woman more self-reliant.			.530	
(eb46) Lesbians have a lot to teach other women about being independent.		.213	.430	
(eb43) Lesbians have been at the forefront of the struggle for equal rights for women.			.299	
(eb42) The plight of lesbians and gay men will only improve when they are in important positions within the system.			.273	

Table 10. (cont.)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factor</i>			
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
(eb37) Sexual orientation is caused by biological factors such as genes and hormones.			.253	
(eb50) Sometimes getting rights means being willing to be rude.			.241	
(eb67) I find lesbians more emotionally available than other women.			.232	
(eb29) Every man could be gay if he so chose.				.910
(eb21) Every woman could be a lesbian if she so chose.				.839
(eb26) There is no such thing as "sexual orientation": we all have the potential to be anything sexually.	.211			.498
(eb38) Whether a person is gay or straight is pretty much set early in childhood.				-.241
(eb15) I could easily live my life without ever thinking about homophobia.				.233
(eb34) If someone comes out as gay or lesbian, they were probably attracted to the same sex all along.				-.232
(eb35) Differences between men and women have more to do with society than biology.				
(eb27) Sexuality orientation is determined by more than just our biology.				

NOTE: Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

"I feel restricted by the sexual label that people attach to me," and "I feel limited by the sexual behaviors that are expected of me." The third factor - *Pro-Gay/Lesbian Stereotypes* – was comprised of 19 items (loading at .2 or higher) describing the belief in positive qualities associated with gay men and lesbians, such as "Gay men are more emotionally available than are heterosexual men," "Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about being friends to women," and "Lesbians have a lot to teach other women about being independent." The fourth and final factor – *Mutability* – was comprised of 8 items (loading at .2 or higher) indicating the belief that sexuality is mutable or fluid, such as "Every man could be gay if he so chose," "Every woman could be a lesbian if she so chose," and "There is no such thing as 'sexual orientation': we all have the potential to be

anything sexually.” Correlations among these factors range from .14 to .47 (see Table 11).

Table 11. Correlations Among Valuing Gay Progress, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, Pro-Gay/Pro-Lesbian Stereotypes, and Mutability Scales.

<i>Factor</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
(1) Valuing Gay Progress	1.000	.470	.413	.141
(2) Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	.470	1.000	.432	.264
(3) Pro-Gay/Pro-Lesbian Stereotypes	.413	.432	1.000	.166
(4) Mutability	.141	.264	.166	1.000

NOTE: Higher scores on Value Gay Progress, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, and Pro-Gay/Pro-Lesbian Stereotypes indicate more favorable attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Higher scores on Mutability indicate greater belief in sexuality and gender as fluid and changeable.

The nature of the factors that emerged from this exploratory analysis suggest that the construct being represented by the Queer Consciousness items is more similar to the ideas put forth by sexual liberationist philosophy than it is to the principles expressed in queer theory proper. Specifically, the Value Gay Progress and Pro-Gay Stereotypes subscales suggest a belief in a coherent subject with qualities, a community, and a political agenda. As with liberationist philosophy, these minoritizing notions of sexuality stand in contrast to the more universalizing notions represented by the Resistance to Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Mutability Beliefs subscales. Therefore, a more appropriate name for this construct and its corresponding subscales, and the name that will be used for the remainder of this paper, is *Liberationist Beliefs*.

Item Reduction

In order to explore the constructs of interest as fully as possible, it was necessary to include a large number (152) of items in the first stage of scale development. Item fatigue, however, was and remains a significant concern. Because the next stage in this

study involved validity testing, and the introduction of several additional scales, it was necessary to reduce the number of items comprising each subscale. The corrected item-total correlations were calculated for each subscale and the 10 items most highly correlated with their corresponding subscale were retained for stage 2. The reduced-item factor loadings for the Modern Heterosexism and Liberationist Beliefs subscales are provided in Table 12 and Table 15 respectively. Table 14 and Table 17 provide the goodness-of-fit estimates for both sets of reduced-item subscales¹⁴. Table 13 and Table 16 provide the updated correlation matrixes for the reduced-item subscales. Lastly, Table 18 includes correlations between all the subscales comprising both Modern Heterosexism and Liberationist Beliefs.

As discussed earlier, 13 items from Herek's ATLG were among the top 20 items comprising the Traditional Heterosexism subscale. Four other items from the ATLG loaded below the desired threshold. Because they were of theoretical interest, however, they were all retained for subsequent analyses. One item from the ATLG, "I think male homosexuals are disgusting" loaded on the aversion subscale. One item, "lesbians just can't fit into our society" had a low factor loading, loaded at similar magnitudes on two factors, and was consequently dropped from further consideration. Finally, the wording of the item "I would not be too upset if I learned my son were a homosexual" was changed to reflect two more positive statements, "If my son thought he was gay and was happy about it, I'd be happy" and "If my son told me he thought he might be gay, I would

¹⁴ Because the Traditional Heterosexism factor was already comprised of so many of the items from the ATLG, it was decided, for the sake of future comparisons to include the remaining 10 items from the ATLG in this Traditional Heterosexism subscale.

Table 12. Pattern Matrix for Items Comprising Three-Factor (41-Item) Modern Heterosexism Scale.

	<i>Factor</i>		
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
(mh33/TH1/ATLG5) Female homosexuality is a sin.	1.056	-0.313	
(mh40/TH2) Homosexuality is just as moral a way of life as heterosexuality.	-0.963		
(mh38/TH3/ATLG18) Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.	0.917		
(pge14/TH4) If two people really love each other, then it shouldn't matter whether they are a woman and a man, two women or two men.	-0.823		
(mh35/TH5/ATLG14) Male homosexuality is a perversion.	0.774		
(mh34/TH6/ATLG6) The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.	0.770		
(pge8/TH7/ATLG20) Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned.	-0.759		
(pge4/ATLG5/7) Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.	-0.715		
(mh37/TH8/ATLG16) If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.	0.711		
(mh41/ATLG11/15) Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.	-0.682		
(pge17/TH9) It is important for gay and lesbian people to be true to their feelings and desires.	-0.617		
(pge3/ATLG4) State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.	-0.588		
(mh36/ATLG8/10) Lesbians are sick.	0.551		
(pge6/ATLG9/11) Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.	-0.535		
(mh23/ATLG3/3) Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural division between the sexes.	0.519		
(mh24/TH10/ATLG19) The idea of male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me.	0.486	0.271	
(pge5/ATLG6/8) Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.	0.469		
(mh31/ATLG7/9) Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.	0.353	0.219	0.232
(pge7/ATLG10/13) Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in school.	0.350	0.303	
(pge2/ATLG2) A woman's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.	-0.289		
(ah15/AG1) I try to avoid contact with gay men.		0.952	
(ah17/AG2) It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a gay man.		0.931	

Table 12. (cont.)

	<i>Factor</i>		
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
(ah5/AG3) I would like to have more gay male friends.		-0.726	
(mh25/AG4) Gay men aren't real men.		0.722	
(ah4/AG5) I'm uncomfortable when gay men act feminine.		0.695	
(ah1/AG6/ATLG12) I think male homosexuals are disgusting.	0.239	0.670	
(pge16) The gay and lesbian people I know are good people.		-0.623	
(ah8) The more lesbian and gay people I meet, the more I like them.		-0.577	
(mh18/AG7) Gay men can't be masculine.		0.559	
(mh30/AL1) Lesbians aren't real women.		0.478	
(mh19/AL2) I wish lesbians would act more feminine.		0.454	
(mh4) Most lesbians and gay men are no longer discriminated against.			0.658
(mh14/DD1) On average, people in our society treat gay people and straight people equally.			0.651
(mh15/DD3) Society has reached the point where gay people and straight people have equal opportunities for advancement.			0.640
(mh11/DD5) Discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem in the United States.			0.603
(mh12/DD7) Lesbians and gay men often miss out on good jobs due to discrimination.			-0.542
(mh13/DD4) It is rare to see gay men and lesbians treated in a homophobic manner on television.			0.524
(mh16/DD6) It is easy to understand the anger of lesbian and gay rights groups in America.	-0.329		-0.416
(mh17/DD8) It is easy to understand why gay and lesbian rights groups are still concerned about societal limitation of homosexuals' opportunities.		-0.242	-0.408
(mh2/DD9) Too many lesbians and gay men still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their sexual orientation.			-0.380
(mh21/DD10) Gay men and lesbians would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on gay issues.	0.232		0.349

NOTE: Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 13. Correlations Among Traditional Heterosexism, Aversive Heterosexism, and Denial of Continued Discrimination Scales.

<i>Factor</i>	1	2	3
(1) Traditional Heterosexism	1.000	.701	.499
(2) Aversive Heterosexism	.701	1.000	.455
(3) Denial of Continued Discrimination	.499	.455	1.000

NOTE: Higher scores on the Traditional Heterosexism and Aversive Heterosexism scales indicate more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Higher scores on the Denial of Continued Discrimination scale indicate the rejection of claims that discrimination against lesbians and gay men is still a significant problem in society.

Table 14. Goodness-of-fit test for Three-Factor (41-Item) Modern Heterosexism Model.

	<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>sig. p<</i>
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	6858.919	820	0.001
Model	1431.214	700	0.001

Table 15. Pattern Matrix for Items Comprising the Four-Factor (36-Item) Liberationist Beliefs Scale.

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factor</i>			
	1	2	3	4
(eb62) If my daughter discovered she was lesbian, and was happy about it, I would be happy.	.933		-.212	
(eb52) If my son discovered he was gay, and was happy about it, I'd be happy.	.904		-.205	
(eb69) If my daughter told me she thought she might be lesbian, I would encourage her to explore that aspect of herself.	.809			
(eb54) If my son told me he thought he might be gay, I would encourage him to explore that aspect of himself.	.798			
(eb63) I see the lesbian and gay movement as a positive thing.	.778			
(eb60) The accomplishments of the gay and lesbian civil rights movements are something to be admired.	.736			
(eb73) Society is enhanced by the diversity offered by lesbian and gay people.	.652			
(eb64) Gay men and lesbians should be admired for living their lives in the face of adversity.	.644			
(eb18) The advances made by the gay and lesbian civil rights movement have improved society overall.	.639			
(eb53) I admire the strength shown by lesbians.	.603			

Table 15. (cont.)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factor</i>			
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
(eb8) I feel restricted by the gender label that people attach to me.	.804			
(eb5) I feel restricted by the sexual label that people attach to me.	.802			
(eb7) I feel limited by the sexual behaviors that are expected of me.	.792			
(eb3) I feel restricted by the sexual rules and norms of society.	.686			
(eb10) I feel restricted by the expectations people have of me because of my gender.	.644			
(eb17) I worry about the privileges I get from society because of my sexual orientation.	.463			
(eb9) It seems to me that the labels "man" and "woman" aren't really very useful ways to describe the differences between people.	.394			
(eb22) I believe that most people are basically bisexual.	.286	.384		
(eb41) Gay men and lesbians need to threaten the system to achieve their goals.	.341			
(eb24) I often feel like I have more in common with the other sex than with my own.	.333			
(eb70) Gay men are more emotionally available than are heterosexual men.			.717	
(eb68) Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about being friends to women.			.673	
(eb61) Being gay can make a man more compassionate.			.623	
(eb58) Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about fashion.			.614	
(eb51) Gay men are more creative than are heterosexual men.			.546	
(eb57) Being lesbian can make a woman more self-reliant.			.514	
(eb46) Lesbians have a lot to teach other women about being independent.	.226	.380		
(eb42) The plight of lesbians and gay men will only improve when they are in important positions within the system.			.267	
(eb35) Differences between men and women have more to do with society than biology.			.263	
(eb43) Lesbians have been at the forefront of the struggle for equal rights for women.			.237	
(eb67) I find lesbians more emotionally available than other women.			.203	
(eb29) Every man could be gay if he so chose.				.940
(eb21) Every woman could be a lesbian if she so chose.				.844
(eb26) There is no such thing as "sexual orientation": we all have the potential to be anything sexually.				.472
(eb38) Whether a person is gay or straight is pretty much set early in childhood.				-.226

Table 15. (cont.)

<i>Items</i>	<i>Factor</i>			
	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
(eb34) If someone comes out as gay or lesbian, they were probably attracted to the same sex all along.				-0.215

NOTE: Extraction Method: Maximum Likelihood. Rotation Method: Promax with Kaiser Normalization.

Table 16. Correlation Matrix for Liberationist Beliefs scale.

<i>Factor</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>
(1) Valuing Gay Progress	1.000	.487	.378	.216
(2) Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	.487	1.000	.335	.210
(3) Positive Stereotypes	.378	.335	1.000	.180
(4) Mutability	.216	.210	.180	1.000

NOTE: Higher scores on Value Gay Progress, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, and Pro-Gay/Pro-Lesbian Stereotypes indicate more favorable attitudes. Higher scores on Mutability indicate greater belief in sexuality and gender as fluid and changeable.

Table 17. Goodness-of-fit test for reduced Liberationist Beliefs model.

	<i>Chi-Square</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Sig. p <</i>
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	4602.817	630	0.001
Model	1134.655	492	0.001

Table 18. Correlations Among Modern Heterosexism and Liberationist Beliefs Subscales.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(1) Traditional Heterosexism/ Egalitarianism	1.000	0.734*	0.548*	-0.857*	-0.461*	-0.370*	-0.201*
(2) Aversive Heterosexism	0.734*	1.000	0.505*	-0.724*	-0.377*	-0.288*	-0.163*
(3) Denial of Continued Discrimination	0.548*	0.505*	1.000	-0.499*	-0.178*	-0.229*	-0.049
(4) Value Gay Progress/Diversity	-0.857*	-0.724*	-0.499*	1.000	0.529*	0.413*	0.230*
(5) Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	-0.461*	-0.377*	-0.178*	0.529*	1.000	0.384*	0.225*
(6) Positive Stereotypes	-0.370*	-0.288*	-0.229*	0.413*	0.384*	1.000	0.205*
(7) Mutability	-0.201*	-0.163*	-0.049	0.230*	0.225*	0.205*	1.000

NOTE: Higher scores on the Traditional Heterosexism and Aversive Heterosexism scales indicate more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Higher scores on the Denial of Continued Discrimination scale indicate the rejection of claims that discrimination against lesbians and gay men is still a significant problem in society. Higher scores on Value Gay Progress, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, and Pro-Gay/Pro-Lesbian Stereotypes indicate more favorable attitudes. Higher scores on Mutability indicate greater belief in sexuality and gender as fluid and changeable. Scale values calculated using regression method.

* Correlation is significant at $p < 0.01$.

encourage him to explore that aspect of himself' and was included among the Liberationist Beliefs items.

As shown in Table 19, the final scale, resulting from this exploratory analysis, includes subscales measuring: Traditional Heterosexism, Denial of Continued Discrimination, Aversion Toward Gay Men, Aversion Toward Lesbians, Value Gay Progress, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, Positive Stereotypes, and Mutability Beliefs.

Past research has suggested that both gender of participant and gender of target differences will be larger for attitudes derived from ego-defensive aversion (Herek, 1988;

Whitley, 2001). These theoretical and practical considerations, as well as the need to correct for the initial oversight, led to the splitting of the one-dimension aversion subscale into two related gendered subscales: Aversion Toward Gay Men and Aversion Toward Lesbians.

Table 19. Grouping of Scale Items as Suggested by Exploratory Factor Analyses.

TRADITIONAL HETEROSEXISM (TH)	
TH1	Female homosexuality is a sin. ^a
TH2	Homosexuality is just as moral a way of life as heterosexuality.
TH3	Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong. ^a
TH4	If two people really love each other, then it shouldn't matter whether they are a woman and a man, two women or two men.
TH5	Male homosexuality is a perversion. ^a
TH6	The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals. ^a
TH7	Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned. ^a
TH8	If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them. ^a
TH9	It is important for gay and lesbian people to be true to their feelings and desires.
TH10	The idea of male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me. ^a
TH11	Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem. ^a
TH12	Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men. ^a
TH13	State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened. ^a
TH14	Lesbians are sick. ^a
TH15	Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural division between the sexes. ^a
TH16	Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples. ^a
TH17	Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions. ^a
TH18	Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in school. ^a
TH19	Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality. ^a
TH20	A woman's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation. ^a
DENIAL OF CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION (DD)	
DD1	On average, people in our society treat gay people and straight people equally.
DD2	Most lesbians and gay men are no longer discriminated against.

Table 19. (cont.)

DENIAL OF CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION (DD)	
DD3	Society has reached the point where gay people and straight people have equal opportunities for advancement.
DD4	It is rare to see gay men and lesbians treated in a homophobic manner on television.
DD5	Discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem in the United States.
DD6	It is easy to understand the anger of lesbian and gay rights groups in America.
DD7	Lesbians and gay men often miss out on good jobs due to discrimination.
DD8	It is easy to understand why gay and lesbian rights groups are still concerned about societal limitation of homosexuals' opportunities.
DD9	Too many lesbians and gay men still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their sexual orientation.
DD10	Gay men and lesbians would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on gay issues.
AVERSION TOWARD GAY MEN (AG)	
AG1	I try to avoid contact with gay men.
AG2	It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a gay man.
AG3	I would like to have more gay male friends.
AG4	Gay men aren't real men.
AG5	I'm uncomfortable when gay men act feminine.
AG6	I think male homosexuals are disgusting.
AG7	Gay men can't be masculine.
AG8	I wish gay men would act more masculine.
AVERSION TOWARD LESBIANS (AL)	
AL1	Lesbians aren't real women.
AL2	I wish lesbians would act more feminine.
AL3	I try to avoid contact with lesbians.
AL4	It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a lesbian.
AL5	I would like to have more lesbian friends.
AL6	I'm uncomfortable when lesbians act masculine.
AL7	I think female homosexuals are disgusting.
AL8	Lesbians can't be feminine.
VALUE GAY PROGRESS/DIVERSITY (VG)	
VG1	If my daughter discovered she was lesbian, and was happy about it, I would be happy.
VG2	If my son discovered he was gay, and was happy about it, I'd be happy.
VG3	If my daughter told me she thought she might be lesbian, I would encourage her to explore that aspect of herself.
VG4	If my son told me he thought he might be gay, I would encourage him to explore that aspect of himself.

Table 19. (cont.)

VALUE GAY PROGRESS/DIVERSITY (VG)	
VG5	I see the lesbian and gay movement as a positive thing.
VG6	The accomplishments of the gay and lesbian civil rights movements are something to be admired.
VG7	Society is enhanced by the diversity offered by lesbian and gay people.
VG8	Gay men and lesbians should be admired for living their lives in the face of adversity.
VG9	The advances made by the gay and lesbian civil rights movement have improved society overall.
VG10	I admire the strength shown by lesbians.
RESIST SEX/GENDER ROLE HEGEMONY (RH)	
RH1	I feel restricted by the gender label that people attach to me.
RH2	I feel restricted by the sexual label that people attach to me.
RH3	I feel limited by the sexual behaviors that are expected of me.
RH4	I feel restricted by the sexual rules and norms of society.
RH5	I feel restricted by the expectations people have of me because of my gender.
RH6	I worry about the privileges I get from society because of my sexual orientation.
RH7	It seems to me that the labels "man" and "woman" aren't really very useful ways to describe the differences between people.
RH8	I believe that most people are basically bisexual.
RH9	Gay men and lesbians need to threaten the system to achieve their goals.
RH10	I often feel like I have more in common with the other sex than with my own.
POSITIVE STEREOTYPES (PS)	
PS1	Gay men are more emotionally available than are heterosexual men.
PS2	Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about being friends to women.
PS3	Being gay can make a man more compassionate.
PS4	Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about fashion.
PS5	Gay men are more creative than are heterosexual men.
PS6	Being lesbian can make a woman more self-reliant.
PS7	Lesbians have a lot to teach other women about being independent.
PS8	The plight of lesbians and gay men will only improve when they are in important positions within the system.
PS9	Lesbians have been at the forefront of the struggle for equal rights for women.
PS10	I find lesbians more emotionally available than other women.
MUTABILITY BELIEFS (MU)	
MU1	Every man could be gay if he so chose.
MU2	Every woman could be a lesbian if she so chose.
MU3	There is no such thing as "sexual orientation": we all have the potential to be anything sexually.
MU4	Whether a person is gay or straight is pretty much set early in childhood.

Table 19. (cont.)

MUTABILITY BELIEFS (MU)	
MU5	If someone comes out as gay or lesbian, they were probably attracted to the same sex all along.
MU6	Differences between men and women have more to do with society than biology.

^a These items were taken from Herek's ATLG (1984).

Chapter 5: Confirmatory Factor Analysis

A new sample was recruited and a new set of data collected for the purpose of conducting a confirmatory factor analysis of the structure and content of the model derived from the exploratory analysis. Five hundred ninety-two undergraduates from the University of Texas at Austin (n=473) and Texas A&M University (n=119) completed a shortened 76-item web-based version of the Modern Heterosexism and Liberationist Beliefs scale (see Table 19 for a list of subscales and the item content for each). For the purpose of assessing the construct validity of this new measure, participants also completed measures of Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation, and Humanitarianism/ Egalitarianism, a demographics survey¹⁵, and a contact questionnaire.

Demographics of Participants

As shown in Table 20, approximately 61% of participants in stage 2 were female and 39% were male. The age of these participants ranged from 17-47, with a median age of 19 (mean was slightly higher at 19.4, and the mode lower at 18). Sixty-nine percent of participants were white, 20% were Asian/Pacific Islander, 7% reported being of mixed race, 4% were Black, and <1% were Native American. Ten percent of participants identified as Hispanic. Almost all participants (97%) reported being heterosexual, with only 3% identifying as gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, or other.

¹⁵ It was likely that the majority of respondents would identify as heterosexual. It is possible, however, that the particular locations where data were collected influenced whether non-heterosexual participants' felt safe enough to be open out about their sexuality. Students attending The University of Texas in Austin – a relatively liberal town – are more likely to be open about their sexuality than are student at Texas A&M in College Station – a smaller, more conservative town.

Compared to data from the 2000 census of Texas, this sample represents a fair distribution of White students, but an undersample of Blacks and Latinos and an oversample of Females and Asians. More participants were recruited from The University of Texas at Austin than from Texas A&M University. Again, there were slightly more Republicans than Democrats, and most described their politics as moderate to liberal. A slightly larger number of students identified as conservative in this sample than in the previous sample. Similar to the previous sample, these students represent an economically privileged group with more than half indicating that their family income exceeded \$80,000 annually.

Table 20. Demographics of Participants in Confirmatory Factor Analysis.

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
<i>School</i>		
Texas A&M	119	20.10
UT Austin	473	79.90
<i>Total</i>	592	
<i>Gender</i>		
Female	358	60.78
Male	231	39.22
<i>Total</i>	589	
<i>Missing</i>	3	
<i>Age</i>		
17	15	2.54
18	232	39.26
19	137	23.18
20	94	15.91
21	63	10.66
22	21	3.55
23	10	1.69
24	3	0.51
25	7	1.18
26	1	0.17
27	1	0.17
28	1	0.17
31	1	0.17

Table 20. (cont.)

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
34	2	0.34
41	1	0.17
42	1	0.17
47	1	0.17
<i>Total</i>	591	
<i>Missing</i>	1	
<i>Race</i>		
White	404	69.06
Asian	115	19.66
Mixed	40	6.84
Black	24	4.10
Native	2	0.34
<i>Total</i>	585	
<i>Missing</i>	7	
<i>Latino/a?</i>		
Yes	59	10.05
No	528	89.95
<i>Total</i>	587	
<i>Missing</i>	5	
<i>Sexual Orientation</i>		
Heterosexual	579	97.80
Bisexual	7	1.18
Homosexual	4	0.68
Other	1	0.17
<i>Total</i>	592	
<i>Years in College</i>		
1st year	292	49.41
2nd year	125	21.15
3rd year	83	14.04
4th year or greater	91	15.40
<i>Total</i>	591	
<i>Missing</i>	1	
<i>Number of Children</i>		
None	582	98.81
One	4	0.68
Two	3	0.51
<i>Total</i>	589	
<i>Missing</i>	3	
<i>Geographic Residence</i>		
Mountain	251	42.54
South	239	40.51

Table 20. (cont.)

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
Central	55	9.32
Other	25	4.24
Northeast	12	2.03
Pacific	8	1.36
<i>Total</i>	590	
<i>Missing</i>	2	
<i>Household Location</i>		
Large City	209	35.36
Suburb	205	34.69
Small City	110	18.61
Small Town	65	11.00
Farm	2	0.34
<i>Total</i>	591	
<i>Missing</i>	1	
<i>Relationship Status</i>		
Never Married	543	92.50
Cohabiting	35	5.96
Married	7	1.19
Divorced	2	0.34
<i>Total</i>	587	
<i>Missing</i>	5	
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>		
Protestant	176	30.24
Catholic	136	23.37
Other	117	20.10
None	93	15.98
Jewish	25	4.30
Hindu	20	3.44
Buddhist	9	1.55
Muslim	6	1.03
<i>Total</i>	582	
<i>Missing</i>	10	
<i>Religious Ideology</i>		
Moderate	221	37.39
Does not apply	138	23.35
Conservative	117	19.80
Liberal	115	19.46
<i>Total</i>	591	
<i>Missing</i>	1	
<i>Religious Attendance</i>		
Never	32	9.70

Table 20. (cont.)

