

Prejudice by Any Other Name: Conditional Support of Gay Males by Heterosexuals

By

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Proposed to

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Abstract

In U.S. popular culture, it is often easy to find both unambiguously supportive and unambiguously non-supportive statements in terms of the rights of sexual minorities. Although unambiguous attitudes are often expressed, among the U.S population, there are also statements that appear to fall within a sort of middle ground between positive and negative. For example, phrases such as “I am supportive of gay individuals, as long as they are not in my face” appear to indicate a type of begrudging acceptance of sexual minorities that is predicated on these minorities restricting their behavior. The current research was designed to explore how conditional support is similar to or different from full support and nonsupport. Participants (n=846) were first asked to identify which of four statements (full support, conditional support (two versions), or nonsupport) best fit their attitude toward sexual minorities. They were then exposed to two images of public displays of affection by gay males, two images of a gay pride parade, or two control images. Participants then completed measures of their affect, experienced disgust, and willingness to endorse negative attitudes toward gay individuals. The results provided evidence for the concept of conditional support as distinct from nonsupport and full support, with participants who endorsed the conditionally supportive statement being more likely to endorse negative statements than participants who endorsed the full support statement.

Moreover, participants who endorsed the nonsupport statement were found to be more likely to experience disgust and endorse negative statements than were participants who endorsed either the full support or a conditional support statement. Results also indicated that conditionally supportive participants were significantly more likely than nonsupportive participants to report religious affiliation. Finally, results reinforced previous research which has found that nonsupportive individuals are more likely than fully supportive individuals to report being politically conservative, religious, and to have had contact with sexual minorities. Significant results were not found in relation to the manipulation.

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I. Introduction

For the past several years, the rights of sexual minorities have featured heavily in national conversation. This attention has focused on the micro level, such as the ability for a sexual minority couple to attend a high school prom (Preusse, 2013), to the national stage with the recent Supreme Court decision regarding the constitutionality of the Defense of Marriage Act (Sherman, 2013). In recent years, proponents of the rights of sexual minorities have made strides within the United States in reaching equality between sexual minorities and heterosexual individuals. Examples include the end of Don't Ask Don't Tell (Slack, 2012), marriage equality legislation in 19 states and the District of Columbia (Human Rights Campaign, 2014), and presidential executive orders which expand protections for sexual minorities (e.g., Obama, 2010). Concurrently, those who oppose the rights of sexual minorities have made strides as well with state constitutional amendments banning gay marriage in 30 states (Human Rights Campaign, 2013) and national policies designed with the exclusion of sexual minorities in mind (Cahill, Ellen, & Tobis, 2002).

Despite certain gains by those in the anti-gay rights movement, the trend thus far appears to be for more and more equality for sexual minorities. Research focusing on public opinion shows a steady increase in public support toward sexual minorities (Hicks & Lee, 2006) and their rights (Brewer, 2003; Pew Research Center, 2013a). Yet, while changes are occurring,

discrimination against sexual minorities continues, as evidenced by the majority of sexual minorities continuing to report experiences of discrimination and harassment (Hubener, Rebhook, & Kegles, 2004; Pew Research Center, 2013b). Discrimination and harassment contribute to multiple negative consequences for sexual minorities, including higher incidents of psychopathology (Almedia et al, 2009; Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995; Mays & Cochran, 2001; Meyer, 1995; Meyer, 2003), suicidality (Almedia et al; Haas, et al, 2011; Meyer, 2003) difficulties in the workplace (Raggins & Cornwell, 2001), lower self-esteem (Hubener, Rebhook, & Kegles, 2004), threats to health brought on by the avoidance of necessary medical procedures (O'Halen et al, 1997), and an increased likelihood of substance abuse (Marshal et al. 2009). Thus, despite an increase of positive trends in attitudes toward sexual minorities, negative attitudes persist and continue to adversely affect sexual minorities.

Likely because of the potential negative effects, research on attitudes toward sexual minorities has primarily focused on negative attitudes rather than positive ones (Herek & McLemore, 2013). Yet, positive attitudes have an impact as well. Research shows that sexual minorities who experience social support are less likely to experience many of the negative consequences associated with discrimination (Hayes, Turner, & Coates, 1992; Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995; Ryan et al, 2009; Ueno, 2005). Nevertheless, research on positive attitudes has been limited (Stozer, 2009; Wilkson & Sagrin, 2010). This is an interesting gap in the literature given how important positive support appears for sexual minorities. The research that does exist on positive attitudes has focused primarily on the predictors of positive attitudes, contact being the most studied factor (e.g., Asta & Vacha-Haase, 2012), and the journey that heterosexual individuals have taken from negative to positive views (e.g., Berkowitz, 2005; Bowman, 2005; Ji, 2007). Research in this area has also focused on attitude change and finding ways to reduce

negative attitudes (Tucker & Potocky-Tripodi, 2006). This research mirrors much of the research on prejudice reduction, with programs focusing on providing diversity training and education to individuals from majority populations (Paulak & Green, 2009; Tucker & Potocky-Tripodi).

Although research on positive and negative attitudes toward sexual minorities exists, this research appears to leave a noticeable gap. Much of this research discusses attitudes towards sexual minorities as some level of either positive or negative, with limited discussion of the subtleties of how these attitudes are expressed. Yet, attitudes often do not fall within these clear distinctions and a variety of attitudinal differences may exist between and within these opposing sides. This is to be expected, particularly for issues traditionally treated as morally and/or politically controversial, such as abortion (Alvarez & Brehm, 1995) or physician assisted suicide (Hamil-Luker & Smith, 1998). As attitudes toward sexual minorities and their rights are considered a highly moral issue by many (see Haider-Markel & Meier, 1996), it can be hypothesized that there is a spectrum of attitudes held by heterosexual individuals. A glaring example of this can be seen in commonly used incidental phrases such as “I am ok with gay people, as long as they aren’t in my face about it” which, based on an internet search of the phrase by this author, is a frequent way heterosexual individuals discuss sexual minorities and their rights. Yet, support with conditions is support in name only. This type of so called support for sexual minorities appears to require these individuals to limit or cease certain behaviors in order for the support to be given. In this way, conditional support requires sexual minorities to meet a criteria set by a heterosexual majority and limit the expression of their identity in ways not required or expected for members of the majority group.

An example of the negative impact of conditional support can be seen in a recent incident involving the firing of a gay man (Poole, 2014). In July of 2014, a man was fired from working in a children's home after he introduced his co-workers to his male fiancé. He reported that his employers knew he was gay and that this was not a concern for his employers until he made his relationship known. It was then that he was told "...that because of my lifestyle choices, [my supervisor] did not feel comfortable with me being on his team anymore." When interviewed, the employer stated "If you want to try to force our culture to meet your expectations, that's not going to go well." At least in this instance, the results of conditional support appear consistent with nonsupport.

Conditional support of sexual minorities is a little-studied type of attitude toward sexual minorities, and brings to the forefront a great many questions. For instance: what do individuals who use variations of these phrases define as "in my face" and how do their attitudes change when they are exposed to "in my face" behavior? Perhaps more importantly, it begs the question, "under what conditions do these individuals demonstrate support for sexual minorities and their rights versus under what conditions do they not demonstrate support?" It also begs the question "are heterosexual individuals who report conditional support actually supportive of sexual minorities in some way or is this merely a form of prejudice that appears more socially acceptable?"

Understanding attitudes toward sexual minorities is important for the field of psychology for multiple reasons. First, as previously discussed, prejudice toward sexual minorities increases psychological distress and reported psychological concerns (Almedia et al, 2009; Haas, et al, 2011; Hershberger & D'Augelli, 1995; Marshal et al. 2009; Mays & Cochran, 2001; Meyer, 1995; Meyer, 2003). According to the Guidelines for Psychological Practice with Lesbian, Gay,

and Bisexual Clients (American Psychological Association, 2012) it is essential for psychologist to “strive to understand the effects of stigma...in the lives of lesbian, gay and bisexual people” (p. 12). A greater understanding of the ways that positive and negative attitudes potentially contribute to stigmatization and anti-sexual minority behavior is critical and requires an understanding of the mechanics of conditionally supportive attitudes. These guidelines also encourage psychologists to “recognize how their attitudes and knowledge about lesbian, gay, and bisexual issues may be relevant to assessment and treatment” (p. 15). In understanding the implications of having conditional attitudes toward sexual minorities, psychologists can better understand their own competence for working with sexual minorities. Psychologists are also encouraged by the American Psychological Association to be agents for change within institutions (2002). By better understanding attitudes toward sexual minorities, psychologists can advocate for policies and interventions which best serve their clients, supervisees, the profession, and society as a whole.¹

The purpose of this study is to explore the often seen and stated (but rarely researched) phenomenon of conditional support of sexual minorities by heterosexual individuals.

Specifically, this study seeks to identify individuals who endorse a statement of conditional support and compare these individuals to heterosexual individuals who report being fully

¹ It is important to note that the focus of this study is on attitudes toward sexual minorities, a group which includes, but is not limited to, individuals who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, and queer. Each of these terms has specific meaning to individual identity, and one of the largest difficulties in studying this population is the difficulty in determining clear definitions for these subgroups (Moradi, Mohr, Worthington, & Fassinger, 2009; see also Sell, 1997). Much of the existing research has treated each of these subgroups and their related experiences as analogous, but this is problematic given the uniqueness between these subgroups and the diversity that exists within them (Fassinger & Arseneau, 2007; Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). This is further complicated by the inclusion of individuals who identify as transgender, a subgroup included under the umbrella of sexual minority, yet who have identities that are quite distinct and separate from sexual orientation (Fassinger & Arseneau). It is beyond the scope of this research to further explore the relationship of gender identity and attitudes toward sexual minorities. It is also important to note the distinction between sexual orientation and gender identity. Such a distinction will help ensure that the results of the research reported herein are not over generalized to a population that has not been studied within it. It is my hope that future researchers will use this current research to inform additional exploration of conditional attitudes toward gender identity.

supportive of sexual minorities and individuals who report being unsupportive of sexual minorities. It is hoped that the results of this study will broaden the discourse regarding heterosexual individuals' attitudes toward sexual minorities by providing evidence for the need of a more nuanced understanding of these attitudes and the way in which support or prejudice may manifest. This understanding could inform future anti-discrimination and education programs in diverse settings, including psychology training programs. Finally, the results of this research may inform public policy regarding sexual minority rights by increasing the understanding of more subtle ways in which opposition to these rights may be manifest.

II. Literature Review

Before one can study a phenomenon, it must be clearly defined and conceptualized. This has proven to be a vexing problem for the study of attitudes toward sexual minorities. Negative attitudes toward gay individuals have been referred to in the literature by a multitude of related terms which often represent distinct underlying constructs. These terms include, but are not limited to: *homophobia*, *homonegativity*, *homosexual bias*, *heterosexism*, *sexual prejudice*, and *anti-gay prejudice* (Fyfe, 1983; Herek, 2004; Herek 2007; Herek 2009; Herek & McLemore, 2013; Moradi, Mohr, Worthington, & Fassinger, 2009; O'Donohue & Caselles, 1993). Description is further complicated by researchers using these terms to describe related, yet distinct constructs connected and interconnected with attitudes, actions, personality, and/or cultural factors (Fyfe, 1983; Herek, 2007; O'Donohue & Caselles, 1993). In 1972, Weinberg coined the term *homophobia* and defined it as “the dread of being in close quarters with homosexuals” (p.4) (Herek, 2004; O'Donohue & Caselles, 1993). Yet, before Weinberg's publication, the term was used in a tabloid by a friend of Weinberg who knew of his unpublished research. This tabloid reported that the term meant fear of being mistaken for a gay man. From the beginning the term was muddled and has only become more so as the years have progressed (Fyfe, 1983; Herek, 2004; Herek 2007; Herek 2009; O'Donohue & Caselles, 1993). This confusion makes anti-sexual minority phenomenon difficult to consistently identify, measure, and discuss (Moradi et al, 2009).

Herek (2009; see also Herek, 2007), argues that the term *sexual stigma* is a more complete and appropriate way of discussing the various phenomenon related to anti-gay expressions. He defines *sexual stigma* as “the negative regard, inferior status, and relative powerlessness that society collectively accords to any nonheterosexual behavior, identity, relationship, or community” (Herek, 2007, pp. 906-907). Herek argues that sexual stigma is an overarching cultural message which affects the individuals within that culture. It is the acceptance of this cultural message that then leads to a multitude of negative phenomenon toward sexual minorities at the societal and/or individual level (Herek, 2009).

The two components of sexual stigma that have the most bearing on this current research are *sexual prejudice* and *enacted stigma*. Herek defines *sexual prejudice* as the “negative evaluation of sexual minorities” (2009, p.74). By this argument, it is sexual prejudice which is measured when looking at the attitudes heterosexual individuals hold toward sexual minorities (Herek & McLemore, 2013). Adapting modern social psychology definitions of attitudes, one could then define sexual prejudice as a person’s inclination to evaluate a sexual minority or non-heterosexual behavior unfavorably (Eagly and Chaiken, 2007). The phenomenon of *enacted stigma* is related, but distinct from sexual prejudice. Herek conceptualizes enacted stigma as the behavioral result of sexual prejudice (2009). This behavior may manifest in a variety of ways including avoidance, discrimination, and/or verbal or physical assault (Herek, 2007).

Research on Sexual Prejudice

As previously discussed, prejudice against sexual minorities is a manifestation of the overall cultural stigma against non-heterosexual behaviors and individuals (Herek, 2009, 2007; Herek & McLemore, 2013). As sexual prejudice can be measured by looking at the attitudes individuals hold toward sexual minorities (Herek, 2009) a review of the field of psychology’s

current definition of attitudes should assist in better understanding this phenomena. Social psychology has been studying attitudes for over 70 years as they are an important concept for the field (Bohner & Dickel, 2011; Crano & Prislin, 2004; Schwarz & Bohner, 2001). Even though a universally accepted definition of attitudes remains somewhat elusive (Bohner and Dickel; 2011; Eagly & Chaiken, 2007; Schwarz & Bohner, 2001), the most widely accepted definition is that provided by Eagly and Chaiken (1993), who stated that attitudes are “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (p.1; as cited by Schwarz & Bohner, 2001). Attitudes toward sexual minorities have been studied extensively in the literature (Ahmad & Bhugra, 2010) and the following review of this literature will be essential in better understanding sexual prejudice.

Numerous researchers have explored what characteristics of heterosexual individuals are associated with sexual prejudice and/or enacted stigma toward sexual minorities. Perhaps no factor has been studied more than the relationship between biological sex and negative attitudes (e.g., Herek, 1988; Nagoshi et al, 2008). When compared to heterosexual women, heterosexual men are found to have significantly more negative attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Heterosexual men have been found to be less accepting toward sexual minority rights (Ellis, Kitzinger, & Wilkinson, 2003; Herek, 2002; Hooghe et al., 2010), more likely to hold negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Besen & Zicklin, 2007; Falamor-Pishner, Martinez, & Paterna, 2013; Finlay & Walther, 2003; Herek, 1988; Herek, 2000; Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002; Jenkins, Lambert, & Baker, 2009; Kalmen, Grossman, & Kopacz, 1999; Mahaffy, Bryan, & Hutchison, 2005; Matharu, et al 2012; Nagoshi et al, 2008; Parrott, Adams, & Zeichner, 2002; Pew Research Center, 2014; Roper & Halloran, 2007; Schellenberg,

Hirt, & Sears, 1999; Whitley, Jr., 2001), and less likely to be open to friendship with sexual minorities (Mohr & Sedlacek, 2000).

