

Identity vs. Behavior:
Exploring the Basis of Moral Judgments of Homosexuality

by

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ABSTRACT

The current study explored whether intrinsically religious individuals are able to separate the “sin” from the “sinner” (i.e., separate category membership from behavior) when judging homosexual individuals, or whether they are instead subject to the negativity bias (judgments based solely on category membership) in moral judgments. All effects were expected to occur only for participants high in homophobia. Participants were 305 undergraduate male and female students at a large, public university in the southwestern U.S. Respondents read one of five scenarios that described gay or straight targets who were celibate or engaged in same or opposite sex relationships, then were asked to respond to a series of questions evaluating attitudes and behavioral intentions toward the target. Results revealed that homophobia led to a negativity bias in judgments of gay targets, which was intensified by intrinsic religiosity. However, individuals high on intrinsic religiosity and high on homophobia also differentiated between gay targets based on sexual behavior, such that gay targets who were celibate or in an opposite-sex relationship were rated more favorably than gay targets in a same-sex relationship. These findings demonstrate that the negativity bias and “sin vs. sinner” differentiation may both be occurring for intrinsically religious individuals. The moderating effect of homophobia on the interaction between intrinsic religiosity and judgments of gay and straight targets shows us that religiosity itself is not inherently tolerant or intolerant.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

“We do not believe anyone chooses his or her same-sex attractions...[but] men and women who struggle with unwanted same-sex attractions [can choose] to steward their impulses in a way that aligns with their faith convictions.”

- Exodus International

“To say, ‘homosexuality is sinful’ is incorrect. The bible discusses...homosexual acts that represent ‘sinful’ behavior. However, having the desire itself is not ‘sinful’.”

- Cohen, 2005, International Healing Foundation

There are many individuals who claim to have successfully overcome homosexual attractions and/or behaviors. This paper does not seek to contradict or devalue their experiences. However, the framing of homosexual behavior as ‘sinful’ and immoral by most religious traditions may provide a powerful motivation for gay men and lesbians to attempt to change or conceal their sexual identity, whether or not they themselves view these behaviors as undesirable. Those who advocate the concept highlighted in the quotes above – ‘hate the sin, love the sinner’ – portray the repudiation of homosexual behavior as a pathway to moral purity, freedom from internal conflict, and self-acceptance (i.e. Cohen, 2005; Exodus International). The underlying assumption of this position is that individuals, particularly those high in intrinsic religiosity, are able to separate category membership (i.e., being gay) from behavior (i.e., engaging in ‘gay’ behavior), and therefore an individual who experiences homosexual attraction will be viewed equally positively to a straight individual, as long as he or she does not act on those same-sex attractions (Mak & Tsang, 2008). As discussed below, concealing a stigmatized identity has potential cognitive, behavioral, affective,

and social implications (Pachankis, 2007), so the question of whether this concealment will lead to positive reactions from others is a very real concern.

This last question is the focus of the proposed research, which also provides an opportunity to test a possible circumstance where the negativity bias in social judgments (Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001; Risky & Birnbaum, 1974) can be overcome.

Implications of Identity Concealment

Pachankis (2007) theorized that concealment of a stigmatized identity would impact cognition, affect, behavior, and self-evaluation. The cognitive implications of the psychological response to concealing a stigma include preoccupation, vigilance, and suspiciousness, while the affective implications include anxiety, depression, hostility, demoralization, guilt, and shame. Quinn and Chaudoir (2009) have also demonstrated a relationship between concealment of a stigmatized identity and negative physical and mental health outcomes.

When information is intentionally concealed, a set of cognitive processes are activated that lead to an obsessive preoccupation with the secret (Lane & Wegner, 1995). Smart & Wegner (1999) have shown that this process also occurs for the concealment of a stigmatized identity. Through a cycle of thought suppression and thought intrusion, individuals who actively conceal stigmatized identities become preoccupied with thoughts of those identities. Increased thought suppression and preoccupation is associated with negative affective states such as depression, anxiety, and hostility (Lane & Wegner, 1995). Individuals with concealable stigmas report higher levels of negative affect and greater levels of

social isolation, both relative to non-stigmatized individuals and individuals with visible stigmas (Frable, Platt, & Hoey, 1998).