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
Once	106	32.12
1-3 times	98	29.70
Weekly	94	28.48
<i>Total</i>	330	
<i>Missing</i>	262	
<i>Political Affiliation</i>		
Republican	218	36.95
None	189	32.03
Democrat	128	21.69
Independent	29	4.92
Green	12	2.03
Other	7	1.19
Libertarian	6	1.02
Socialist	1	0.17
<i>Total</i>	590	
<i>Missing</i>	2	
<i>Political Ideology</i>		
Moderate	191	32.43
Liberal	144	24.45
Conservative	133	22.58
Does not apply	115	19.52
Radical	6	1.02
<i>Total</i>	589	
<i>Missing</i>	3	
<i>Family Income</i>		
\$0-20,000	39	6.74
\$20-\$40,000	69	11.92
\$40-\$60,000	72	12.44
\$60-\$80,000	101	17.44
\$80-\$100,000	96	16.58
\$100,000+	202	34.89
<i>Total</i>	579	
<i>Missing</i>	13	

NOTE: n=592.

Item-Total Correlation and Internal Consistency

Initial analysis of these data involved an assessment of the internal consistency and model fit for each subscale. As described below, modifications were made to each

subscale based on the results from these analyses, including low item estimates.

Following this series of modifications, the model comprised of the newly adjusted subscales was then analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis.

For the Traditional Heterosexism subscale, the item “A woman’s homosexuality should not be the cause for job discrimination in any situation” (TH20) had an item-total correlation of .29. It was unclear why this item correlated so poorly with the other subscale items. Due to its low loading, however, it was dropped from further analyses. Similar to what was found in the exploratory analysis, most of the items from Herek’s ATLG again loaded on the Traditional Heterosexism subscale. Only one item, “I think male homosexuals are disgusting” loaded on a different subscale (Aversion Toward Gay Men).

For the Denial of Continued Discrimination subscale, two item-total correlations dropped below .4. The item “Gay men and lesbians would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on gay issues” (DD10) had an item-total correlation of .24. It was concluded post-hoc that this item was probably not tapping into the same denial of discrimination construct as the other items and it was dropped from further consideration. The item “It is rare to see gay men and lesbians treated in a homophobic manner on television” (DD4) also had a low item-total correlation (.38). However, because this item related directly to participants’ sensitivity to expressions of sexual prejudice it was retained.

For the Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles subscale, two item-total correlations dropped below .4. The items “I often feel like I have more in common with the other sex than with my own” (RH10) and “Gay men and lesbians need to threaten the system to

achieve their goals” (RH9) correlated with the total at .30 and .36 respectively. Because both were determined post-hoc to be a less-than-perfect operationalization of the construct being assessed, they were dropped from further consideration.

Finally, three item-total correlations dropped below .4 for the Mutability subscale. The items: “Whether a person is gay or straight is pretty much set in early childhood” (MU4), “If someone comes out as gay or lesbian, they were probably attracted to the same sex all along” (MU5), and “Differences between men and women have more to do with society than biology” (MU6) correlated with the total at .23, .29, and .06 respectively, and were dropped from further consideration. Removing these items, however, left only three items to operationalize mutability. In addition, two of these remaining items – “Every man could be gay if he so chose,” and “Every woman could be a lesbian if she so chose” – were so similar in wording, it was decided that the content of this subscale was too limited. Including these items in the final model would not adequately operationalize the mutability construct, and so the items and subscale were dropped from further consideration.

Item-total correlations for each of the modified subscales are listed in Table 21. Internal consistency measures (Cronbach alphas) for each subscale were within the acceptable range (Traditional Heterosexism: $\alpha = .96$; Denial of Continued Discrimination: $\alpha = .83$, Aversion Toward Gay Men: $\alpha = .90$, Aversion Toward Lesbians: $\alpha = .88$, Value Gay Progress/Diversity: $\alpha = .96$, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles: $\alpha = .90$, and Positive Stereotypes: $\alpha = .86$).

Table 21. Initial and Adjusted Item-Total Correlations and Final Internal Consistency Measures for Each Subscale.

	<i>Initial Item- Total Correlations</i>	<i>Adjusted Item-Total Correlations</i>
TRADITIONAL HETEROSEXISM	n=569; $\alpha=.96$	n=571; $\alpha=.96$
1 Female homosexuality is a sin.	.79	.80
2 Homosexuality is just as moral a way of life as heterosexuality.	.79	.80
3 Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.	.79	.80
4 If two people really love each other, then it shouldn't matter whether they are a woman and a man, two women or two men.	.83	.83
5 Male homosexuality is a perversion.	.79	.79
6 The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.	.76	.77
7 Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned.	.79	.79
8 If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.	.83	.83
9 It is important for gay and lesbian people to be true to their feelings and desires.	.75	.75
10 The idea of male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me.	.81	.82
11 Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.	.60	.60
12 Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.	.78	.78
13 State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.	.68	.67
14 Lesbians are sick.	.74	.73
15 Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural division between the sexes.	.75	.75
16 Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.	.62	.62
17 Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.	.71	.71
18 Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in school.	.57	.57
19 Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.	.70	.70

Table 21. (cont.)

	<i>Initial Item- Total Correlations</i>	<i>Adjusted Item-Total Correlations</i>
20 A woman's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.	.29	--
DENIAL OF CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION	n=580; α =.82	n=580; α =.83
1 On average, people in our society treat gay people and straight people equally.	.50	.53
2 Most lesbians and gay men are no longer discriminated against.	.59	.60
3 Society has reached the point where gay people and straight people have equal opportunities for advancement.	.59	.59
4 It is rare to see gay men and lesbians treated in a homophobic manner on television.	.38	.38
5 Discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem in the United States.	.60	.60
6 It is easy to understand the anger of lesbian and gay rights groups in America.	.47	.47
7 Lesbians and gay men often miss out on good jobs due to discrimination.	.51	.53
8 It is easy to understand why gay and lesbian rights groups are still concerned about societal limitation of homosexuals' opportunities.	.59	.59
9 Too many lesbians and gay men still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their sexual orientation.	.58	.58
10 Gay men and lesbians would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on gay issues.	.24	--
AVERSION TOWARD GAY MEN	n=582; α =.90	n=582; α =.90
1 I try to avoid contact with gay men.	.79	.79
2 It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a gay man.	.75	.75
3 I would like to have more gay male friends.	.65	.65
4 Gay men aren't real men.	.70	.70
5 I'm uncomfortable when gay men act feminine.	.66	.66
6 I think male homosexuals are disgusting.	.77	.77
7 Gay men can't be masculine.	.51	.51
8 I wish gay men would act more masculine.	.64	.64
AVERSION TOWARD LESBIANS	n=577; α =.88	n=577; α =.88
1 Lesbians aren't real women.	.65	.65
2 I wish lesbians would act more feminine.	.57	.57

Table 21. (cont.)

	<i>Initial Item- Total Correlations</i>	<i>Adjusted Item-Total Correlations</i>
3 I try to avoid contact with lesbians.	.79	.79
4 It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a lesbian.	.70	.70
5 I would like to have more lesbian friends.	.52	.52
6 I'm uncomfortable when lesbians act masculine.	.58	.58
7 I think female homosexuals are disgusting.	.77	.77
8 Lesbians can't be feminine.	.62	.62
VALUE GAY PROGRESS/DIVERSITY	n=578; α=.96	n=578; α=.96
1 If my daughter discovered she was lesbian, and was happy about it, I would be happy.	.79	.79
2 If my son discovered he was gay, and was happy about it, I'd be happy.	.79	.79
3 If my daughter told me she thought she might be lesbian, I would encourage her to explore that aspect of herself.	.82	.82
4 If my son told me he thought he might be gay, I would encourage him to explore that aspect of himself.	.81	.81
5 I see the lesbian and gay movement as a positive thing.	.84	.84
6 The accomplishments of the gay and lesbian civil rights movements are something to be admired.	.81	.81
7 Society is enhanced by the diversity offered by lesbian and gay people.	.81	.81
8 Gay men and lesbians should be admired for living their lives in the face of adversity.	.78	.78
9 The advances made by the gay and lesbian civil rights movement have improved society overall.	.82	.82
10 I admire the strength shown by lesbians.	.78	.78
RESIST TRADITIONAL SEX/GENDER ROLES	n=581; α=.88	n=585; α=.90
1 I feel restricted by the gender label that people attach to me.	.74	.77
2 I feel restricted by the sexual label that people attach to me.	.77	.80
3 I feel limited by the sexual behaviors that are expected of me.	.79	.81
4 I feel restricted by the sexual rules and norms of society.	.79	.80
5 I feel restricted by the expectations people have of me because of my gender.	.73	.74

Table 21. (cont.)

	<i>Initial Item- Total Correlations</i>	<i>Adjusted Item-Total Correlations</i>
6 I worry about the privileges I get from society because of my sexual orientation.	.71	.71
7 It seems to me that the labels "man" and "woman" aren't really very useful ways to describe the differences between people.	.53	.51
8 I believe that most people are basically bisexual.	.46	.45
9 Gay men and lesbians need to threaten the system to achieve their goals.	.36	--
10 I often feel like I have more in common with the other sex than with my own.	.30	--
POSITIVE STEREOTYPES	n=575; α=.86	n=575; α=.86
1 Gay men are more emotionally available than are heterosexual men.	.52	.52
2 Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about being friends to women.	.60	.60
3 Being gay can make a man more compassionate.	.68	.68
4 Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about fashion.	.63	.63
5 Gay men are more creative than are heterosexual men.	.64	.64
6 Being lesbian can make a woman more self-reliant.	.63	.63
7 Lesbians have a lot to teach other women about being independent.	.61	.61
8 The plight of lesbians and gay men will only improve when they are in important positions within the system.	.47	.47
9 Lesbians have been at the forefront of the struggle for equal rights for women.	.46	.46
10 I find lesbians more emotionally available than other women.	.52	.52
MUTABILITY	n=587; α=.65	n=589; α=.86
1 Every man could be gay if he so chose.	.66	.83
2 Every woman could be a lesbian if she so chose.	.64	.83
3 There is no such thing as "sexual orientation": we all have the potential to be anything sexually.	.47	.56
4 Whether a person is gay or straight is pretty much set early in childhood.	.23	--
5 If someone comes out as gay or lesbian, they were probably attracted to the same sex all along.	.29	--

Table 21. (cont.)

	<i>Initial Item- Total Correlations</i>	<i>Adjusted Item-Total Correlations</i>
6 Differences between men and women have more to do with society than biology.	.06	--

Fit analyses for individual subscales

In order to assess the fit of a one-factor model, and further assess the adequacy of the representative items for each subscale, Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted individually on each of the remaining 7 subscales. Using the maximum likelihood method of parameter estimates in the AMOS 4.01 software (Arbuckle and Wothke, 1999), goodness-of-fit indices for each subscale and estimates for each observed item were determined.

A variety of indices and “rules of thumb” exist in the literature for evaluating model fit (Jöreskog and Sörbom, 1993). A non-significant chi-square, CFI and TLI above .90 and RMSEA below .06 have all been claimed as useful indicators of good fit (Hu and Bentler, 1999). Jöreskog and Sörbom also argue, however, that a chi-square statistic should be viewed only as a measure of goodness of fit and should not be used to support or reject a proposed model outright. They suggest that dividing the chi-square by the degrees of freedom creates a useful estimate of model fit. A ratio of 5 or less indicates reasonable fit (Pedhazur and Schmelkin, 1991).

As shown in Table 22, initial assessment of the fit of the Traditional Heterosexism subscale, using the chi-square statistic, suggests that while this model offers substantial improvement over the independence model, it provides rather poor fit to the data ($\chi^2=938.39$, $df=152$, $p<.001$; χ^2/df ratio=6.17; RMSEA=.09). Other fit indices suggest,

however, that this model does represent a substantial improvement over the independence model (CFI=0.97; TLI=0.96).

Table 22. Confirmatory Factor Analysis Fit Indices for Each Subscale and Full Model.

<i>Model</i>	<i>Model Chi-square</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p-value</i>	χ^2 <i>ratio</i>	<i>CFI</i>	<i>TLI</i>	<i>RMSEA</i>
<i>Subscale:</i>							
Traditional Heterosexism	938.39	152	.001	6.17	.97	.96	.09
Denial of Continued Discrimination	595.28	27	.001	22.05	.95	.92	.19
Aversive Heterosexism (2-factor)	1108.75	103	.001	10.76	.95	.94	.13
Aversive Heterosexism (1-factor)	1724.15	104	.001		.93	.90	.15
Value Gay Progress	1409.51	35	.001	40.27	.92	.87	.26
Value Gay Progress (w/o VG1&2)	834.45	20	.001	41.72	.94	.89	.26
Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	275.84	20	.001	13.79	.97	.95	.15
Positive Stereotypes	593.46	35	.001	16.96	.96	.94	.16
<i>Full model</i>							
61-item, 7-factor model	7925.73	2058	.001		.94	.94	.07

Similar inconstancies were observed for the other subscales as well. Items comprising the Denial of Continued Discrimination subscale resulted in a poor fit according to some measures ($\chi^2=595.28$, $df=27$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2/df=22.05$; RMSEA=0.19), but reasonable fit according to others (CFI=0.95; TLI=0.92). Inconsistent findings were similarly observed for the two-factor model comprised of the Aversion Toward Gay Men and Aversion Toward Lesbians subscales ($\chi^2=1108.75$, $df=103$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2/df=10.76$; RMSEA=0.13; CFI=0.95; TLI=0.94), for the Value Gay Progress/Diversity subscale ($\chi^2=1409.51$, $df=35$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2/df=40.27$; RMSEA=0.26; CFI=0.92; TLI=0.87), for the Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles subscale ($\chi^2=275.84$, $df=20$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2/df=13.79$;

RMSEA=0.15; CFI=0.97; TLI=0.95), and for the Positive Stereotypes subscale ($\chi^2=593.46$, $df=35$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2/df=16.96$; RMSEA=0.16; CFI=0.96; TLI=0.94).

Subscale Adjustments

In order to improve the fit of the proposed models, modifications were made to the items comprising those models. Model data were reanalyzed using LISREL 8, which not only provides estimates of model fit, but also provides estimations of residuals and correlations among residuals. Analysis of these residuals and correlations among residuals can provide additional insight into improving model fit.

Modification indices for the residuals of the Value Gay Progress/Diversity subscale suggested that the residuals for VG1-VG4 were highly correlated, contributing to the model's poor fit. Because these four items were related in content: "If my daughter/son discovered she/he was lesbian/gay, and was happy about it, I would be happy" (VG1&2) and "If my daughter/son told me she/he thought she/he might be lesbian/gay, I would encourage him/her to explore that aspect of himself/herself" (VG3&4), as well as being highly redundant (inter-item correlations ranged from .72 to .93), it was proposed that reducing the number of these items included in the subscale may improve its overall fit. Since items VG1 and VG2 assessed respondents' willingness to support their son's or daughter's sexuality rather than a more direct assessment of their feelings about the value of gay men and/or lesbians in general, these items were dropped for poor theoretical fit. The model was reanalyzed with the remaining 8 items. Unfortunately, these changes didn't result in a significant improvement ($\chi^2=834.45$, $df=20$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2/df=41.72$; RMSEA=0.26; CFI=0.94; TLI=0.89).

Dropping an additional item (VG3) did improve the model considerably ($\chi^2=107.22$, $df=14$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2/df=7.66$; RMSEA=0.11; CFI=0.99; TLI=0.98). Mean differences for VG3 (2.59) and VG4 (2.49), however, were found to be significant ($p<.001$). In addition, the content of these items more adequately represented attitudes toward homosexuality than VG1 and VG2. Given that respondents were significantly less willing to encourage the homosexual exploration of their sons than of their daughters, it was clear that these items were important to the content validity of the subscale and should be retained.

At the start of this project, theorizing about aversion led to the proposal of a unitary aversion construct. Later reflection, however, led to a reconceptualization of aversion into a two-factor model that would be sensitive to gender-of-evaluator/gender-of-target interactions. In order to assess which of these models more adequately explained variation in the data, the fit of the single-factor model was compared to that of the two-factor model. As shown in Table 22, a two-factor model for the Aversion Toward Gay Men and Aversion Toward Lesbians subscales provided a better fit ($\chi^2=1108.75$, $df=103$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2/df=10.76$; RMSEA=0.13; CFI=0.95; TLI=0.94) than did a one-factor model ($\chi^2=1724.15$, $df=104$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2/df=16.58$; RMSEA=0.16; CFI=0.93; TLI=0.90).

Fit analyses for 7-factor model - adjusted item list.

Once each subscale was identified, it was necessary to assess how the overall model fit the data. Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted on the 70-item 7-factor model comprised of: traditional heterosexism/pro-gay egalitarianism, denial of continued discrimination, aversion toward gay men, aversion toward lesbians, value gay

progress, resist sex/gender role hegemony, and pro-gay/lesbian stereotypes. Using the maximum likelihood method of parameter estimates in the AMOS 4.01 software (Arbuckle and Wothke, 1999), goodness-of-fit indices for the overall model and estimates for each observed item were determined.

As shown in Table 22, this model was demonstrated as providing a close to adequate fit for these data. Most of the standard fit indices suggested a reasonable fit (CFI=.94, TLI=.95; RMSEA=.07) and the model chi-square (7925.73; $df=2058$), while still significant ($p<.001$), demonstrated a substantial improvement over the independence model ($\chi^2/df=3.85$). Individual item estimates are shown in Table 23. At this point, the 61-item 7-factor model could be said to demonstrate a more or less adequate fit for the data (Rindskopf, personal communication, January 2003), but further exploration of the data was justified.

Table 23. Model Estimates for Confirmatory Factor Analysis of 7-Factor Model Including All Items.

<i>Items</i>	<i>Model Estimate</i>
TRADITIONAL HETEROSEXISM	
1 Female homosexuality is a sin.	.81
2 Homosexuality is just as moral a way of life as heterosexuality.	.81
3 Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.	.83
4 If two people really love each other, then it shouldn't matter whether they are a woman and a man, two women or two men.	.85
5 Male homosexuality is a perversion.	.82
6 The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.	.78
7 Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned.	.80
8 If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.	.85

Table 23. (cont.)

	<i>Items</i>	<i>Model Estimate</i>
9	It is important for gay and lesbian people to be true to their feelings and desires.	.77
10	The idea of male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me.	.84
11	Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.	.61
12	Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.	.80
13	State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.	.68
14	Lesbians are sick.	.74
15	Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural division between the sexes.	.77
16	Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.	.63
17	Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.	.72
18	Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in school.	.57
19	Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.	.72
DENIAL OF CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION		
1	On average, people in our society treat gay people and straight people equally.	.64
2	Most lesbians and gay men are no longer discriminated against.	.72
3	Society has reached the point where gay people and straight people have equal opportunities for advancement.	.69
4	It is rare to see gay men and lesbians treated in a homophobic manner on television.	.42
5	Discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem in the United States.	.73
6	It is easy to understand the anger of lesbian and gay rights groups in America.	.50
7	Lesbians and gay men often miss out on good jobs due to discrimination.	.52
8	It is easy to understand why gay and lesbian rights groups are still concerned about societal limitation of homosexuals' opportunities.	.60
9	Too many lesbians and gay men still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their sexual orientation.	.57
AVERSION TOWARD GAY MEN		
1	I try to avoid contact with gay men.	.83
2	It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a gay man.	.79
3	I would like to have more gay male friends.	.69
4	Gay men aren't real men.	.75
5	I'm uncomfortable when gay men act feminine.	.70

Table 23. (cont.)

	<i>Items</i>	<i>Model Estimate</i>
6	I think male homosexuals are disgusting.	.84
7	Gay men can't be masculine.	.55
8	I wish gay men would act more masculine.	.67
AVERSION TOWARD LESBIANS		
1	Lesbians aren't real women.	.71
2	I wish lesbians would act more feminine.	.60
3	I try to avoid contact with lesbians.	.83
4	It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a lesbian.	.76
5	I would like to have more lesbian friends.	.56
6	I'm uncomfortable when lesbians act masculine.	.62
7	I think female homosexuals are disgusting.	.85
8	Lesbians can't be feminine.	.66
VALUE GAY PROGRESS/DIVERSITY		
3	If my daughter told me she thought she might be lesbian, I would encourage her to explore that aspect of herself.	.75
4	If my son told me he thought he might be gay, I would encourage him to explore that aspect of himself.	.75
5	I see the lesbian and gay movement as a positive thing.	.87
6	The accomplishments of the gay and lesbian civil rights movements are something to be admired.	.87
7	Society is enhanced by the diversity offered by lesbian and gay people.	.85
8	Gay men and lesbians should be admired for living their lives in the face of adversity.	.83
9	The advances made by the gay and lesbian civil rights movement have improved society overall.	.87
10	I admire the strength shown by lesbians.	.83
RESIST TRADITIONAL SEX/GENDER ROLES		
1	I feel restricted by the gender label that people attach to me.	.82
2	I feel restricted by the sexual label that people attach to me.	.85
3	I feel limited by the sexual behaviors that are expected of me.	.87
4	I feel restricted by the sexual rules and norms of society.	.85
5	I feel restricted by the expectations people have of me because of my gender.	.78
6	I worry about the privileges I get from society because of my sexual orientation.	.72
7	It seems to me that the labels "man" and "woman" aren't really very useful ways to describe the differences between people.	.51
8	I believe that most people are basically bisexual.	.47
POSITIVE STEREOTYPES		
1	Gay men are more emotionally available than are heterosexual men.	.58

Table 23. (cont.)

	<i>Items</i>	<i>Model Estimate</i>
2	Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about being friends to women.	.67
3	Being gay can make a man more compassionate.	.73
4	Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about fashion.	.70
5	Gay men are more creative than are heterosexual men.	.71
6	Being lesbian can make a woman more self-reliant.	.66
7	Lesbians have a lot to teach other women about being independent.	.65
8	The plight of lesbians and gay men will only improve when they are in important positions within the system.	.49
9	Lesbians have been at the forefront of the struggle for equal rights for women.	.48
10	I find lesbians more emotionally available than other women.	.54

NOTE: Model estimates calculated using the maximum likelihood method of parameter estimation in the AMOS 4.01 software (Arbuckle and Wothke, 1999)

Split-half approach to improving model fit

Multiple manifest indicators for a latent factor help to identify the conceptual space defined by that factor and also help to reduce the impact of measurement error that might result from using any individual item. Error terms, however, can also represent theoretically meaningless (yet still systematic) variance not accounted for by the latent factors included in the model. This systematic variance can result in a reduction of a model's overall fit. Another challenge confronting this model is the number of individual items comprising each subscale.

One method for controlling systematic variance was proposed by Warren, White, and Fuller (1974) and Rock, Werts, Linn and Jörgeskog (1977). They suggest that multiple indicators for each factor be randomly split into two composite variables that then serve as the indicators for that factor. By reducing the degrees of freedom and the

impact of any potential systematic variance in the error terms of individual items, this procedure should improve the overall model fit.

As shown in Table 24 and Table 25, composite variables were created for each subscale by randomly assigning subscale indicators to one of two groups, and items in each group were averaged to create a score for each composite variable. As shown in Figure 2, a new 7-factor model was created using the composite indicators for each subscale. This model was analyzed using AMOS (see Table 26 for correlation and covariance matrix for composite items). As shown in Table 27, the reduced-item-model ($\chi^2=131.125$; $df=56$; $\chi^2/df=2.34$) demonstrated a substantial improvement over the full-item model ($\chi^2=7925.73$; $df=2058$; $\chi^2/df=3.85$). Although the chi-square for the reduced-item model was smaller, it remained significant ($p<.001$).

After some reflection it seemed that there must still be variation in the model that was not being modeled by the 7 factors. One potential factor in this variation, considered post-hoc, was the amount of contact participants have had with gay men and lesbians. As has been argued earlier in this paper, those with some contact have been found to have more positive attitudes. It is possible that not only does contact result in an improvement in overall attitude, it may also serve to reshape the content and structure of those attitudes.

To test this hypothesis, the composite-item model was restricted to those who reported knowing one or more gay or lesbian person ($n=370$) and then was restricted to those with no contact ($n=221$). As shown in Table 28, when the overall model was assessed for those with contact, the fit improved ($\chi^2=87.96$, $df=56$, $p<.004$; $\chi^2/df=1.57$). Standardized estimates for each composite measure for those with some contact with gay

men and/or lesbians are shown in Figure 3 and standardized estimates for each composite measure for those without contact are shown in Figure 4.

Table 24. Model Estimates for Confirmatory Factor Analysis of Items Comprising Split-Half Composite Variables.

<i>Items - Split Half Model</i>		<i>Estimates</i>
TRADITIONAL HETEROSEXISM		
THC_1	TH1+TH2+TH5+TH7+TH8+TH12+TH13+TH16+TH18+TH19	.94
THC_2	TH3+TH4+TH6+TH9+TH10+TH11+TH14+TH15+TH17	.98
DENIAL OF CONTINUED DISCRIMINATION		
DDC_1	DD2+DD3+DD7+DD8	.81
DDC_2	DD1+DD4+DD5+DD6+DD9	.96
AVERSION TOWARD GAY MEN		
AGC_1	AG1+AG2+AG6+AG8	.90
AGC_2	AG3+AG4+AG5+AG7	.95
AVERSION TOWARD LESBIANS		
ALC_1	AL1+AL5+AL6+AL8	.89
ALC_2	AL2+AL3+AL5+AL7	.93
VALUE GAY PROGRESS/DIVERSITY		
VGC_1	VG4+VG5+VG8+VG9	.97
VGC_2	VG3+VG6+VG7+VG10	.97
RESIST TRADITIONAL SEX/GENDER ROLES		
RHC_1	RH2+RH4+RH6+RH7	.90
RHC_2	RH1+RH3+RH5+RH8	.96
POSITIVE STEREOTYPES		
PSC_1	PS4+PS5+PS6+PS7+PS9	.83
PSC_2	PS1+PS2+PS3+PS8+PS10	.89

NOTE: Model estimates calculated using the maximum likelihood method of parameter estimation in the AMOS 4.01 software (Arbuckle and Wothke, 1999)

Table 25. Descriptive Statistics of Subscales for Composite Split A and B and Full Model.