Gender-Roles. Researchers have spent considerable energy exploring the relationship between heterosexual males and sexual prejudice in attempts to explain the high correlation. One particular area of insight has been the relationship that beliefs regarding gender has with sexual prejudice. Traditional western masculinity rejects non-heterosexual attraction or behavior in men as feminine and thus views gay men as failing to match the masculine ideal (Kilianski, 2003; Plummer 2001). Therefore individuals who hold more firmly to traditionally masculine ideals are more likely to hold sexually prejudicial attitudes (Franklin, 2000; Jellison, McConnell, & Gabriel, 2004; Keiller, 2010; Parrott, Adams, & Zeichner, 2002; Whitley, 1987). This is also true of male and female individuals who ascribe to more traditional gender role beliefs (e.g., belief that men should be the primary source of income in a marriage) (Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002; Kurdek, 1988; Whitley, 2001). This idea is supported in research by Glick et al. (2007) who found that heterosexual men exhibited higher negative affect toward gay men they perceive as effeminate vs. gay men they perceive as more masculine. Heterosexual men's level of identification with traditional ideas of masculinity has also been correlated with anger and physical aggression toward gay men (Parrott & Zeichner, 2008). This enacted stigma of physical aggression is argued to be a response to perceived threat to the straight man's masculinity (Buck et al., 2013; Falimor-Pichastor, Martines, & Paterna, 2013; Falimor-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009; Stotzer & Shih, 2012; Talley & Benttemcourt, 2008) and a way of enforcing traditional male gender roles beliefs (Parrott, 2009; Pharr 1988; Wilkinson, 2004). The less extreme enacted stigma of verbal abuse (e.g., slurs, threats) is also seen as a way of enforcing gender male roles, confirming one's own masculinity, and gaining power over other

individuals (Kilianski, 2003; Parrott, 2009; Plummer, 2001; Pharr, 1988; Wilkinson, 2004). Though most of the studies have focused on traditionally male roles, Parrott and Gallagher (2008) found in a study of women's responses to lesbians that straight women who have more traditional beliefs about gender roles are also more likely to exhibit anger and prejudice toward lesbians. Similarly, Basow and Johnson (2000) found that straight female college students who value stereotypical feminine traits are more likely to have prejudicial attitudes toward sexual minorities. This supports the idea that sexual minorities are perceived by individuals, male and female, who endorse traditional gender roles as violating these roles in some way.

Heterosexual individuals' beliefs about gender and gender role also play into the type of negative attitudes that they hold toward sexual minorities. Overall, straight men and women appear to hold less hostile attitudes toward lesbians than they hold toward gay men (Roper & Halloran, 2007; Herek & Capitano, 1999; Whitley 2001). In addition, one study found that men were more favorable toward lesbian marriage than they were toward gay male marriage (Moskowitz, Rieger, & Roloff, 2010). There has been much debate in the literature as to why this phenomenon exists, but Louderback and Whitley (1997) present some compelling evidence of a potential explanation. They argue that straight men perceive lesbians as erotic, while these men do not feel the same about gay men. Straight women on the other hand typically do not appear to find either lesbians or gay men erotic (Louderbak & Whitley). This evidence supports the idea that for some straight men, gay men and non-heterosexual behavior by men in some way violate these straight individuals' expectations regarding gender roles, while perceptions of lesbians do not violate beliefs about gender roles. In fact, it has been argued that for some men, the idea of non-heterosexual attraction and behavior in women may reinforce certain masculine

ideals about women and relationships including reinforcing the objectification of women (Keiller, 2010).

Religion. Religion has also been studied extensively as a predictor of sexual prejudice. Researchers have found that straight individuals who identify themselves as religious are more likely to have negative attitudes toward sexual minorities and their rights (Balkin, Schlosser, & Levitt, 2009; Besen & Zicklin, 2007; Ellis et al, 2003; Basow & Johnson, 2000; Borgman, 2009; Herek, 1988; Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002; Jenkins et al, 2007; Klamen, Grossman, & Kopacz, 1999; Keiller, 2010; Rowatt et al., 2006; Waldo, 1998; Whitehead, 2010; Whitley, 2009; Wilkinson & Roys, 2005) and less open to being friends with individuals who are sexual minorities (Mohr & Sedlacek, 2000). Surveys have also found that individuals from countries that are more religious are less accepting of LGBT individuals (Pew Research Center, 2014).

With this research in mind, it is important to highlight that religion is a broad and, at times, ill-defined concept (Harrison, 2006; Zinnabar et al, 1997). Because of this, multiple factors related to religion have different relationships to sexual prejudice. Religious fundamentalism, defined as the belief in one set of religious ideals which are the single truth, has been found to be associated with increasing prejudice overall (Altemyer & Hunsberger, 1992) and, therefore, it is not unexpected that individuals who endorse fundamentalism would also demonstrate high levels of sexual prejudice. This hypothesis is supported by research which shows that particular religions that are more likely to have members who endorse fundamentalism (e.g., Christianity, Islam) are more likely to endorse sexually prejudicial attitudes than are other faiths (e.g., Judaism; Hooghe, et al. 2010; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005).

While it appears that most forms of religiosity are associated with sexual prejudice (see Whitley, 2009 for a meta-analysis), type of religious affiliation has been found to be a factor in

reported prejudice. A diversity of beliefs exists between and within religions and this diversity is also demonstrated in attitudes toward sexual minorities. For instance, Finlay and Walther (2003) found when comparing Christian denominations, conservative Protestants were most likely to hold negative attitudes toward sexual minorities. In order, the next highest levels of sexual prejudice found were in moderate Protestants and Catholics, liberal Protestants, and non-affiliated Christians (see also Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002). These findings are supported by Olson, Cadge, and Harrison (2006) who found that greater religiosity and Protestant denomination are both associated with opposition to sexual minorities' rights. In another study, Rosik, Griffith and Cruz (2007) found that when Christian men and women ascribe to the biblical idea of "love the sinner, hate the sin" (p. 11) (i.e., Christians who believe they are able to separate individuals from their behavior), they are less likely to endorse negative attitudes toward sexual minorities. These findings are related to research that has demonstrated a relationship between religiosity and belief that same-sex attraction is a choice (Whitehead, 2010). Research has shown that the belief that individuals have a choice in gay or lesbian identity is highly associated with negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (Herek, 1995) and religious reinforcement of this idea would likely also reinforce sexual prejudice.

Race. Traditionally, race is another factor that is thought to have a correlation with negative attitudes toward LGBT individuals (Jenkins et al, 2007). Frequently it is reported that African-Americans hold a more negative view of sexual minorities than do white individuals (Jenkins et al, 2009), and some research supports this conclusion (Lewis, 2010; Loftus, 2001; Shultz, 2002). For example, a study by Vincent, Peterson, and Parrott (2009) found that African-Americans rated lesbian and gay individuals more negatively than did whites. Other studies conflict with this result and some researchers have found that African-Americans rated sexual

minorities no more negatively than did whites (Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Horne, Rice, & Israel, 2004; Jenkins et al, 2009). One explanation for the conflicting results is that sexual prejudice within African-American populations is more related to levels of religiosity within African-American populations (Jenkins et al, 2009). In studies that control for the effect of religion, anti-sexual minority attitudes held by African-Americans are comparable to those held by white respondents (Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Lewis, 2010; Negy & Eiseman, 2005; Sherkat, de Vries, & Creek, 2010). Other factors that also appeared to contribute to this disparity between white and African-American respondent's attitudes included socio-economic status and level of educational achievement (Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Lewis, 2010). Considerably less research has been conducted on sexual prejudice and other races. Although this writer was able to find one study which reported that heterosexual Asian individuals have been found to endorse more sexual prejudicial attitudes than do other ethnicities (Klamen, Grossman, & Kopacz, 1999), overall research regarding race as a predictor of sexual prejudice in races other than white or African-American individuals appears to be lacking.

Other Factors. Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) is a term originally coined by Altemeyer in 1981 to describe a personality variable found in certain individuals (as cited by Whitley Jr. 1999). RWA is defined as the tendency to defer to authority figures, be aggressive toward outgroups, and support traditional values (Whitley Jr. & Lee, 2000). Individuals high on RWA also have a greater tendency to be punitive toward others and to be highly religious (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Given those definitions it is not unexpected that RWA has been found to be highly correlated with sexual prejudice (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993; Stones, 2006; Whitley Jr. & Lee, 2000). Given that RWA appears to be highly related both to social conservatism and religious fundamentalism

(Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) it is unclear if RWA represents a unique factor, a global measure that encompasses both conservatism and religious fundamentalism along with other variables, or simply another name for the same construct. Whitley, Jr and Lee (2000) conducted a study which found that RWA is a related but distinct from multiple factors including social dominance, social conservatism, and dogmatism. They also found that RWA is a higher predictor of sexual prejudice than the other, similar constructs. Nevertheless, it appears to be a less significant predictor than other factor like religion (Whitley, Jr. & Lee).

Additional factors have been found to be associated with sexual prejudice and enacted stigma. These include: psychopathy (Parrott & Zeichner, 2006), perception of social support for negative attitudes (Herek, 1988), older age (Herek, 2002), low educational attainment (Schellenberg, Hirt, & Sears, 1999; Herek & Capitanio, 1995; Herek, 2002; Kurdek, 1988), conservative political affiliation (Herek 2002; Terrizzi, Shook & Ventis, 2010; Whitley Jr. & Lee, 2000), geographic residence in the southern US and/or rural areas (Baunach, Burgess, & Muse, 2010; Herek 2002), ethnic minority status of sexual minority (Moradi et al, 2009), and a greater tendency for negative social behavior by the heterosexual individual (Franklin, 2000; Keiller, 2010).

Positive Attitudes Toward Sexual Minorities (Allophila)

When compared to studies of sexual prejudice, relatively few studies have examined heterosexual individuals' positive attitudes toward sexual minorities (Stozer, 2009; Wilkson & Sagrin, 2010). This lack of research in positive attitudes toward minority populations is not limited to the study of sexual minorities, but is part of a larger dearth of research on positive attitudes that exists within the field of psychology (Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011a).

Pittinsky (2009) argues that this gap in research exists because the field of psychology as a whole is less interested in positive attitudes. He suggests that this is because positive attitudes are less exciting than negative attitudes, stating “[A positive attitude] just doesn’t grab you like a race riot” (p. 363). In an effort to bridge this gap, Pittinsky et al. (2011b) coined the term *allophila* to describe the positive attitudes an individual has toward out-group individuals. Allophila is more than the lack of negative attitudes; it requires positive attitudes as well (Pittinsky, 2010). Thus the research on negative attitudes discussed in the previous section gives us limited information regarding positive attitudes. For example, just because heterosexual women, individuals who do not live in the southern United States, or individuals who are not religious are less likely to hold negative attitudes than others, this does not necessarily mean they hold positive attitudes.

Allies. The majority of published studies on heterosexual individuals’ allophila toward sexual minorities have focused on heterosexual individuals who identify as *allies*. An *ally* is defined as an individual who is “a member of the ‘dominant’ or ‘majority’ group who works to end oppression in his or her personal and professional life through support of, and as an advocate with and for, the oppressed population” (Wahington & Evans, 1991 as cited by Broido, 2000, p. 345). By this definition, an ally requires more than just allophila toward sexual minorities; it requires behavioral actions as well. Much of the published information on allies has primarily been in qualitative research with small samples (e.g., Asta & Vacha-Haase, 2012; Borgman, 2009; Valenti & Campbell, 2009) or the personal narratives of single individuals (e.g., Berkowitz, 2005; Ji, 2007; McClennen, 2003) with limited published empirical investigations. These publications contain some common themes within the stories of allies’ development which include cognitive dissonance between what are initially sexual prejudicial attitudes and more

positive attitudes, recognition of heterosexual privilege, contact with sexual minorities, and internal values of justice and/or equality (Asta & Vacha-Haase, 2012; Borgman, 2009; DiStefano et al, 2000; Duhigg, Rostosky, Gray, & Wimsatt, 2010; Montgomery & Stewart, 2012; Munin & Speight, 2010; Valenti & Campbell, 2009).

Descriptive research has been completed as well on allies with research indicating some significant predictors of positive attitudes and behaviors toward sexual minorities. Based on this research, self-identified allies are more likely to recognize prejudice against sexual minorities (Goldstien & Davis, 2010), have awareness of heterosexual privilege (Montgomery & Stewart, 2012; Swank & Fahs, 2012), have achieved higher education level (Fingerhut, 2011), value sexual minorities (Goldstien & Davis, 2010; Swank & Fahs, 2012), be women (Fingerhut, 2011; Montgomery & Stewart, 2012), and be relatively younger than those with negative attitudes (Montgomery & Stewart, 2012). Wilkinson and Sagarin (2010) also found that allies were more likely to participate in pro-gay behavior (i.e., signing an online petition for a LGBT student union) if they thought that a positive outcome was likely from the behavior.

Religion. As mentioned previously, religious affiliation is typically a high predictor of negative attitudes and behaviors (see Balkin, Schlosser, & Levitt, 2009; Ellis, Kitzinger, & Wilkinson, 2003; Basow & Johnson, 2000; Herek, 1988; Jenkins, Lambert, & Baker, 2007; Keiller, 2010; Waldo, 1998), but research has found exceptions to this. In their study of world religions, Hooghe et al (2010) found that individuals in the Jewish faith are likely to have supportive attitudes toward sexual minorities. This research is consistent with past research which has shown individuals who identify as Jewish religiously are typically more accepting of the rights of minority groups than are individuals from other religions (Cohen & Liebman, 1997).

As also mentioned previously, religion is a difficult term to completely define and can mean different things to different individuals. One specific type of religious affiliation, termed *quest orientation*, also appears associated with positive attitudes toward sexual minorities. *Quest orientation*, defined as an intrinsic search for answers and belief that some answers cannot be found (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Batson, 1976), has also been found to be positively correlated with allophilia toward sexual minorities (Whitley Jr., 2009). This is not unexpected as individuals with a quest orientation within their religion have been found to be overall more aware of existing prejudices and accepting of others (Batson, 1976; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005).

Contact. *Contact* has also been shown to predict allophilia toward sexual minorities. Contact theory in social psychology emphasizes that when groups or members of separate groups interact under certain conditions, prejudice between these groups is reduced (see Pettigrew, 1998). Multiple studies have been completed which suggest an important relationship between heterosexual individuals' contact with sexual minorities and allophilia. In many studies, contact with sexual minorities has been found to be the best predictor of positive attitudes toward gay males and lesbians (Baunach et al, 2010; Bowen & Bourgeois, 2001; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Lem, 2006; Liang & Alimo, 2005). For instance, allies who have had early normalizing childhood experiences with sexual minorities (e.g., parental acceptance of individuals) and sexual minority peers in high school are more likely to have positive attitudes toward sexual minorities than are those that have not (Stozer, 2009). Additionally, in a meta-analysis it was found that the results of 41 articles showed that contact is negatively correlated with negative prejudice toward lesbian and gay individuals (Smith, Axelton, & Saucier, 2009). Clearly contact is an important factor related to positive attitudes toward sexual minority clients,

but it is not a perfect predictor of allophilia. Research looking specifically at heterosexual individuals with gay friends has shown that heterosexual individuals must view gay individuals as representative of all gay individuals before creating positive attitudes (Vonofakou, Hewston, & Voci, 2007). As with most things, context matters and contact in and of itself does not appear to be sufficient to create allophilia (Skipworth, Garner, & Dettrey, 2010).