Pachankis (2007) also explores the behavioral implications of concealing a stigma. Individuals who conceal a stigmatized identity engage in a constant process of impression management with regard to the stigma. This process involves careful monitoring of their verbal and nonverbal behavior. Interpersonal feedback also becomes vitally important to the stigmatized individual in helping shape their concealment strategies, as well as in helping them gauge reactions to any disclosure that does occur (Pachankis, 2007). Concealment of a stigma can lead to impaired functioning of close relationships, particularly in long-term romantic relationships or friendships (Goffman, 1963). In addition to work on the negative consequences of concealment, numerous studies have linked identity disclosure to positive psychological outcomes (e.g., Griffith & Hebl, 2002).

The final area explored by Pachankis (2007) is that of self-evaluation. Concealing a stigma may lead to identity ambivalence – an inconsistent view of oneself across situations or time (Pachankis, 2007). Granfield (1991) found that identity ambivalence due to stigma concealment is linked to negative affective states such as guilt and a feeling of fraudulence. Stigma concealment is also hypothesized to lead to a generally negative view of the self and lower levels of self-esteem.

Given the potential negative effects of concealing a stigmatized identity, what might be gained from such concealment? For homosexual individuals, who bear a stigmatized identity often conceptualized in terms of morality, the desire to

be judged as a moral person might serve as a strong inducement to identity concealment. However, from the perspective of those who consider homosexuality immoral, is an individual who experiences same-sex attractions but does not act on them a moral person?

Behavior-based Morality Judgments

Allport (1966) proposed two distinct types of religiosity: extrinsic and intrinsic. For extrinsically religious individuals, religion and church membership serve nonreligious, self-centered ends, such as community support and social interaction. In contrast, intrinsically religious individuals see religion as an end in itself. Allport argued that for extrinsically religious individuals "...the function and significance of prejudice and religion is identical...both satisfy the same psychological needs" (Allport, 1966, p. 451). In contrast, the intrinsically religious individual has lower levels of prejudice because their faith is "...oriented toward a unification of being, takes seriously the commandment of brotherhood, and strives to transcend all self-centered needs" (Allport, 1966, p. 455). In line with this proposed relationship between intrinsic religiosity and decreased levels of prejudice, researchers (e.g. Bassett, Kirnan, Hill, & Schultz, 2005; Batson, Floyd, Meyer, & Winner, 1999; Mak & Tsang, 2008) have proposed that intrinsically religious individuals do not hold prejudice against gay men and lesbians for being gay, but rather for committing "value-violations," in this case, engaging in homosexual behavior.

Batson et al. (1999) explored whether devout, intrinsically religious individuals experienced antipathy toward value violators or whether the antipathy

was exclusively directed at the value-violating acts themselves. Specifically, Batson et al. looked at helping behavior towards a gay student when the help provided by the participant either would or would not promote the target's attendance at a gay pride rally. This study compared two competing hypotheses. The first was that intrinsically religious individuals would be equally likely to help a gay target as a non-gay target, but only when the help provided would not promote attendance at a gay pride rally (i.e., participants would object to the 'sin' of pro-homosexual behavior, but not to the homosexual person themselves). The second was that participants would not separate the pro-homosexual behavior from the homosexual individual and would therefore be less likely to help the gay target than the non-gay target, regardless of what behavior their help would promote. It was this second hypothesis that was supported by their research findings; intrinsically religious participants were less likely to help the gay targets, regardless of whether the help would be used to promote attendance at a gay pride rally or not. Batson et al. concluded that devout, intrinsic religiosity is associated with antipathy toward value violators, not just toward value-violating acts.

However, the gay targets in the Batson et al. study may have been seen as participating in homosexual behavior (i.e., homosexual sex), even when they were not explicitly attending a gay pride rally. To better differentiate between attitudes toward homosexual persons vs. attitudes toward homosexual behavior, Bassett et al. (2005) developed the Sexual Orientation and Practices Scale (SOAP), a measure which assesses attitudes toward sexually active vs. celibate homosexual

individuals. Based on scores on this measure, participants were divided into three groups: those who universally rejected homosexual persons and behavior, those who accepted homosexual persons, but not homosexual behavior, and those who universally accepted both homosexual persons and behavior (the authors did not address the fourth possible group – those who accepted homosexual behavior but not homosexual persons – and it is implied that no participants fell into this category). Participants were then given an amount of money and asked to donate it to either a church that accepted homosexual persons but not homosexual behavior, to a church that accepted both, or to return the money to the research project. Only participants who were universally accepting donated to the church that was universally accepting, while participants who were universally rejecting were more likely to return the money to the research project. However, participants from all three groups donated equally to the church that was selectively accepting.