<i>Measure</i>	<i>Split A</i>			<i>Split B</i>			<i>Total</i>		
	<i># Items</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i># Items</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i># Items</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
Traditional Heterosexism	5	2.863	1.234	5	2.707	1.209	10	2.788	1.197
Denial of Continued Discrimination	4	2.345	0.688	5	2.347	0.634	9	2.350	0.623
Aversion Toward Gay Men	4	2.298	0.999	4	2.448	0.867	8	2.373	0.899
Aversion Toward Lesbians	4	2.239	0.834	4	2.690	0.886	8	2.470	0.823
Value Gay Progress/Diversity	4	2.886	1.090	4	2.978	1.064	8	2.981	1.062
Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	4	2.978	0.902	4	2.094	0.896	8	2.127	0.866
Positive Stereotypes	5	2.415	0.774	5	2.672	0.760	10	2.545	0.715

NOTE: A score of 1=totally disagree; 2=somewhat disagree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4=somewhat agree; 5=totally agree. Higher scores on the Traditional Heterosexism and Aversion Toward Gay Men, and Aversion Toward Lesbians indicate more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Higher scores on the Denial of Continued Discrimination scale indicate the rejection of claims that discrimination against lesbians and gay men is still a significant problem in society. Higher scores on Value Gay Progress/Diversity, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, and Positive Stereotypes indicate more favorable attitudes.

Table 26. Covariation/Correlation Matrix for Split-Half Composite Items.

<i>Split-half items</i>	# items	<i>TH1</i>	<i>TH2</i>	<i>DD1</i>	<i>DD2</i>	<i>AG1</i>	<i>AG2</i>	<i>AL1</i>
THC_1	5	1.5218	1.3894	0.3099	0.3161	0.7658	0.6249	0.5996
THC_2	5	0.9280	1.4625	0.3178	0.3237	0.7998	0.6445	0.6326
DDC_1	4	0.3307	0.3523	0.3874	0.3021	0.2519	0.2069	0.2167
DDC_2	5	0.4043	0.4214	0.7760	0.4018	0.2637	0.2105	0.2261
AGC_1	4	0.6219	0.6601	0.3467	0.4150	0.9988	0.7353	0.5209
AGC_2	4	0.5848	0.6151	0.3367	0.3855	0.8506	0.7520	0.4455
ALC_1	4	0.5808	0.6234	0.3592	0.4287	0.6273	0.6135	0.6951
ALC_2	4	0.6465	0.6811	0.3172	0.3961	0.6194	0.5701	0.8278
VGC_1	4	-0.7888	-0.8143	-0.3702	-0.4388	-0.6316	-0.6068	-0.5921
VGC_2	3	-0.7877	-0.8120	-0.3752	-0.4492	-0.6272	-0.6043	-0.6010
RHC_1	4	-0.3676	-0.3673	-0.0886	-0.1194	-0.2117	-0.2074	-0.2024
RHC_2	4	-0.3981	-0.3825	-0.0694	-0.0917	-0.2218	-0.1913	-0.1834
PSC_1	5	-0.3142	-0.3179	-0.0752	-0.0956	-0.1769	-0.1858	-0.0652
PSC_2	5	-0.3478	-0.3514	-0.1330	-0.1627	-0.2364	-0.2628	-0.1027

<i>Split-half items</i>	# items	<i>AL2</i>	<i>VG1</i>	<i>VG2</i>	<i>RH1</i>	<i>RH2</i>	<i>PS1</i>	<i>PS2</i>
THC_1	5	0.7094	-1.0613	-1.0360	-0.4101	-0.4391	-0.3008	-0.3253
THC_2	5	0.7331	-1.0738	-1.0495	-0.4013	-0.4139	-0.2990	-0.3210
DDC_1	4	0.2206	-0.3047	-0.2971	-0.0777	-0.0708	-0.0532	-0.0722
DDC_2	5	0.2233	-0.3031	-0.3037	-0.0687	-0.0523	-0.0469	-0.0780
AGC_1	4	0.5483	-0.6886	-0.6644	-0.1915	-0.1986	-0.1375	-0.1799
AGC_2	4	0.4373	-0.5727	-0.5568	-0.1626	-0.1485	-0.1250	-0.1728
ALC_1	4	0.6119	-0.5368	-0.5344	-0.1529	-0.1370	-0.0421	-0.0650
ALC_2	4	0.7855	-0.6556	-0.6556	-0.2683	-0.2703	-0.1177	-0.1168
VGC_1	4	-0.6755	1.1875	1.0901	0.4369	0.4549	0.3094	0.3419
VGC_2	3	-0.6918	0.9384	1.1327	0.4246	0.4347	0.3150	0.3409
RHC_1	4	-0.3343	0.4440	0.4411	0.8137	0.6963	0.2672	0.2466
RHC_2	4	-0.3407	0.4652	0.4557	0.8603	0.8026	0.2818	0.2756
PSC_1	5	-0.1708	0.3680	0.3836	0.3817	0.4072	0.5993	0.4408
PSC_2	5	-0.1747	0.4165	0.4233	0.3598	0.4046	0.7468	0.5778

NOTE: Correlations shown below diagonal. Higher scores on THC_1, THC_2, AGC_1, AGC_2, ALC_1, and ALC_2 indicate more negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Higher scores on DDC_1, and DDC_2 scale indicate the rejection of claims that discrimination against lesbians and gay men is still a significant problem in society. Higher scores on VGC_1, VGC_2, RHC_1, RHC_2, PSC_1, PSC_2 indicate more favorable attitudes.

Table 27. Confirmatory Factor Analysis Fit Indices for All-Item Model and Split-Half Composite Model.

<i>Fit Indices</i>	<i>Full-Item Model</i>	<i>Composite-Item Model</i>
Model χ^2	7925.73	131.13
<i>Df</i>	2058	56
<i>p</i> <	.001	.001
Independence Model χ^2	98,658.82	25,522.15
<i>Df</i>	2211	105
TLI	.94	.997
CFI	.94	.995
RMSEA	.07	.048

Table 28. Confirmatory Factor Analysis Fit Indices for Split-Half Composite Model Including Participants With Some Contact and Split-Half Composite Model Including Participants With No Contact.

<i>Fit Indices</i>	<i>With Some Contact (n=370)</i>	<i>With No Contact (n=221)</i>
Model χ^2	87.964	90.916
<i>Df</i>	56	56
<i>p</i> <	.004	.002
Independence Model χ^2	15715.48	9874.83
<i>Df</i>	105	105
TLI	.996	.993
CFI	.998	.997
RMSEA	.039	.053

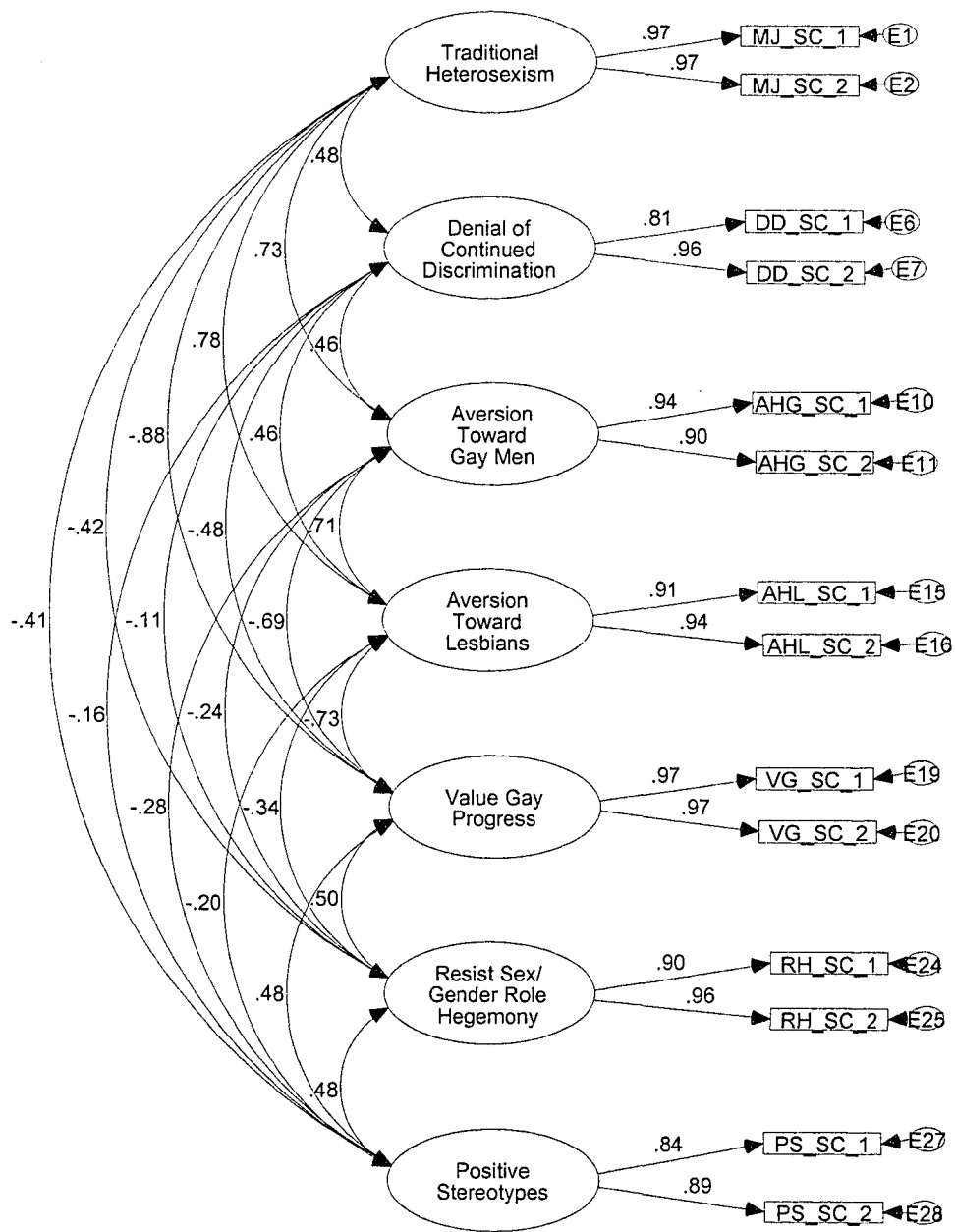


Figure 2. Split-Half Composite Model.

NOTE: Model $\chi^2=131.125$; $df=56$; $p<.001$; TLI=.995; CFI=.997; RMSEA=.048

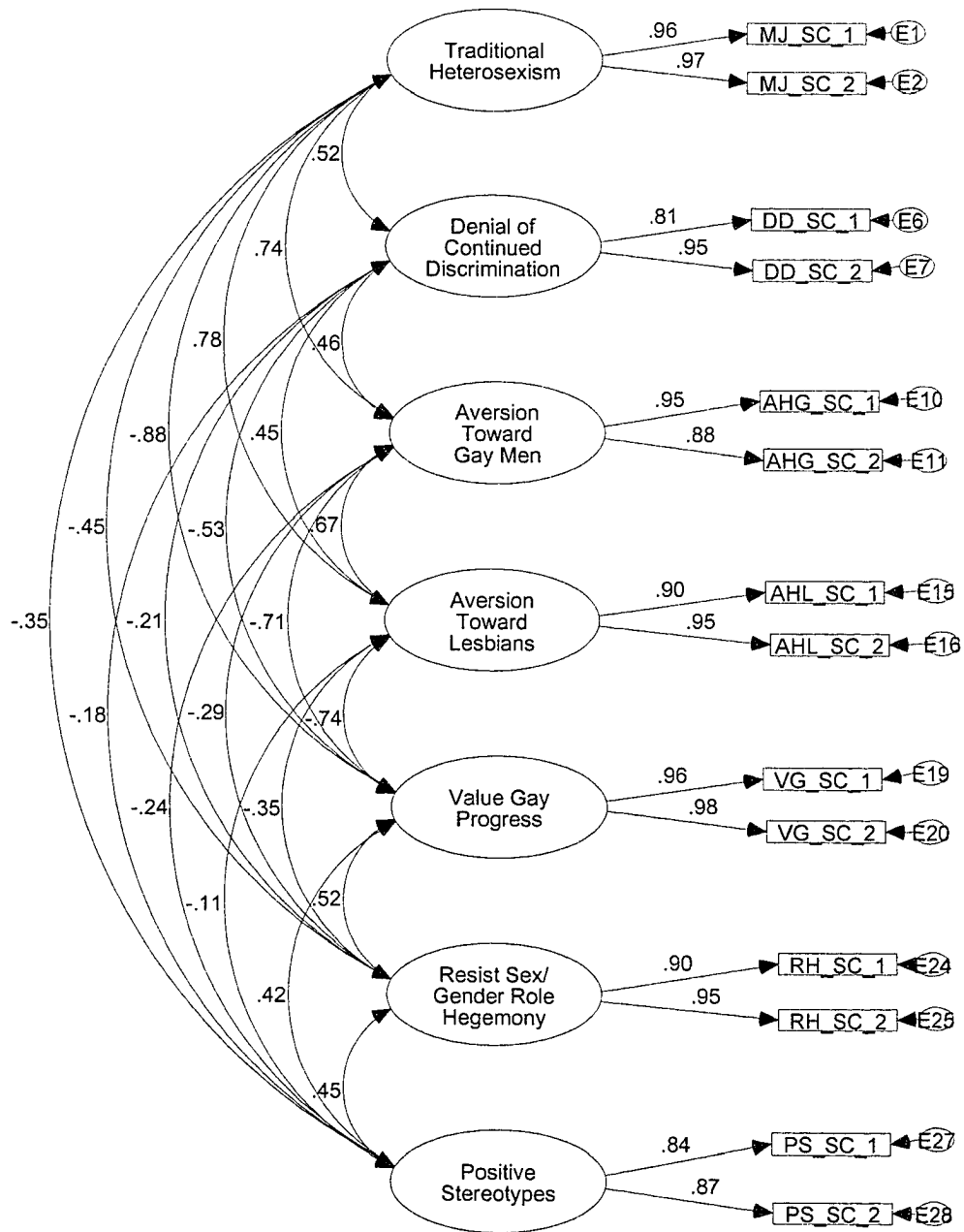


Figure 3. Split-Half Composite Model Including Participants With Some Contact With Gay Men Or Lesbians.

NOTE: Model $\chi^2=87.964$, $df=56$, $p<.004$; TLI=.996; CFI=.998; RMSEA=.039

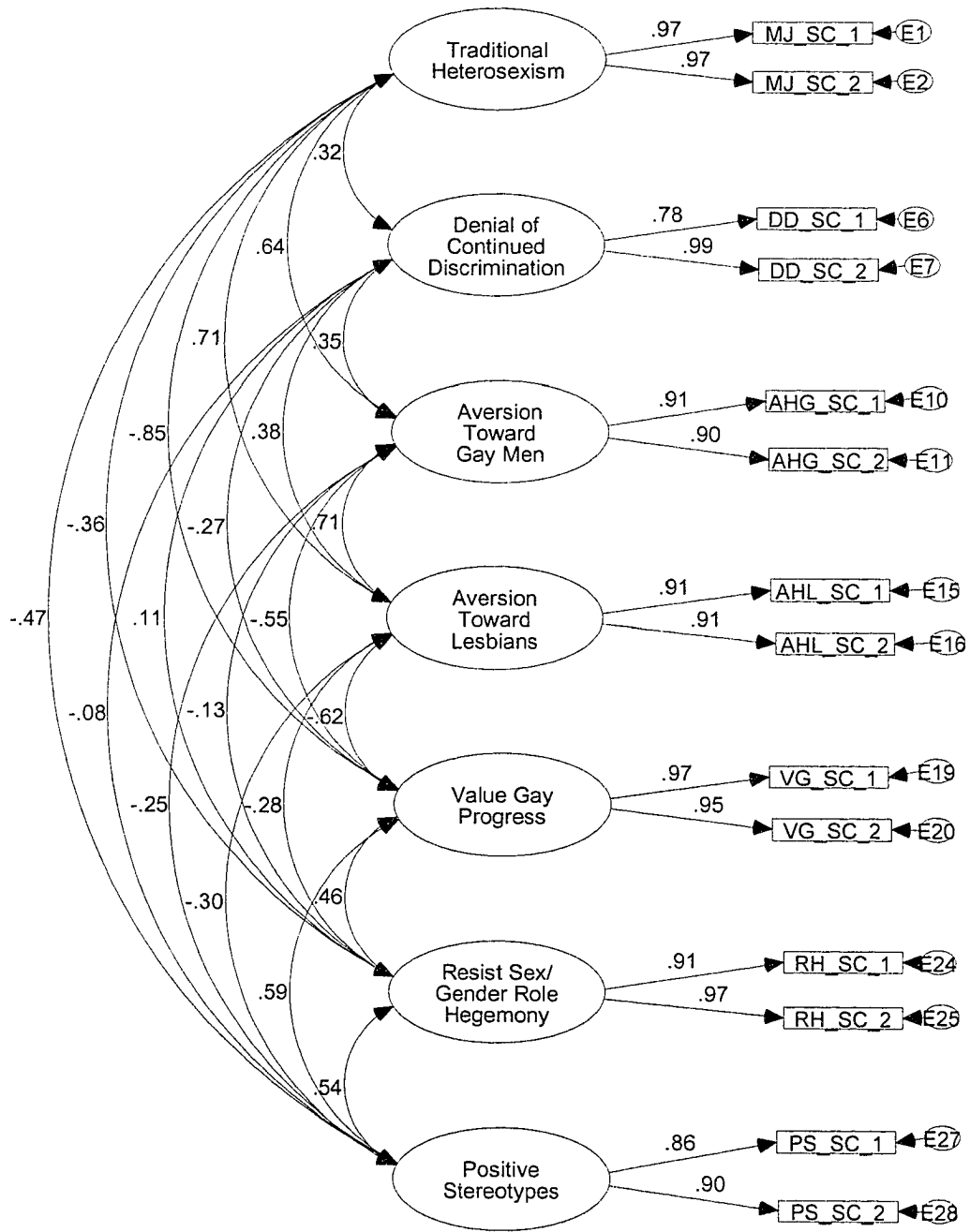


Figure 4. Split-Half Composite Model Including Participants Without Contact With Gay Men Or Lesbians.

NOTE: Model $\chi^2=90.916$, $df=56$, $p<.002$; TLI=.993; CFI=.997; RMSEA=.053

It is clear that breaking the data set into two groups – those with contact and those without – improves the overall model fit. However, because combining those participants with contact together with those without contact still provided adequate fit and because the differential impact of interpersonal contact on the subscales was of theoretical interest as well as an important validity check, it was decided to include all participants in further analyses.

Once a multi-dimensional model of sexual prejudice was developed that demonstrated good factorial and face validity, it was necessary to assess the model's construct validity - how the subscale means relate to each other and to the other scales included in the survey as validity checks. Subscale means were calculated as were correlations between the subscales and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (Althemeyer, 1988), Social Dominance Orientation (Sidanius, Levin, Lui, & Pratto, 2000), and Humanitarianism/ Egalitarianism (Katz & Hass, 1988). Table 29 lists the descriptive statistics for each subscale as well as the correlations among all scales (including those included as validity checks). Internal consistency measures for each scale and subscale were calculated and are indicated in bold along the diagonal.

How is Sexual Prejudice Being Expressed?

In order to assess where, among the subscales, participants expressed their most negative and positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, the means for each subscale were ranked. In order to make the comparisons between the “negative” subscales (i.e., Traditional Heterosexism, Denial of Continued Discrimination, Aversion Toward Gay Men, and Aversion Toward Lesbians) and the “positive” subscales (i.e., Value Gay Progress/Diversity, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, and Positive Stereotypes), it

was necessary to reverse code the positive subscales so that a high score on each of the subscales reflected anti-gay/anti-lesbian attitudes.

As shown in Figure 5, across all the subscales, participants expressed basically favorable attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, strongly agreeing with none of the anti-gay measures. In addition, on average, participants scored between “neither agree nor disagree” and “somewhat disagree” for Traditional Heterosexism, Aversion Toward Gay Men, Aversion Toward Lesbians, and Denial of Continued Discrimination. These findings are hopeful, in that on most of the measures included in this scale, discrimination seems to be low.

Participants were most willing to express their negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians by their steadfast adherence to traditional sex/gender role expectations ($M=3.87$, $SD=.87$); followed by the rejection of the notion that positive stereotypes of gay people exist ($M=3.45$, $SD=.71$); the rejection of the notion that the progress of the gay movement is important or has improved society in any way ($M=3.07$, $SD=1.1$); and by their moral condemnation of homosexuality ($M=2.68$, $SD=1.0$).

Participants were most willing to express their favorable attitudes toward gay men and lesbians in terms of admitting that discrimination continues ($M=2.35$, $SD=.62$) and in their level of comfort interacting with gay men ($M=2.37$, $SD=.90$) and lesbians ($M=2.47$, $SD=.82$).

These findings suggest that the subtle symbolic anti-gay/anti-lesbian prejudice suggested by the “modern heterosexism” construct is *not* being expressed as much in terms of the Denial of Continued Discrimination against gay men and lesbians as it is being expressed in terms of one’s adherence to traditional sex and gender roles, rejection

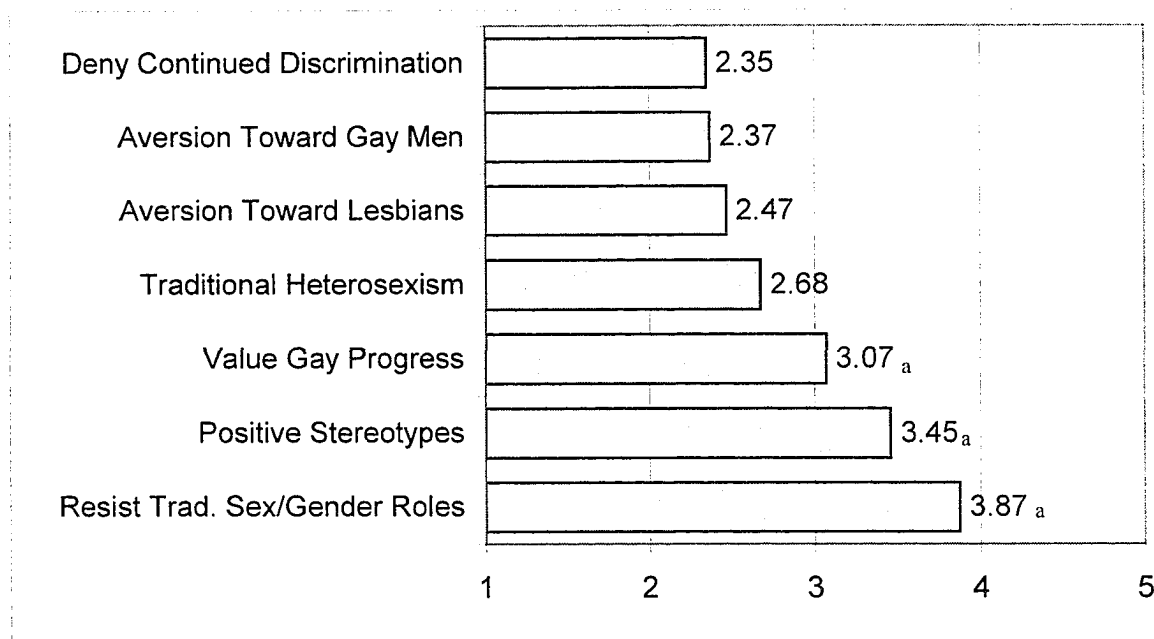


Figure 5. Graph Comparing Subscale Means.

Note: The higher the number the more negative the attitude. A score of 1=totally disagree; 2=somewhat disagree; 3=neither agree nor disagree; 4=somewhat agree; 5=totally agree. ^a Mean scores for these subscales have been reversed to reflect a negative attitude.

of the notion that the gay movement is a positive thing, rejection of the notion that gay people as a group have unique positive qualities, and to a somewhat lesser extent, their moral condemnation of homosexuality.

Comparisons to the ATLG

Because the Traditional Heterosexism subscale is so similar in content to Herek's Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) scale, it was used to assess the relationship between the other subscales and the standard unidimensional conceptualizations of sexual prejudice (such as the ATLG) found in the literature. As

Table 29. Correlation Matrix for Subscales and Variables Included as Convergent/Discriminant Validity Tests.