Age. Recent surveys have shown that age appears to be a predictor of positive attitudes towards LGBT individuals. In a survey done by the Pew Research Center (2014), individuals in the United States who fall in the age range of 18-29 were significantly more likely to report positive attitudes towards sexual minorities than were individuals aged 30-49. Additionally, those aged 30-49 were more likely than individuals age 50+ to have positive attitudes. This survey is consistent with past surveys that indicate that in the U.S., each generation is more supportive of sexual minorities than the generations that came before it (Gallop, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2011; Pew Research Center, 2013c).

Multiple theories have been posed to explain this trend. Brewer (2003) argues that increased exposure of sexual minorities in the media, combined with a shift in understanding in beliefs regarding sexual minorities as no-longer mentally ill or sexually deviant has resulted in an overall decrease in prejudice and stigma towards sexual minorities. As generations come of age with this new understanding, they are less likely to hold on to antiquated, prejudicial attitudes. Additionally, research has shown that sexual minorities are coming out at younger ages and in more visible ways than they have in the past (see Gro, et al., 2006). Poteat and Rusell (2013) argue that this contributes to heterosexuals having greater contact with sexual minorities within their peer groups and earlier ages, contributing to greater acceptance in younger generations. Additionally, evidence suggests that ageing causes breakdown in certain cognitive functioning,

leading to a lack of inhibitions related to all forms of prejudice and greater likelihood of expressing this prejudice (von Hippel, 2007). Regardless of the cause, it seems clear that age is a factor in predicting positive attitudes towards sexual minorities.

Emotions

It is impossible to understand sexual prejudice without exploring the emotions associated with it. Indeed, as previously discussed, the emotion of fear is directly tied to the term most associated with sexual prejudice, homophobia (Herek, 2004). The relationship between emotions and prejudice has been studied extensively with multiple emotions appearing to play a role in different types of prejudice (Dasgupta et al, 2009; Leynes, et al, 2000; Tapis, et al., 2007). In relation to sexual prejudice, the primary focus has been on three emotions: fear, anger, and disgust. It is interesting to note that these three emotions are all part of what Ekman et al. (1992) terms *basic emotions*, defined as emotions inherent in humans and central to their evolution and adaptation. They occur quickly and are part of an inherent automatic appraisal mechanism (Ekman et al). They are related to the previous discussion on prejudice in that emotions are elicited by the beliefs and attitudes that individuals hold toward other individuals (Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005). This idea is important as it informs why particular emotions would be elicited in heterosexual individuals when thinking about or interacting with sexual minorities.

Fear. Perhaps because of its association with the study of sexual prejudice, fear has been studied extensively in relation to negative attitudes (Herek, 2004). Some research has shown there is a relationship between the two. For instance, Zeichner and Reidy (2009) found that when some heterosexual males viewed homoerotic material, they reported experiencing fear. The researchers argue that this fear is experienced not as fear of sexual minorities in general or male same-sex sexual behavior, but fear of their own sexual arousal (Zeichner & Reidy; see also

Kimmel, 1997). This is consistent with research previously discussed regarding the importance of masculinity and the rejection of male same-sex sexual behavior as un-masculine (Glik, et al 2007; Kilianski, 2003; Plummer 2001). Nevertheless, the majority of research does not support a strong relationship between fear and sexual prejudice and instead points to fear as the result of other emotions experienced, particularly anger and disgust (Cottrell & Neuburg, 2005; Herek, 2004).

Anger. When considering emotions, anger is likely considered the most serious and, at times dangerous, emotion associated with sexual prejudice. Multiple instances of anger leading to aggressive and brutal hate crimes are reported yearly (Herek & Sims, 2008). As previously discussed, research has shown that heterosexual men who ascribed to traditionally masculine or hyper-masculine ideals often react to sexual minorities with anger (Franklin, 2000; Keiller, 2010; Parrott, 2008; Parrott, Adams, & Zeichner, 2002; Tapis, et al 2007). For instance, Ziechner and Reidy (2009) found that when sexually prejudiced heterosexual males were exposed to gay erotica they reacted with high amounts of anger. Parrott and Zeichner (2008) found similar results in a study when comparing two groups of heterosexual males who were identified as sexual prejudiced. Those participants that viewed gay erotica were more likely to show anger than those that viewed heterosexual erotic material. In another study, this increase in anger was also seen when participants viewed non-erotic depictions of gay intimacy (Hudepohl, Parrott, & Ziechner, 2010). Why might this relationship exist?

Cognitively, anger is activated when an individual perceives something as a threat to themselves (Davidson, Jackson, & Kalin, 2000). As individuals who portray sexually prejudiced attitudes and behaviors have been shown to perceive sexual minorities and non-heterosexual sexual behavior as a potential threat to societal gender-roles and their own masculinity, it is not

unexpected that they would react with anger (Falimir-Pichastor, Martines, & Paterna, 2010; Falimir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2013; Talley & Benttemcourt, 2008). A scenario could result as follows: a sexually prejudiced individual cognitively appraises a sexual minority as a threat to their masculinity. This threat elicits anger (Davidson, Jackson, & Kalin, 2000). This emotion leads the individual to judge actions by the sexual minority through the lens of anger causing greater excitation (Horberg et al., 2011) and, in some cases, leads to aggression (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000).

The majority of research exploring anger and sexual prejudice has focused on heterosexual men, likely because of the relationship between anger and violence and the higher likelihood that anti-gay violence is perpetrated by a man rather than a woman (Parrott, 2008). Nevertheless, Parrott and Gallagher (2008) found that women are more likely to endorse the feeling of anger when exposed to sexual minorities if they hold to traditional gender roles. Other factors may influence the elicitation of anger toward sexual minorities as well, such as the perceived desecration of religious ideals (Trevino, et al 2012) or perceived violation of traditional cultural values (e.g., marriage; Craig, Martinez, & Kane, 2005). While it stands to reason that these factors would influence anger, a gap in the currently available literature regarding these potential relationships exists (Parrot, 2008).

Disgust. Although disgust has been studied by the field of psychology for decades, it is less well researched than other emotions such as anger, fear, and happiness (Olatunji & Sawchuk, 2005). Typically this emotion is associated with oral consumption of food (see Rozin & Fallon, 1987), but this definition is limited as disgust can also be elicited by things and events other than food, including taboo sexual acts and gore (Haidt, McCauley, & Rozin, 1994). Researchers have argued that disgust functions as part of a behavioral immune system which is

used to prevent an individual from becoming contaminated. An individual who perceives something as having the potential to contaminate them will have the unpleasant emotion of disgust elicited and avoid the contaminating object (Schaller & Park, 2011).

That a relationship exists between disgust and sexual prejudice is difficult to deny. In research, individuals who self-report negative attitudes toward sexual minorities often report disgust as a component of this negative attitude (Röndahl, Innala, & Carlsson; 2004; Tapis, et al, 2007; Terrizzi, Shook, & Ventis, 2010). Studies have also shown that inducing disgust in individuals causes them to judge things they normally find disgusting more harshly and this has been shown to be true for sexual prejudice as well. For instance, Terrizzi, Shook, and Ventis (2010) found that inducing disgust in some straight individuals led them to increase sexual prejudice toward gay individuals. Similarly, Inbar, Pizzaro and Bloom (2012) found that individuals who are more sensitive to feeling disgust are more likely to exhibit sexual prejudice toward gay men who exhibit public displays of affection. They also found that disgust inducement had no effect on participant's approval of heterosexual public displays of affection (Inbar, Pizzaro, & Bloom; see also Indar et al, 2009). Related to the idea of a behavioral immune system, Dasgupta et al. (2009) argue that the relationship between disgust and sexual prejudice is related to an association between sexually transmitted diseases, particularly HIV/AIDS, and gay men. They argue that the disgust felt serves as a protection from the perceived possibility of biological infection.

While Dasgupta et al.'s (2009) explanation is compelling; it does not appear to capture the entirety of the relationship between sexual prejudice and disgust. The emotion disgust appears to be elicited not only in situations in which there is a belief of potential physical contamination, but is also related to perceived moral transgressions. People, places, and events

associated with a breach in socially accepted morals elicit disgust (Pizzaro, Inbar, & Hellion, 2011; Olatunji & Sawchuk, 2005). Some researchers have argued that this relationship exists because disgust acts to preserve societal morals about appropriate sexual behavior and purity (Olatunji & Sawchuk, 2005; Terrizzi, Shook, & Ventis, 2010). In a 2008 study, Olatunji presented compelling evidence that the relationship between disgust and sexual prejudice is more related to conservative sexual ideas and requirements regarding religious purity. Disgust in this case is not related to fear of bodily contamination, but fear of contamination of the internal soul (see also Horberg et al, 2009). This argument is supported by the previously discussed relationship between religiosity and sexual prejudice.

In summary, emotions appear to play a vital role in both the manifestation and maintenance of sexual prejudice. They serve to (1) contribute to a behavioral response of threat elimination (through aggression) or threat avoidance, (2) to maintain prejudicial beliefs by reinforcing existing cognitive appraisals, and finally (3) to enhance the effectiveness of existing systems that serve to guard the individual. In most situations each of these functions would be a positive in that they serve to protect the individual and improve their quality of life.

Unfortunately, in this case they serve to maintain sexual prejudice and can lead to enacted stigma and/or greater sexual prejudice.

Tolerance, Acceptance, or Affirmation

Terms such as *tolerance*, *acceptance*, *respect*, and *support* are often used interchangeably in attitude research, but many researchers see clear differences in processes underlining these phenomena (Quaquebeke, Henrich, & Eckloff, 2007). Thus, these terms can mean different things to different people. For example, tolerance by some is seen not as complete acceptance of an individual, but as the ability to cope with something or someone with whom you disagree or

dislike (Koloski, 2010; Quaquebeke, Henrich, & Eckloff, 2007). While the definition of tolerance and acceptance are related, it is clear that to some they mean very different things. Clearly defining how these individual ideas are related yet different is difficult, although some have tried.

In a dissertation, Wright (2000) makes the argument that attitudes toward sexual minorities are on a continuum with 5 components, ranging from most negative to most positive: *homophobia, tolerance, heterosexism, acceptance, and support*. She argues heterosexual individuals' attitudes toward sexual minorities fall somewhere on this continuum based on their affect, behaviors, and cognitions regarding sexual minorities. For example, individuals at the homophobia level hold fear of sexual minorities (affect), avoid contact with or are aggressive toward sexual minorities (behavior), and believe sexual minorities to be a threat to society (cognition). In contrast, those at the support level feel pride and admiration of sexual minorities (affect), do activities that support gay rights (behavior), and believe prejudice against sexual minorities to be wrong (cognition) (Wright). Though this theory is interesting and is bolstered by some existing research, it has yet to be studied in peer reviewed-literature.

Another theory regarding gradations of attitudes toward sexual minorities is proposed by Riddle (1996, as cited by Broido, 2000) who proposed eight possible attitudes that straight individuals may hold toward sexual minorities. These 8 levels are:

1. Repulsion: Belief that sexual minorities are pathological and morally wrong and must be removed through any means necessary.
2. Pity: Heterosexuality is the only real sexual orientation and sexual minorities are to be pitied.
3. Tolerance: Sexual minorities are in a phase and will "grow out of it."

4. Acceptance: Non-heterosexual orientations are “ok” as long as I don’t have to be exposed to it. It is something to accept but not embrace.
5. Support: Sexual prejudice is wrong, but I am not comfortable with sexual minorities.
6. Admiration: Acknowledgement that it is difficult to be a sexual minority and realization of own sexual prejudice.
7. Appreciation: Sexual minorities are an important part of humanity. Will begin to address own sexual prejudice as well as confront others’ sexual prejudice.
8. Nurturance: Genuine embracement of sexual minorities. Willing to advocate for sexual minority issues. (Riddle as cited by Broido)

Like Wright’s (2000) proposal, Riddle’s scale is founded in research, but has not been seen in peer-reviewed literature. Both ideas are similar in that they suggest that there is a cognitive, behavioral, and affective component to attitudes toward sexual minorities and that as these components change as individuals move from one side of the spectrum to the other. While these researchers pose interesting ideas about the nature of support, empirical support for their ideas is limited as few studies have focused in this area. Nevertheless, these proposed spectrums of attitudes sustain the idea that not all forms of support are created equally and may result in unique outcomes. This lends credence to the idea that conditional support is a distinct type of attitude towards sexual minorities with its own predictors and outcomes.

Conditional Support

Although there has been only limited discussion and research into the area of nuances of support for sexual minorities, one phenomenon which seems to support this idea is the existence of statements which indicate the presence of conditional support of sexual minorities. While it

has not been discussed extensively in the literature, in popular culture it is common to hear individuals report being “supportive” of sexual minorities as long as sexual minorities behave in a particular way. For example, this author completed a cursory perusal of statements made by individuals in online conversations regarding gay rights and found a multitude of examples of this kind of conditional support including statements like “I support gay rights as long as they aren’t in my face about it,” “As long as they don’t act gay,” or “As long as they keep it to themselves.” The specifics regarding what “acting gay” or being “in my face” are not made explicit in these statements. Yet, it is clear that the individuals making these statements feel there are limitations to their support and that this support is dependent on the actions of sexual minorities. Is this support at all? Support which requires conditions, particularly conditions that are exclusively required of a minority group, appear less like support and more like a way of ensuring that a nonsupportive individual can avoid the discomfort of acknowledging their nonsupportive attitude. Despite the obvious presence and potential negative impact of this type of support, published research into this phenomenon is almost non-existent.

Some qualitative studies support the presence of this type of attitude. For instance, Bujis, Hekma, and Duyvendak (2012) found in their study of perpetrators of antigay violence, that many expressed attitudes similar to one participant who stated they did not have a problem with gay men “as long as they stay away from me” (p. 640). Hekma (1998) also found similar evidence in a study of gay men in sports clubs when club owners stated they did not have a problem with gay men in their club as long as the gay men did not “make an issue” of their sexual identity (p. 8). While participants in both studies were not asked explicitly what was meant by their statements, the researchers interpreted these statements to indicate any behavior that draws attention to an individual’s non-heterosexual orientation is unacceptable. Thus,

sexual minorities are expected to remain silent (both verbally and in their behavior) about their sexual orientation, while heterosexual individuals are not (Bujis, Hekma, & Duyvendak; Hekma; see also Anderson, 2002). Though less overt than some forms, this culturally expected verbal and non-verbal silence regarding non-heterosexual behavior remains a significant example of sexual prejudice and likely causes the same type of negative consequences as overt prejudice (Anderson; Pharr, 1997). Despite this, conditional support is often looked at as a more acceptable alternative to nonsupport.

Conditional support is also present at more than the micro level. An example of conditional support at an institutional level can be seen in the recently ended “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” requirement in the United States military. This policy did not prohibit individuals who identify as sexual minorities outright from military service, but non-heterosexual behavior or the expectation of future non-heterosexual behavior (i.e., admittance of non-heterosexual orientation) was prohibited and would result in dismissal from service. In other words, as long as sexual minorities remained silent about their orientation, they could serve in the military (Kavanagh, 1995). Another institutional example can be seen in the laws of the Russian Federation and other countries which place specific limitations on the speech of sexual minorities (e.g., prohibition of pride parades; Engle, 2013; International Commission of Jurists, 2012).