As the participants were all Christian, and many Christian traditions promote the concept of “hate the sin, love the sinner,” the researchers speculated that this result was due to the fact that selective acceptance of homosexual persons, but not behavior, is seen as the more appropriate stance for a church to take. If this is the case, participants, regardless of their personal views, were providing support for the church whose policies were most in line with church teachings. Bassett et al. (2005) also did not assess participant attitudes and behavioral responses to celibate and sexually active heterosexual individuals. It is therefore impossible to determine whether individuals who were accepting of

homosexual persons but not homosexual behavior objected to same-sex sexual behavior as a value-violation, or to the value-violation of extramarital sexual activity.

Following up on both the Batson et al. (1999) and Bassett et al. (2005) studies, Mak and Tsang (2008) examined helping behavior towards celibate or sexually active targets who were either homosexual or heterosexual. This study found that intrinsically religious participants were more likely to help celibate than sexually active targets, regardless of sexual orientation. The authors concluded that extramarital sexual activity was perceived as a value-violation, rather than same-sex sexual activity, as proposed by Bassett et al. (2005), and that high intrinsic religiosity led to antipathy toward the value-violation, but not the violator. However, there were a number of shortcomings in the research conducted by Mak and Tsang.

First and foremost, Mak and Tsang (2008) did not measure sexual prejudice or attitudes toward extramarital sex. It is possible that their participants were accepting of homosexuality, and therefore did not perceive a homosexual person as a value-violator, *per se*. That is, participants may not have been distinguishing between a “sin” and a “sinner,” if they did not perceive homosexual individuals to inherently be sinners. Mak and Tsang also lacked a non-religious comparison group. Inclusion of such a group would have allowed a closer examination of whether the ability to distinguish between “sin” and “sinner” is unique to intrinsically religious individuals, or whether it is due to an individual difference factor that might be unrelated to religiosity. In addition, all

participants and targets in this study were female. The authors did not see this as a limitation of their study, as there have been no significant gender differences demonstrated in levels of intrinsic religiosity. However, there are significant gender differences in levels of sexual prejudice, such that women are generally more accepting of homosexuality than men (e.g., Nagoshi, Adams, Terrell, Hill, Brzuzy, & Nagoshi, 2008). In addition, attitudes toward lesbians tend to be more positive than attitudes toward gay men (Herek, 2000).

Negativity Bias in Morality Judgments

Although the studies by Batson et al. (1999), Bassett et al. (2005), and Mak and Tsang (2008) assess reactions to a homosexual target based on morally-relevant information, they have not explicitly connected their findings to other research on morality judgments. Wojciszke (2005) explored the role of morality- and competence-related information in both person-perception and self-perception. He proposed that morality-related cues have a stronger bearing on judgments of others, while competence-related cues are seen as having a stronger bearing on judgments of the self. Wojciszke posits that this differentiation occurs because morality has a “direct and unconditional bearing on the well-being of other people surrounding the trait possessor” (Wojciszke, 2005, p. 156), while competence has a “direct and unconditional bearing for trait possessors themselves, ... others may gain or lose from this efficiency depending on the goals of the trait possessor” (Wojciszke, 2005, p. 156).

While morality cues are given greater weight than competence cues in person-perception processes, not all moral behaviors are given equal weight. In

making morality judgments, perceivers tend to have a negativity bias, such that an individual's immoral behaviors are seen as more diagnostic of their overall morality than their moral behaviors (Baumeister et al., 2001; Risky & Birnbaum, 1974). Given a mix of actions on the part of an individual, moral actions cannot fully compensate for immoral actions (Lupfer, Weeks, & Dupuis, 2000).

Rozin and Royzman (2001) explore some of the possible explanations for the negativity bias, pointing out that selective attention to negative rather than positive events may have been evolutionarily adaptive. Specifically, they argue that negative events are more threatening than positive events are beneficial, the behavioral response possibilities for negative events are more complex than those for positive events (and thus require a more sophisticated appraisal process), and negative events often require a faster response time than positive events.

If information regarding sexual orientation is considered to be a morality-related cue, it should carry relatively high weight in judgments of an individual. Taking into account the negativity bias in judgments of morality, if same-sex attraction and/or same-sex behavior is deemed immoral, it should essentially override other information and lead to perception of the individual as an immoral person. To date, research on the negativity bias has not examined judgments of homosexuality, nor has it explored the possible impact of religious orientation on morality judgments.