<i>Construct</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>
1. Traditional Heterosexism	2.68	1.04	(.95)						
2. Deny Continued Discrimination	2.35	0.62	0.45**	(.83)					
3. Aversion Toward Gay Men	2.37	0.90	0.69**	0.42**	(.90)				
4. Aversion Toward Lesbians	2.47	0.82	0.73**	0.41**	0.66**	(.88)			
5. Value Gay Progress/Diversity	2.93	1.06	-0.85**	-0.47**	-0.65**	-0.67**	(.94)		
6. Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	2.13	0.87	-0.39**	-0.10**	-0.22**	-0.28**	0.47**	(.90)	
7. Positive Stereotypes	2.55	0.71	-0.37**	-0.13**	-0.24**	-0.15**	0.43**	0.43**	(.86)
8. Right-Wing Authoritarianism	3.05	0.61	0.64**	0.30**	0.39**	0.55**	-0.62**	-0.35**	-0.20**
9. Soc. Dominance Orientation	2.10	0.67	0.38**	0.39**	0.45**	0.42**	-0.40**	-0.07	-0.09*
10. Humanitariansim/Egalitarianism	4.03	0.62	-0.17**	-0.34**	-0.26**	-0.28**	0.19**	-0.01	0.02
11. Herek's ATLG	2.60	0.96	0.99**	0.46**	0.73**	0.76**	-0.86**	-0.39**	-0.36**
12. Herek's ATL	2.40	0.91	0.95**	0.46**	0.64**	0.76**	-0.80**	-0.33**	-0.31**
13. Herek's ATG	2.81	1.09	0.96**	0.44**	0.76**	0.70**	-0.85**	-0.41**	-0.37**

<i>Construct</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>
8. Right-Wing Authoritarianism	(.89)				
9. Social Dominance Orientation	0.29**	(.91)			
10. Humanitariansim/Egalitarianism	-0.12**	-0.54**	(.87)		
11. Herek's ATLG	0.64**	0.42**	-0.19**	(.96)	
12. Herek's ATL	0.64**	0.40**	-0.19**	0.96**	(.91)
13. Herek's ATG	0.60**	0.40**	-0.18**	0.97**	0.86* (.94)

Note: Estimates of internal consistency (α) are given in bold along diagonal. Higher scores on TH, DD, AG, AL, ATL, ATG, and ATLG indicate anti-gay/anti-lesbian attitudes. Higher scores on VG, RH and PS indicate pro-gay/pro-lesbian attitudes. Higher scores on RWA, SDO, and HE indicate higher levels of RWA, SDO and HE respectively. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

shown in Table 29, Traditional Heterosexism correlated most strongly with Value Gay Progress/Diversity ($r=-.85, p<.01$), followed by Aversion Toward Lesbians ($r=.73, p<.01$), Aversion Toward Gay Men ($r=.69, p<.01$), Denial of Continued Discrimination ($r=.45, p<.01$), Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles ($r=-.39, p<.01$), and Positive Stereotypes ($r=-.37, p<.01$).

The strong negative correlation between the Traditional Heterosexism subscale and the Value Gay Progress/Diversity subscale suggests that the items comprising the Value Gay Progress/Diversity subscale may represent the rejection of Traditional Heterosexism and, consequently, a variety of pro-gay/pro-lesbian egalitarianism. Future research, therefore, might want to investigate the consequences of combining these two factors into a single hostile-valuing dimension.

Because of its value in the consideration of a modern prejudice model, however, for the purpose of the remaining analyses it will be considered a distinct factor. As stated earlier, the Value Gay Progress/Diversity factor is comprised of items proposing that gay men and lesbians as well as the gay/lesbian community contribute something valuable to society in general (see Table 23). These items go beyond the absence of moral condemnation or the presence of tolerance as indicated by low scores on the Traditional Heterosexism subscale, however, and include admiration for gay men and lesbians as a group, the acknowledgement that the contributions gay men and lesbians have made have benefited society in general, and support for the idea that being gay or lesbian might be a celebrated quality. The fact that these items load onto a distinct factor suggests that these items represent content somewhat distinct from (yet highly correlated with) Traditional

Heterosexism and content that has not been fully tapped by previous conceptualizations of sexual prejudice.

Strong positive correlations between Traditional Heterosexism and the two aversion subscales (see Table 29) suggest that these two scales, while conceptually distinct, play a major part in the operation of Traditional Heterosexism and consequently in previous measures of sexual prejudice. Whether aversion toward gay people leads to an increase in moral condemnation or anti-gay values lead to aversion cannot be determined from these data. In addition, because these subscales represent distinct factors, it is possible that some participants (albeit a small number) may experience aversion while being relatively low in terms of traditional heterosexism.

The moderate correlation between Traditional Heterosexism and the other subscales, including Denial of Continued Discrimination, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, and Positive Stereotypes, serves to support the validity of these subscales in terms of the valence of their content and their relationship to previous measures of sexual prejudice. For example, Traditional Heterosexism's positive correlation with Denial of Continued Discrimination supports the notion that to deny that discrimination against gay people continues in society is a reflection of an anti-gay attitude. The negative correlation between Traditional Heterosexism and Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Role and Positive Stereotypes supports the notion that these subscales subtly reflect pro-gay attitudes.

Modern Heterosexism

As stated earlier, the modern prejudice theorists raised important questions about the adequacy of measuring old-fashioned prejudice in light of an increasing egalitarian

ethic and socially desirable responding. One of the original predictions guiding this study was that the increased application of egalitarian values to gay people meant that *gay anti-egalitarianism* represented the gay equivalent of *old-fashioned* racism (which Sears described as race-based anti-egalitarianism). However, it was also expected that the moral condemnation of gay men and lesbians would be independent of anti-egalitarianism (e.g., that religious condemnation *could* exist alongside pro-gay egalitarianism). These predictions seemed consistent with the public opinion data discussed at the start of this paper. As demonstrated during the exploratory factor analyses, however, moral condemnation and pro-gay/pro-lesbian egalitarianism items loaded together on the same factor, situating themselves along opposite ends of a single dimension. In the modern heterosexism model, Traditional Heterosexism occupied the position of old-fashioned racism.

Given its persistence, however, it seems inaccurate to describe Traditional Heterosexism as an “old-fashioned” form of sexual prejudice. As observed in the public opinion data described earlier and as reflected in the relationship of the Traditional Heterosexism subscale means to the other subscales, moral condemnation of gay people is clearly *not* a thing of the past. Similar to old-fashioned racism, however, Traditional Heterosexism still represents an *overt* form of prejudice that should operate differently in the face of social desirability than other more subtle forms of prejudice.

In the following evaluation of the modern prejudice model, therefore, Traditional Heterosexism is treated similarly to “Old-Fashioned” racism in terms of its predicted relationships. The Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, Positive Stereotypes and Value Gay Progress/Diversity subscales serve as analogues to the symbolic/modern prejudice

constructs found in the modern racism and sexism literatures and the Aversion Toward Gay Men and Aversion Toward Lesbians subscales serve as analogues to the constructs found in the aversive racism literatures.

Because of participants' relatively favorable scores on the Denial of Continued Discrimination subscale, denying that anti-gay/anti-lesbian discrimination continues does not seem to be a common a way of expressing modern prejudice. However, the conceptual similarity between the Denial of Continued (Heterosexist) Discrimination and modern racism cannot be denied. Therefore, the predictions made concerning the relationship between Denial of Continued Discrimination and the various scales included as validity checks will be examined and the previous hypotheses regarding these relationships will be tested.

Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles

The first and most negative of the modern prejudice subscales to be assessed is participants' tendency to express heterosexism through their strict adherence to traditional sex and gender roles. In his meta-analysis of the relationship between gender-role variables and attitudes toward homosexuality, Whitley (2001) found that the endorsement of traditional gender-role beliefs was related to attitudes toward homosexuality. The items comprising the Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles subscale, when reversed, represent the staunch adherence to traditional sex/gender role expectations and therefore are a vehicle for the expression of symbolic anti-gay anti-lesbian prejudice.

As shown in Figure 6, those participants who endorsed more traditional gender roles expressed more hostility and moral condemnation of gay men and lesbians than did

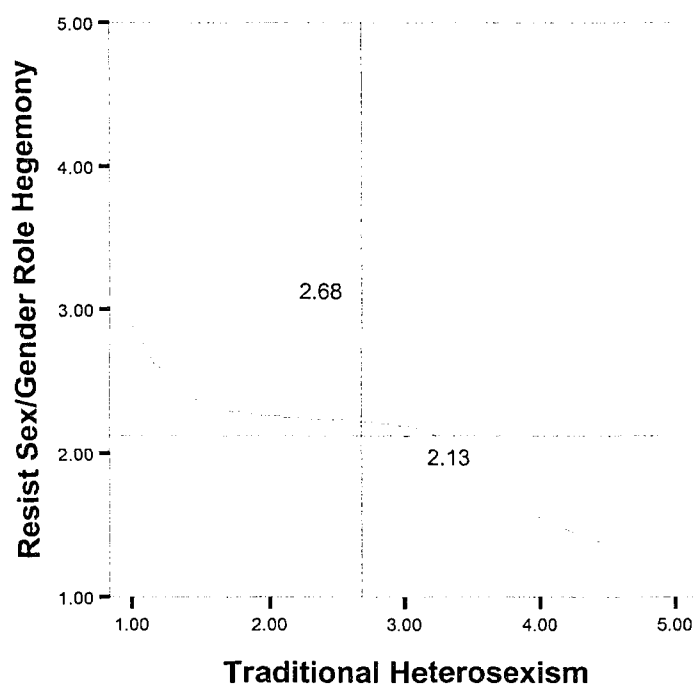


Figure 6. Plot of Means for Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Traditional Heterosexism Subscales.

Note: Higher scores for the Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles subscale indicate greater discomfort with traditional sex/gender role expectations. Higher scores for the Traditional Heterosexism subscale indicate more anti-gay attitudes. The two intersecting reference lines reflect the means for each subscale.

those who saw traditional gender and sexuality role expectations as something that could be contested ($r = -.39, p < .01$). The direction of this correlation is particularly interesting given the predictions typically made about the relationship between one's view of sexuality as changeable or fixed and attitudes toward gay people (Whitley, 1990; Herek, & Capitano, 1995). As shown in Table 23, the Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Role factor includes items that assess a person's belief in mutability of sexuality and the fundamentality of sexual orientation and gender categories. Although the Mutability Beliefs subscale (see Table 19) did not survive the item-total correlation analyses, it

included similar content. Specifically, the Mutability Beliefs item, “There is no such thing as ‘sexual orientation’: we all have the potential to be anything sexually” parallels the Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Role item, “most people are basically bisexual.” In addition, several other Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Role items, such as “It seems to me that the labels ‘man’ and ‘woman’ aren’t really very useful ways to describe the differences between people” reflect the sex and gender fluidity suggested by the Mutability Beliefs subscale. Consequently, it is likely that those who reject the fundamentality of sexual orientation categories and see sex and gender as mutable are also more likely to resist traditional sex and gender role expectations.

This subscale’s negative correlation with Traditional Heterosexism indicates that those participants who see sexuality and gender roles as oppressive and see sexual orientation as mutable express *less* sexual prejudice than do those who see them as fundamental and fixed. This relationship is the opposite of expectations found in the sexual prejudice literature (see criticisms of these expectations in Hegarty, 2002 and Weinrich, 1995), which claim that seeing sexuality as fixed and unchangeable is associated with favorable attitudes and that seeing it as a choice or changeable is associated with negative attitudes. The findings from this study suggest that these relationships may have more to do with the ideology reflected in the particular wording of items than with any fundamental relationship linking *choice* and *guilt*.

In addition, the relationship between the Traditional Heterosexism and Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Role subscales demonstrated in these data does not suggest that adherence to traditional roles is *always* an expression of anti-gay hostility. It suggests, however, that strict adherence to traditional sex/gender roles *may* be a way that anti-gay

hostility can be expressed symbolically and that those who are sensitive to the incongruence between gender/sex role expectations and the realities of their lived experience may be less likely to condemn gay people. In addition, because of the small size of the correlation coefficient, it is possible that some participants will demonstrate heterosexual ambivalence by rejecting Traditional Heterosexism while continuing to adhere to traditional sex/gender roles. It is also important to remember that the observed relationship between these two variables, being only correlational, does not necessarily indicate a causal relationship. It is indeed possible that traditional heterosexism causes one to adhere to traditional sex/gender roles, or that some other variable, such as higher levels of authoritarianism, is the cause of this relationship.

Positive Stereotypes: Benevolent Heterosexism vs. Cultural Homosexuality.

The positive stereotypes subscale was comprised of items endorsing favorable generalizations about gay men and lesbians and the gay and lesbian movement. The stereotypes comprising these items were included, in part, to operationalize a sexual prejudice version of what Glick and Fiske termed “benevolent sexism”. Benevolent sexism describes the subjectively positive attitudes that some men hold toward women that serve to perpetuate anti-woman values. They were also included, however, to represent characteristics described in the gay liberationist and radical feminist literatures that suggest that being gay or lesbian affords a person special qualities and insight to (among other things) the relationship between the sexes – or *cultural* homosexuality, the gay equivalent to *cultural feminism*.

The benevolent sexism explanation was not supported by these data. As shown in Table 29, those participants who endorsed positive stereotypes of lesbians and gay men

expressed significantly less Traditional Heterosexism than those who did not. By plotting the intersections of the means for the Traditional Heterosexism and Positive Stereotypes subscales, it appears that their relationship is relatively constant for those scoring below average for Traditional Heterosexism. However, as shown in Figure 7, a drop off in endorsement of Positive Stereotypes occurs for those scoring above average for Traditional Heterosexism.

If participants had endorsed Positive Stereotypes while also expressing high levels of Traditional Heterosexism, they may have been expressing *benevolent heterosexism* – using seemingly positive stereotypes as a form of criticism or in a way that was overtly patronizing. An almost opposite pattern emerged. Participants who endorsed Positive Stereotypes expressed average to low levels of Traditional Heterosexism, and as Traditional Heterosexism increased above average, belief in Positive Stereotypes dropped off.

This finding is somewhat surprising given indications found in the literature that stereotyping is a predictor of negative attitudes. However, when one takes into account the actual content of the subscale, it makes more sense. For example, “Gay men are more emotionally available than are heterosexual men” and “Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about being friends to women” reflect qualities having to do with the rejection of or resistance to the more negative qualities associated with masculinity (Pleck, 1981) and similarly “Lesbians have been at the forefront of the struggle for equal rights for women” and “Lesbians have a lot to teach other women about being

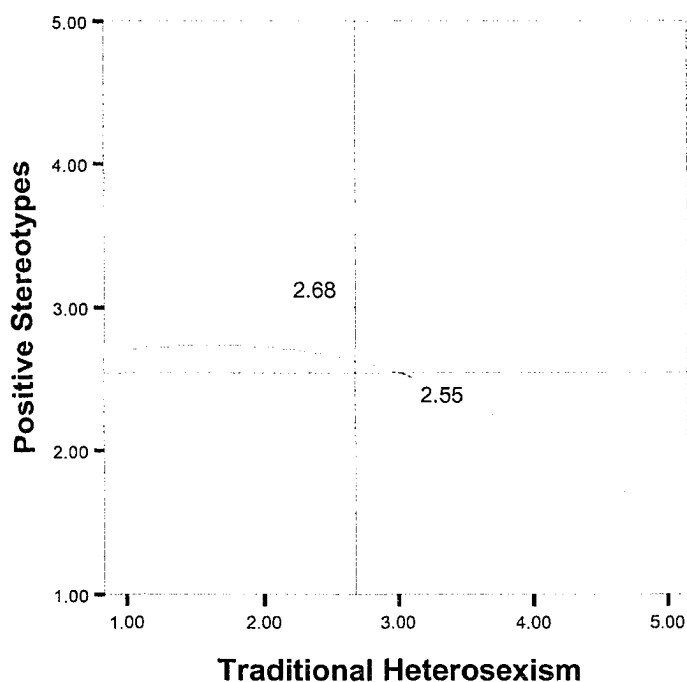


Figure 7. Plots of Means for Traditional Heterosexism and Positive Stereotypes Subscales.

Note: Higher scores for the Positive Stereotypes subscale indicate stronger endorsement of positive stereotypes. Higher scores for the Traditional Heterosexism subscale indicate more anti-gay attitudes. The two intersecting reference lines reflect the means for each subscale.

independent” demonstrate the rejection or resistance to the disempowering qualities often associated with femininity (Welter, 1978).

“Standpoint” theorists (see Hartsock, 1983 for an overview of *Feminist Standpoint Theory*) suggest that a person’s subordinate position within a gender hierarchy provides a unique perspective that may result in a more accurate and critical understanding of the unequal social relationship. It may be perceived by some participants (and may be a reality for many gay people) that the position of gay men and lesbians outside the norm of heterosexual life and in the subordinate position of a

heterosexist hierarchy gives gay people unique insight into both gender relations and sexual norms. Gay men, because they are aware of not fitting into traditional gender and sex role expectations, may be perceived by heterosexuals as less susceptible to the same gender-related miscommunications that straight men have with women or to the “Give ‘em Hell” (Pleck, 1981) demands of the male gender role. Similarly, lesbians may be perceived as having a unique opportunity to transgress traditional gender role expectations for women.

One aspect of these findings that remained perplexing was the lack of either an increase or drop off of the tendency to endorsement of Positive Stereotypes for those scoring below average on the Traditional Heterosexism subscale. In an attempt to tease apart the meaning of this plateau in Positive Stereotype scores, participants were grouped together based on their political affiliation and political ideology. Correlations were calculated for four groups: liberal Democrats ($n=68$), moderate Democrats ($n=46$), moderate Republicans ($n=83$), and conservative Republicans ($n=110$). The number of participants who fell into the conservative Democrat or liberal Republican groups were too few to consider. As shown in Table 30, correlations between Traditional Heterosexism and Positive Stereotypes were highest for Conservative Republicans ($r=-.51, p<.001$), smaller for Moderate Republicans ($r=-.37, p<.001$), and smaller still for Moderate Democrats ($r=-.29, p<.051$). The correlation for liberal Democrats was non-significant.

This suggests that believing in Positive Stereotypes has a stronger (more positive) influence on the attitudes of those who hold more conservative political views. One possible explanation for this finding is that those with more negative views use positive

Table 30. Correlation Between Traditional Heterosexism and Positive Stereotypes by Political Party Affiliation and Ideology.

<i>Politics and Ideology</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Correlation</i>	<i>Significance.</i>
Conservative Republican	110	-0.51	.001
Moderate Republican	82	-0.37	.001
Moderate Democrat	46	-0.29	.051
Liberal Democrat	68	-0.08	<i>n.s.</i>

NOTE: Higher scores for the Traditional Heterosexism subscale indicate more anti-gay attitude. Higher scores for the Positive Stereotypes subscale indicate stronger endorsement of positive stereotypes.

stereotypes as an excuse for a shift in attitude – by seeing value in gay individuals it is possible for conservatives to reduce their level of overt hostility and condemnation. This is not to say that these positive stereotypes reflect actual qualities found in most gay men and lesbians. It suggests, however, that for some participants, these positive stereotypes are viewed as pro-gay. Allport (1954) suggested that beliefs can be a way of justifying one's evaluation of a group. It is possible that for some, as Traditional Heterosexism decreases, there is a need to endorse beliefs that are consistent with that attitudinal shift.

Even with these correlations, it is still possible that some participants who hold higher levels of anti-gay anti-lesbian prejudice will read the Positive Stereotypes items differently than those with more favorable attitudes. Because participants were not asked about the meaning or valence of each of the belief items, other than looking at correlations between subscales, there is no way to tease apart their meaning among participants. Future research will be needed to determine the particular valence that is attached to these items and how that valence might change based on participants' other attitudes.

Value Gay Progress/Diversity

The next modern prejudice subscale to be examined reflects participants' tendency to see value in the advances of the gay and lesbian movement and the contribution that gay people made to society in general. As described in Table 29 and shown in Figure 8, those participants who value gay progress and diversity expressed considerably less traditional heterosexism than did those who denied their value.

The direction of this finding was not surprising. What is more interesting, however, is the fact that participants' scores for (reversed) value gay progress/diversity were more negative than were their scores for traditional heterosexism and the two aversion subscale. It is possible that devaluing the accomplishments of the gay movement (or the diversity represented in gay people) provides a more socially acceptable way to express heterosexism than does overt condemnation and hostility directed at gay individuals. In this way, the relationship between these two subscales may be similar to findings from the modern racism literature that point out the tendency of some white people to deny personal racism while rejecting attempts to rectify structural inequality through busing or affirmative action (Sears, 1988). Heterosexism is a hegemonic ideology that describes a zero-sum relationship – what are seen as advances to the gay movement may be perceived as threats to heterosexual dominance. Social desirability in the context of heterosexism, therefore, may allow for the rejection of statements like, “I see the lesbian and gay movement as a positive thing” and “Society is enhanced by the diversity offered by lesbian and gay people”.

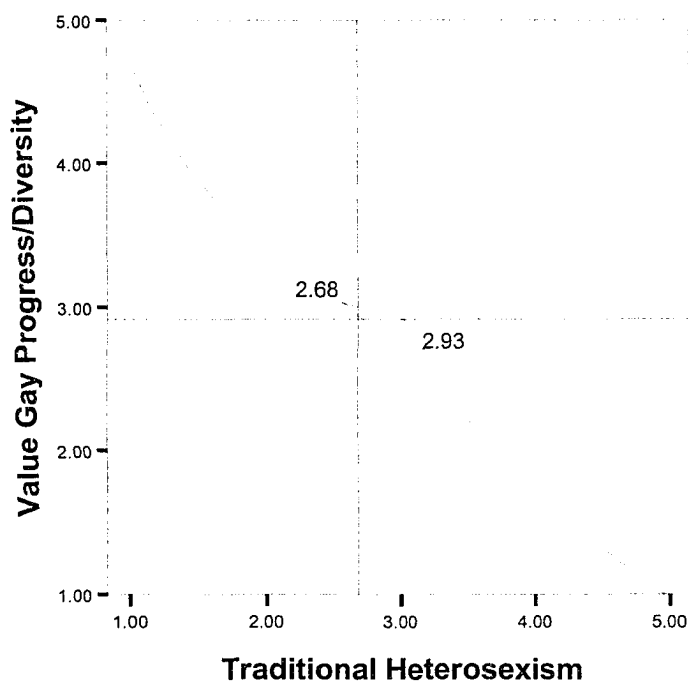


Figure 8. Plot of Means for Value Gay Progress/Diversity and Traditional Heterosexism Subscales.

Note: Higher scores for the Value Gay Progress/Diversity subscale indicate greater value seen in gay progress and diversity. Higher scores for the Traditional Heterosexism subscale indicate a more anti-gay attitude. The two intersecting reference lines reflect the means for each subscale.

Denial of Continued Discrimination.

Just as McConahay (1986) suggests that anti-Black attitudes were being expressed through the denial of the continued existence of racial discrimination, those participants who denied that discrimination against gay people continued were also found to be more likely to express moral condemnation of gay men and lesbians ($r=.45, p<.01$), although this was the least likely way for participants to express anti-gay prejudice. The existence of this correlation does two things, however. It demonstrates that denial of continued

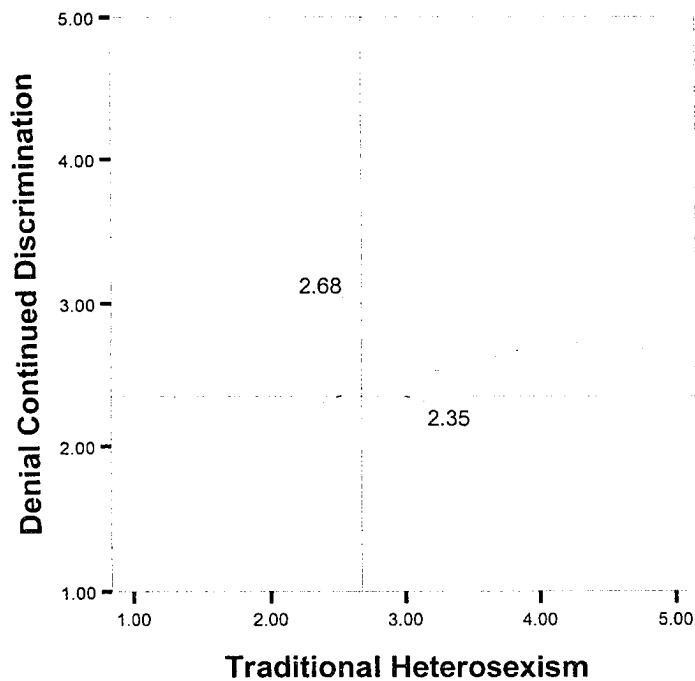


Figure 9. Plot of Means for Denial of Continued Discrimination and Traditional Heterosexism Subscales.

Note: Higher scores for the Denial of Continued Discrimination subscale indicates greater tendency to deny that discrimination against gay people continues. Higher scores for the Traditional Heterosexism subscale indicate a more anti-gay attitude. The two intersecting reference lines reflect the means for each subscale.

discrimination is an expression of anti-gay hostility, and its relatively small magnitude suggests that these two constructs are somewhat independent. It is possible for participants to express fairly egalitarian beliefs while expressing anti-gay prejudice symbolically – by way of denying that discrimination continues.

For the most prejudiced, denying that discrimination against gay people continues may be a way to maintain cognitive consistency with, for example, their rejection of legislation designed to punish anti-gay discrimination and anti-gay hate crimes. If people perceived that there is no anti-gay discrimination, it makes sense that there would be no

need for additional laws; gay-focused multiculturalism educational efforts in schools and sensitivity training in workplaces would appear unnecessary.