While both of these examples are distinct from other examples of highly punitive national policies regulating sexual orientation (e.g., death penalties or violent punishment for sexual minorities, see Lokesson & Kordunsky, 2013) in that they do not prohibit gay individuals from serving or existing, they do place greater limitations on their behaviors than the behaviors of heterosexual individuals. Nevertheless, these less extreme forms of laws limit the rights,

behaviors, or open identity of sexual minorities and therefore cause significant negative consequences for sexual minorities. For example, a review by Kavanagh (1995) shows that prohibiting the voluntary coming out of sexual minorities as “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” did, leads to a host of negative personal and psychological consequences and also limits the positive opportunities that coming can provide sexual minorities (see also Burks, 2011; Corrigan & Matthew, 2003)

The types of behaviors that may violate the silence required by conditionally supportive heterosexuals seem initially difficult to identify given that most heterosexual individuals appear to leave these type of statements open ended and vague. Yet, in looking at previous public policy and online discussions related to conditional support two categories appear to emerge: public displays of affection and affirmation of non-heterosexual orientation.

Public displays of affection. Of the two categories, the majority of existing research has focused on public displays of affection (PDA) and, within that research, primarily focused on the act of kissing. The act of kissing can have many meanings from greeting to betrayal, but it is most associated with a romantic act (Frijhoff, 1992). When looking at non-heterosexual behavior, public kissing has been found to change heterosexual individual’s perceptions of sexual minorities. For instance, heterosexual individuals have been found to be more likely to blame sexual minority victims of hate crimes for the crime if the individuals were kissing in public before the crime occurred. This relationship appears unique to sexual minorities as it was not found for other minority groups (Lyons, 2006). Additionally, researchers found that participants were more likely to experience disgust when gay men kiss than when heterosexual couples kiss, even if the participants stated that there is nothing morally wrong with two men kissing (Inbar et al., 2009). Why this relationship exists is unclear. Some researchers argue that

while the act of a heterosexual couple kissing is mundane and draws little attention, a non-heterosexual couple kissing can represent multiple things to different individuals including an act of perversion, an act of affection, or an act of political significance (Morris & Sloop, 2006). Sexual minority organizations, groups, and individuals have used public kissing as a form of protest in many instances staging “kiss-ins” in response to discrimination or harassment. This may have also served to solidify the association of non-heterosexual kissing and a political act in some minds (Hubbard, 2013). Whatever the case, it is clear that some heterosexual people see public same-sex kissing as uncomfortable at best and an affront at worst.

Other forms of PDA also exist including physical acts such as hugging or holding hands or verbal expressions of affection (e.g. saying “I love you” in front of others). Yet, research in this area specifically related to heterosexual perception of sexual minorities is near non-existent. Research has shown that overall, men are less comfortable with PDA in general, and that they are especially uncomfortable with male-to-male PDA even when the behavior is perceived as platonic in nature rather than romantic (Floyd & Morman, 2000; Roese et al., 1992). This supports previously discussed research regarding the relationship of masculinity, the fear of being perceived as non-heterosexual, and sexual prejudice. This relationship appears less strong for female-to-female PDA which is both more common and, when romantic, may be perceived by heterosexual males as sexually arousing (LaMar & Kite, 1998; Louderback & Whitley, 1992; Morris & Sloop, 2006).

Affirmation of non-heterosexual orientation. The other category of behaviors that appears to activate prejudice in heterosexual individual is the affirmation of non-heterosexual orientation. Specifically, I define this category as behavior (verbal or non-verbal) which draws attention to sexual minorities or attempts to raise awareness of the rights and/or concerns of

sexual minorities. As with others areas of this phenomenon, research is limited. Narrative research has shown that sexual minorities often feel that they are welcome with non-heterosexuals as long as they do not discuss any aspects of their non-heterosexual identity (Bujis, Hekma, & Duyvendak, 2012; Hekma, 1998; Kirby & Hay, 1997). Discussing topics which might lead to disclosure of an individual's non-heterosexual orientation (e.g., dating behaviors) appear to be particularly activating (Anderson & Kanner, 2011), and many sexual minorities report avoiding these subjects even when heterosexual peers are openly discussing them (Anderson 2002; Buck & Plant, 2010; Rhodas, 1993). Pride parades could be included in this category as well, although they represent affirmation at a much larger scale than a single person. Pride parades can serve as support, advocacy, and entertainment for sexual minorities and allies simultaneously (Kates & Belk, 2001; Lundberg, 2007). Yet, many heterosexual individuals report that it is the type of displays frequent to pride parades that leads them to be conditional in their support of sexual minorities (Kates & Belk, 2001).

Focused Summary of Study

Research has shown that prejudice toward sexual minorities has a host of negative effects at the individual and societal level. Research on sexual prejudice has also shown that there are certain commonalities among individuals who endorse sexual prejudicial attitudes. These commonalities include but are not limited to: gender, conservative political beliefs, and high religiosity. Research regarding positive attitudes is limited. The research that does exist points to certain predictors of positive attitudes including, but not limited to: contact experiences, liberal political beliefs, and lack of or liberal religiosity. Yet, much of the study of attitudes thus far has not focused on the subtleties of how heterosexual individuals may express full support or nonsupport for sexual minorities. Not all prejudice is created equal. Specifically, popular

conversation surrounding sexual minorities and their rights includes examples of claimed support by heterosexual individuals under the condition of silence and behavioral restriction on the part of sexual minorities. It is unclear how these heterosexual individuals will show (or not show) support when these unstated conditions are met, but it is clear that these conditions are placed on sexual minorities alone and not expected of heterosexual individuals. While less overt than other forms of prejudice, this conditional support is an example of prejudice and discrimination on the part of heterosexual individuals. It is the goal of this study to identify individuals who endorse this conditional support, determine how these individuals react when exposed to certain types of non-heterosexual behavior, and examine what demographic variables predict conditional support. A secondary goal of this research seeks to replicate findings of previous research related to non-support of sexual minorities.

III. Research Hypotheses

1. For participants who endorse a conditional support statement or participants who endorse the nonsupport statement, exposure to images of gay public displays of affection (PDA) or a gay pride parade will produce more negative reactions than will exposure to neutral images.
 - a. There will be a main effect in which participants who endorse the nonsupport statement will have significantly greater negative reactions than will those who endorse the full support statement or a conditional support statement.
 - b. There will be a main effect in which participants who endorse a conditional support statement will have significantly greater negative reactions than will those who endorse the full support statement.
 - c. These main effects will be moderated by an interaction. Specifically:
 - i. Participants who endorse a conditional support statement or the non-support statement will demonstrate more negative reactions when exposed to images of PDA or a gay pride parade than will those participants who endorse the full support statement when they are exposed to PDA or a gay-pride parade.

- ii. Participants who endorse the non-support statement will demonstrate more negative reactions when exposed to images of PDA or a gay pride parade than will those participants who endorse the conditional support statement.
 - d. The pattern of more negative reactions for exposure to images of PDA or a gay pride parade will be more pronounced, in comparison to control, for participants who endorse the nonsupport statement than the conditional support statement.
- 2. Participants who endorse the nonsupport statement, when compared to participants who endorse the full support statement, will be significantly more likely to report the following demographic characteristics:
 - a. Male gender
 - b. Conservative political beliefs
 - c. Greater religious affiliation
 - d. Little contact (0 or 1 relationship) with sexual minorities
- 3. Participants who endorse a conditional support statement, when compared to participants who endorse the nonsupport statement, will be significantly more likely to report the following demographic characteristics:
 - a. Less religious affiliation
 - b. Contact (2-5 relationships or higher) with sexual minorities
 - c. Greater educational achievement

IV. Method

Participants

Participants were a nonrandom sample of individuals who reported that they were heterosexual, at least 19 years of age, not members of the principle investigator's family, and who lived in the United States. Participants were initially recruited from Facebook.com using the principle investigator's Facebook friend group as a convenience sample. Individuals were asked to participate in the research via a Facebook status (Appendix A) with a link which took them to the information page (Appendix B) for the online survey. On this page, individuals were also asked to share the advertisement with other users of the social network via their own Facebook status. Participants were also informed that upon completion of the study, they were eligible to enter a random drawing for 1 of 6 \$25 Amazon.com gift cards. An online random number generator was used to select the winners of the drawing.

Sampling via Facebook did not produce a sample of adequate size, given the design of the study. A statistical power analysis using the G*Power statistical software (version 3.1.7) showed that a medium effect size of .25 for a 3 X 3 MANOVA with an alpha of .05 and power of .80 requires 24 participants in each comparison group (See below for description of how groups are formed) for a minimum of 216 total participants. After posting the status 4 times, sampling via Facebook recruited 214 total participants with the majority of the participants

falling into the full support group (n=130). In order to recruit additional participants, the survey was posted as an Amazon Mechanical Turk task (Appendix C). Users of Amazon Mechanical Turk were offered \$1 for completion of the survey, rather than being eligible for the drawing. The information page was updated to reflect this and other changes made for Mechanical Turk (Appendix D). As in the Facebook.com recruitment method, potential participants were only eligible to participate in the study if they self-identified as heterosexual, lived in the United States, and were at least 19 years of age. In order to obtain the necessary number of participants in all groups the Mechanical Turk task was posted 7 times resulting in 837 participants. Mechanical Turk workers who had previously completed the task were not eligible to complete it again. Thus, both recruitment methods resulted in a total sample size of 1051 participants.

Of the 1051 total surveys submitted, 205 were unusable. Forty participants were ineligible to participate in the study due to the following reasons: identifying as a family member of author (n=7), reporting having prior knowledge of the study (n=1), being under age 19 (n=5), or not identifying as heterosexual (n=27). The remaining unusable surveys were submitted by participants who began the study but did not complete it for unknown reasons (n=165). This resulted in a total of 846 usable surveys for the final sample.

Demographically, the final sample consisted of 428 (50.6%) participants who identified as male, 417(49.3%) who identified as female, and 0 who identified as transgender. The majority of participants (n=650, 76.8%) identified as White or Caucasian, with 68 (8%) participants identifying as Black or African-American, 56 (6.6%) as Asian or Pacific Islander, 30 (3.5%) as Hispanic and/or Latino, 18 (2.1%) as multiracial, and 4 (.5%) as Native American. The remaining 20 (2.4%) did not report their race. Educationally, 7 (.8%) participants reported having less than a High School degree, 79 (9.3%) reported having a high school degree or

equivalent, 269 (31.9%) reported having some college education, 359 (42.4%) participants reported having a bachelor-level college degree, and 131 (15.5%) reported a post-graduate degree. Participants' ages ranged from 19-72 with a mean age of 34.38 (SD=11.31). Each of these variables are described by source (i.e., Facebook or Mechanical Turk) in Tables 1 (Gender), 2 (Race), and 3 (Educational background). Table 4 also reports the means and standard deviations for participants' age, religious beliefs, and political beliefs by data source.

Table 1: Gender by Data Source

		Facebook	Mechanical Turk	Total
Male	N	50	378	428
	% within Data Source	37.0%	53.2%	50.7%
	% of males	11.7%	88.3%	100.0%
	% of total	5.9%	44.7%	50.7%
Female	N	85	332	417
	% within Data Source	63.0%	46.8%	49.3%
	% of females	20.4%	79.6%	100.0%
	% of total	10.1%	39.3%	49.3%

Table 2: Race by Data Source

		Facebook	Mechanical Turk	Total
White	N	109	541	650
	% within Data Source	80.1%	76.2%	76.8%
	% of specific race	16.8%	83.2%	100.0%
	% of total	12.9%	63.9%	76.8%
Black/African American	N	6	62	68
	% within Data Source	4.4%	8.7%	8.0%
	% of specific race	8.8%	91.2%	100.0%
	% of total	0.7%	7.3%	8.0%
Hispanic/Latino	N	3	27	30
	% within Data Source	2.2%	3.8%	3.5%
	% of specific race	10.0%	90.0%	100.0%
	% of total	0.4%	3.2%	3.5%
Asian, Pacific Islander	N	2	54	56
	% within Data Source	1.5%	7.6%	6.6%
	% of specific race	3.6%	96.4%	100.0%
	% of total	0.2%	6.4%	6.6%

Table 2 (cont.): Race By Data Source

		Facebook	Mechanical Turk	Total
Multi-racial	N	3	15	18
	% within Data Source	2.2%	2.1%	2.1%
	% of specific race	16.7%	83.3%	100.0%
	% of total	0.4%	1.8%	2.1%
Native American	N	0	4	4
	% within Data Source	-	0.6%	0.5%
	% of specific race	-	100.0%	100.0%
	% of total	-	0.5%	0.5%
Not Indicated	N	13	7	20
	% within Data Source	9.6%	1.0%	2.4%
	% of specific race	65.0%	35.0%	100.0%
	% of total	1.5%	0.8%	2.4%

Table 3: Education level by Data Source

		Facebook	Mechanical Turk	Total
Less than High School	N	0	7	7
	% within Data Source	-	1.0%	0.8%
	% of education level	-	100.0%	100.0%
	% of total	-	0.8%	0.8%
High School/Equivalent	N	0	79	79
	% within Data Source	-	11.1%	9.3%
	% of education level	-	100.0%	100.0%
	% of total	-	9.3%	9.3%
Some College	N	22	248	270
	% within Data Source	16.2%	34.9%	31.9%
	% of education level	8.1%	91.9%	100.0%
	% of total	2.6%	29.3%	31.9%
College Degree	N	56	303	359
	% within Data Source	41.2%	42.7%	42.4%
	% of education level	15.6%	84.4%	100.0%
	% of total	0.2%	6.4%	42.4%

Table 3 (cont.): Education by Data Source

Education Level		Facebook	Mechanical Turk	Total
Post Graduate Degree	N	58	73	131
	% within Data Source	42.6%	10.3%	15.5%
	% of education level	44.3%	55.7%	100.0%
	% of total	6.9%	8.6%	15.5%

Table 4: Means for Age, Political Affiliation, and Religious beliefs by Data Source

	Facebook		Mechanical Turk	
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	Standard deviation
Age	34.36	11.67	34.50	11.25
Political Affiliation	42.50 ¹	27.80	36.19	27.32
Religious Beliefs	48.32 ²	31.38	31.14	35.09

¹ On a scale ranging from 0 (conservative) to 100 (liberal) with 50 indicating “moderate.” (see Appendix O)

² On a scale ranging from 0 (non-religious) to 100 (very religious). (see Appendix O)

Pearson’s chi-square tests were completed to determine if these results are representative of the US population using the most current Census Data available, which is from 2010 (United States Census Bureau, 2013). The results of these Pearson’s chi-squares can be seen in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Results of Chi-square comparisons for Gender, Race, and Education

	χ^2	df	Asmp. Sig.
Gender	.813	1	.367
Race	549.744	6	<.001
Education	799.168	4	<.001

The results of these Pearson's chi-square tests indicate that the sample is representative of the general population related to gender, but not race or education. A break-down of participants by race variables can be seen in greater detail in Table 6 and the educational breakdown can be seen in Table 7.