Current Study

The current study sought to address shortcomings in previous research on the concept of 'hate the sin, love the sinner,' to explore the negativity bias in

morality judgments in the domain of sexual orientation, and to explicitly contrast the predictions that stem from each of these perspectives. The “hate the sin, love the sinner” perspective predicts that, for religious individuals, judgments of morality will be based on behavior, not on group membership, such that moral behavior will carry more weight than membership in a group that is considered immoral. In contrast, the negativity bias perspective makes the prediction that morality judgments will be based on relative weighting of moral cues, such that membership in a group that is considered immoral will carry as much or more weight than moral behavior.

In order to fully compare these two perspectives, a heterogeneous sample was measured on religious orientation, resulting in a range of reported religious orientations, particularly for intrinsic religiosity, as well as nonreligious participants. In addition, two additional individual difference factors that may mediate participant judgments of target morality were examined. The first additional factor, thought-action fusion, explores the degree to which individuals differ in their belief that thinking about a negative action is just as bad as performing that action (Shafran, Thordarson, & Rachman, 1996). Individuals low on thought-action fusion may be more able to differentiate between “sin” and “sinner,” regardless of their religious orientation. The second factor, sexual attitudes, is a measure of the degree to which a participant holds liberal and permissive attitudes toward sexual behavior (Hendrick & Hendrick, 1987). Sexual attitudes should act as a mediator if participants are viewing sexual behavior as a value-violation. Finally, sexual prejudice was measured using the Homophobia

Scale (Wright, Adams, & Bernat, 1999). Homophobia is expected to moderate the predictions made by each theoretical perspective.

Participant judgments of the target were assessed on four different dimensions of person perception: morality, conscience, competence, and likeability. Wojciszke (2005) proposed morality and competence as two important domains for person perception. He conceptualized morality as other-directed behavioral intentions represented by traits such as fairness, generosity, and honesty, while competence is the ability to carry out those goals or intentions, represented by traits such as cleverness, efficiency, and intelligence. These two dimensions map onto what Fiske and colleagues (Fiske, Cuddy, & Glick, 2007) have termed warmth and competence, with warmth equating to morality, as defined by Wojciszke (1994, 2005).

However, for the present research, a more nuanced perspective of morality that takes into account perceived moral reasoning is needed. Hogan (1970, 1973) proposed that moral behavioral intentions proceed from either a sense of social responsibility (termed morality, in the current research) or a sense of personal conscience. Specifically, an individual can engage in moral behavior in order to follow social norms and avoid punishment, or in order to act in line with internal beliefs. Moral failures on these two dimensions lead to qualitatively different affective states. The former is linked with shame as a publicly-judged moral self-evaluative emotion, while the latter is linked with guilt as a conscience-based emotional reaction to a violation of interpersonal trust (Woien, Ernst, Patock-Peckham, & Nagoshi, 2003). From a perceiver perspective, a target who performs

moral actions may be seen as doing so either because they are person who follows rules, or because they are a good person.

The final dimension of interest in the present study was that of target likeability, which is also a judgment of warmth, but carries less of a moral aspect than what Wojciszke (1994, 2005) proposes. This likeability construct has been used in previous research (e.g., Blashill & Powlishta, 2009; Fingerhut & Peplau, 2006) to assess perceiver attitudes towards gay and lesbian targets.

A set of dependent variable questions assessing behavioral intentions toward the target were also included. This allowed for a more direct replication of the study conducted by Mak and Tsang (2008), which used helping behavior as a dependent measure. While the measures of morality, conscience, competence, and likeability assess abstract, global, generalized attitudes toward the target, the behavioral intention measure may be a more sensitive measurement of target judgments, as it taps into more concrete responses. In addition, Cottrell and Neuberg (2005) propose that prejudice toward different groups is not characterized by general negativity, but instead consists of a specific emotional response to a perceived threat. Based on their research, gay men are thought to pose threats to social values and to physical health. This set of questions will include measures of participant willingness to come into physical contact with the target and participant views toward the target working with children.