As shown in Figure 9, as Traditional Heterosexism increases, the means of the Denial of Continued Discrimination subscale also increase until Traditional Heterosexism crosses a threshold ($M=4.0$), at which point Denial of Continued Discrimination levels off. This trend suggests that Denial of Continued Discrimination provides a vehicle by which anti-gay prejudice can continue to be symbolically expressed for those with moderate levels of traditional heterosexism. For those with the highest levels of Traditional Heterosexism, however, existing discrimination may seem a reasonable reaction to a deviant group.

Aversive Heterosexism.

The tendency for Whites to avoid Blacks was demonstrated in the aversive racism literatures through mostly implicit means – proximity, length of conversation, and willingness to offer help, etc. In this study, however, some heterosexuals who harbored anti-gay/anti-lesbian feelings were willing to openly express anti-gay and lesbian aversion. Even with social desirability demands at play during public disclosure of attitudes, heterosexual men were willing to express their discomfort being in the proximity of gay men and lesbians and to reject gay men and lesbians as not “real” men and women.

The relationship between the two aversion subscales and Traditional Heterosexism was found to be quite robust. Those who expressed more Traditional Heterosexism were more likely to admit to feelings of discomfort, avoid contact with, and criticize the potential gender performance of gay men and lesbians. As shown in

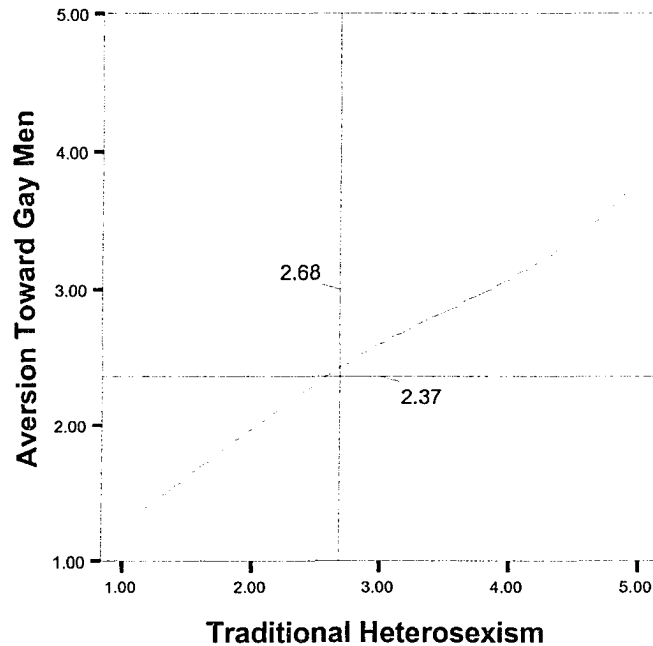


Figure 10. Plot of Means for Aversion Toward Gay Men and Traditional Heterosexism Subscales.

Note: Higher scores for the Aversion Toward Gay Men subscale indicate greater tendency to avoid contact with gay men and a greater tendency to see gay men as not “real men”. Higher scores for the Traditional Heterosexism subscale indicate a more anti-gay attitude. The two intersecting reference lines reflect the means for each subscale.

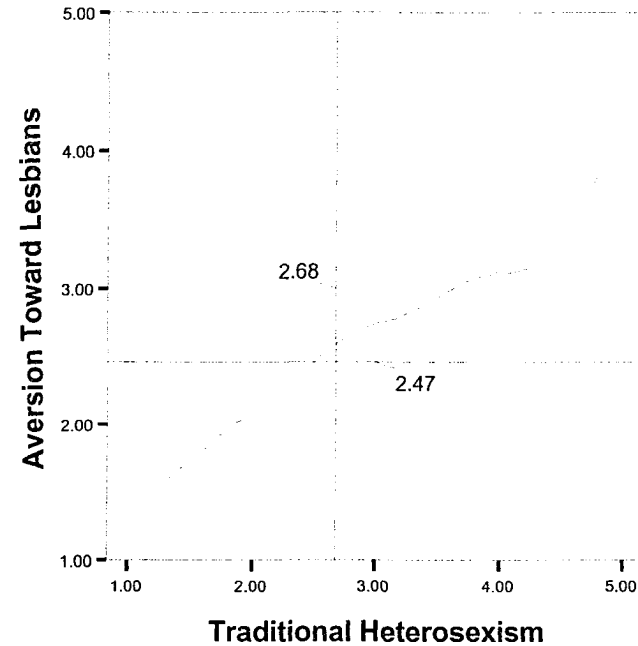


Figure 11. Plot of Means for Aversion Toward Lesbians and Traditional Heterosexism Subscales.

Note: Higher scores for the Aversion Toward Lesbians subscale indicate greater tendency to avoid contact with lesbians and a greater tendency to see lesbians as not “real women”. Higher scores for the Traditional Heterosexism subscale indicate a more anti-gay attitude. The two intersecting reference lines reflect the means for each subscale.

Figure 10 and Figure 11, the magnitude of the relationship between Traditional Heterosexism and Aversion Toward Gay Men was approximately the same ($r=.69$, $p<.01$) as the magnitude of the relationship between Traditional Heterosexism and Aversion Toward Lesbians ($r=.73$, $p<.01$).

Although this form of prejudice was found to be more highly correlated with Traditional Heterosexism than were the other modern heterosexism subscales, Aversion Toward Gay Men and Aversion Toward Lesbians still represent distinct constructs. In addition, with correlations around .69-.73, it was possible for some participants (albeit a small number) to reject Traditional Heterosexism while continuing to express higher levels of Aversion Toward Gay Men or Aversion Toward Lesbians.

The Influence of Gender, Race and Contact on Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Lesbians

In the second (confirmatory) stage of data collection, in addition to the new multidimensional measure sexual prejudice and validity checks, participants completed a series of demographics questions that asked them about their gender, amount of contact with gay men and lesbians, and race.

Effect of Gender

As shown in Table 31, a number of gender differences were found in analyses of the subscales. Male participants reported significantly ($p<.001$) more aversion toward gay men ($M=2.86$, $SD=.86$) than did women ($M=2.05$, $SD=.77$). The size of this effect was large ($d=.994$). Men also reported ($p<.01$) higher levels of traditional heterosexism ($M=2.81$, $SD=1.0$) and were ($p<.001$) more likely to deny that discrimination against gay men and lesbians was still a problem ($M=2.48$, $SD=.62$) than were women ($M=2.59$,

$SD=1.0$; $M=2.27$, $SD=.62$ respectively). The sizes of these differences, however, were small ($d=.212$; $d=.349$ respectively).

Women were somewhat more ($p<.04$) likely to report valuing gay and lesbian progress ($M=3.01$, $SD=1.1$) and endorsed significantly more ($p<.001$) pro-gay pro-lesbian stereotypes ($M=2.63$, $SD=.71$) than did men ($M=2.82$, $SD=1.1$; $M=2.43$, $SD=.71$). The sizes of these differences, however, were also small ($d=.173$; $d=.282$). Differences between women and men were not observed for the Aversion Toward Lesbians and Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Role subscales. Finally, women were significantly ($\chi^2=17.222$, $p<.001$) more likely to know someone who is gay or lesbian (69.3%) than were men (52.4%).

Table 31. Differences in Subscale Means, Validity Check Means, and in Amount of Contact, for Male and Female Participants.

<i>Subscale</i>	<i>Participant Gender</i>		<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Effect Size Cohen's D</i>
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>		
Traditional Heterosexism	2.81 (1.01)	2.59 (1.04)	.01	.2123
Value Gay Progress/Diversity	2.82 (1.05)	3.01 (1.06)	.04	.1731
Aversion: Gay Men	2.86 (.859)	2.05 (.771)	.001	.9935
Aversion: Lesbians	2.50 (.724)	2.48 (.884)	.46	<i>ns</i>
Deny Continued Discrimination	2.48 (.617)	2.27 (.616)	.001	.3493
Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	2.09 (.834)	2.15 (.888)	.38	<i>ns</i>
Positive Stereotypes	2.43 (.711)	2.63 (.706)	.001	.2821
Right-Wing Authoritarianism	2.95 (.607)	3.12 (.602)	.001	.2915
Social Dominance Orientation	2.27 (.661)	1.98 (.662)	.001	.4353
Humanitarianism/ Egalitarianism	3.93 (.655)	4.09 (.588)	.002	.2561
Percent who have had contact with Gay Men or Lesbians	52.4%	69.3%	$\chi^2=17.122$.001

NOTE: Higher scores on Traditional Heterosexism, Denial of Continued Discrimination, Aversion Toward Gay Men, and Aversion Toward Lesbians indicate anti-gay/anti-lesbian attitudes. Higher scores on Value Gay Progress/Diversity, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Positive Stereotypes indicate pro-gay/pro-lesbian attitudes. For effect sizes: .30=small; .50=medium; .80=large. Large effect sizes are shown in bold.

A comparison of the effect sizes of these gender differences found that differences in Aversion Toward Gay Men were much larger ($d=.994$) than any other difference found. Differences between male and female participants' Aversion Toward Lesbians and Resistance to Traditional Sex/Gender Roles were non-significant and the size of differences in the Value they put in Gay Progress/Diversity were small. The effect sizes of gender differences were higher (but still quite small) for Traditional Heterosexism ($d=.212$), Positive Stereotypes ($d=.282$) and Denial of Continued Discrimination ($d=.349$). The size of the gender difference in Aversion Toward Gay Men was more than twice as large as that found for any other subscale. Because Aversion Toward Lesbians demonstrated no gender differences, it is possible that Aversion Toward Gay Men and Aversion Toward Lesbians serve very different psychological functions.

As shown in Figure 12, significant differences in aversion toward gay men and lesbians were found within each participant gender. As predicted, male participants experienced significantly ($p<.001$) more aversion toward gay men ($M=2.86$, $SD=.86$) than they did toward lesbians ($M=2.50$, $SD=.72$). And similarly, female participants experienced significantly ($p<.001$) more aversion toward lesbians ($M=2.48$, $SD=.88$) than they did toward gay men ($M=2.05$, $SD=.77$). The effect size of these differences was slightly larger for female participants ($d=.52$) than for males ($d=.45$).

It appears from these data, however, that male and female participants experience about the same level of comfort interacting with lesbians, and that their difference in comfort is quite large when it comes to gay men. Figure 12 reveals that this difference is due to shifts on the part of *both* male and female participants in aversion toward gay men. Male participants experience more aversion and female participants experience less.

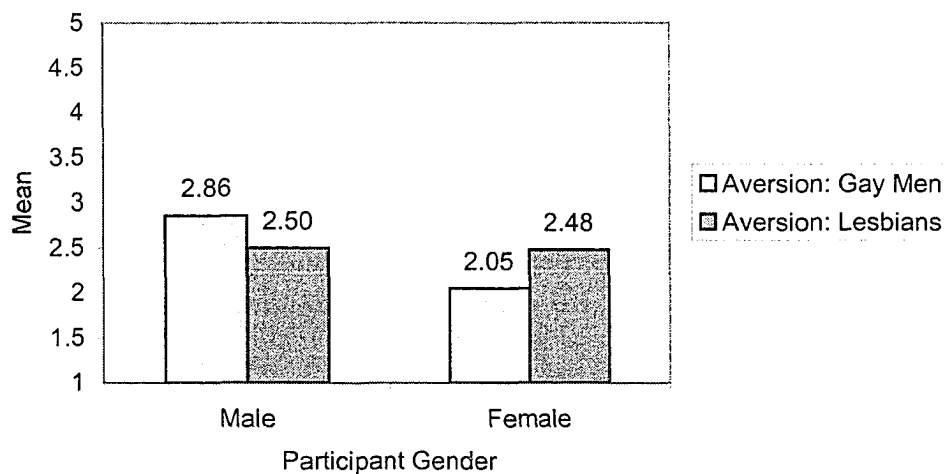


Figure 12. Gender of Participant Interaction for differences in Aversion Toward Gay Men and Lesbians.

Effect of Interpersonal Contact

The positive influence of intergroup contact on attitudes toward stigmatized groups has a long history in the prejudice literature (Allport, 1954). Those who study sexual prejudice have suggested that participants' amount of interaction with gay men and lesbians may influence their levels of prejudice, and several studies have demonstrated that those participants with more experience interacting with gay people hold more favorable attitudes than those with less experience (Herek and Capitanio, 1996; Herek and Glunt, 1993).

Although sexually prejudiced people may choose not to interact with gay folks, it also possible (and likely) that gay folks will choose not to interact with prejudiced individuals. In the following section, the relationship between various components of sexual prejudice and contact will be explored. Although both explanations for the contact effect are plausible and probable, these analyses will focus on the relationship between

sexual prejudice and person's comfort and willingness to interact with gay people. Conclusions drawn from these analyses, however, must be considered in light of the understanding that the relationship between contact and attitudes is potentially bi-directional. Sexual prejudice can cause a straight person to avoid contact with gay people, but gay people may also try to avoid contact with prejudiced individuals (Herek, 1994).

Sixty-three percent of participants reported knowing one or more gay or lesbian person. The number of gay people they reported knowing ranged from one to over 30. To simplify, the responses ranging from four to nine were combined and responses of 10 or more were combined. Amount of interpersonal contact was found to be negatively and significantly ($p < .001$) correlated with Traditional Heterosexism ($r = -.33$). That is, the more gay and lesbian people the participants knew, the less moral condemnation they were likely to express. There were no observed gender differences in the relationship between contact and Traditional Heterosexism. In addition, the gender of the first or second gay person the participant listed also had no significant impact on the Traditional Heterosexism subscale.

As shown in Table 32, whether or not participants had some contact with gay men and/or lesbians had a significant impact on their scores for most of the subscales. Those with some contact with gay people expressed significantly less ($p < .001$) Traditional Heterosexism ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 1.2$) and were more likely to Value Gay Progress ($M = 3.22$, $SD = 1.2$) than did those with no contact ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.1$; $M = 2.58$, $SD = .92$). The sizes of these differences were both moderate to large ($d = .63$; $d = .64$). Because the impact of

contact on traditional measure of sexual prejudice is well documented, these findings were not surprising.

Table 32. Differences in Subscale Means Between Participants with Some Contact and Participants With No Contact.

<i>Subscale</i>	<i>Contact with G&L</i>		<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Effect Size Cohen's D</i>
	<i>Some</i>	<i>None</i>		
Traditional Heterosexism	2.52 (1.16)	3.24 (1.13)	.001	0.6303
Value Gay Progress/ Diversity	3.22 (1.07)	2.58 (.922)	.001	0.6361
Aversion Toward Gay Men	2.10 (.817)	2.83 (.851)	.001	0.8702
Aversion Toward Lesbians	2.30 (.825)	2.76 (.736)	.001	0.5961
Denial of Continued Discrimination	2.26 (.625)	2.50 (.593)	.001	0.3966
Resist Tradition Sex/Gender Roles	2.18 (.871)	2.04 (.853)	.05	0.1682
Positive Stereotypes	2.60 (.712)	2.45 (.711)	.01	0.2205
Right Wing Authoritarianism	2.95 (.643)	3.22 (.505)	.001	0.4568
Social Dominance Orientation	1.97 (.651)	2.31 (.660)	.001	0.5292

NOTE: Higher scores on Traditional Heterosexism, Denial of Continued Discrimination, Aversion Toward Gay Men, and Aversion Toward Lesbians indicate anti-gay/anti-lesbian attitudes. Higher scores on Value Gay Progress/Diversity, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Positive Stereotypes indicate pro-gay/pro-lesbian attitudes. Higher scores on RWA and SDO indicate increased levels of authoritarianism and social dominance orientation respectively. An effect size of .30 is small, .50 is medium, and .80 is large. Large effect sizes are shown in bold.

The impact of contact on the aversion subscales was also quite pronounced. This finding is not that surprising given that the aversion subscales include items that tap into desire for contact. Those participants who had some contact with gay men expressed significantly less ($p < .001$) anti-gay aversion toward them ($M = 2.10$, $SD = .82$) than did those with no contact ($M = 2.83$, $SD = .85$). Similarly, those who had some contact with lesbians expressed significantly less ($p < .001$) anti-lesbian aversion ($M = 2.30$, $SD = .83$) than did those with no contact ($M = 2.76$, $SD = .74$). Interestingly, the size of the effect of contact on Aversion Toward Gay Men was larger ($d = .87$) than its effect on Aversion Toward Lesbians ($d = .60$).

As expected, the impact of interpersonal contact on the remaining modern heterosexism subscales was less pronounced. Although those without contact were significantly more likely ($p < .001$) to Deny Discrimination Continues against gay men and lesbians ($M = 2.50$, $SD = .59$) than were those with some contact ($M = 2.26$, $SD = .63$), the size of this difference was moderate ($d = .40$). Similarly, those with some amount of contact with gay men and lesbians were more likely to Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles ($M = 2.18$, $SD = .87$) than were those with no contact ($M = 2.04$, $SD = .85$). Although significant ($p < .05$), the size of this difference was quite small ($d = .17$). Finally, those with contact were also more likely to endorse Positive Stereotypes of gay men and lesbians ($M = 2.60$, $SD = .71$) than were those without contact ($M = 2.45$, $SD = .71$). This difference was also significant ($p < .01$) and small ($d = .22$).

It was predicted at the start of this study that both Aversive and Traditional Heterosexism would be strongly related to contact. The literature on the impact of contact suggests not only that it has its strongest impact on attitudes toward gay people, but also that measures that tap closely into affective attitudinal functions (such as aversive prejudice) should also demonstrate the strongest results. Contact's lesser impact on the Denial of Continued Discrimination and Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles subscales (both symbolic expressions of anti-gay prejudice) suggests that some symbolic forms of prejudice may in fact be less sensitive to the effects of interpersonal contact.

As shown in Table 33, the effect of contact on the subscales varied somewhat within each participant gender. Female participants were significantly more ($\chi^2 = 17.122$, $p < .001$) likely to know someone who is gay or lesbian (69.3%) than were male participants (52.4%). Those male participants with some contact experienced

Table 33. Differences in Effect Sizes of Contact on Subscales, by Gender of Participant.

<i>Subscale</i>	<i>Gender of Participant</i>		<i>Difference in size of effect</i>
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	
Traditional Heterosexism	.646	.638	.008
Value Gay Progress/Diversity	.471	.735	-.263
Aversion: Gay Men	.779	.778	.001
Aversion: Lesbians	.758	.519	.239
Deny Continued Discrimination	.359	.343	.016
Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	.073 (<i>ns</i>)	.319	-.246
Positive Stereotypes	.095 (<i>ns</i>)	.373	-.279
RWA	.621	.465	.156
SDO	.718	.314	.404

NOTE: An effect size of .30 is small, .50 is medium, and .80 is large. Large effect sizes are shown in bold.

significantly less Aversion Toward Lesbians than did female participants with some contact. Those female participants with some contact Valued Gay Progress/Diversity more, were more likely to Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, and were more likely to endorse Positive Stereotypes than were males with some contact. The effect of contact on Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Positive Stereotypes was non-significant for male participants. There were no differences for male and female participants in the impact of contact on Traditional Heterosexism, Denial of Continued Discrimination or Aversion Toward Gay Men.

From these data it can be argued that female participants who Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles or endorse Positive Stereotypes of gay men and woman may find gay people to be rewarding to interact with and seek them out. In addition, because the relationship between contact and aversion toward lesbians was smaller than the relationship between contact and aversion toward gay men, the impact of contact may have more to do with straight women's feelings about gay men than their feelings about lesbians (although both effect sizes were quite large). It is possible that women who feel

constrained by Traditional Sex/Gender Role expectations see gay men as safe and emotionally fulfilling alternatives to interaction with straight men.

Contact, RWA and SDO

As predicted, those participants who reported higher levels of authoritarianism also reported less contact with gay men and lesbians than did those reporting lower levels of authoritarianism. It is important to reiterate that the causal direction of the relationship between these variables is uncertain. Higher levels of authoritarianism may cause a person to avoid contact with groups who are considered deviant or marginal by religious and political authorities. It is also possible, however, that gay people will avoid interacting with those who appear to have strong authoritarian values. A cross-tabulation revealed that 44% of those scoring above average on RWA reported knowing no gay people, compared to only 30.7% of those scoring below average. This difference was significant ($\chi^2=11.02, p<.001$). Contrary to prediction, however, results of a similar magnitude were found for the relationship between SDO and contact. Forty-nine percent of those scoring above average on SDO reported knowing no gay people, compared to only 27% of those scoring below average. This difference was also significant ($\chi^2=30.34, p<.001$). Both RWA and SDO equally influenced participants' likelihood to know a gay or lesbian person.

Effect of Race

Because of the homogeneity of the sample recruited for this study, few comparisons based on race yielded significant results. For example, Black participants ($n=24$) were only slightly, but still not significantly ($p<.06$), more likely ($M=2.13, SD=.65$) than White participants ($n=404; M=2.38, SD=.62$) to believe that discrimination

against gay men and lesbians continues. No other differences between Black and White participants was observed.

Similarly, few differences between Latino ($n=59$) and non-Latino ($n=528$) participants were observed. Latino students were significantly ($p<.05$) more likely to believe that discrimination against gay men and lesbians continues ($M=2.20$, $SD=.54$) than were non-Latino students ($M=2.37$, $SD=.63$). Differences in expressions of Traditional Heterosexism and Aversion Toward Lesbians among Latinos and non-Latinos only approached significance, with Latinos expressing slightly less Traditional Heterosexism ($M=2.44$, $SD=1.0$, $p<.07$) and Aversion Toward Lesbians ($M=2.29$, $SD=.77$, $p<.08$) than non-Latinos ($M=2.70$, $SD=1.0$; $M=2.50$, $SD=.83$). Again, this lack of differences in attitude may be due to the lack of diversity among participants and may not accurately reflect race-based differences in sexual prejudice.

Significant differences were observed between White ($n=404$) and Asian ($n=115$) participants across several subscales. Asian students expressed significantly ($p=.012$) more Aversion Toward Gay Men ($M=2.57$, $SD=.85$) than did White students ($M=2.33$, $SD=.91$), but demonstrated significantly more favorable attitudes in terms of Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Role ($M=2.45$, $SD=.86$, $p<.001$) and Positive Stereotypes ($M=2.73$, $SD=.72$, $p<.002$) than did White students ($M=2.04$, $SD=.85$; $M=2.50$, $SD=.71$).

RWA and SDO and Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Lesbians

It was predicted at the start of this study that Right-Wing Authoritarianism (a construct with a previously demonstrated connection to the moral condemnation of homosexuality, see Whitely, 1999) would correlate strongly and positively with the

Traditional Heterosexism and Modern Heterosexism (including, Value Gay Progress/Diversity, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, and the aversion subscales), but less-strongly (but negatively) with Pro-Gay/Pro-Lesbian Egalitarianism and Denial of Continued Discrimination. The supposition was that political and religious leaders (and, therefore, those high in RWA) would be less likely to express their prejudice through the overt expression of anti-egalitarian values than through channels less directly accountable to egalitarian principles, such as the endorsement of traditional gender and sex roles, the rejection of positive stereotypes, or the expression of conservative religious beliefs. Although Denial of Continued Discrimination was considered a form of modern heterosexism, a strong correlation between RWA and Denial of Continued Discrimination was not expected (see earlier discussion of Whitley's 1999 findings concerning RWA).

Initial predictions regarding the relationship between egalitarianism and Traditional Heterosexism were based on the theoretical notion that moral condemnation was independent of pro-gay/lesbian egalitarianism. As discussed earlier, however, both exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses suggested that pro-gay/pro-lesbian egalitarianism and moral condemnation represented opposite poles of a single dimension. Consequently, the data revealed a relationship opposite to the one initially predicted. As shown earlier in Table 29, RWA was significantly correlated with Traditional Heterosexism and with Value Gay Progress/Diversity ($r=.64, p<.01$; $r=-.62, p<.01$ respectively). RWA was less influential on Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles ($r=.35, p<.01$), Denial of Continued Discrimination ($r=.30, p<.01$), and Positive Stereotypes ($r=.20, p<.01$).

Interestingly, the correlation of RWA with the Aversion Toward Lesbians subscale was stronger ($r=.55, p<.01$) than its correlation with the Aversion Toward Gay Men subscale ($r=.30, p<.01$). This difference may offer additional support for the idea that these two subscales are serving different primary functions. For heterosexual men at least, aversion toward gay men may be more likely to serve an ego-defensive function than does aversion toward lesbians. Affective reactions to lesbians, however, may be more likely to serve a value-expressive function for both male and female heterosexuals.

Table 34. Differences in Subscale Means for Participants High in RWA and Participants Low in RWA.

<i>Subscale</i>	<i>RWA</i>		<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Effect Size Cohen's D</i>
	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>		
Traditional Heterosexism	2.13 (.827)	3.18 (.950)	.001	1.1793
Value Gay Progress/ Diversity	3.43 (.899)	2.47 (.985)	.001	1.0170
Aversion Toward Gay Men	2.12 (.823)	2.61 (.908)	.001	0.5585
Aversion Toward Lesbians	2.11 (.697)	2.81 (.787)	.001	0.9522
Denial of Continued Discrimination	2.20 (.591)	2.49 (.622)	.001	0.4799
Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	2.36 (.865)	1.91 (.809)	.001	0.5310
Positive Stereotypes	2.64 (.640)	2.46 (.768)	.001	0.2662

NOTE: Higher scores on Traditional Heterosexism, Denial of Continued Discrimination, Aversion Toward Gay Men, and Aversion Toward Lesbians indicate anti-gay/anti-lesbian attitudes. Higher scores on Value Gay Progress/Diversity, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Positive Stereotypes indicate pro-gay/pro-lesbian attitudes. An effect size of .30 is small, .50 is medium, and .80 is large. Large effects sizes are shown in bold.