Table 6: Frequencies for Race

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N	Percentage	Residual
White	650	76.8%	567.7	72%	82.3
Asian, Pacific Islander	56	6.6%	39.4	5%	16.6
Black/African American	68	8.0%	110.4	14%	-42.4
Multi-Racial	18	2.1%	23.7	3%	-5.7
Hispanic/Latino	30	3.5%	102.5	13%	-72.5
Native American	4	0.5%	1.6	.02%	2.4
Not Indicated	20	2.4%	.8	.001%	19.2

Table 7: Frequencies for Education

	Observed N	Percentage	Expected N	Percentage	Residual
Less than High School	7	0.8%	195.9	22%	-188.9
High School/Equivalent	79	9.3%	267.2	30%	-188.2
Some College	270	31.9%	151.4	17%	118.6
College Degree	359	42.4%	133.6	15%	225.4
Post-Graduate Degree	131	15.5%	98.0	11%	33.0

Measures

Measurement of Support (Appendix E). To identify participants' support style toward sexual minorities and their rights, a brief, self-report measure was created. The directions for this measure ask participants to read four statements carefully and choose which of the statements best describes their feelings regarding gay individuals. These statements represent three styles of support towards gay individuals, which are: full support (i.e., "I am supportive of gay individuals"), conditional support (i.e., "I am supportive of gay individuals, as long as they are not in-my-face about it" and "I am supportive of gay individuals, as long as they do not act on their impulses"), and non-support (i.e., "I am not supportive of gay individuals"). Participants were only allowed to select one statement and had to select a statement before continuing. Thus, participants' choices of which statement to endorse formed the basis for assignment to one of three blocked variable groups.

PANAS-X (Appendix F). To measure the negative affect of participants after the experimental manipulation (see below), the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule-Expanded Form (PANAS-X, Watson & Clark, 1994) was used. The PANAS-X is a self-report measure which uses 60 items to measure factors of emotional experience including two, broad factors,

Positive Affect (PA) and Negative Affect (NA), and discrete emotional states including Fear, Hostility, Guilt, Sadness, Joviality, Self-assurance, Attentiveness, Shyness, Fatigue, Serenity, and Surprise. (Watson & Clark). Participants endorsed with a Likert scale (1-not at all to 5-extremely) how they were feeling in the present moment. For the purposes of this study, only the overall score on NA was used.

The PANAS-X was used for multiple reasons. First, the PANAS-X is intended to be used with a variety of directions. For the purpose of this study, the “moment” directions were used which consists of the following directions “How do you feel right now (that is in the present moment?)”. In addition, the measure can be completed quickly. According to Watson and Clark (1994), the entire assessment takes less than 5 minutes to complete.

Second, it has appropriate psychometric properties for the moment directions. Watson and Clark (1994) report strong internal reliabilities for the NA ($\alpha=.85$ to $.90$) and discriminate validity of $-.05$ to $-.35$ which has been supported in additional literature (see Schmukle, Egloff, & Burns, 2002). Construct validity is high as well with statistically significant convergent validity of $.36$ for the NA. Convergent validity has been supported in additional literature (Crawford & Henry, 2004). The complete PANAS-X has been shown to be valid in computerized administration (Howell, Rodzon, Kurai, & Sanchez, 2010).

Finally, the PANAS-X is a widely used measure in research literature and has been used as a state measure multiple times in a way similar to the present study (e.g., Carver & Harmon-Jones, 2009; Pressman & Cohen, 2005). Most importantly, it has been used extensively in the study of heterosexual individual’s reactions to sexual minorities (e.g., Bernat et al, 2001; Hudepohl, Parrott, & Zeichner, 2010; Parrott, 2009; Parrott & Gallagher, 2008).

Measurement of Disgust (Appendix G). Participants' experience of the emotion disgust was measured by adapting a technique used by Horberg et al. (2009). Participants rated on a Likert scale (0-not at all to 6-a great deal) the extent they experienced each of these feelings: "grossed-out," "disgusted," or "queasy, sick to my stomach." These scores were then averaged to determine an overall disgust score. Horberg et al. found high reliability ($\alpha=.85$) in using these terms to explore state disgust.

Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale (Appendix H). To measure participants' willingness to endorse negative statements towards gay men, Herek's (1988) Attitudes Toward Gay Men scale (ATG) scale was used. The ATG is a subscale to the Attitudes Toward Gay Men and Lesbians scale created by Herek (1994). It consists of 10 questions focusing on attitudes heterosexual individuals have toward gay men (e.g., "Male homosexuality is a perversion."). Participants endorse these items on a Likert scale (1-strongly agree to 5-strongly disagree). Some items are reverse scored (Herek, 1994). This scale was chosen because of its extensive use within the sexual prejudice literature, where it has been used in multiple descriptive and experimental studies as a way of identifying individuals with negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (e.g., Hudepohl, Parrott, & Zeichner, 2010; Tally & Bettencourt, 2008). Only the ATG subscale was used for this study as the manipulation involved only gay men. A yes or no question regarding homosexuality as a sin was added to this measure, although this question was not scored with the rest of the ATG.

The ATG was also chosen for its appropriate psychometric properties. Herek (1994), reports a high degree of internal consistency with a coefficient alpha of .91. This finding was supported in additional research by Rye and Meaney (2010). Rye and Meaney also found the ATG to have high convergent validity with other measures of sexual prejudice, the Index of

Homophobia (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980) and the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). It has also been found to have good discriminant validity from other constructs such as sexual conservatism (Rye & Meaney).

Measurement of contact (Appendix I). In order to measure participants' personal contacts with sexual minorities, a technique used by Herek and Capitano (1996) was adapted. Participants were asked if, to the best of their knowledge, someone they know identifies as non-heterosexual (defined as gay, lesbian, bisexual, questioning, transgender and/or queer). Participants who answered "yes" to this question were then asked to indicate the number of relationships which exist in 4 categories: immediate family, other family, close friends, or other (i.e., other relationships that were not included in the previous categories). Participants who answered "no," indicating that, to the best of their knowledge, they did not have any relationships with non-heterosexual individuals were not asked any additional questions about relationships with non-heterosexual individuals.

Stimulus Materials

Paragraph (Appendix J). The paragraph used in this research was created by the principle investigator and edited based on feedback from the doctoral advisory committee. The purpose of this paragraph was twofold. First, it served as a rationale for the images that participants were shown. Second, it was intended to assist in obscuring the true purpose of the images which were used (as the manipulation). It was written with the goal of creating a narrative with a neutral description of the debate related to gay individuals and their rights. The paragraph was written in this way so that it was consistent with the images shown, while also not compromising the design of the research by influencing participants' affect, disgust, or attitudes towards gay individuals. It was written with ease of reading in mind and, according to the

Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level test provided with Microsoft Word 2010, it is at approximately an 8th grade reading level.

Images (Appendix K). The four images used in the manipulation conditions of this research were found doing an image search on sutterstock.com for the following search terms: “gay kiss,” “gay pride”, and “gay pride parade” and purchased for use after committee approval. These particular images were chosen because they depict behaviors which the literature has suggested are primary sources of discomfort (public displays of affection and advocacy efforts) for individuals who express a lack of support or conditional support toward gay individuals. There were also two control images, which were obtained through Microsoft Word’s clipart. They were chosen for their consistency with the subject matter of the paragraph, and for their lack of direct relation to sexual minorities and their rights.

Procedure

Table 8 below outlines the design of the experiment.

Table 8: Experimental Design			
	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	Full Support	Conditional-Support	Nonsupport
PDA			
A	Negative Affect	Negative Affect	Negative Affect
B	Disgust	Disgust	Disgust
C	Negative Statements	Negative Statements	Negative Statements
Pride Parade			
D	Negative Affect	Negative Affect	Negative Affect
E	Disgust	Disgust	Disgust
F	Negative Statements	Negative Statements	Negative Statements
Control (Neutral)			
G	Negative Affect	Negative Affect	Negative Affect
H	Disgust	Disgust	Disgust
I	Negative Statements	Negative Statements	Negative Statements

Upon agreeing to participate in the study after reading the information page (Appendix B), participants recruited through Facebook were taken to a page which asked them four questions to determine if they were eligible to participate in the study (Appendix M). If they were ineligible to participate, they were taken to a page informing them of their ineligibility, thanking them for their time, and asking them to please share the study with others (Appendix N). If they were eligible, they were then taken to a page which asked them to report their demographic information: including race, education, gender, political beliefs, and religious beliefs. This demographic information form can be found in Appendix N. Participants were asked to complete the measurement of support, indicating which phrase best describes their own style of support toward gay individuals. As previously described, in completing this part of the

study participants were self-selecting into one of three categories: full support (i.e., “I am supportive of gay individuals”), nonsupport (i.e., “I am not supportive of gay individuals”), or conditional support (i.e., “I am supportive of gay individuals, as long as they are not in my face about it” or “I am supportive of gay individuals as long as they do not act on their impulses”).

Upon completion of the measurement of support, all participants were randomly assigned to one of three groups for the manipulation portion of the study. All participants were asked to read the brief description of recent events in the gay rights movement. For participants in Group 1, the description was accompanied by two images of gay public displays of affection. For participants in Group 2, the description of the gay rights movement was accompanied by two images of a gay pride parade. For participants in Group 3, the description was accompanied by two images judged by the author and his doctoral committee to be neutral with regard to gay rights. In each case, the images were strategically located just above and below the material to be read, so that it was highly unlikely that the paragraph could be read with no awareness of the images (See Appendix K). Participants were instructed to read the description carefully and click the “next” button.

Upon clicking the “next” button, participants were asked to complete the PANAS-X with moment directions. Participants then completed the measure of state disgust. Upon completion of this, participants then completed the ATG to measure willingness to endorse negative statements toward gay males. Participants were then asked to complete the contact form, which measured level of contact. Participants were then taken to a final page thanking them for their participation, inviting them to participate in the voluntary drawing, and asking them to please pass the survey on to additional potential participants. In total, 86 participants recruited through Facebook participated in the voluntary drawing.

Participants recruited via Mechanical Turk followed a nearly identical manner of completing the survey aside from some minor changes. One of these changes included the elimination of two of the eligibility questions, “Are you a family member of Ty Stafford?” and “Before seeing it on Facebook, did you have direct knowledge of the nature of this specific study” (Appendix P). Additionally, as participation in the study was incentivized through offering \$1 payment for successful completion, the option to participate in the voluntary drawing was eliminated. Instead, upon successful completion of the survey participants were given a randomly generated, 8-digit code which they then input into Amazon Mechanical Turk to confirm their successful completion of the survey. All other aspects of the survey remained the same.

V. Results

Participant Support Styles

Of the 846 usable surveys, 602 (71.2%) participants indicated that they were fully supportive of gay individuals, 83 (9.8%) indicated that they were not supportive of gay individuals, and 161 (19%) indicated they were conditionally supportive of gay individuals (“I am supportive of gay individuals, as long as they are not in my face about it.” n=139; “I am supportive of gay individuals as long as they do not act on their impulses.” n=22). Table 9 outlines these groups by support group and source (i.e., Facebook & Mechanical Turk). Table 10 outlines these groups by source, image group, and support group.

Table 9: Support Style by Sample Source

Data Source		Full Support	Conditional Support	Nonsupport	Total
Facebook	N	91	38	7	136
	% within Data Source	66.9%	27.9%	5.1%	100.0%
	% within Support Style	15.1%	23.6%	8.4%	16.1%
	% of Total n	10.8%	4.5%	0.8%	16.1%
Mechanical Turk	N	511	123	76	710
	% within Data Source	72.0%	17.3%	10.7%	100.0%
	% within Support Style	84.9%	76.4%	91.6%	83.9%
	% of Total n	60.4%	14.5%	9.0%	83.9%
Total	N	602	161	83	846
	% of Total n	71.2%	19.0%	9.8%	100.0%

Table 10: Image Group by Support Style and Source

Image	Support Style		Facebook	Mechanical Turk	Total
Neutral	Full Support	N	29	169	198
		% within data source	69.0%	71.6%	71.2%
		% with image group	14.6%	85.4%	100%
	Conditional Support	N	10	39	49
		% within data source	23.8%	16.5%	17.6%
		% with image group	20.4%	79.6%	100.0%
	Nonsupport	N	3	28	31
		% within data source	7.1%	11.9%	11.2%
		% with image group	9.7%	90.3%	100.0%
	Total		N	42	236
PDA	Full Support	N	28	174	202
		% within data source	62.2%	74.0%	72.1%
		% with image group	13.9%	86.1%	100%
	Conditional Support	N	16	37	53
		% within data source	35.6%	15.7%	18.9%
		% with image group	30.2%	69.8%	100%
	Nonsupport	N	3	28	31
		% within Data source	7.1%	11.9%	11.2%
		% with image group	9.7%	90.3%	100%
	Total		N	45	235
Parade	Full Support	N	34	168	202
		% within data source	69.4%	70.3%	70.1%
		% with image group	16.8%	83.2%	100%
	Conditional Support	N	12	47	59
		% within data source	24.5%	19.7%	20.5%
		% with image group	20.3%	79.7%	100%
	Nonsupport	N	3	24	27
		% within Data source	6.1%	10.0%	9.4%
		% with image group	11.1%	88.9%	100%
	Total		N	49	239

As previously stated, there were 165 participants who did not complete the full survey and were unusable. Although these participants are not included in the overall analysis, it is still enlightening to explore aspects of these participants related to the support style they selected. Eighty-seven of these participants stopped taking the survey before selecting a support style. Of the remaining 78 participants, 42 (6.5% of total full support participants) selected the full support statement, 28 (14.8% of total conditional support participants) selected a conditional support statement (“I am supportive of gay individuals, as long as they are not in my face about it,” n=24; or “I am supportive of gay individuals as long as they do not act on their impulses,” n=3), and 8 (8.8% of total nonsupport participants) selected the nonsupport statement. A Pearson’s chi-square test was completed which indicated that these drop-out rates were not equal (differed from chance) across the three categories of support ($p < .005$). These results are summarized in Table 11 below.

Support Style	N	Percentage of dropouts by category
Full Support	42	6.5%
Conditional Support	28	14.8%
Nonsupport	8	8.8%
χ^2	df	Asymp. Sig
13.018	2	< .005

Of the 78 participants who stopped the survey after selecting a support style, 43 stopped before or during the manipulation. Thus, if they were shown an image, that data was not recorded before they stopped the survey. The remaining 35 participants who moved forward in the survey consisted of 14 who were shown the Neutral images, 14 who were shown the images of non-heterosexual PDA, and 7 who were shown the images of a gay pride parade. A Pearson’s

chi-square test was completed which indicated that these drop-out rates were not significantly different from chance as a function of condition ($p = .335$). Table 12 below gives a summary of these results by support style. The majority of these participants (33 of 35) ceased the survey during the PANAS-X.