Hypotheses

The hypotheses contrast expected findings based on the effects of negativity bias versus those based on differentiating behavior from identity (sin vs. sinner):

1. Negativity bias in morality judgments:
 - a. Perceivers high in homophobia will judge gay targets more negatively than straight targets on all dependent variables, across target level of sexual activity, and regardless of perceiver level of intrinsic religiosity.
 - b. Perceivers low in homophobia will not differentiate between gay and straight targets on the dependent variables, regardless of target level of sexual activity and perceiver level of intrinsic religiosity.
2. Behavior-based morality judgments:
 - a. Perceivers high in homophobia and high in intrinsic religiosity will judge gay targets in gay relationships more negatively than celibate gay targets, gay targets in straight relationships, or straight targets.
 - b. Perceivers high in homophobia and low in intrinsic religiosity will judge gay targets more negatively than straight targets on all dependent variables, across target level of sexual activity.
 - c. Perceivers low in homophobia will not differentiate between gay and straight targets on the dependent variables, regardless of target level of sexual activity and perceiver level of intrinsic religiosity.

Chapter 2

METHODS

Participants

Three hundred and five participants from the introductory psychology subject pool at Arizona State University participated in this study for research credit. One hundred and fifty-one participants were male, and 154 were female. Participant age ranged from 18 to 29 with a mean age of 19.2. Two hundred and eighty-one participants reported their self-labeled sexual orientation (267 “straight,” seven “gay/lesbian,” five “bisexual,” and two “other”). As the hypothesized processes were expected to apply to heterosexual participants only, participants identifying as gay/lesbian, bisexual, or other were removed from the analyses. Analyses were therefore conducted on 291 participants (participants self-labeling as straight and participants who did not report their sexual orientation, as there were no significant differences between these two groups on the dependent measures or the individual difference variables). Participants were primarily Caucasian (53.4%), although 11.8% were Asian/Asian-American, 11.5% were Latino/Hispanic, 6.6% were African-American, 2.3% were Native American, and 6.6% other. The most common religious affiliation reported was Christian/Protestant (40.9%), followed by Roman Catholic (21%). 19.7% of participants reported other religious affiliations, including Jewish, Mormon, Buddhist, Hindu, and Muslim. In addition, 9.5% of participants reported being agnostic (unsure if there is a god), and 7.5% reported being atheist (do not believe there is a god).

Design & Materials

A 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) x 5 (target group membership: gay/celebrate vs. gay/same-sex relationship vs. gay/opposite-sex relationship vs. straight/celebrate vs. straight/opposite-sex relationship) design was used. Target gender was matched with participant gender, such that male participants rated only male targets, and female participants rated only female targets. This procedure was adopted in order to avoid confounds, such as sexual attraction, which could potentially affect judgments in an opposite-sex target design. Participants were randomly assigned to read a scenario depicting one of five conditions, rate the target on measures of morality, conscience, competence, and likeability, respond to the questions assessing behavioral intentions, complete a series of individual difference measures, and respond to demographic questions.

Scenarios. Scenarios were adapted from Blashill and Powlishta (2009b). Each scenario describes a target, John/Jennifer, in terms of his/her desired career, his/her hobbies, and his/her problem-solving style. All described characteristics were gender typical (i.e. male targets were masculine, and female targets feminine) in order to minimize the impact of gender role on participant judgments. Schope & Eliason (2003) found that target sexual orientation was a stronger predictor of perceiver attitudes than target gender role, so minimizing the impact of gender role information was not expected to significantly change perceptions of the targets. The scenario also manipulated sexual orientation by indicating which gender the target was attracted to, and sexual behavior by stating

whether the target was in a same-sex relationship, an opposite-sex relationship, or celibate.

Describing sexual behavior and sexual attraction rather than assigning a specific sexual orientation label (i.e., gay or straight) served two purposes. First, information about target self-labeling might serve as a stronger cue than information about sexual behavior, thus diminishing or eliminating the impact of the sexual behavior manipulation. Second, focusing on same-sex attraction rather than self-labeling is in line with the way in which sexual orientation is framed by advocates of sexual reorientation therapies (i.e. therapy conducted with the intention of changing an individual's sexual orientation from homosexual to heterosexual; Exodus International; Whitaker). See Appendix A for full scenarios.