Comparisons of the subscale mean scores for those scoring below and above average in RWA offered additional support for these conclusions. As shown in Table 34, those participants scoring above average in RWA were significantly ($p<.001$) higher in Traditional Heterosexism ($M=3.18, SD=.95$), significantly ($p<.001$) higher in aversion toward lesbians ($M=2.81, SD=.79$), and significantly ($p<.001$) lower in Value Gay Progress/Diversity ($M=2.47, SD=.99$) than those scoring below average ($M=2.13,$

$SD=.83$; $M=2.11$, $SD=.70$; and $M=3.43$, $SD=.90$ respectively). The effect sizes of for all three of these differences were large ($d=1.18$, $.95$, and $.1.02$ respectively).

It's important to note that those participants scoring above average in RWA were also significantly ($p<.001$) higher in their Aversion Toward Gay Men ($M=2.61$, $SD=.91$), significantly ($p<.001$) more likely to Deny Discrimination against gay people continues to be a problem for society ($M=2.49$, $SD=.62$), and significantly ($p<.001$) less likely to Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles ($M=1.91$, $SD=.81$) than those scoring below average ($M=2.12$, $SD=.82$; $M=2.20$, $SD=.59$; and $M=2.36$, $SD=.87$ respectively). The effect sizes for these differences, however, were moderate ($d=.56$; $d=.48$; $d=.53$ respectively). Finally, the effect of RWA on Positive Stereotypes was small ($d=.27$). Those participants scoring above average in RWA were less likely to endorse positive stereotypes of gay men and lesbians ($M=2.46$, $SD=.77$) than were those who scored below average in RWA ($M=2.64$, $SD=.64$). To summarize, RWA had its strongest impact on Traditional Heterosexism, Value Gay Progress/Diversity and Aversion Toward Lesbians.

As Whitely points out, it is still acceptable for political and religious leaders to condemn homosexuality. Contrary to expectations, gay and lesbian people may represent somewhat of an exception to the egalitarian ethic discussed in other modern prejudice literatures. Anti-egalitarian attitudes directed at gay men and lesbians may not threaten social desirability to the same extent as racism or sexism and may, therefore, remain a vital part of public and political discourse. Another possibility is that the expression of moral condemnation is a particular behavior that (at least when directed at gay men and lesbians) is exempt from the dictates of an egalitarian ethic.

It was predicted that the need for dominance and to enhance one's own group as demonstrated by social dominance orientation (SDO) would correlate equally with traditional and modern heterosexism. Some support for this conclusion was found in the data. As shown earlier in Table 29, SDO was significantly correlated with Traditional Heterosexism ($r=.38, p<.01$), Denial of Continued Discrimination ($r=.39, p<.01$), Value Gay Progress/Diversity ($r=-.40, p<.01$), Aversion Toward Lesbians ($r=.42, p<.01$), and Aversion Toward Gay Men ($r=.45, p<.01$) at approximately the levels. However, SDO did not significantly correlate with Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles ($r=.07, p=.09$) and was only slightly correlated with (and at an insignificantly small level) Positive Stereotypes ($r=.09, p=.04$).

Table 35. Differences in Subscale Means for Participants High in SDO and Participants Low in SDO.

<i>Subscale</i>	<i>SDO</i>		<i>Sig.</i>	<i>Effect Size Cohen's D</i>
	<i>Low</i>	<i>High</i>		
Traditional Heterosexism	2.36 (1.019)	3.00 (.957)	.001	0.6566
Value Gay Progress/ Diversity	3.27 (1.038)	2.58 (.962)	.001	0.6874
Aversion Toward Gay Men	2.02 (.813)	2.74 (.838)	.001	0.8737
Aversion Toward Lesbians	2.18 (.805)	2.77 (.736)	.001	0.7534
Denial of Continued Discrimination	2.16 (.603)	2.54 (.585)	.001	0.6435
Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	2.19 (.918)	2.07 (.805)	.096	0.1371
Positive Stereotypes	2.60 (.697)	2.49 (.729)	.053	0.1593

NOTE: Higher scores on Traditional Heterosexism, Denial of Continued Discrimination, Aversion Toward Gay Men, and Aversion Toward Lesbians indicate anti-gay/anti-lesbian attitudes. Higher scores on Value Gay Progress/Diversity, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Positive Stereotypes indicate pro-gay/pro-lesbian attitudes. An effect size of .30 is small, .50 is medium, and .80 is large. Large effect sizes are shown in bold.

As shown in Table 35, an examination of the differences in scores for those scoring above average on SDO and those scoring below average on SDO suggests that SDO had a somewhat differential impact on the various components of sexual prejudice.

Those participants scoring above average in SDO expressed significantly ($p < .001$) more Traditional Heterosexism ($M = 3.00$, $SD = .96$), were significantly ($p < .001$) more likely to deny that discrimination against gay people continues to be a problem in society ($M = 2.54$, $SD = .59$), and were significantly ($p < .001$) less likely to Value Gay Progress and Diversity ($M = 2.58$, $SD = .96$) than those scoring below average ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.0$; $M = 2.16$, $SD = .60$; $M = 3.27$, $SD = 1.0$). All of these differences were moderate to large ($d = .66$; $d = .64$; $d = .69$ respectively). Although SDO's effect on the endorsement of Positive Stereotypes of gay men and lesbians was significant ($p = .053$), its effect size was very small ($d = .16$). SDO did not significantly influence participants' likelihood to Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles.

In contrast to the effect of RWA on the aversion subscales, SDO had an almost equivalent influence on participants' levels of Aversion Toward Gay Men and Aversion Toward Lesbians. Those above average in SDO reported significantly higher amounts of Aversion Toward Gay Men ($M = 2.74$, $SD = .84$) than did those below average ($M = 2.02$, $SD = .81$). Similarly, those above average in SDO reported significantly higher amounts of Aversion Toward Lesbians ($M = 2.77$, $SD = .74$) than did those below average ($M = 2.18$, $SD = .81$). The effect sizes for both of these differences were of a similar magnitude ($d = .87$; $d = .75$ respectively).

Summary

To summarize, some aspects of sexual prejudice were found to be more susceptible to fluctuations in RWA than in SDO. For example, Traditional Heterosexism, Value Gay Progress/Diversity, Aversion Toward Lesbians, and Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles are all more strongly influenced by differences in

participants' levels of authoritarianism than by differences in their social dominance orientation. This suggests that as the position of political and religious leaders shift, so will these attitudes. On the other hand, Aversion Toward Gay Men and Denial of Continued Discrimination were more influenced by SDO suggesting that these variables are more influenced by the extent to which participants have a need for dominance and to enhance the status of their ingroup (Sidanius, Levin, Lui, & Pratto, 2000).

Chapter 6: Test-Retest Reliability Check

In addition to assessing a measure's structural validity, it was necessary to assess the stability of the measure over time. A new sample of participants was recruited from the Introduction to Psychology student subject pools at The University of Texas at Austin (n=149). These participants filled out a paper and pencil version of the attitudes and demographics questionnaire. One week later 106 of these participants returned for a follow-up session, resulting in a return rate of 71%.

Demographics of Participants

As shown in Table 36, approximately 70% of participants in stage 3 were female and 30% were male. The age of these participants ranged from 17-32, with an average age of 19. Sixty-nine percent of participants were white, 16% were Asian/Pacific

Table 36. Demographics for Participants in Test-Retest Reliability Analysis.

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
<i>Gender</i>		
Female	104	69.80
Male	45	30.20
<i>Total</i>	149	100.00
<i>Age</i>		
17	7	4.70
18	113	75.84
19	15	10.07
20	6	4.03
21	4	2.68
23	1	0.67
24	1	0.67
26	1	0.67
32	1	0.67
<i>Total</i>	149	100.00
<i>Race</i>		
White	101	69.18
Asian	24	16.44
Mixed	14	9.59

Table 36. (cont.)

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
Black	6	4.11
Native	1	0.68
<i>Total</i>	146	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	3	
<i>Latino/a?</i>		
Yes	27	18.12
No	122	81.88
<i>Total</i>	149	100.00
<i>Sexual Orientation</i>		
Heterosexual	143	96.62
Bisexual	4	2.70
Homosexual	1	0.68
<i>Total</i>	148	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	1	
<i>Years in College</i>		
1st year	126	84.56
2nd year	11	7.38
3rd year	9	6.04
4th year or greater	3	2.01
<i>Total</i>	149	100.00
<i>Number of Children</i>		
None	146	97.99
One	2	1.34
Two	1	0.67
<i>Total</i>	149	100.00
<i>Geographic Residence</i>		
Mountain	86	58.11
South	25	16.89
Central	21	14.19
Other	10	6.76
Pacific	4	2.70
Northeast	2	1.35
<i>Total</i>	148	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	1	
<i>Household Residence</i>		
Large City	58	38.93
Suburb	48	32.21
Small City	24	16.11
Small Town	17	11.41
Farm	2	1.34
<i>Total</i>	149	100.00

Table 36. (cont.)

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
<i>Relationship Status</i>		
Never Married	142	95.30
Cohabiting	5	3.36
Divorced	1	0.67
Married/Widowed	1	0.67
<i>Total</i>	149	100.00
<i>Religious Affiliation</i>		
Protestant	48	32.43
Catholic	43	29.05
Other	27	18.24
None	15	10.14
Jewish	5	3.38
Buddhist	4	2.70
Muslim	3	2.03
Hindu	3	2.03
<i>Total</i>	148	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	1	
<i>Religious Ideology</i>		
Moderate	60	40.27
Liberal	36	24.16
Does not apply	30	20.13
Conservative	23	15.44
<i>Total</i>	149	100.00
<i>Religious Attendance</i>		
Never	16	10.74
Once	45	30.20
1-3 times	41	27.52
Weekly	47	31.54
<i>Total</i>	149	100.00
<i>Political Affiliation</i>		
Republican	52	35.14
Democrat	43	29.05
None	40	27.03
Independent	5	3.38
Libertarian	4	2.70
Green	4	2.70
<i>Total</i>	148	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	1	
<i>Political Ideology</i>		
Moderate	50	39.37
Liberal	46	36.22

Table 36. (cont.)

	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Valid Percent</i>
Conservative	30	23.62
Radical	1	0.79
<i>Total</i>	127	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	22	
<i>Income</i>		
\$0-20,000	8	5.44
\$20-\$40,000	19	12.93
\$40-\$60,000	23	15.65
\$60-\$80,000	22	14.97
\$80-\$100,000	24	16.33
\$100,000+	51	34.69
<i>Total</i>	147	100.00
<i>Missing</i>	2	

NOTE: n=149.

Islander, 10% reported being of mixed race, 4% were Black, and <1% were Native American. Eighteen percent of participants reported Hispanic. Almost all participants (97%) reported being heterosexual, with only 3% identifying as gay, lesbian, bisexual, queer, or other.

Test-Retest Reliability

Subscale measures from the initial session were calculated and compared to those from the session one week later in order to determine the test-retest reliability and overall stability of the subscales. A low reliability score (<.50) would suggest that the scale does not represent the stable attitude constructs being proposed in this study. As shown in Table 37, all subscales were found to be reliable, with test-retest correlations ranging from .67 to .93. Traditional Heterosexism was shown to have the highest reliability at .93 and Positive Stereotypes was found to have the lowest reliability at .67. Although the latter finding was within acceptable limits for reliability coefficients, it is possible that

participants' Positive Stereotypes of gay men and lesbians are less stable than are Negative Stereotypes.

Table 37. Subscale Reliability Test.

<i>Subscale</i>	<i>Test-Retest Correlation</i>
Traditional Heterosexism	.93
Denial of Continued Discrimination	.74
Aversive Heterosexism	.92
Value Gay Progress/Diversity	.93
Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles	.84
Positive Stereotypes	.67
Mutability	.85

NOTE: Test and retest were conducted 1 week apart.

Chapter 7: Discussion

The goals of this study were concerned with both demonstration and discovery. Several predictions concerning the relationships between heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men and other psychological and master status variables guided this project, and many of these predictions were supported by the findings. In addition to formally testing these predicted relationships, however, this research also involved an exploratory investigation into the structure of these attitudes. This investigation was based on an initial theoretical formulation of attitudinal content and structure, but the results went beyond these formulations and required an inductive approach. Once determined, this new structure revealed new ways of looking at sexual prejudice, and raised new questions.

The resulting model, therefore, should be considered a work in progress, a first attempt to extend existing conceptualizations of sexual prejudice beyond the liberal reform approach, to include not only modern forms of sexual prejudice but also to take seriously the theoretical and empirical advances that have taken place in the now 30+ years of investigation into the nature of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

This concluding chapter will examine each of the predictions offered in the introductory chapters of this report – comparing these predictions to the findings revealed during the analyses of the data collected and examining the possible implications of these findings for our understanding of sexual prejudice; assess the various limitations of this research; and discuss possible directions for further investigation into the nature of sexual prejudice.

Structural predictions

The main prediction guiding this study, that sexual prejudice is best represented as a multidimensional model, was supported by the data. Confirmatory factor analysis demonstrated that a seven-factor model provided a better fit to the wide range of content comprising sexual prejudice than did a single factor model. The final 7-factor model included the following constructs:

1. *Traditional Heterosexism*: reflecting beliefs and affect ranging from the complete acceptance of gay people as equal members of society and, therefore, a group deserving of tolerance, to the total condemnation of homosexuals as immoral, the view that homosexuality is sinful or perverted behavior, and the view that, as a consequence, certain rights and privileges should be denied.
2. *Denial of Continued Discrimination*: reflecting beliefs ranging from the understanding that discrimination against gay men and lesbians is an ongoing problem in society and, therefore, the anger of gay people about these injustices is justified, to the view that discrimination against gay men and lesbians is no longer a problem, that gay people and straight people have equal opportunities for advancement, and that the claims of discrimination made by gay men and lesbians are unwarranted.
3. *Aversion Toward Gay Men*: reflecting affective reactions ranging from ease and comfort relating to possible contact with gay men and satisfaction with their gender performance, to the desire to avoid contact, feelings of discomfort relating to possible interactions with gay men, and criticisms of their perceived gender non-conformity.

4. *Aversion Toward Lesbians*: reflecting affective reactions ranging from ease and comfort relating to possible contact with lesbians and satisfaction with their gender performance, to the desire to avoid contact, feelings of discomfort relating to possible interactions with lesbians and criticisms of their perceived gender non-conformity.
5. *Value Gay Progress/Diversity*: reflecting beliefs ranging from the view that gay people and the gay and lesbian movement have contributed nothing of value to society, that gay people possess no traits or characteristics that enhance society, and that homosexuality should not be encouraged, to beliefs grounded in pro-diversity values, such as the view that the accomplishments of the gay movement have enhanced society in general, that gay men and lesbians possess unique traits and characteristics that are valuable, and that homosexuality represents a special quality that, once it manifests, should be encouraged.
6. *Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles*: reflecting beliefs and affective reactions ranging from comfort and acceptance of traditional ascribed sex and gender roles and the behavioral expectations that go with them, belief in the fundamental quality of sex and gender binaries, and an acceptance of the heterosexist hierarchy, to feelings of discomfort with and the need to resist traditional ascribed sex and gender roles and the behaviors that go with them, the belief that sex and gender transcend a simple binary or ternary definition, and an awareness of and discomfort with the privileges that come from being heterosexual in a heterosexist world.

7. *Positive Stereotypes*: reflecting beliefs ranging from the total disbelief that any unique positive qualities exist as a consequence of being gay or lesbian, to the endorsement of a variety of positive characteristics that are a consequence of either being gay or lesbian or being positioned on the margins of heterosexual society.

This model demonstrated good factorial validity, and was found to be internally consistent and reliable. Given these findings, it can be stated that existing measures of sexual prejudice (such as the ATLG) that operationalize anti-gay attitudes along a single tolerant-hostile dimension only adequately explains the content found in the “traditional heterosexism” factor of this new model.

Although most of the proposed content areas comprising the initial model remained in the final model, not all of the relationships among these content areas behaved as expected. For example, it was initially suggested that the moral condemnation of gay people could be thought of as a form of modern prejudice. The original model theorized moral condemnation as a form of modern prejudice, however, not because it was thought to be a new form of prejudice, but because, unlike old-fashioned racism, it was still used as a common justification for anti-gay discrimination. Similar to modern racism, this form of prejudice would exist side by side with pro-gay egalitarian beliefs. Contrary to expectations, however, pro-gay egalitarianism did not manifest as an independent factor distinct from moral condemnation. Instead it defined one end of a single moral condemnation factor.

Therefore, it is unlikely that those expressing strong moral condemnation of homosexuality will simultaneously strongly endorse the civil rights of gay people. This

entrenched anti-egalitarianism directed at gay people, however, is unlikely to be universally applied to other groups. Old-fashioned racism, for example, which is thought of as racist anti-egalitarianism (Sears, 1988), is no longer commonly used to justify anti-Black discrimination. Because the overt moral condemnation of homosexuality, specifically, remains a sanctioned form of prejudice and has demonstrated more resistance to the influence of social desirability than many other forms of prejudice (Whitley, 1999), those who express moral condemnation of gay people and who may actively work to deny them equal rights, may continue to hold (or at least publicly express) strong egalitarian beliefs about other groups.

Another prediction about the structure and content of this new multidimensional model was that variations in beliefs about the essential nature of sexuality and the fundamentality of sexuality and gender binaries would form a unique coherent factor which would moderate the structural integrity of the other factors. Although items tapping into four concerns from the queer theory literature were included in the original model: (a) the rejection of attempts to normalize a particular sexual orientation, (b) resistance to or rejection of ascribed sex/gender expectations, (c) the rejection of biological or psychodynamic explanations in favor of ideological or political explanations for the origins of sexual orientation, and (d) the celebration of difference, a single mutability or fundamentality factor did not manifest during the exploratory analysis.

The Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Role subscale, however, does reflect ideas similar to those originally described by the Mutability Beliefs subscale, and its relationship to the Traditional Heterosexism subscale is consistent with findings from the early sexual prejudice literature suggesting that adherence to *conservative standards of*

sexual morality and *traditional gender roles* predicts more negative attitudes toward gay people (Dunbar, Brown, & Amoroso, 1973; MacDonald, Huggins, Young & Swanson, 1973). In the current study, participants who resisted traditional sex and gender roles expressed a more positive view of gay people. These finding also challenge established conclusions from the sexual prejudice literature that suggest that sexual prejudice follows the rules laid out by attribution theory – that belief in the innate sexuality means a more positive attitude. In the current study, participants who described sexuality as fluid, who denied the fundamentality of sexual orientation categories, and who acknowledged the discomfort they felt in their ascribed sex and gender roles also evaluated gay men and lesbians more favorably.

Several other aspects of queer consciousness, however, comprised part of the final model. These include participants' beliefs that the accomplishments of the gay and lesbian movement have improved society overall and that the diversity found in gay and lesbian people is something to be valued and encouraged, participants' feelings of discomfort with and their need to resist the demands of traditional ascribed sex and gender roles, and participants' belief that being gay or lesbian (being part of a group positioned on the margins of heterosexist society) results in a person having certain qualities or perspectives that can be considered *positive*.

Instead of being uniquely “queer”, however, these factors parallel notions put forth by gay liberationists whose views, as pointed out earlier, predate queer theory. It seemed more accurate and respectful, therefore, to describe these three factors as “Liberationist Beliefs”. Each Liberationist Beliefs subscale was negatively correlated with Traditional Heterosexism. Value Gay Progress/Diversity was strongly (negatively)

correlated with Traditional Heterosexism, and still remained an independent factor in the final model. This factor improved the face validity of the sexual prejudice model in that it extends the positive end of Traditional Heterosexism beyond benign tolerance to actually valuing gay and lesbian people. Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Positive Stereotypes both also present pro-gay pro-lesbian beliefs in that they were found to be negatively correlated with Traditional Heterosexism. These factors were each considered forms of modern heterosexism and were included with Denial of Continued Discrimination in assessing the validity of the modern heterosexism predictions. Because Value Gay Progress/Diversity was so strongly correlated with the Traditional Heterosexism, however, it was unclear whether it can demonstrate the same level of ambivalence found in the other Modern Heterosexism subscales.

Comparisons among the subscales

Participants were most willing to express anti-gay anti-lesbian prejudice in terms of their belief in traditional sex and gender roles, followed by their rejection of positive stereotypes and their failure to see any value in the gay movement. Participants were least willing to express anti-gay anti-lesbian prejudice in terms of their tendency to deny that discrimination against gay people continues to be a problem, in expressing their feelings of Aversion Toward Gay Men and Lesbians, and in terms of overt moral condemnation of gay people.

These findings offer support for a modern heterosexism model, suggesting that the more overt forms of sexual prejudice (moral condemnation/egalitarianism and aversion) are the least common ways that sexual prejudice is being expressed. Instead, participants are finding more subtle ways to express anti-gay prejudice: by denying the

value of the accomplishments of the gay and lesbian movement, by denying the value of the diversity provided by gay and lesbian people, by rejecting positive gay/lesbian stereotypes, and by holding firm to traditional sex and gender roles. Each of these subtle forms of prejudice correlated with traditional heterosexism and represents an anti-gay anti-lesbian attitude.

Interestingly, denial of continued discrimination, a common form of modern racist and sexist prejudice, did not seem to be a common way to express anti-gay anti-lesbian prejudice. One explanation for this finding is that because it is more common to direct moral condemnation and expressions of anti-egalitarianism toward gay people than toward other groups, it would be unreasonable to deny that this overt discrimination exists. As long as anti-egalitarianism continues to be expressed it will be difficult for one to deny that discrimination against gay people continues.

Modern Heterosexism

It was suggested at the start of this paper that the arguments guiding the modern racism and modern sexism literatures should guide investigations into sexual prejudice – that overt “old-fashioned” forms of sexual prejudice would be increasingly replaced by more subtle expressions of prejudice. Support for the prevalence of subtle forms of prejudice was found in the data, although old-fashioned prejudice did not seem to be diminishing to the same extent described in the racism and sexism literatures. As a consequence, it was necessary to replace the term “old-fashioned” with the term “traditional” to emphasize that the moral condemnation of gay men and lesbians, while certainly a long-standing form of sexual prejudice, was not a “thing of the past” (Sears,

1988) and continues to play a significant role in heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay people.

Similar to its theoretical relationship to old-fashioned racism, however, egalitarianism defined the opposite end of the traditional heterosexism dimension. Also similar to modern racism, traditional heterosexism remained independent of the tendency to deny that discrimination against gay men and lesbians continued to be a problem in society. Consequently, a person could express pro-gay egalitarian beliefs while also expressing veiled heterosexism in the form of an obliviousness to ongoing anti-gay discrimination, believing that gay people want too much too fast, and believing that the anger shown by gay people was disproportionate to the existing social problems related to gay oppression.

Other subtle measures of heterosexism were discovered during these analyses. These include two of the liberationist beliefs factors: Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Positive Stereotypes. Both of these factors, while correlated with Traditional Heterosexism, remained independent in the final model. Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles was found to be negatively correlated with Traditional Heterosexism, suggesting that those who conform to traditional sex and gender expectations are more likely to express moral condemnation and hold anti-egalitarian attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. However, because of the moderate level of this correlation, holding firmly and unquestioningly to these traditional roles may also be a subtle expression of heterosexism and can exist along side expressions of pro-gay egalitarianism. Similarly, the endorsement of positive stereotypes of gay men and lesbians, such as, "Gay men are more emotionally available than are heterosexual men" or "Lesbians have a lot to teach

other women about being independent”, negatively correlated with Traditional Heterosexism. Again, because of the moderate level of this correlation, it is likely that some people will use the rejection of these positive stereotypes as a way to express subtle heterosexism that can’t be expressed in other ways.

These conclusions are offered only as a possible explanation for these data. In the case of both Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and Positive Stereotypes, it is important to point out that the rejection of these two factors may not represent prejudice in all people. Some may hold firmly to traditional sex/gender roles for entirely different reasons – reasons that have to do with conventionality, comfort, or style. In addition, there could be pro-gay pro-lesbian reasons for the rejection of positive stereotypes: (a) some within the liberal reform movement consider emphasizing any differences between gay people and straight people to be an anti-gay act; and (b) some view stereotyping of any kind to be reductive and, therefore, hostile.

Some unique qualities, however, may go hand in hand with being positioned outside the heterosexual norm. For example, one possible consequence of the unique standpoint of gay men may be that this positioning provides insight into aspects of the relationship between heterosexual men and women. This insight (or perceived insight) may increase the likelihood that gay men are chosen as valued emotional confidants to heterosexual women. Similarly, being forced to construct lives outside social convention requires some amount of creativity. All of these unique qualities, resulting from the standpoint of gay men and lesbians, may comprise a kind of “cultural homosexuality” and, far from being hostile, represent positive qualities.

Aversive Heterosexism

A theory of Aversive Heterosexism was also supported by these data. Unlike the implicit measures used to assess aversive racism, this study found that self-report measures of aversion tapped adequately into the discomfort and need to avoid contact demonstrated in the implicit tests of aversive racism. Both aversion toward gay men and aversion toward lesbians, although correlated to traditional heterosexism, maintained a fair amount of independence. This suggests that people can express pro-gay attitudes in terms of their levels of moral condemnation of and egalitarian beliefs toward gay people while also experiencing discomfort and the need to avoid contact.