Table 12: Image group drop-outs by Support Style

Support Style	Images Shown	N	Percentage
Full Support	Neutral	9	33.3%
	PDA	12	44.4%
	Parade	6	22.2%
	Total	27	100%
Conditional Support	Neutral	5	62.5%
	PDA	2	25.0%
	Parade	1	12.5%
	Total	8	100%
Nonsupport	Neutral	0	-
	PDA	0	-
	Parade	0	-
	Total	0	-
Total	Neutral	14	40.0%
	PDA	14	40.0%
	Parade	7	20.0%
	Total	35	100%
Pearson's Chi-Square	χ^2	df	Asymp. Sig
	2.188	2	.335

Reliability of Measures

Cronbach's Alpha was used to examine the internal consistency reliability of each of the measures used. For the PANAS-X, high reliability is found with an estimate of $\alpha=.92$. This is consistent with levels found by Watson and Clark (1994), who found levels ranging from $\alpha = .85$ to $\alpha = .90$. The Measurement of Disgust also had high internal reliability ($\alpha=.93$), similar to

levels found by its authors ($\alpha=.85$; Horberg et al., 2009). The ATG showed high internal reliability in this sample as well ($\alpha=.87$), which is consistent with Herek (1994) and other past research (Rye & Meaney, 2010).

Initial Analysis

Given the large discrepancies in group sizes, it was not unexpected that homogeneity of covariance would be violated for statistical analysis. This was confirmed by Box's test ($p < .001$) when a 3 X 3 MANOVA was completed with all data. As suggested by Field (2013), data was removed from the sample randomly via SPSS until there were equal group sizes of 24 participants in each manipulation group with 72 total participants for each of the 3 support categories. A description of responses of these selected participants by support style and image group can be found in Table 11. The demographic information of this final data group can be found in Table 12.

Table 13: Description of Variables by Support Style and Image Group

Variable	Support Style	Image Group	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Negative Affect ¹	Full Support	Neutral	11.63	2.63
		PDA	12.88	4.50
		Parade	13.46	6.30
		Total	12.65	4.71
	Conditional Support	Neutral	12.96	4.18
		PDA	12.80	5.16
		Parade	14.00	6.35
		Total	13.25	5.25
	Nonsupport	Neutral	12.21	4.08
		PDA	12.67	3.68
		Parade	14.13	5.00
		Total	13.00	4.31
Disgust ²	Full Support	Neutral	1.39	0.99
		PDA	1.49	0.98
		Parade	1.44	1.24
		Total	1.44	1.06
	Conditionally Support	Neutral	1.81	1.32
		PDA	1.76	0.92
		Parade	1.53	0.97
		Total	1.70	1.07
	Nonsupport	Neutral	2.82	1.86
		PDA	4.03	1.68
		Parade	3.90	2.32
		Total	3.58	2.02

Willingness to endorse negative statements ³	Full Support	Neutral	37.67	2.26
		PDA	35.96	3.46
		Parade	36.92	2.72
		Total	36.85	2.90
	Conditionally Support	Neutral	32.13	4.19
		PDA	32.88	4.07
		Parade	31.13	4.46
	Nonsupport	Neutral	26.46	4.65
		PDA	24.75	2.74
		Parade	24.33	4.02
		Total	25.18	3.94

¹ As measured by the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule- Expanded Form (Appendix F)

² As measured by the measurement of Disgust (Appendix G)

³ As measured by the Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale (Appendix H)

Table 14: Demographics of Final Data

Demographic	<i>N</i>	Percentage
Gender		
Male	123	56.9
Female	93	43.1
Race		
White	149	69.0
Asian, Pacific Islander	22	10.2
Black/African American	21	9.7
Mutli-racial	8	3.7
Hispanic/Latino	7	3.2
Native American	2	.9
Not Indicated	7	3.2
Education		
College Degree	92	42.6
Some College	61	28.2
Post-Graduate Degree	33	15.3
High School or Equivalent	26	12.0
Less than High School	4	1.9
Source		
Mechanical Turk	178	82.4
Facebook	38	17.6
Age		
Ranged from 19-67 ($M=36.13$, $SD=11.44$)		
Political Beliefs¹		
$M= 51.033$, $SD=28.72$		
Religious Beliefs²		
$M= 46.30$, $SD= 38.20$		

¹ On a scale ranging from 0 (conservative) to 100 (liberal) with 50 indicating “moderate.” (Appendix N)

² On a scale ranging from 0 (non-religious) to 100 (very religious). (Appendix N)

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 stated: *exposure to images of gay PDA or a gay pride parade will produce more negative reactions than exposure to neutral images in participants who endorse a*

conditional support statement. To test the components of this hypothesis a 3 (endorsed statement) X 3 (image group) MANOVA was used. Hypothesis 1 contained four components and they are described individually below.

Hypothesis 1.a. Hypothesis 1.a stated: *there will be a main effect in which participants who endorse the nonsupport statement will have significantly greater negative reactions than those who endorse the full support statement or a conditional support statement.*

The results of the 3 X 3 MANOVA can be seen in Table 13 and indicates that there was a significant difference among participants as a function of support style, Pillai's Trace $V = .709$ $F(6,420)=37.744$ $p < .001$. This is supportive of the predictions of Hypotheses 1.a related to group differences.

Table 15: Results of Statistical Analysis for Hypothesis 1

MANOVA Results			
	Pillais' trace	F	<i>P</i>
Support Style (A)	.709	37.69	<.001
Image (B)	.050	1.75	.109
Interaction between Support Style & Image (AB)	.063	1.11	.349
Univariate (ANOVA) Results for Support Style (A)			
	<i>Welch's F</i>	DF	<i>P</i>
Negative Affect	.264	2, 141.091	.768
Disgust	32.360	2, 135.221	<.001
Willingness to endorse negative statements	204.657	2, 137.757	<.001

To more specifically explore what differences in individual outcome variables exist, separate univariate ANOVAs were completed, the results of which can also be seen in Table 13 above. The ANOVAs indicated that there were no significant differences related to negative affect, *Welch's F*(2, 141.091) = .264 $p = .768$, among the three groups. However, significant differences between groups were found for experienced disgust, *Welch's F*(2, 135.221) = 32.360

$p < .001$, and willingness to endorse negative statements regarding gay individuals, *Welch's F*(2, 137.757)=204.657, $p < .001$. Post-Hoc analysis using *Bonferroni* indicated that participants in the nonsupport group reported experiencing greater disgust than did individuals in the full support group ($p < .001$) and greater disgust than individuals in the conditional support group ($p < .001$). Non-supportive participants were also significantly more likely to endorse negative statements toward gay individuals than were individuals in the full support group ($p < .001$) and individuals in the conditional supportive group ($p < .001$). These results indicate a partial support of Hypothesis 1.a with participants who endorsed the nonsupport statement having significantly greater negative reactions for 2 of the 3 variables (i.e., experienced disgust and willingness to endorse negative statements toward gay individuals).

Hypothesis 1.b. Hypothesis 1.b states: *There will be a main effect in which participants who endorse a conditional support statement will have significantly greater negative reactions than will those who endorse the full support statement.* The above reported results of the 3 X 3 MANOVA indicated that there was a significant difference among participants as a function of reported support type. This is also broadly supportive of Hypothesis 1.b. As also reported above, the results of the completed univariate ANOVAs indicated a significant difference between groups related to reported disgust and willingness to endorse negative statements toward gay individuals. Post-Hoc analysis using *Bonferroni* indicated that participants who endorsed a conditional support statement were significantly more likely to endorse negative statements toward gay individuals than were individuals in the full support group ($p < .001$). They were not significantly more likely to indicate experiencing disgust than individuals in the support category ($p = .859$). This indicates only partial support of Hypothesis 1.b with only 1 of the 3 (willingness to endorse negative statements) possible negative reactions being significant.

Hypothesis 1.c. Hypothesis 1.c stated: *these main effects* (described in Hypothesis 1.a and 1.b) *will be moderated by an interaction. Specifically:*

- i. Participants who endorse a conditional support statement or the non-support statement will demonstrate more negative reactions when exposed to images of PDA or a gay pride parade than will those participants who endorse the full support statement.*
- ii. Participants who endorse the nonsupport statement will demonstrate more negative reactions when exposed to images of PDA or a gay pride parade than those who endorse the conditional support statement.*

The 3 X 3 MANOVA indicated that the predicted interaction between support style and image seen did not result in a significant difference between participants' negative reactions, Pillai's Trace $V = .063$ $F(12, 621) = 1.109$ $p = .349$. This does not support an interaction between the type of support endorsed and manipulation and thus Hypothesis 1.c (i & ii) was not supported.

Hypothesis 1.d. Hypothesis 1.d stated: *The pattern of more negative reactions for exposure to images of PDA or a gay pride parade will be more pronounced, in comparison to control, for participants who endorsed the nonsupport statement than the conditional support statement.*

Similar to Hypothesis 1.c, the 3 X 3 MANOVA indicated there was not a significant difference in outcomes between support groups related to the manipulation alone, Pillai's trace $V = .050$ $F(6, 412) = 1.75$ $p = .109$. This indicates a lack of support for Hypothesis 1.d.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 states: *Participants who endorse the nonsupport statement, when compared to participants who endorse the full support statement, will be significantly more likely to (a) be male, (b) hold conservative political beliefs, (c) report higher religious affiliation, and (d) report little contact with sexual minorities.* To test Hypothesis 2, a binary logistical regression was completed looking at the relationship between selected support style (nonsupport versus full support) and the variables of gender, political beliefs, religious affiliation, and contact with sexual minorities. Although no predictions were made about other variables, age, race, and level of education were also included in this regression. Table 14 below contains the results of this analysis.

Individuals who reported more conservative political beliefs were significantly more likely to indicate they were non-supportive of gay individuals rather than fully supportive, $b = .05$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 20.20$ $p < .001$ (Hypothesis 2.b). Participants who reported more religious affiliation were also more likely to endorse the nonsupportive statement over the full support statement, $b = .03$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 15.66$ $p < .001$ (Hypothesis 2.c). Additionally, participants who reported no contact with sexual minorities were more likely to endorse the nonsupport statement over the full support statement, $b = 2.81$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 11.91$ $p < .005$ (Hypothesis 2.d). Gender was not found to have a significant relationship, indicating failure to support the Hypothesis 2.a. The demographic variables of age, race, and education level did not show any significant differences between the full support and nonsupport categories.

To confirm these results a backwards elimination binary logistical regression was completed. Demographic variables which indicated greater likelihood of endorsing nonsupport over full support were more conservative political beliefs ($b = .06$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 22.59$ $p < .001$),

higher religious affiliation ($b = .03$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 15.98$ $p < .001$), and less contact with sexual minorities ($b = 2.70$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 11.71$ $p < .005$) supporting Hypotheses 2.b, 2.c, and 2.d. Gender was not shown to be a significant predictor, indicating a failure to support Hypothesis 2.a. The other demographic variables of age, race, and education level did not show any significant differences between the full support and nonsupport categories. The results of this analysis are also shown in Table 14 below.

Table 16: Results of Logistic Regressions for Hypothesis 2

	Null Model		Full Model		Restricted Model		
	% Classified Correctly	% Classified Correctly	χ^2	R^2	% Classified Correctly	χ^2	R^2
	50.7	83.1	103.48	.69	85.20	100.11	0.68
Variable	B	Odds ratio	Wald		B	Odds ratio	Wald
Gender	-0.73	00.20	1.64		-	-	-
Political beliefs	0.05	01.06	20.20**		0.06	01.06	22.59**
Religious affiliation	0.03	01.03	15.66**		0.03	01.03	15.98**
Contact	2.81	16.54	11.91*		2.70	14.82	11.72*
Age	0.03	01.02	01.70		-	-	-
Race	-0.20	00.35	00.87		-	-	-
Education Level	-0.03	00.97	00.01		-	-	-

* $p < .005$; ** $p < .001$;

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 stated: *Participants who endorse a conditional support statement, when compared to participants who endorse the nonsupport statement, will be significantly more likely (a) less religious affiliation, (b) report greater contact with sexual minorities, and (c) report greater educational achievement.* To test Hypothesis 3 a binary logistical regression was completed as well. The results of this analysis are in Table 15 below. The results indicated that individuals who reported more religious affiliation were significantly more likely to endorse one of the conditional support statements than the nonsupportive statement, $b = .02$ Wald $\chi^2(1) =$

12.31 $p < .001$ (Hypothesis 3.a). Amount of contact and education did not show any significant difference between the conditionally supportive and non-supportive groups, indicating a lack of support for Hypotheses 3.b and 3.c. No predictions had been made about the relationship between conditional support and the variables of gender, political beliefs, age, and race. However, these were also entered into the regression and a significant relationship was found with political beliefs. Individuals who held more liberal political beliefs were significantly more likely to select a conditionally supportive statement than the non-supportive statement, $b = .02$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 8.31$ $p < .005$. The demographic variables of gender, age, and race did not show any significant differences between the two groups.

To confirm these results, a backwards elimination binary logistical regression was completed, the results of which can be found in Table 15 below. The results of this analysis run counter to Hypothesis 3.a, indicating that individuals who hold more religious affiliation are significantly more likely to endorse a conditional support statement over the nonsupport statement, $b = .02$ Wald $\chi^2(1) = 12.65$ $p < .001$. Amount of contact and education did not show any significant difference between the conditional support and nonsupport groups, indicating a lack of support for Hypotheses 3.b and 3.c. Additionally, the demographic variables of gender, age, race, and political beliefs did not show any significant difference between the conditional support and non-support groups.

Table 17: Results of Logistic Regressions for Hypothesis 3

	Null Model		Full Model		Restricted Model		
	% Classified Correctly	% Classified Correctly	χ^2	R^2	% Classified Correctly	χ^2	R^2
	50.4	72.3	41.67	.34	70.9	3.25	0.31
Variable	B	Odds ratio	<i>Wald</i>	B	Odds ratio	<i>Wald</i>	
Gender	0.45	1.57	01.08	-	-	-	
Political beliefs	0.02	1.02	08.31*	-	-	-	
Religious affiliation	0.02	1.02	12.31**	0.02	1.02	12.65**	
Contact	0.72	2.05	02.49	-	-	-	
Age	-0.04	0.96	01.84	-	-	-	
Race	-0.05	0.95	01.12	-	-	-	
Education Level	-0.08	0.92	00.12	-	-	-	

* $p < .005$; ** $p < .001$;

Additional Analysis

To further explore the relationship between religion and conditional support found in Hypotheses 3, additional analysis was completed. As mentioned previously, the statement “Homosexuality is a sin” was included in the survey after the last question of the ATG (Appendix H). A Pearson’s Chi-Square was completed which indicated there was a significant difference ($p < .001$) between support styles and agreement with the phrase “Homosexuality is a sin.” The majority (92.4%) of participants in the full support category disagreed with this statement, while a much smaller majority (60.9%) of the conditional supportive participants and a minority (9.6%) of the nonsupport group disagreed. The results of this analysis are further summarized in Table 18 below.

Table 18: Endorsement of “Homosexuality is a Sin”

		Agree	Disagree	Total
Full Support	N	46	556	602
	Percentage	7.6%	92.4%	100%
Conditional Support	N	63	98	161
	Percentage	39.1%	60.9%	100%
Nonsupport	N	75	8	83
	Percentage	90.4%	9.6%	100%
Total	N	184	662	846
	Percentage	21.7%	78.3%	100.0%
Pearson’s Chi-Square				
	χ^2	df	Asymp. Sig	
	2.188	2	.335	

Summary of Findings

In summary, 846 usable surveys were submitted with 602 participants indicating they were fully supportive of gay individuals, 83 indicating they were not supportive, and 161 indicating they were conditionally supportive. Because of the large discrepancies in these group sizes, data was removed randomly from the sample resulting in a total of 24 participants in each image group for each of the 3 support categories. In order to explore Hypothesis 1, a 3 X 3 MANOVA was completed. This analysis showed support Hypothesis 1.a. Specifically, it indicated that there was a significant difference in the dependent variables of negative affect, reported disgust, and willingness to endorse negative statements toward gay individuals between participants in the 3 support groups. Separate univariate ANOVAs with post-hoc analysis using *Bonferroni* were completed which indicated that individuals in the nonsupport group were significantly more likely to report experiencing disgust and greater willingness to endorse negative statements than the other two groups. Experienced negative affect was not found to be

significantly different between these three groups. Hypothesis 1.b, was partially supported by the above analysis as well, as the completed univariate ANOVAs with post-hoc analysis indicated that participants in the conditional support category were significantly more likely to endorse negative statements toward gay individuals than were participants in the full support category. Experienced negative affect and disgust were not found to be significantly different between these two groups. Hypothesis 1.c and 1.d were not supported by the analysis, indicating that there was not a significant difference between any of the groups related to the images to which they were exposed.