Target evaluation questions. After reading the scenario, participants assessed target morality, conscience, competence, and likeability, and reported behavioral intentions toward the target. The seven morality questions explored perceptions of whether the target performs moral actions because they follow rules, laws, and social norms. The nine conscience questions looked at a more internal concept of morality – whether or not the target performs moral actions because they are a good person (e.g., trustworthy, caring, etc). The six competence domain questions assessed perceived intelligence, efficiency, and general problem solving ability, while the six likeability questions explored target warmth and sociability. The nine behavioral intention questions measured participant intentions toward the target and the degree to which the target was seen to pose threats. Questions were adapted from concepts discussed in

Wojciszke et al. (1998) and in Cottrell and Neuberg (2005), from the Propensity to Trust scale (Evans & Revelle, 2008), and from the Big Five Inventory (John & Srivastava, 1999). All responses were given on a seven-point Likert scale. The morality and conscience domains were expected to be the most directly relevant to the manipulations of sexual orientation and sexual behavior. A negativity bias based on a judgment of the target as immoral was expected to lead to negative perceptions across domains (Wojciszke et al., 1998). See Appendix B for target evaluation questions.

Individual Difference Measures. Several individual difference factors were also measured. See Table 1 for Cronbach's alphas for all individual difference measures.

Sexual prejudice, as measured by the Homophobia Scale ($\alpha = .96$; Wright et al., 1999), was expected to moderate the predicted effects, such that the hypothesized patterns would occur only for participants high in sexual prejudice. The Homophobia Scale assesses the cognitive, affective, and behavioral components of homophobia, but does not differentiate between attitudes toward lesbians and attitudes toward gay men. While this global assessment of sexual prejudice may be problematic, it also allows for effective comparison of the judgments of male and female targets.

The Intrinsic/Extrinsic Religious Orientation Scale ($\alpha = .79$; Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989) assesses individual differences in religiosity. Specifically, this scale differentiates between those for whom religion is a means to other,

nonreligious ends (such as social affiliation), and those for whom religion is an end in itself (Allport, 1966).

Two additional scales were included in order to explore possible mediators in the process of morality judgments. The Thought-Action Fusion Scale – Revised Moral Subscale ($\alpha = .93$; Shafran et al., 1996) assesses the degree to which participants believe that “...having an unacceptable thought is the moral equivalent of carrying out the unacceptable or disturbing action” (Shafran et al., 1996, p. 379). For participants who equate thoughts with actions, same-sex attraction should be seen as morally equivalent to same-sex sexual behavior, regardless of actual behavior described. Finally, the Sexual Attitudes Scale ($\alpha = .89$; Hendrick & Hendrick, 1987) assesses conservative vs. liberal attitudes toward sexuality. This measure was included to explore whether prejudice against sexuality in general might mediate participant responses.

Demographic items. Each participant completed a short questionnaire on which they indicated their age, gender, religious affiliation, and ethnicity. Participants also completed a nine-item measure of sexual orientation that assesses self-labeling (gay, straight, bisexual, or other), orientation (who an individual wants to have relationships with), behavior (who an individual actually has relationships with), and attraction (who an individual is sexually attracted to).

Procedure

This study was conducted online using Survey Monkey research software. Participants were recruited to participate in a study on the formation of first impressions and informed that they would read descriptions of individuals and

respond to questions assessing the personalities of the target individuals. Upon finishing the study, participants were fully debriefed and thanked for their participation.

Chapter 3

RESULTS

The dependent measures of morality, conscience, competence, and likeability were significantly correlated with each other (r s ranging from .52 to .76, $p < .01$), thus making it difficult to identify effects specific to any one of the four variables. Independent analyses were conducted on each of these four dependent variables. Each analysis showed the same pattern of results, so a composite was created of these four variables ($\alpha = .92$). As this composite measures attitudes toward the target, it was kept separate from the measure of behavioral intentions ($\alpha = .77$), and all analyses were conducted on these two dependent variables. Behavioral intentions and the attitude composite measure were significantly correlated ($r = .68, p < .01$), however the pattern of results for behavioral intentions differed from the pattern seen for the components of the attitude composite. In addition, the two main predictor variables, homophobia and intrinsic religiosity, were significantly correlated ($r = .21, p < .01$). There were no significant differences on any of the individual difference variables (homophobia, intrinsic religiosity, thought-action fusion, or sexual attitudes) across scenarios.

The five levels of the experimental manipulation were: same-sex attraction/same-sex relationship (gay/gay), same-sex attraction/celebrate (gay/celebrate), same-sex attraction/opposite-sex relationship (gay/straight), opposite-sex attraction/opposite-sex relationship (straight/straight), and opposite-sex attraction/celebrate (straight/celebrate). To test the main effects of and interactions with the experimental condition factor, this factor was orthogonally

contrast coded as follows: 1) comparison of gays vs. straights (2, 2, 2, -3, -3), 2) comparison of gay/celebrate and gay/straight vs. gay/gay (1, 1, -2, 0, 0) to test the sin vs. sinner effect, 3) comparison of gay/celebrate vs. gay/straight (1, -1, 0, 0, 0) to explore in more detail the conditions that might lead to the sin vs. sinner effect, and 4) comparison of straight/celebrate vs. straight/straight (0, 0, 0, 1, -1) to explore the impact of sexual behavior on morality judgments of straight targets. These will be discussed as Contrasts 1 – 4, respectively.