An interesting finding from the exploratory analysis, however, was that items criticizing the perceived gender non-conformity of gay men and lesbians loaded together with the items assessing personal discomfort and need to avoid contact. This suggests a connection between gender schematic processing (Bem, 1981) and heterosexist aversion. This finding contrasts somewhat to Whitley's meta-analysis of 42 studies that investigated the relationship between gender-role variables and attitudes toward homosexuality. In this meta-analysis, Whitley (2001) found that it was gender-role beliefs and not gender-role self-concept that had the greater influence on sexual prejudice. He also found, however, that hyper-gender-role orientation was a predictor of anti-gay attitudes. It is possible that the stronger connection between sexual prejudice and gender role beliefs was a consequence of the mostly unidimensional measures of sexual prejudice included in his meta-analysis. However, the relationship between hyper-gender-role orientation and prejudice toward gay men suggests that further exploration of

the relationship between gender-role variables and multidimensional models of sexual prejudice is warranted.

Gender Differences

One way that the validity of a multidimensional model was supported by these data was for the various subscales that comprise the model to behave differently in relation to influential variables. Because the subscales were intercorrelated, however, it was not the presence of a relationship alone that was important to assess, but also the magnitude of the observed relationship – in terms of size of correlation or the effect size of the difference between means.

It was predicted that larger gender differences would be observed for traditional heterosexism than for modern forms sexual prejudice, and that gender would have its strongest influence on affective measures of sexual prejudice. These predictions were partially supported. The prediction that there would be little or no gender difference in the modern or symbolic forms of sexual prejudice was supported by these data. Gender differences were not found with regard to Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles and only small (but significant) gender differences were found in Value Gay Progress/Diversity, Deny Continued Discrimination, and Positive Stereotypes, with male participants being less likely to Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, less likely to Value Gay Progress or endorse Positive Stereotypes, and more likely to Deny that Discrimination Continues than female participants. However, although male participants were more likely to express moral condemnation of gay people (traditional heterosexism) than were female participants, the size of the effect was small.

The prediction that gender would have its strongest effect on affective measures of sexual prejudice was strongly supported for male participants, who expressed significantly higher levels of aversion toward gay men than did female participants. However, no significant main effect for gender differences in Aversion Toward Lesbians was found. A significant interaction was observed between gender of participants and gender of target. Female participants expressed significantly more aversion toward lesbians than toward gay men. Similarly, male participants expressed significantly more aversion toward gay men than they did toward lesbians. Interestingly, the effect size of the differences for male participants was smaller than for female participants. Previous discussions concerning gender interactions have suggested that these differences should be more pronounced for males than for females because anti-gay attitudes help solidify the male gender role.

However, gender differences occur primarily in relation to attitudes about gay men for *both* male and female participants. As shown in Figure 12, men and women have fairly consistent feelings about or comfort interacting with lesbians. Although male participants expressed more Aversion Toward Gay Men, female participants expressed less. One explanation for this difference may be found in the different relationships RWA and SDO have with the two Aversion subscales. Aversion toward lesbians was found to be more directly influenced by RWA than was Aversion Toward Gay Men, and SDO showed a slightly higher level of influence on Aversion Toward Gay Men than on Aversion Toward Lesbians. In addition, when gender differences in RWA and SDO were examined, differences in gender were more pronounced for SDO than for RWA. It may be, therefore, that Aversion Toward Lesbians is similar for male and female

respondents because political and religious authorities more heavily influence feelings about lesbianism. The Aversion Toward Gay Men subscale, however, may be more heavily influenced by the need for dominance, which is more highly associated with the male gender role and is, therefore, stronger in men (Whitley, 1999).

Intergroup Contact

Several predictions were made regarding the effect of contact with gay people on participants' attitudes. The first prediction was that contact would have a greater impact on traditional values than on modern forms of prejudice. The argument was that contact did two different things: (a) it forced heterosexuals to consider gay people to be part of humanity and, therefore, deserving of equality, and (b) it increased the demand that they act in socially desirable ways in their presence. This prediction was somewhat supported by these data. Those participants who had more contact with gay people expressed significantly less traditional heterosexism than those with no contact. Contact was also influential on the value gay progress/diversity factor. Those with more contact were also more likely to Value Gay Progress/Diversity than were those with less contact. Contact had a slightly lesser impact on modern forms of prejudice. Those with more contact were less likely to deny that discrimination against gay people continues, were only slightly more likely to resist traditional sex/gender roles, and only slightly less likely to endorse positive stereotypes of gay people than were those with less contact.

Based on findings from previous studies, it was predicted that contact would have its greatest impact on affectively charged factors. This prediction was strongly supported for Aversion Toward Gay Men, with those who had more contact expressing less aversion toward gay men than those with no contact. This prediction was also supported

(although moderately) for Aversion Toward Lesbians, with those who had more contact expressing less Aversion Toward Lesbians than those without contact. The differences in the impact of contact may have to do with the finding that female participants will have experienced more contact with gay people than male participants. As predicted, significantly more female respondents reported some contact with gay people than did male respondents.

It was also predicted that contact would have a greater impact for male participants than for female. This prediction was not supported by the data. In fact the reverse was found for all subscale but one. The effect of differences in contact on one subscale, Aversion Toward Lesbians, was indeed stronger for male participants than for female participants. Men with some contact with gay people expressed a greater reduction in aversion toward lesbians than did women with some contact. For the Value Gay Progress, Resist Traditional Sex/Gender Roles, and Positive Stereotypes subscales, however, the effect of contact resulted in larger differences for female participants than male participants. Women with some contact with gay people valued gay progress more, were more likely to resist traditional sex/gender roles, and were more likely to endorse positive stereotypes than were men with some contact. No other gender interactions on the effect of contact were found (no differences in effect size for traditional heterosexism, aversion toward gay men, or denial of continued discrimination).

It was predicted that those participants who were higher in authoritarianism would have less contact with gay people. This finding was also supported. Those participants higher in RWA were significantly less likely to know someone who was gay or lesbian. Forty-four percent of those above average in RWA didn't know any gay men or lesbians,

whereas only 31% of those below average on RWA didn't know any gay people.

However, contrary to predictions, it was found that those high in SDO were also less likely to know someone who was gay or lesbian than those low in SDO.

Support for the contact hypothesis was robust in these data. However, a warning about causal interpretations must once again be made. These data reflect correlational relationships. Contact may serve to challenge the negative beliefs of heterosexuals and lead to more favorable attitudes. It is also possible that those heterosexuals with more favorable attitudes will also be more likely to seek out gay people as friends. Similarly, gay people may choose to associate with heterosexuals with less prejudice.

Right Wing Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism has been shown to be a strong predictor of anti-gay attitudes (Whitley, 1999). It was predicted, therefore, that participants who were higher in authoritarianism would be more likely to express moral condemnation of gay people than those lower in authoritarianism. This prediction was supported. Those participants scoring above average in authoritarianism were higher in traditional heterosexism than were those scoring below average in authoritarianism. The size of this effect was large. The prediction that authoritarianism would have a smaller impact on measures of pro-gay egalitarianism than on other subscales was not supported. In fact, the opposite was found. As stated earlier, pro-gay egalitarianism did not manifest as an independent factor as initially predicted and instead defined the opposite pole of traditional heterosexism. Authoritarianism had a strong effect on the traditional heterosexism subscale and, therefore, also on pro-gay egalitarianism. Large effects for authoritarianism were also found for Value Gay Progress and Aversion Toward Lesbians.

Those participants scoring above average in authoritarianism also expressed more aversion toward gay men, were less likely to resist traditional sex/gender roles, and more likely to deny that discrimination against gay people continues. The sizes of these differences were moderate. Contrary to prediction, those scoring above average in authoritarianism were only slightly more likely to endorse Positive Stereotypes of gay people.

Social Dominance Orientation

Whitley suggested that negative views of gay people also serve as hierarchy-legitimizing myths and represent the need for dominance. Because this need for dominance was not as sensitive to the demands of political and religious authorities, it was predicted to have a more equal influence across the subscales. This prediction was somewhat supported. Those participants who were high in SDO expressed significantly higher levels of traditional heterosexism, were more likely to Deny that Discrimination Continues, were more likely to reject the Value of Gay Progress, and experienced more Aversion Toward Gay Men and Lesbians than did those low in SDO. However, variations in SDO did not result in significant shifts in participants' Resistance to Traditional Sex/Gender Roles or their likelihood to endorse Positive Stereotypes.

Limitations

The first limitation of this study, and one common to most studies of attitudes, concerns the use of a university population to develop and validate the Modern Heterosexism and Liberationist Beliefs scale. Because college populations are typically younger and less experienced than the general population, many of the participants may still be in the process of developing their sexual self-concepts and establishing social

values. Their opinions, therefore, may be less stable than, and may not accurately represent, those of the general population. Scale development requires a large sample, however, and the recruitment of such a sample outside a university setting was beyond the resources of this study. In addition, the samples recruited for these studies represented a predominantly younger, White and economically advantaged group, whose attitudes might not reflect those of the general population.

A second limitation has to do with the nature of the factor analysis procedure. As described earlier, factor analysis can only describe the relationships among the content included in the analysis. Its accuracy in describing the structure of a latent construct is dependent on the accuracy of the construct's operationalization during item generation. Although an attempt has been made to fully represent the content of heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, it is doubtful that this operationalization was foolproof. It is necessary to concede, therefore, that this scale is only an imperfect representation or model of the total construct.

Another limitation is that the only gender-of-target differences that were explored in this study related to anti-gay aversion. It is likely, however, that future research will reveal variations in other subscales related to gender-of-target differences. Herek has broken the ATLG down into Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Attitudes Toward Lesbians and this distinction has revealed important differences relating to predictors of sexual prejudice. Since most of the items comprising Herek's ATLG loaded on the Traditional Heterosexism factor, it may be necessary to assess the implications of breaking this factor up into traditional heterosexism toward gay men and traditional heterosexism toward lesbians.

Another concern about this measure is that the large number of remaining items may make this instrument cumbersome to administer. Herek was able to successfully reduce the ATLG from its initial 20 items to only three. In fact, one of the reasons to favor unidimensional models is that they are easier to administer and simpler to interpret. In order for this measure to be widely used, therefore, it will be necessary to continue exploring the psychometrics of these seven factors and 68 items with the goal of creating a more succinct measure.

On the other hand, the complexity of heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians actually warrant a more idiographic approach. For example, the relationship of any individual heterosexual male to gay men in general is likely to be based on religious values and political beliefs, experiences interacting with gay people and the quality of those interactions, personality, gender self-concept and gender role beliefs, past heterosexual and homosexuality relationships, individual life history, etc. Only a case study can reveal the influence of these various factors. The case study, although an approach that has proven to be valuable in increasing our understanding of the nature of sexual prejudice (see Weinberg, 1972), is resource intensive and cannot be generalized in order to reveal societal-level trends in attitudes.

One final concern is that the attempt to assess heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians may have served to reify sexual orientation categories in ways that influenced the attitudinal outcome. In other words, the need to coherently operationalize sexual orientation may have done a disservice to the concerns voiced by the queer theorists and, perhaps, bears some responsibility for the mutability factor not being a part of the final model. It is unclear how this could have been avoided given many of the

questions guiding this study. However, it may be possible and necessary in the future to create a measure that relies less on existing categorization of participants.

Conclusions and Future Directions

The final chapter of this dissertation is being written in the months following the U.S. Supreme Court decision to overturn the country's remaining sodomy laws – the laws that criminalized gay sex and reinforced the stigma associated with homosexuality. However, reports that an anti-gay backlash might be gathering has tempered the optimism that might follow from such a decision. Public opinion polls have also demonstrated a dramatic negative realignment concerning the legality of homosexuality and gay marriage and civil unions. A cultural tug-of-war is underway to determine whose values will guide the future of our society.

Clearly the push toward egalitarianism, demonstrated in the high court's ruling, has consequences for public attitudes regarding homosexuality. Traditional heterosexist values are being threatened by the legal sanctioning of pro-gay egalitarianism. Perhaps this decision makes salient the ambivalence of the U.S. heterosexual population toward gay men and lesbians. Similar to the findings of Hass et al. (1992) regarding the affective consequences of racial ambivalence, the drop in support for gay marriage and the legalization of homosexuality may be the result of an increasingly negative affect in the heterosexual U.S. population resulting from their ambivalence being made salient by the Supreme Court's decision and the media discussions that followed. In these times of intense public debate over the morality and criminality of homosexuality, as well as the deservingness of gay men and lesbians to equal protection under the law and full access to social institutions such as marriage and adoption, it is likely that those holding

conflicting attitudes will be made more aware of their ambivalence toward gay people. Future research will be needed, therefore, to investigate the relationship between attitude ambivalence and negative affect.

Public opinion researchers will be tracking shifts in these attitudes as the “culture wars” unfold. The task of developing adequate measures of sexual prejudice is more critical now than ever before. Another task in this program of research will involve assessing the sensitivity of this instrument to these shifts in public opinion, as well as to assess the usefulness of this measure in predicting behavioral outcomes such as voting behaviors, anti-gay violence and discrimination, and helping to create favorable real world interactions between gay and straight people. The product of this dissertation is the beginning of such an instrument. Because of its multidimensional nature, this scale promises to be more sensitive to the subtle variations and shifts in an increasingly complex attitudinal landscape.

Appendix A. Items from Smith's Homophobia Scale.

1. Homosexuals should be locked up to protect society.
2. It would be upsetting for me to find out I was alone with a homosexual.
3. Homosexuals should not be allowed to hold government positions.
4. I would not want to be a member of an organization which had any homosexuals in its membership.
5. I find the thought of homosexual acts disgusting.
6. If laws against homosexuality were eliminated the proportion of homosexuals in the population would probably remain about the same.
7. A homosexual could be a good president of the United States.
8. I would be afraid for a child of mine to have a teacher who was a homosexual.
9. If a homosexual sat next to me on a bus, I would get nervous.

Appendix B. Items from Millham, San Miguel, and Kellogg's Homosexuality Attitude

Scale.

1. The growing number of male homosexuals indicates a decline in American morals.
2. Male homosexuals should be allowed to hold high government positions.
3. Most male homosexuals dislike women.
4. Laws regulating male homosexual behaviors should be loosened.
5. Male homosexuals are more revolting than female homosexuals (lesbians).
6. If I walked into an all-male gay bar, I would become quite anxious.
7. Male homosexuals are sick.
8. If I were propositioned by a male homosexual, I would not be offended.
9. Male homosexuals are more creative than heterosexuals.
10. Homosexual behavior between men is just plain wrong.
11. Male homosexuals are more likely to commit crimes (nonsexual) than are heterosexuals.
12. It would be very easy for me to have a conversation with someone I know to be a male homosexual.
13. Most male homosexuals have some identifiable feminine characteristics.
14. Male homosexuals should be required to undergo psychotherapy.
15. Male homosexuality is a sin.
16. I would rather have a homosexual brother than a lesbian sister.
17. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in humans.
18. A male homosexual's mother is probably very domineering.
19. I would like to have male homosexual friends.
20. Most male homosexuals have a life of one-night stands.
21. It is usually easy to identify a male homosexual.
22. I would not like to have male homosexual friends.
23. Most male homosexuals like to dress in women's clothing.
24. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.
25. Male homosexuals prefer to take roles (passive or aggressive) in their sexual behavior.
26. Male homosexuals use physical injury as a part of their sexual behavior.
27. Male homosexuality is a choice of lifestyles.
28. If a male homosexual approached me in a public restroom, I would be disgusted.
29. I would rather have a lesbian sister than a homosexual brother.
30. Male homosexuals should be made to take examinations for VD regularly.
31. Bars that cater solely to male homosexuals should be placed in one specific and known part of town.
32. Male homosexuality is just as natural as heterosexuality.
33. If my brother (best male friend if no brother) told me he was a homosexual it would distress me greatly.

34. Male homosexuals should be required to register with the police department where they live.
35. Lesbians are more revolting than male homosexuals.
36. Male homosexuals are more likely to seduce young people than are heterosexuals.
37. Male homosexuality is a perversion.
38. Male homosexuals should be allowed to teach young children.

Appendix C. Items from MacDonanld, Huggins, Young and Swanson's Attitude Toward

Homosexuality Scale.

1. Homosexuals should not be permitted to raise children.
2. Homosexuals should not be allowed to hold important positions.
3. Homosexual marriage should be made legal.
4. Homosexuals should be locked up and not released until cured.
5. I would be upset if I were a parent and found that my son or daughter were a homosexual.
6. Homosexuality should be a criminal offense.
7. Homosexuality is a sin.
8. The number of children seduced by homosexuals is greatly exaggerated.
9. Homosexuality is unnatural.
10. The thought of homosexuality "makes me sick".
11. Homosexuals are sick.
12. If homosexuality is allowed to increase it will destroy our society.
13. Other than their sex lives, there is little difference between homosexuals and everybody else.
14. Homosexuality tends to make an individual's whole personality bad.
15. I find it hard to believe that homosexuals can really love each other.
16. It would be a mistake to ever have homosexuals for bosses and leaders over other people.
17. Homosexual males are generally more feminine than other males.
18. A homosexual relationship could be as rewarding as male-female relationships.
19. Homosexuals should never be allowed to teach school or supervise children.
20. I can hardly imagine myself having a close friendship with a homosexual.
21. Because of its unusual nature sex between homosexuals can only be animal-like pleasure.
22. I do not want homosexuals to live near me.
23. Homosexuality is just a different kind of lifestyle and, therefore, should not be condemned.
24. Homosexuals are very unhappy people who wish they could be like everybody else.
25. Homosexuals simply can't be trusted.
26. There may be a few exceptions, but most homosexuals are pretty much alike.
27. Homosexuality is not normal and should be done away with for the good of society.
28. I can't see what homosexuals are complaining about; if they would just leave everyone else alone there wouldn't be any problem.

Appendix D. Items from Mosher and O'Grady's Homosexual Threat Inventory.

1. I've never been able to understand why anyone would fuck a man in the ass when you could have better sex with a woman.
2. People who persecute homosexuals are "latent rather than blatant".
3. The slogan "better blatant than latent" appeals to me, since latent homosexuals are more insidiously sick.
4. You can't walk into a men's john these days without some guy looking at your cock or showing his hard on.
5. I can tell a pansy by the flowers and butterflies he wears.
6. There is nothing as perverse and sickening as a swishing homosexual queen.
7. I've never met a gay man I didn't like.
8. Homosexuals should be excluded from positions such as coaching and teaching school.
9. I can think of nothing worse than to be homosexually raped.
10. I'd rather be dead than queer.
11. I could never bring myself to suck another man's cock.
12. A real man is exclusively heterosexual.
13. I am frightened that I might have homosexual tendencies.
14. Homosexuals should stay in their own gay bars and not flaunt their deviance.
15. To love another man is to know the heights of the human soul.
16. What consenting adults do in private is nobody's business, as long as they do not hurt other people.
17. I look effeminate.
18. Homosexuality may best be described as an illness.
19. It would not bother me if I had children who were homosexual.
20. I would not mind being seen in public with a person who has the reputation (among heterosexuals) of being homosexual.
21. Homosexuals have fewer social skills than heterosexuals.

Appendix E. Items from Larsen, Reed, and Hoffman's Heterosexual Attitudes Toward

Homosexuality Scale.

1. I enjoy the company of homosexuals.
2. It would be beneficial to society to recognize homosexuality as normal.
3. Homosexuals should not be allowed to work with children.
4. Homosexuality is immoral.
5. Homosexuality is a mental disorder.
6. All homosexual bars should be closed down.
7. Homosexuals are mistreated in our society.
8. Homosexuals should be given social equality.
9. Homosexuals are a viable part of our society.
10. Homosexuals should have equal opportunity employment.
11. There is no reason to restrict the places where homosexuals work.
12. Homosexuals should be free to date whomever they want.
13. Homosexuality is a sin.
14. Homosexuals do need psychological treatment.
15. Homosexuality endangers the institution of the family.
16. Homosexuals should be accepted completely into our society.
17. Homosexuals should be barred from the teaching profession.
18. Those in favor of homosexuality tend to be homosexuals themselves.
19. There should be no restrictions on homosexuality.
20. I avoid homosexuals whenever possible.

Appendix F. Items from Herek's Attitude Toward Lesbian and Gay Men Scale.

Attitude Toward Lesbians (ATL)

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society.
2. A woman's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.
3. Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural divisions between the sexes.
4. State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.
5. Female homosexuality is a sin.
6. The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.
7. Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.
8. Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.
9. Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.
10. Lesbians are sick.

Attitudes Toward Gay Men (ATG) Scale

11. Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.
12. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.
13. Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in school.
14. Male homosexuality is a perversion.
15. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.
16. If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.
17. I would not be too upset if I learned that my son were a homosexual.
18. Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.
19. The idea of male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me.
20. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned.

Appendix G. Items from Kite and Deaux's Homosexual Attitudes Scale.

1. I would not mind having homosexual friends.
2. Gay people like to dress up in the opposite sex's clothing.
3. Finding out that an artist was gay would have no effect on my appreciation of his/her work.
4. I won't associate with known homosexuals if I can help it.
5. I would look for a new place to live if I found out my roommate was gay.
6. Homosexuality is a mental illness.
7. I would not be afraid for my child to have a homosexual teacher.
8. Gays dislike members of the opposite sex.
9. I do not really find the thought of homosexual acts disgusting.
10. Homosexuals are more likely to commit deviant sexual acts, such as child molestation, rape and voyeurism (Peeping Toms), than are heterosexuals.
11. Homosexuals should be kept separate from the rest of society (i.e., separate housing restricted employment).
12. Two individuals of the same sex holding hands or displaying affection in public is revolting.
13. The love between two males or two females is quite different from the love between two persons of the opposite sex.
14. I see the gay movement as a positive thing.
15. Homosexuality, as far as I'm concerned, is not sinful.
16. I would not mind being employed by a homosexual.
17. Homosexuals should be forced to have psychological treatment.
18. The increasing acceptance of homosexuality in our society is aiding in the deterioration of morals.
19. I would not decline membership in an organization just because it had homosexual members.
20. I would vote for a homosexual in an election for public office.
21. If I knew someone were gay, I would still go ahead and form a friendship with that individual.
22. If I were a parent, I could accept my son or daughter being gay.

Appendix H. Initial Items Comprising Multidimensional Attitudes Toward

Lesbians and Gay Men Scale.

Pro-Gay Egalitarianism

Pro-gay egalitarianism is reflected in participant's belief in gay men and lesbians' entitlement to basic civil rights and freedoms, right to civil participation and access to the good life; as well as gay people's common humanity and entitlement to fulfill their potential.

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society. (*Herek, 1984*)
2. A woman's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation. (*Herek, 1984*)
3. Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural division between the sexes. (*Herek, 1984*)
4. State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened. (*Herek, 1984*)
5. Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem. (*Herek, 1984*)
6. Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions. (*Herek, 1984*)
7. Lesbians are sick. (*Herek, 1984*)
8. Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples. (*Herek, 1984*)
9. Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in school. (*Herek, 1984*)
10. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men. (*Herek, 1984*)
11. The idea of male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me. (*Herek, 1984*)
12. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned. (*Herek, 1984*)
13. Gay people and straight people have more commonalities than differences. (*Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997*)
14. Gay and Lesbian people should be able to live their lives without interference by heterosexual society.
15. All people should be able to choose who they love.
16. A sign of progress is that gay men and lesbians are in the mainstream of America more than ever before. (*Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997*)
17. It is important for society to embrace its gay and lesbian members.
18. Gay men and lesbians are very productive people.
19. Gay men and lesbians should strive to be full members of the American political system. (*Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997*)
20. If two people really love each other, then it shouldn't matter whether they are a woman and a man or two women.

21. It is important for a gay or lesbian person to be true to his or her feelings and desires.
22. All people, regardless of their sexual orientation, have their strengths and limitations. (*Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997*)

Modern Heterosexism Factor

Modern heterosexism is made up of the belief that anti-gay discrimination is no longer a major problem in our society; that the protests and demands made by gay people are disproportionate to any existing problem; that the gay movement as pushing too hard and too fast for additional “special” rights and privileges; and that gay people are overexposed in the media and educational curriculum. In addition modern heterosexism is present in heterosexuals’ endorsement of traditional (heterosexist) sex and gender-role beliefs and aversion to being in close proximity or “compromising” situations with homosexuals.

Modern Heterosexism: Denial of Continued Discrimination

These items should indicate the belief that discrimination against homosexuality is a thing of the past, that gay men and lesbians now have equal access to all the things - like employment, housing, and benefits - that heterosexuals do. In addition, items should be included that remark on the fact that discrimination against homosexuals is still a significant problem in society.

23. Laws in the United States unfairly discriminate against gay men and lesbians.
24. Gay and lesbian people do not have the same employment opportunities that heterosexual’s do. (*From Katz & Hass, 1988*)
25. It’s surprising that gay and lesbian people do as well as they do, considering all the obstacles they face. (*From Katz & Hass, 1988*)
26. Too many gay men and lesbians still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their sexual orientation. (*From Katz & Hass, 1988*)
27. Most big corporations in American are really interested in treating their gay and lesbian employees equally. (*From Katz & Hass, 1988*)
28. Most gay men and lesbians are no longer discriminated against. (*From Katz & Hass, 1988*)
29. Gay men and lesbians have more to offer than they have been allowed to show. (*From Katz & Hass, 1988*)
30. The typical public school is not as good as it should be to provide equal opportunities for its gay and lesbian students. (*From Katz & Hass, 1988*)
31. Sometimes gay and lesbian job seekers should be given special consideration in hiring. (*From Katz & Hass, 1988*)
32. Many heterosexuals show a real lack of understanding of the problems that gay men and lesbians face. (*From Katz & Hass, 1988*)
33. It is rare to see people make fun of homosexuals these days.