Hypothesis 2 was tested initially with a binary logistical regression, which indicated that individuals in the nonsupport category were significantly more likely to be religious, politically conservative, and report no contact with sexual minorities than were individuals who endorsed the full support statement, supporting Hypotheses 2.b, 2.c, and 2.d respectively. There was not a significant difference between male and female participants in selecting support style, indicating a failure to support Hypothesis 2.a. Other demographic variables were also not found to have significant differences between these two groups. The results of this regression were confirmed by a backwards elimination regression.

Hypothesis 3 was tested in an identical method using a binary logistical regression. This analysis showed a significant difference between the conditional support group and the nonsupport group in that conditionally supportive individuals reported greater religious affiliation. This is counter to Hypothesis 3.a. Contact with sexual minorities and education level were not found to be significantly different between these two groups, thus failing to support Hypotheses 3.b and 3.c. Additionally, individuals who indicated more liberal political beliefs were found to be significantly more likely to endorse a conditionally supportive statement over

the nonsupportive. Other demographic variables did not indicate significant differences between these groups. A backwards elimination regression supported the results of the initial analysis by indicating that conditionally supportive participants endorsed significantly more religious affiliation (Hypothesis 3.a) than nonsupportive participants. Yet, the backwards elimination regression did not indicate a significant relationship between support group and liberal political affiliation. All other demographic variables did not indicate significant differences between these groups. Additional analysis also indicated that individuals who endorsed the conditional support category were more likely to agree with the statement “Homosexuality is a sin” than individuals in the full support category.

VI. Discussion

This study investigated the phenomenon of conditional support toward gay individuals by heterosexual individuals. Past research related to support of gay individuals has focused primarily on overtly negative (Ahmad & Bhugra, 2010) or overtly positive attitudes (Stozer, 2009; Wilkson & Sagrin, 2010) held by heterosexual individuals and demographic predictors of these positions. Yet, popular conversation related to gay individuals and other sexual minorities features examples of alleged support by heterosexual individuals which requires conditions of silence or behavioral restriction for this support to exist. Examples of this conditional support include statements such as “As long as they are not in my face about it.” The study sought to identify individuals who endorse this conditional support and determine how these individuals compare on three variables (i.e., negative affect, experienced disgust, willingness to endorse negative statements toward gay individuals) to individuals who endorse non-support or support toward gay individuals when exposed to certain types of gay behavior. It also sought to identify which demographic characteristics are associated with endorsement of a conditional support statement or a nonsupport statement.

The primary research question of this study, Hypothesis 1, predicted that exposure to images of a gay pride parade or public display of affection by two men would result in higher negative reactions by participants who endorsed a conditional support statement or the nonsupport statement than participants who endorsed the full support statement. This hypothesis was not supported in the analysis. However, some important significant findings were

discovered. The results indicated that individuals in the conditional support group are less willing to endorse negative statements toward gay individuals and experience less disgust than do participants in the nonsupport group. They also indicated that participants in the conditional support group were more likely to endorse negative statements toward gay individuals than those in the full support group. These findings imply that there are distinct differences between the three experimental groups and lend credence to the existence of conditional support. Further supporting the existence of this category is the willingness of 161 (19%) individuals to select a statement of conditional support rather than the support or nonsupport statements.

An additional hypothesis from this study, Hypothesis 2, sought to confirm the findings of previous research which indicated that individuals who are nonsupportive of gay individuals are more likely to be male, have conservative political beliefs, report high religious affiliation, and report limited or no contact with sexual minorities. Conservative political beliefs, high religious affiliation, and less contact were all shown to have a significant relationship with participants endorsing the nonsupport statement. While these results related to contact, political beliefs, and religious affiliation are consistent with past research (see Finaly & Walther, 2003; Pettigrew, 1998; Stones, 2006), the absence of significant results related to gender (Herek, 2002; Matharu, et al 2012) are not consistent with past research. This inconsistency with past research could be caused by a variety of factors including a possible overall shift in demographic variables that are predictive of non-supportive attitudes, resulting in gender no longer having as significant an impact. This shift could be caused by a change in the way men are socialized, with an understanding of masculinity that allows for greater acceptance of gay men and/or one that is more similar to the way women are socialized related to gay men.

Similarly, Hypothesis 3 predicted that individuals who endorsed a conditional support statement would be more likely to report having less religious affiliation, greater contact with sexual minorities, and greater educational achievement than those who endorsed the nonsupport statement. While little research exists on conditional support, this hypothesis was theorized based on related research on support toward sexual minorities (e.g., Baunach et al, 2010; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). However, only religious affiliation was found to have a significant relationship with individuals choosing a conditional support statement over the nonsupport statement and in the opposite direction of what was predicted. Higher religious endorsement resulted in being more likely to choose a conditional support statement over the nonsupport statement.

The additional analysis completed related to the question of “sin” may shed some light on this phenomena. This analysis indicated that participants who endorsed a conditional support statement were more likely to agree with the statement “Homosexuality is a sin” than those in the full support category. This could indicate that individuals who are conditionally supportive are more likely to feel that supporting sexual minorities must come with conditions because of the perceived immorality of non-heterosexual actions and relationships. Consistent with previous research (see Rosik, Griffith and Cruz, 2007), a religious belief such as “love the sinner, hate the sin” would likely give rise to conditional support as it necessitates individuals being generally supportive of others, but not necessarily their actions. If a religion encourages this type of belief combined with the idea that sexual orientation is a choice (and non-heterosexual identity an immoral choice) then it is not hard to see how conditional support could be fostered. This is further supported by the results which indicate that the overwhelming majority of participants in the nonsupport category (90.4%) agreed that homosexual is a sin, while the overwhelming

majority (92.4%) of participants in the full support category disagreed. Further research focused on this type of religious belief would likely provide key insight into conditional support.

The above inconsistency of these results with past research could also be due to a limitation of this study. As previously discussed, research has shown that religious fundamentalism is significantly associated with nonsupport (Altemyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Finlay & Walther, 2003), while more liberal religious beliefs are not and may even predict full support (Finlay & Walther, Whitley Jr., 2009). As the question used to measure religion in this study was limited to a slider moving from 0 (“Non-Religious”) to 100 (“Very Religious”), it was incapable of determining the nature of participants’ religious beliefs. Therefore, participants who answer similarly regarding the level of their religiousness may hold very different beliefs regarding gay men and their rights. As the religious beliefs are numerous and diverse even within a single religion, a more specific and nuanced way of measuring and understanding religion is needed in order determine the relationship between religion and conditional support.

An additional finding of this research is that there are more people within the sample group who endorse the full support statement (n=602, 71.2%) than those who endorse a conditional support statement (N=161, 19%). Similarly, there are more individuals who endorsed a conditional support statement than those who endorsed the nonsupport statement (n=83, 9.8%). This could be the result of multiple factors. As individuals self-selected into these groups it is possible that social desirability played a role in the type of statement that participants endorse. As overall attitudes toward sexual minorities have become less negative (Pew Research Center, 2014; Gallop 2012), it is probable that some heterosexual individuals feel less comfortable endorsing nonsupportive or conditionally supportive statements, even when survey results are anonymous. This may have resulted in greater numbers of individuals whose beliefs

fall into conditional support to endorse the full support statement and individuals whose beliefs are in the nonsupportive category to endorse the conditional support or full support statements. As all measures are self-report, social-desirability likely played a role in responses to all other measures, and may have led to individuals under reporting negative reactions they experienced to the manipulations and over reporting their level of comfort. The addition of measures that go beyond self-report would strengthen results of future studies.

The method used for determining support type has other limitations as well. As individuals self-select into these categories, it is probable that individuals who hold conditionally supportive attitudes self-selected into the full support category because they self-identify in this way, even if their thoughts, reactions, and behaviors are not consistent with full support. It would not be unexpected that conditionally supportive individuals may not be aware of their own biases and beliefs which prevent them from being fully supportive of gay individuals and thus may be poor judges of their support style. Likewise, because of this diversity in awareness two individuals holding nearly identical attitudes may chose different support styles. Additionally, it could be a contributing factor in the large number of individuals who endorsed the support statement. The potential for this problem could be diminished with the creation and validation of a measure of support which allows for a larger and broader selection of statements which are then scored and support style determined based on endorsement of these statements. This method would allow for a considerably more accurate exploration of conditional support.

It is also possible that using Facebook and Mechanical Turk as sample sources contributed to this higher percentage of supportive participants, as individuals who use these services may be as a whole more supportive of gay individuals. This is consistent with research that has demonstrated that Mechanical Turk workers tend to be more politically liberal than the

general population (Berinsky, Huber, & Lenz, 2012). Individuals in the conditional support category were found to be more likely to cease taking the study than other support types, which may have been caused by discomfort, disinterest, or another emotion they felt during the survey. This dropout is a limitation as it means results from a certain segment of participants in the conditional support category were not collected. It is also possible that individuals who are conditionally supportive or non-supportive of sexual minorities may not have elected to participate in the study at all due to discomfort with the subject matter, outright hostility, beliefs that researchers are “liberal,” or simple indifference. This would be consistent with research that shows that, in general, individuals who volunteer for research tend to be more liberal, educated, and willing to self-disclose (Kazdin, 2003). It is similarly possible that participants recruited via Facebook who were conditionally supportive or non-supportive did not share the study with others due to discomfort or disagreement with the study’s subject matter. This could potentially have further limited potential participants from these categories in the sample retrieved via Facebook. Using the principle investigators friend group as a convenience sample is an additional limitation as participants who know the principle researcher may have been more or less inclined to participate and/or participate accurately because of their existing relationship with the principle investigator.

Facebook participation may have been also been limited when compared to Mechanical Turk by the less guaranteed nature of the compensation. Mechanical Turk participants were guaranteed compensation of \$1 for their participation, while Facebook users were given the opportunity to participate in a drawing that had a chance of compensation. Nevertheless, both subject pools received some type of compensation for their participation and this may have had an effect on the way in which they participated. For instance, as Mechanical Turk participants’

compensation was dependent on the principle researcher approving the payment after the survey had been completed, participants may have answered the survey in ways they thought would guarantee payment (i.e., give the researcher what they think he wants). This could have resulted in participants responding to the measures inaccurately due to answering how they mistakenly believed they were “supposed to” respond, rather than reporting their actual reactions. Likewise, Facebook participants may have mistakenly believed that certain responses would improve their chances of compensation through the drawing.

Multiple factors may have contributed to the lack of significant findings related to the manipulation used in this study (i.e., images shown). First, it is possible that the manipulation was not strong enough to elicit significant difference in participants’ experienced affect, disgust, and willingness to endorse negative statements. Had participants been exposed to video of PDA or a gay pride parade it is possible that reactions may have been more significant. Relative distance from the events occurring in the images may also have contributed to a lack in results. As individuals completed the survey in a setting of their choosing, it is possible that the comfort of being in one’s own home or other familiar setting diminished any negative reactions that occurred from viewing the images. Additionally, it is possible that images of non-heterosexual PDA and gay pride events have become more common place in the past several years, contributing to a lack of reaction from participants. If participants had been exposed to a real-time event, such as seeing non-heterosexual PDA in-person, negative affect and disgust in particular may have been more prominent. Also with the way the study was conducted, there is no way of knowing if participants actually viewed the images. It is possible, although unlikely, that participants did not notice the images when they were displayed or that they did not display correctly. A manipulation check in future research could help manage this concern. Finally, it is

also possible that the paragraph used was not as neutral as intended and may have impacted the results by causing a reaction in all participants, masking or preventing the intended effect of the images.

Additionally, a limitation of this study is that the design only looked at heterosexual individuals attitudes toward gay men. While it is tempting to generalize these results to attitudes toward all subgroups within the sexual minority community, this cannot be done.

Supplementary research focusing on attitudes towards other sexual minorities would be useful in furthering our understanding of conditional support. Likewise, exploration of other minority groups (e.g., religious minorities, ethnicity) could be conducted to explore the concept of conditional support outside of attitudes toward sexual minorities. Another limitation is that the majority of this sample (76.8%) self-identified as white, meaning that it is difficult to generalize the results to ethnic minority groups. Although it is positive that this percentage is representative of whites in the general United States population, which is 77.7% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Other ethnicities were underrepresented including Black/African-Americans, multi-racial, and Latinos/Hispanics all being underrepresented (U.S. Census Bureau). Asian-Americans were overrepresented in the final sample (U.S. Census Bureau). This is not unusual given that Mechanical Turk has been shown to have higher numbers of Asian American users than the general population (Buhrmester, Kwanf, & Gosling, 2011). Education was also not consistent with US population data, with participants as a whole being more educated than the general population (U.S. Census Bureau). Using the principle researcher's Facebook friend group as a data source likely contributed to this overrepresentation and this is likely another contributing factor in the high amounts of fully supportive participants as education is associated with greater support of sexual minorities (Fingerhut, 2011).

Despite the lack of significant results in many areas, the results of this study point to multiple areas for future study. As the idea of conditional support has been shown to be viable from these results, further research into this area could expand on what factors contribute to someone endorsing a conditional support statement over a full support or non-support statement. Focusing on better operationally defining conditional support and finding ways to identify it outside of self-report would greatly improve the ability to study it. Additionally, as previously stated, religion appears to be an important area to explore in attempting to better understand this phenomenon. For instance, are there certain religious beliefs or denominations that are more likely to endorse conditional support?

An additional area for further study is how conditional support is constructed in heterosexual individuals. Is conditional support distinct and separate from other forms of support or could it be a manifestation of a “middle ground” that heterosexual individuals move through as they go from non-supportive to fully supportive? This would be similar with the ideas presented above by Wright (2000) and Riddle (1996 as cited by Broido, 2000) which argue that heterosexual individuals can move through multiple categories of attitudes, feelings, and beliefs toward sexual minorities. This would also be consistent with developmental models of other majority groups, such as the disintegration stage of Helms’s White Racial Identity Development Model (Helms, 1995). Studies looking at the way in which heterosexual individuals’ attitudes change toward sexual minorities could assist in further understanding this area.

The statements related to conditional support would benefit from further exploration and operationalizing as well. For instance, “in your face” is a vague construct that is used often in common speech, but has not been quantified in research. Is there a standard for what is “in your face” or is this term so nebulous that it is undefinable? Likewise, when individuals endorse that

they are supportive of gay individuals “as long as they do not act on their impulses” what are these impulses that individuals are thinking of? This could be from any number of things ranging from stated attraction to a member of the same gender to sexual intercourse. Qualitative studies looking at how individuals who are conditionally supportive of gay individuals define these areas would likely lead to a significant increase in understanding of this phenomenon.