34. Because America is predominantly heterosexual, it is important for gay men and lesbians to be out and open about their sexuality. (*Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997*)
35. Discrimination against homosexuals is no longer a problem in the United States. (*Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995*)
36. Homosexuals often miss out on good jobs due to sexual discrimination. (*Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995*)
37. It is rare to see homosexuals treated in a homophobic manner on television. (*Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995*)
38. On average people in our society treat homosexuals and heterosexuals equally. (*Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995*)
39. Society has reached the point where homosexuals and heterosexuals have equal opportunities for advancement. (*Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995*)
40. It is easy to understand the anger of gay rights groups in America. (*Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995*)
41. It is easy to understand why gay rights groups are still concerned about societal limitation of homosexuals' opportunities. (*Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995*)
42. Over the past few years, the government and news media have been showing more concern about the treatment of homosexuals than is warranted by homosexuals' actual experiences. (*Swim, Aikin, Hall and Hunter, 1995*)
43. Gay men and lesbians should be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people than just focusing on gay issues. (*Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997*)
44. I wish there were more television programs that featured gay and lesbian characters.
45. There are too many gay characters on prime time television programs these days.
46. I don't see why gay people have to discuss their sexuality every chance they get.
47. I'm really opposed to there being more gay themed shows on television.
48. I really think there are too many programs with gay themes on television.
49. There is too much information about homosexuality available to children.

Modern Heterosexism: Aversion

These items should reflect the discomfort or disgust heterosexuals may feel when interacting with homosexuals. These items are primarily affective. The items should also reflect heterosexuals' attraction or desire to be around homosexuals.

50. I think male homosexuals are disgusting. (*Herek, 1984*)
51. I would not be too upset if I learned my son were a homosexual. (*Herek, 1984*)
52. I like the attention I get from gay men.
53. I like the attention I get from lesbians.
54. The more gay & lesbian people I meet, the more I like them.
55. Sometimes I seek out a friend just because she's a lesbian.
56. I always have fun with my lesbian friends
57. I value my gay and lesbian friends.
58. Sometimes I'll seek out a friend just because he's gay.

59. I feel very comfortable around lesbians.
60. I would like to have more lesbian friends.
61. I feel very comfortable around gay men.
62. I worry when I'm around gay people that someone will think I'm gay.
63. I am better able to be myself around gay men.
64. Being around gay men makes me feel sexy.
65. Being around lesbians makes me feel sexy.
66. It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a lesbian.
67. I try to avoid contact with gay men and lesbians.
68. It would be upsetting for me to find that I was alone with a gay man.
69. I feel more comfortable with my gay male friends than my straight male friends.
70. I feel less comfortable with my lesbian friends than my straight women friends.
71. Seeing images of same-sex affection on television or advertisements make me uncomfortable.
72. In my experience, lesbians make good friends.
73. In my experience, gay men make bad friends.
74. I always have fun with my gay male friends.
75. I would like to have more gay male friends.
76. Being around gay men makes me feel more masculine.

Modern Heterosexism: Traditional Values: Gender Conservatism

These items reflect the belief in a traditional gender role binary and a discomfort with or judgment of gay people who act in gender-non-conforming ways. . It also reflects a gender schematic worldview – the idea that gender and sex are and should be congruent.

77. I sometimes wish gay men would act more masculine.
78. I sometimes wish lesbians should act more feminine.
79. I'm uncomfortable when gay men act in a feminine manner.
80. I'm uncomfortable when lesbians act in a masculine manner.
81. Gay men aren't real men.
82. Lesbians aren't real women.
83. Gay men can't be masculine.
84. Lesbians can't be feminine.

Modern Heterosexism: Traditional Values: Sexual Conservatism

These items reflect beliefs concerning the nature and purpose of sexuality (or the rejection of these beliefs). The items include the idea that sexuality is primarily for procreation and not recreation or personal fulfillment. These items can also tap into the belief that certain sexual acts are unnatural or "dirty".

85. People should be encouraged to explore all aspects of their sexuality as long as no one is hurt.
86. Sexual exploration with both sexes is an important part of human development.

87. Information about homosexuality as a viable alternative lifestyle should be kept out of high school sex education classes.
88. Sex is much more than a way to reproduce.

Modern Heterosexism: Traditional Values: Morality

These items reflect the various beliefs that judge homosexuality to be a sin, immoral, a disease, or a perversion.

89. Female homosexuality is a sin. (*Herek, 1984*)
90. The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals. (*Herek, 1984*)
91. Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality. (*Herek, 1984*)
92. Male homosexuality is a perversion. (*Herek, 1984*)
93. If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them. (*Herek, 1984*)
94. Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong. (*Herek, 1984*)
95. The gay and lesbian people I know are good people.
96. Books that portray lesbianism as a sickness or aberration should be withdrawn from schools and public libraries.
97. Homosexuality is as good a way of life as heterosexuality.

Queer Consciousness

Those with queer consciousness may express suspicion of any social force that attempt to “normalize” a particular set of beliefs; resist sexual and gender social codes that ascribe fixed binary (homosexual-heterosexual) and ternary (homosexual-bisexual-heterosexual) identities; reject biological or psychodynamic explanations for sexual orientation in favor of ideological/political explanations; and see difference (including sexualities that have been marginalized by the dominant sexual system – such as sadomasochism) as something that should be celebrated but reject the need to name or classify them.

Queer Consciousness: Resistance To Regimes Of The Normal

98. I like to change things about myself just to test the limits of what’s normal.
99. I feel restricted by the sexual rules and norms of society.
100. Not all people should want the same things sexually.

Queer Consciousness: Resist Ascribed Sex/Gender Binaries/Ternaries

101. I feel restricted by the sexual label that people attach to me.
102. It seems to me that the labels “gay,” “straight,” or “bi-” aren’t really very accurate ways to describe people’s sexuality.
103. I feel limited by the sexual behaviors that are expected of me.
104. I feel restricted by the gender label that people attach to me.

- 105. It seems to me that the labels “man” and “woman” aren’t really very accurate ways to describe people.
- 106. I feel restricted by the expectations people have of me because of my gender.

Queer Consciousness: Minoritizing/Universalizing

- 107. The same forces that have led to the oppression of gay men and lesbians also led to the oppression of other groups. (*Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997*)
- 108. Homophobia creates problems for straight people too.
- 109. The impact of homophobia extends far beyond the lives of gay people.
- 110. I could easily live my life without ever thinking about gay people.
- 111. I could easily live my life without ever thinking about homophobia.

Queer Consciousness: Gender/Sex Essentialism/Constructionism

- 112. Every woman could be a lesbian if she so chose.
- 113. I believe that most people are basically bisexual.
- 114. Every man could be gay if he so chose.
- 115. There is no such thing as “sexual orientation”: we all have the potential to be anything sexually.
- 116. Homosexual relationships are fundamentally different from heterosexual relationships.
- 117. A person should never change his or her sexual orientation.
- 118. We all have the potential to be gay or straight
- 119. Sexuality orientation is determined by more than just our biology
- 120. A person’s stated sexual orientation is usually in total agreement with his or her sexual desire
- 121. A person’s stated sexual orientation is usually in total agreement with his or her sexual behavior
- 122. Most people who identify as heterosexual sometimes find themselves erotically attracted to people of the same sex
- 123. Most people who identify as homosexual sometimes find themselves erotically attracted to people of the opposite sex
- 124. My sexuality has as much to do with my political beliefs as it does with anything else
- 125. Bisexual people are fooling themselves and should make up their minds (*Hegarty, 2002*).
- 126. Doctors and psychologists can help people to change their sexual orientation (*Hegarty, 2002*).
- 127. If someone comes out as gay or lesbian, they were probably attracted to the same sex all along (*Hegarty, 2002*).
- 128. Whether a person is gay or straight is pretty much set early in childhood (*Hegarty, 2002*).
- 129. Sexual orientation is cause by biological factors such as genes and hormone (*Hegarty, 2002*).

- 130. The differences in the way men and women act has more to do with society than with biology.
- 131. I often feel like I have more in common with the other sex than with my own.

Queer Consciousness: Liberal/Radical Politics

- 132. Gays and Lesbians should try to work within the system to achieve their political and economic goals. *(Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997)*
- 133. The plight of gay men and lesbians will only improve when they are in important positions within the system. *(Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997)*
- 134. Lesbians have been at the forefront of the struggle for equal rights for women.
- 135. Straight women owe a debt to lesbians for their work towards women's civil rights.
- 136. Lesbians have a lot to teach other women about being independent.
- 137. Lesbians are giving Feminists a bad name. *(Kitzinger, 1987)*
- 138. Lesbianism is a blow against the patriarchy (i.e., society structured by men for men). *(Kitzinger, 1987)*
- 139. Lesbianism is fundamentally a political statement – not a sexual preference.
- 140. Slow steady social change is better than swift sudden social change.
- 141. Gays and lesbians should threaten the system to achieve their goals.
- 142. It may be necessary for some established traditions to be abandoned for gay people to achieve their goals.
- 143. It's sometimes necessary to disrupt the status quo in order for things to change.
- 144. Sometimes getting rights means being willing to be rude.

Queer Consciousness: Assimilation/Value Diversity

- 145. Being an individual is more important than identifying oneself as gay or lesbian. *(Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton, & Smith, 1997)*
- 146. This country would be better off if it were more willing to assimilate the good things in gay and lesbians culture. *(From Katz & Hass, 1988)*
- 147. The accomplishments of the gay & lesbian civil rights movements are something to be admired.
- 148. The advances made by the gay & lesbian civil rights movement have improved society overall.
- 149. The gains made by gay men and lesbians have done nothing to improve the lives of all people.
- 150. I see the gay movement as a positive thing. *(From Kite and Deaux)*
- 151. Gay men and lesbians should be admired for living their lives in the face of adversity.
- 152. The better life is for gay men and lesbians the better it is for all people.
- 153. Society is enhanced by the diversity offered by gay and lesbian people.
- 154. The diversity offered by gay and lesbian people enhances us all.
- 155. Gay men and lesbians contribute to the diversity of society.
- 156. There is something special about gay men and lesbians.
- 157. Our society would be worse off without gay men and lesbians.

158. Being lesbian can sometimes make a woman more self-reliant.
159. Lesbians are advocates for the rights of many other groups.
160. Lesbians are strong supporters of environmental causes.
161. Lesbians are very in touch with their feelings.
162. I admire the strength shown by lesbians
163. Lesbians understand me better than other women.
164. Lesbians make exceptional parents.
165. I find lesbians more emotionally available than other women.
166. Gay men understand me better than other men.
167. Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about being friends to women.
168. I find I have more in common with gay men than straight men.
169. Straight men have a lot to learn from gay men about fashion.
170. I find gay men more emotionally available than other men.
171. Gay men make exceptional parents.
172. I value gay men for their emotional availability.
173. Being gay can sometimes make a man more compassionate.
174. I value gay men for their creativity.
175. Young adults should be discouraged from pursuing a homosexual life style.
176. If my son told me he thought he might be gay, I would encourage him to explore that aspect of himself.
177. If my daughter told me she thought she might be lesbian, I would encourage her to explore that aspect of herself.
178. If my daughter discovered she was lesbian, and was happy about it, I would be happy.
179. If my son discovered he was gay, and was happy about it, I'd be happy.
180. Society has nothing to learn from gay men and lesbians.
181. I would not be too upset if I learned my daughter were a homosexual.

Appendix I. Demographics

Please answer the following demographic questions:

1. What is your gender?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female

2. Age _____

3. What is your race?
 - a. White
 - b. Black
 - c. Asian/Pacific Islander
 - d. Native American/Alaskan
 - e. Other _____

4. What is your ethnicity? _____

5. Are you Hispanic?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No

6. Which of the following best describes your sexual orientation?
 - a. Heterosexual or Straight
 - b. Gay/Lesbian or Homosexual
 - c. Bisexual
 - d. other _____

7. Years at UT
 - a. 1st year
 - b. 2nd year
 - c. 3rd year
 - d. 4th year or greater

8. Geographic residence where you spent most of your time growing up?
 - a. Northeast/mid-Atlantic
 - b. Pacific coast
 - c. Mountain/southwest
 - d. Central/Midwest
 - e. South/southeast
 - f. Other _____

9. Household residence where you spent most of your time growing up?
 - a. large city

- b. small city
 - c. suburb
 - d. small town
 - e. farm or wilderness
10. Current relationship status
- a. married/widowed
 - b. cohabitating/domestic partnership
 - c. divorced/separated
 - d. never married
11. Number of children
- a. none
 - b. one
 - c. two
 - d. three or more
12. Religious affiliation
- a. Protestant
 - b. Catholic
 - c. Jewish
 - d. Buddhist
 - e. Hindu
 - f. Muslim/Islam
 - g. Other _____
13. Is your religious preference:
- a. conservative
 - b. moderate
 - c. liberal
14. Religious attendance
- a. never
 - b. once, few times
 - c. 1-3 times/month
 - d. weekly or more often
15. Political ideology
- a. radical
 - b. liberal
 - c. moderate
 - d. conservative
16. Political party
- a. Republican
 - b. Democrat

- c. Independent
- d. Green party
- e. Socialist
- f. Libertarian

17. In which of these groups did your total family income fall (from all sources)?

- a. \$0-\$20,000
- b. \$20-\$40,000
- c. \$40-\$60,000
- d. \$60-\$80,000
- e. \$80-\$100,000
- f. \$100,000+

Appendix J. Personal Contact.

In order to better understand your opinions about gays and lesbians, it is important for us to know a bit about your level of contact with gays and lesbians. Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. Remember that your answers are confidential and will not be associated with your name.

1. Do you have any male or female friends, relatives, or close acquaintances who are gay, [lesbian,] or homosexual?
 - a. No
 - b. Yes. How many? _____

If you answered “no”, please turn the page and continue with the rest of the survey. If you answered “yes”, please think about the one or two gay, lesbian or homosexual person(s) you feel closest to and answer the following questions:

For the first person:

2. What is that person’s gender?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
3. Is that person:
 - a. Immediate family
 - b. Extended family
 - c. A close friend
 - d. A regular friend
 - e. A close acquaintance
4. How did you learn about this person’s sexual orientation?
 - a. I just suspect
 - b. I know because someone told me
 - c. I know because I asked and he or she told me
 - d. I know because he or she told me directly without me asking

For the second person:

5. What is that person’s gender?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
6. Is that person:
 - a. Immediate family
 - b. Extended family
 - c. A close friend

- d. A regular friend
 - e. A close acquaintance
7. How did you learn about this person's sexual orientation?
- a. I just suspect
 - b. I know because someone told me
 - c. I know because I asked and he or she told me
 - d. I know because he or she told me directly without me asking

Appendix K. Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale.

This survey is part of an investigation of general public opinion concerning a variety of social issues. You will probably find that you agree with some of the statements, and disagree with others, to varying extents. Please indicate your reaction to each of the statements.

- 1 = Strongly disagree
 2 = Disagree somewhat
 3 = Neither agree or disagree
 4 = Generally agree
 5 = Strongly agree

1. The way things are going in this country, it's going to take a lot of "strong medicine" to straighten out the trouble makers, criminals, and perverts.
2. It is wonderful that young people today have greater freedom to protest against things they don't like and to "do their own thing." *
3. It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.
4. People should pay less attention to the Bible and the other old traditional forms of religious guidance and instead develop their own personal standards of what is moral and immoral. *
5. It would be best for everyone if the proper authorities censored magazines and movies to keep trashy material away from the youth.
6. It may be considered old-fashioned by some, but having a decent, respectable appearance is still the mark of a gentleman and, especially, a lady.
7. The sooner we get rid of the traditional family structure, where the father is the head of the family and the children are taught to obey authority automatically, the better. The old-fashioned way has a lot wrong with it. *
8. There is nothing wrong with premarital sexual intercourse. *
9. The facts on crime, sexual immorality, and the recent public disorders all show we have to crack down harder on deviant groups and troublemakers if we are going to save our moral standard and preserve law and order.
- ~~10. There is nothing immoral or sick in somebody's being a homosexual. *~~
11. It is important to protect fully the rights of radicals and deviants. *
12. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
13. Rules about being "well-mannered" and respectable are chains from the past which we should question very thoroughly before accepting. *
14. Once our government leaders and the authorities condemn the dangerous elements in our society, it will be the duty of every patriotic citizen to help stomp out the rot that is poisoning our country from within.
15. "Free speech" means that people should even be allowed to make speeches and write books urging the overthrow of the government. *

16. Some of the worst people in our country nowadays are those who do not respect our flag, our leaders, and the normal way things are supposed to be done.
17. In these troubled times laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up.
18. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly. *
19. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
20. The self-righteous “forces of law and order” threaten freedom in our country a lot more than most of the groups they claim are “radical” and “godless”. *
21. The courts are right in being easy on drug users. Punishment would not do any good in cases like these. *
22. If a child starts becoming unconventional and disrespectful of authority, it is his parents’ duty to get him back to the normal way.
23. In the final analysis the established authorities, like parents and our national leaders, generally turn out to be right about things, and all the protestors don’t know what they’re talking about.
24. A lot of our rules regarding modesty and sexual behavior are just customs which are not necessarily any better or holier than those which other people follow. *

* Reverse coded

Appendix L. Social Dominance Orientation.

Which of the following objects or statements do you have a negative or positive feeling towards. Beside each object or statement, place a number from 1 to 7 which represents the degree of your positive or negative feeling.

- 1 = Very negative
- 2 = Slightly negative
- 3 = Neither positive nor negative
- 4 = Slightly positive
- 5 = Very positive

1. Group equality should be our ideal.*
2. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.*
3. It would be good if all groups could be equal.*
4. Increasing social equality would be a good thing.*
5. We would have fewer problems if we treated different groups more equally.*
6. All groups should be given equal chance in life.*
7. No one group should dominate in society.*
8. We should strive to make incomes more equal.*
9. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
10. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
11. If certain groups of people stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
12. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
13. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
14. Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.
15. In getting what your group wants, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
16. Some groups of people are just more worthy than others.

Note: Scoring is reversed for starred items.

Appendix M. Humanitarianism-Egalitarianism scale.

This questionnaire is designed to better understand your personal values. It is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Answer each item as carefully and accurately as you can by filling in the number that best represents your position. Remember that your answers will be kept confidential.

Please rate the person on the following items using the scale below:

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree somewhat
- 3 = Neither agree or disagree
- 4 = Generally agree
- 5 = Strongly agree

1. One should be kind to all people.
2. One should find ways to help other less fortunate than oneself.
3. A person should be concerned about the well-being of others.
4. There should be equality for everyone – because we are all human beings.
5. Those who are unable to provide for their basic needs should be helped by others.
6. A good society is one in which people feel responsible for one another.
7. Everyone should have an equal chance and an equal say in most things.
8. Acting to protect the rights and interests of other members of the community is a major obligation for all persons.
9. In dealing with criminals the courts should recognize that many are victims of circumstances.
10. Prosperous nations have a moral obligation to share some of their wealth with poor nations.

Appendix N. Verbal Script Explaining Extra-Credit Assignment Options.

Two optional extra-credit assignments are available. These assignments are worth a total of 10 points added onto to your overall course total (maximum 400). You can choose either assignment, but not both. Both assignments are optional.

The first optional extra-credit assignment involves participating in a research project being conducted by Sean Massey – a social psychology Ph.D. student from the City University of New York. This project is an attitudes survey focusing on sexual prejudice. This survey is completed by way of an online website. If you don't have access to a computer, paper and pencil versions of the survey are available.

The second optional extra-credit assignment is a short media analysis paper. For this assignment, you will watch a movie, video, television drama or comedy, and write a short 2-3 page thought paper about how gay, lesbian or bisexual lives are being represented.

The assignment you choose must be completed no later than [date to be determined – 2 weeks after date extra-credit option is announced].

I will hand out additional instructions for each of the assignments at the end of class today.

Appendix O. Extra-Credit Assignment Instruction Sheet: Option #1 Online Survey.

Extra-Credit Assignment #1:
Online survey of sexual prejudice

Instructions:

From a computer with internet access and a web browser, enter the following web address:

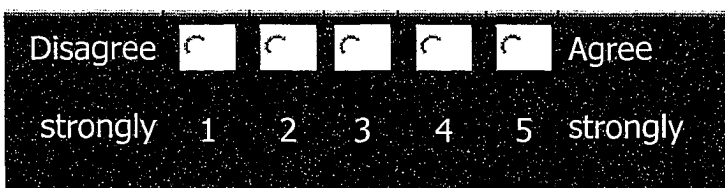
www.qgear.org/amsurvey

Read the instructions, and then click on the link labeled “begin” to start.

You will be presented with a consent form.

Read the form in its entirety. If, after reading it, you agree to participate in the survey indicate your agreement by typing in your name, clicking on the “agree to participate” button and then on the “submit” button. Your name and consent to participate will be saved in a file separate from the data you will complete in the survey. You will then be at the beginning of the online survey.

Read the paragraphs starting each section carefully as the rating scales change from time to time. Indicate your response by clicking on the button that best represents your answer to the questions. For example:



Remember, this assignment is totally optional - you can skip any questions you don't feel comfortable answering. Once you have completed the 4-part survey, contact questionnaire, demographics survey and media usage questionnaire, click on “submit” and your answer will be saved. You may also quit at any time after you have begun. In order to receive research credit, however, you must submit the partially completed survey.

Remember, this survey is confidential – your name is not associated with your survey responses in any way.

Once you have completed the online survey, you must complete the extra-credit participation form in order to receive credit. To do so, type in your name, the last 4 digits of your social security number, and click the “submit” button. Your name and the last-4

digits of your social security number will be saved in a file (separate from your data). A confirmation screen will be displayed. Be sure to print out this page for your records.

If you have any problem getting the online survey to work, please contact the principal investigator at smassey@gc.cuny.edu or (512) 294-1064.

Thank you!

Appendix P. Extra-Credit Assignment Instruction Sheet: Option #2 Thought Paper.

Extra-Credit Assignment #2:

***Thought paper: Analysis of gay, lesbian
or bisexual representations in film, video and television.***

Instructions:

Watch a relatively recent film, video, or television program (drama, comedy, news report) that has a gay or lesbian supporting or main character and write a 3 to 4-page thought paper on how sexual orientation is represented in the production. Depending on the content of the show, this paper can follow one of two formats.

The first format is for films, videos or television programs that aren't directly about sexuality but include gay or lesbian characters (i.e., movies like: Wonder Boys, American Beauty, The Jackal, The Talented Mr. Ripley, etc.). Comment on how gay, lesbian, and/or bisexual people are depicted in the program. For example, you might want to address questions like: Why is it presented in the way it is? What's missing from the presentation? What are the assumptions about sexuality in the film? In what ways does sexuality intersect with other social categories like gender, race, class, age?

The second format is for films, videos or television programs that specifically address lesbian, gay and/or bisexual issues (i.e. movies like: Beautiful Thing, Priest, But I'm a Cheerleader, The Color Purple, Desert Hearts, etc.). In this format, you should comment on the issues related to sexuality being raised in the program and the main arguments being made, discuss your agreement/disagreement with these arguments, and discuss what are the social implications of what is being presented.

This assignment must be typed, in a 12-point font, single-sided, double-spaced, with 1" margins, and in your own words. Your paper will be graded for - grammar, spelling, overall structure, organization and thoughtfulness.

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Autobiographical Statement

Sean Garland Massey was born in Aransas Pass, Texas on June 18, 1966, the son of Shirley Barber Massey and Jerry Gene Massey. He was raised by his father and stepmother Patricia Ann Brown in Austin, Texas and, later, Canyon Lake, Texas. He completed high school at Smithson Valley High School in 1984. After high school he moved to Austin where he met his partner Loren Jerome Couch in 1985. He and Loren moved to New York City in 1986 where he worked for eight years in the insurance industry. In January of 1990 he began his undergraduate studies at Hunter College of the City University of New York. He also volunteered as a “buddy” at Gay Men’s Health Crisis, the nations oldest AIDS services agency, where he eventually lead a group of crisis intervention volunteers. He was also involved in AIDS activism and the gay rights movements. In June of 1993, he graduated *magna cum laude* and with departmental honors from Hunter College with a Bachelor of Arts in Psychology and a minor in English. In the fall of 1994 he entered the doctoral program in psychology at the Graduate School of the City University of New York. He was the recipient of the Aaron Diamond Public Policy fellowship and the co-recipient of a Professional Staff Congress of the City University of New York research grant. In January of 1997, he completed an en route Master of Arts in Psychology at Hunter College and in June of 2001 received a Master of Philosophy degree from the Graduate School of the City University of New York. His dissertation project was completed in Austin, Texas while teaching at Saint Edward’s University and working from time to time as a freelance reporter for Austin’s major daily newspaper, the Austin American Statesman. He is the author of several scholarly and journalistic articles, including a feature story about quality of life of the

Austin lesbian and gay community which won the 2001 National Lesbian and Gay Journalist Association award for news/feature story. He currently lives in Austin, Texas with his partner Loren Jerome Couch and their son Alfred Jerome Massey.

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This dissertation was typed by the author.