Other aspects of conditional support could be studied as well. For instance, how do people respond when presented with a conditionally supportive statement? Are heterosexual individuals more likely to condone or condemn these types of statements over nonsupportive statements? Another interesting avenue of research would be exploring how sexual minorities feel when faced with conditionally supportive statements. Qualitative research has shown that these types of statements are not seen as welcoming or supportive by sexual minorities (see Anderson, 2002; Bujis, Hekma, & Duyvendak, 2012; Hekma, 1998) and further exploring this would likely assist in better understanding the similarities and/or differences of the impact conditional supportive, full supportive, and conditional supportive statements have on sexual minorities. Comparing the way heterosexual individuals and sexual minorities perceive and respond to these statements could also increase our understanding of how conditional support attitudes are created, maintained, endorsed, and counteracted. Furthermore, this could contribute to concrete evidence that effect of conditional support on sexual minorities is not significantly different than nonsupport.

In conclusion, the present study appears to be the first to explore the phenomenon of conditional support toward gay individuals. The results provide evidence of this phenomenon’s existence as a distinct type of support that heterosexual individuals may hold toward gay individuals. This evidence prompts multiple additional questions that when explored, may lead

to a greater understanding of both prejudice toward, and support of, sexual minorities by heterosexual individuals. As the visibility of sexual minorities and their rights only appears to be growing, it is important to further explore the multiple factors which may contribute to support or prejudice toward this group.

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Appendix A

“If you identify as heterosexual, live in the United States, and are at least 19-years-of-age, you are invited to participate in a research study to investigate heterosexual individuals’ attitudes toward sexual minorities. The study is being conducted by Ty W. D. Stafford, M.Ed., under the direction of Dr. Randolph Pipes, in the Auburn University Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling. Participants in this study are eligible to participate in a drawing for 1 of 6 \$25 Amazon.com gift cards, which will be delivered electronically. Regardless of whether you participate in this study or not, please share it with others by reposting this link or copying and pasting it into your own Facebook status.”

Appendix B

Information Letter (Facebook)

Special Education, Rehabilitation and Counseling, 2084 Haley Center, Auburn, AL 36849, (334) 844-7676 phone, (334) 844-7677 fax, serc@auburn.edu

(NOTE: DO NOT AGREE TO PARTICIPATE UNLESS IRB APPROVAL INFORMATION WITH CURRENT DATES HAS BEEN ADDED TO THIS DOCUMENT)

INFORMATION LETTER for a Research Study entitled *“Heterosexuals’ Thoughts Regarding Sexual Minorities”*

You are invited to participate in a research study focusing on the attitudes and emotions heterosexual individuals hold toward sexual minorities and how sexual minority behavior affects these attitudes and emotions. The study is being conducted by Ty W. D. Stafford, M.Ed., under the direction of Randolph B. Pipes, Ph.D. in the Auburn University Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling. You were selected as a possible participant because you live in the United States, self-identify as heterosexual, and are age 19 or older. Please do not participate in this research study if you are a family member of Ty W. D. Stafford.

What will be involved if you participate? Your participation is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to complete a brief, anonymous, online survey. Your total time commitment will be approximately 15 to 20 minutes.

Are there any risks or discomforts? The risks associated with participating in this study are likely restricted to any possible emotional discomfort which arises when exposed to images involving sexual minorities. We do not anticipate that you will experience significant distress; however, should you feel significant distress, it is recommended that you seek out a local mental health center, private mental health provider, or university counseling center where appropriate.

Are there any benefits to yourself or others? You will not receive any direct benefits for participation.

Will you receive compensation for participating? To thank you for your time, you will be offered entry into an anonymous, random drawing to win one of six gift cards for \$25.00 from Amazon.com. Entry requires submission of an email address that is separate from and cannot be linked with your survey.

If you change your mind about participating, you can withdraw at any time by closing your browser window. If you choose to withdraw, your data can be withdrawn as long as it is identifiable. Once you've submitted anonymous data, it cannot be withdrawn since it will be unidentifiable. Your decision about whether or not to participate or to stop participating will not jeopardize your future relations with Auburn University, the Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation and Counseling, Randolph Pipes, Ph.D., or Ty W. D. Stafford, M.Ed.

Any data obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous. We will protect your privacy and the data you provide by collecting no identifiable information other than an email address that is submitted separate from and cannot be linked with your survey. Information collected through your participation may be used to fulfill an educational requirement, published in a professional journal, and/or presented at a professional meeting, etc.

If you have questions about this study, please contact Ty W. Stafford, M.S. at tw0005@auburn.edu or Randolph Pipes, Ph.D. at pipesrb@auburn.edu.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Human Subjects Research or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334) 844-5966 or e-mail at hsubjec@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION ABOVE, YOU MUST DECIDE IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE, PLEASE CLICK ON THE "START SURVEY" BUTTON BELOW. YOU MAY PRINT A COPY OF THIS LETTER TO KEEP.

Regardless of whether you decide to participate, please forward the address for this webpage to as many friends or family members who live in the United States and are age 19 or older as you want. By forwarding this information to others, you can help me strengthen my dissertation. This webpage address is https://auburn.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_a41URm3AlVm5err

<u>Ty W. D. Stafford, M.Ed.</u>	<u>4/30/2014</u>
Investigator	Date

The Auburn University Institutional Review Board has approved this document for use from April 30, 2014 to April 29, 2015. Protocol # 14-163 EP 1404

Appendix C

Amazon Mechanical Turk Task

Instructions

I am conducting an academic survey about heterosexual individuals' attitudes toward sexual minorities. Select the link below to be taken to the consent form for this survey. To take the survey, select "start survey" at the bottom of the page after reading the consent letter. Please note, this survey may not display properly on mobile devices. At the end of the survey, you will receive a code to paste into the box below to receive credit for taking our survey.

Make sure to leave this window open as you complete the survey. When you are finished, you will return to this page to paste the code into the box.

Survey link:

https://auburn.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_0wXUQvgw1kPHLRb

Provide the survey code here:

e.g. 123456

Submit

Appendix D

Information Letter (Mechanical Turk)

Special Education, Rehabilitation and Counseling, 2084 Haley Center, Auburn, AL 36849, (334) 844-7676 phone, (334) 844-7677 fax, serc@auburn.edu

(NOTE: DO NOT AGREE TO PARTICIPATE UNLESS IRB APPROVAL INFORMATION WITH CURRENT DATES HAS BEEN ADDED TO THIS DOCUMENT)

INFORMATION LETTER for a Research Study entitled *“Heterosexuals’ Thoughts Regarding Sexual Minorities”*

You are invited to participate in a research study focusing on the attitudes and emotions heterosexual individuals hold toward sexual minorities and how sexual minority behavior affects these attitudes and emotions. The study is being conducted by Ty W. D. Stafford, M.Ed., under the direction of Randolph B. Pipes, Ph.D. in the Auburn University Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation, and Counseling. You were selected as a possible participant because you live in the United States, self-identify as heterosexual, and are age 19 or older. Please do not participate in this research study if you are a family member of Ty W. D. Stafford.

What will be involved if you participate? Your participation is completely voluntary. If you decide to participate in this research study, you will be asked to complete a brief, anonymous, online survey. Your total time commitment will be approximately 15 to 20 minutes.

Are there any risks or discomforts? The risks associated with participating in this study are likely restricted to any possible emotional discomfort which arises when exposed to vignettes involving sexual minorities. We do not anticipate that you will experience significant distress; however, should you feel significant distress, it is recommended that you seek out a local mental health center, private mental health provider, or university counseling center where appropriate.

Are there any benefits to yourself or others? You will not receive any direct benefits for participation.

Will you receive compensation for participating? To thank you for your time, you will be offered entry into an anonymous, random drawing to win one of six gift cards for \$25.00 from Amazon.com. Entry requires submission of an email address that is separate from and cannot be linked with your survey.

If you change your mind about participating, you can withdraw at any time by closing your browser window. If you choose to withdraw, your data can be withdrawn as long as it is identifiable. Once you’ve submitted anonymous data, it cannot be withdrawn since it will be unidentifiable. Your decision about whether or not to participate or to stop participating will not jeopardize your future relations with Auburn University, the Department of Special Education, Rehabilitation and Counseling, Randolph Pipes, Ph.D., or Ty W. D. Stafford, M.Ed.

Any data obtained in connection with this study will remain anonymous. We will protect your privacy and the data you provide by collecting no identifiable information other than an email address that is submitted separate from and cannot be linked with your survey. Information collected through your participation may be used to fulfill an educational requirement, published in a professional journal, and/or presented at a professional meeting, etc.

If you have questions about this study, please contact Ty W. Stafford, M.S. at tw0005@auburn.edu or Randolph Pipes, Ph.D. at pipesrb@auburn.edu.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Auburn University Office of Human Subjects Research or the Institutional Review Board by phone (334) 844-5966 or e-mail at hsubjec@auburn.edu or IRBChair@auburn.edu.

HAVING READ THE INFORMATION ABOVE, YOU MUST DECIDE IF YOU WANT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT. IF YOU DECIDE TO PARTICIPATE, PLEASE CLICK ON THE "START SURVEY" BUTTON BELOW. YOU MAY PRINT A COPY OF THIS LETTER TO KEEP.

Regardless of whether you decide to participate, please forward the address for this webpage to as many friends or family members who live in the United States and are age 19 or older as you want. By forwarding this information to others, you can help me strengthen my dissertation. This webpage address is https://auburn.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_0wXUQvgw1kPHLRb

<u>Ty W. D. Stafford, M.Ed.</u>	<u>4/30/2014</u>
Investigator	Date

The Auburn University Institutional Review Board has approved this document for use from July 2nd, 201 to April 29, 2015. Protocol #14-163 EP 1404.

Appendix E
Measurement of Support

Please read the following statements carefully and select the ONE which BEST describes your feelings regarding gay individuals:

- I am supportive of gay individuals.

- I am supportive of gay individuals, as long as they are not in my face about it.

- I am supportive of gay individuals, as long as they do not act on their impulses.

- I am not supportive of gay individuals.

Appendix F

The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule-Expanded Form (Watson & Clark, 1994)

This scale consists of a number of words and phrases that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then mark the appropriate answer in the space next to that word. Indicate how you feel right now (that is, in the present moment). Use the following scale to record your answers:

1 very slightly or not at all	2 a little	3 moderately	4 quite a bit	5 extremely
_____ cheerful	_____ sad	_____ active	_____ angry at self	
_____ disgusted	_____ calm	_____ guilty	_____ enthusiastic	
_____ attentive	_____ afraid	_____ joyful	_____ downhearted	
_____ bashful	_____ tired	_____ nervous	_____ sheepish	
_____ sluggish	_____ amazed	_____ lonely	_____ distressed	
_____ daring	_____ shaky	_____ sleepy	_____ blameworthy	
_____ surprised	_____ happy	_____ excited	_____ determined	
_____ strong	_____ timid	_____ hostile	_____ frightened	
_____ scornful	_____ alone	_____ proud	_____ astonished	
_____ relaxed	_____ alert	_____ jittery	_____ interested	
_____ irritable	_____ upset	_____ lively	_____ loathing	
_____ delighted	_____ angry	_____ ashamed	_____ confident	
_____ inspired	_____ bold	_____ at ease	_____ energetic	
_____ fearless	_____ blue	_____ scared	_____ concentrating	
_____ disgusted with self	_____ shy	_____ drowsy	_____ dissatisfied with self	

Appendix G

Measurement of disgust

Adapted from Horberg et al. (2009)

Please indicate to what extent you experienced each of these feelings while reading the previous brief description of the ongoing debate regarding gay individuals and their rights.

Grossed-out:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not at all						A great deal

Disgusted:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not at all						A great deal

Queasy, sick to my stomach:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Not at all						A great deal

Appendix H
The Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988)

Select the box which best describes your opinion for each statement.

1. Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

2. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

3. Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach school.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

4. Male homosexuality is a perversion.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

5. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

6. If a man has homosexual feeling, he should do everything he can to overcome them.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

7. I would not be too upset if I learned my son were a homosexual.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

8. Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

9. The idea of male homosexual marriages seems ridiculous to me.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

10. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1	2	3	4	5
strongly agree	somewhat agree	neither agree or disagree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree

11. Homosexuality is a sin.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Agree	Disagree

Appendix I

Contact Form

To the best of your knowledge, do you know anyone who identifies as non-heterosexual. Individuals who identify as non-heterosexual include but are not limited to individuals who self-identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual, and/or queer.

Yes

No

Please indicate the number of relationships in each category you have currently or have had in the past with individuals who you know identify as non-heterosexual.

1. **Immediate Family.** This category can include parents, siblings, children, grandparents, grandchildren, spouse, partner, significant other.

Number of relationships: _____

2. **Other Family.** This category can include Aunts, Uncles, Cousins, in-laws.

Number of relationships: _____

3. **Close Friends.** This category can anyone non-family member you would consider to be an important and significant relationship.

Number of relationships: _____

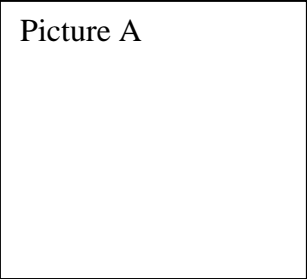
4. **Other.** This category includes other relationships that are not included in the previous categories.

Number of relationships: _____

Appendix J

The following is a brief description of the ongoing debate regarding gay individuals and their rights. Please read over this carefully and thoroughly. When you have completed reading, please click the next button.

Picture A



Recently gay people and their rights have been present in the national conversation. Many feel that gay people do not have the same freedoms and rights as straight people, while others think that this is not the case. People on both sides of the dispute feel the way they do because of a mix of influences including: personal, ethical, religious, and moral reasons. The debate has become part of everyday life from local concerns, national politics, and worldwide relations. It is a conversation with tough feelings on both sides. At times, there seems little hope for agreement. The argument has been going on for many years and there does not appear to be a clear end in sight. What is clear is that the conversation is an important one, and one that will not be ending soon.

Picture B



Appendix K
Public Display of Affection Condition



Picture A



Picture B

Gay Pride Parade condition



Picture A



Picture B

Control condition



Picture A



Picture B

Appendix L
Eligibility Form (Facebook)

1. How old are you? _____

2. Do you identify as heterosexual?

Yes

No

3. Are you a family member of Ty Stafford?

Yes

No

4. Before seeing it on Facebook, did you have direct knowledge of the nature of this specific study?

Yes

No

Appendix M

“You are not eligible to participate in this study. Please share this study with others by reposting the link or copy and pasting it into your own Facebook status. Thank you for your time.”

Appendix N

Demographic Information Form

Please respond to the following information:

1. What is your race? _____

2. What is your gender?

Male

Female

Transgender

3. Which of these choices best describes your highest educational level (choose one)?

Less than High School

Post-graduate Degree

High School/Equivalent

College Degree

Some College

4. If you indicated having a post-graduate degree, please specify what this degree is in:

5. Using the slider below, indicate how you describe your political beliefs.

Liberal

Moderate

Conservative

6. Using the slider below, indicate how you describe your religious/spiritual beliefs.

Non-religious

Very Religious

Appendix O

Eligibility Form (Mechanical Turk)

7. How old are you? _____

8. Do you identify as heterosexual?

Yes

No