Two hierarchical multiple regressions were run, one for each of the two dependent variables (attitudes and behavioral intentions). For each analysis, the first step included the proposed predictors (gender, homophobia, and intrinsic religiosity) and the four contrast codes for the experimental condition factor. The second step contained two-way interactions between the predictors and the contrast codes, the third step contained three-way interactions, and the fourth step four-way interactions. Gender was contrast coded (male: -1, female: 1), and all individual difference variables and interaction terms were centered at 0.

Attitude Dependent Measure

There was a significant main effect of gender ($b = .23, p < .0001$), such that female participants reported more favorable attitudes toward all targets than male participants. However, since participant gender and target gender are perfectly confounded, it is impossible to tell whether participant or target gender is driving this effect. There was also a significant main effect of homophobia ($b = -.19, p = .002$), such that higher levels of homophobia led to more negative attitudes toward all targets, regardless of target sexual orientation.

Homophobia interacted with Contrast 3 (gay/straight vs. gay/celebrate) and Contrast 4 (straight/straight vs. straight/celebrate). The interaction between homophobia and Contrast 3 ($b = -.14, p = .026$; see Figure 1) indicated that individuals who are low on homophobia have more positive attitudes toward the gay/celebrate target relative to the gay/straight target. However, this pattern reverses for participants who are high in homophobia. The interaction between homophobia and Contrast 4 ($b = -.14, p = .025$) demonstrated that level of homophobia has no influence on attitudes toward straight/celebrate targets, but participants with high levels of homophobia report more negative attitudes toward straight/straight targets.

There was also a three-way interaction between intrinsic religiosity, homophobia, and Contrast 2 (gay/gay vs. gay/celebrate and gay/straight) ($b = .13, p = .052$; see Figure 2). For individuals low on homophobia, higher levels of religiosity lead to more positive attitudes toward the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets, but have very little effect on attitudes toward the gay/gay target. For individuals scoring in the mid range on homophobia, higher levels of religiosity lead to more negative attitudes toward the gay/gay target, but have little effect on attitudes toward the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets. For individuals scoring high on homophobia, higher levels of religiosity have little effect on attitudes toward the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets, but lead to more positive attitudes toward the gay/gay target. This finding is consistent with behavior-based (sin vs. sinner) judgments.

The two-way interaction between homophobia and Contrast 4 (straight/celebrate vs. straight/straight) was modified by a marginal three-way interaction between intrinsic religiosity, homophobia, and Contrast 4 ($b = -.11, p = .099$; see Figure 3). Individuals low in religiosity show more negative attitudes toward both straight targets as homophobia increases. As homophobia increases, individuals scoring in the mid-range on intrinsic religiosity show more positive attitudes toward the straight/celebrate target but more negative attitudes toward the straight/straight target. For individuals high on intrinsic religiosity, attitudes toward the straight/celebrate target are relatively unaffected by level of homophobia, but attitudes toward the straight/straight target become more negative as homophobia increases. There were no significant four-way interactions for the attitude dependent measure.

Behavioral Intentions Dependent Measure

Given the high correlation between the attitude composite and the behavioral intentions measure, findings were similar across the two dependent variables, but in general findings were stronger for behavioral intentions. With the dependent measure of behavioral intentions, there was a main effect of gender ($b = .17, p = .004$), such that female participants rated all targets more positively than male targets. Again, the perfect confound between participant gender and target gender makes it impossible to determine which caused the effect. There was also a main effect of homophobia ($b = -.27, p < .0001$), such that individuals who were high on homophobia rated all targets more negatively, regardless of target sexual orientation. Intrinsic religiosity also had a main effect on behavioral

intentions ($b = .11, p = .045$). As intrinsic religiosity increased, intentions toward all targets became more positive. There was also a main effect of Contrast 1 (gay vs. straight) ($b = -.15, p = .009$), such that behavioral intentions toward gay targets were more negative than behavioral intentions toward straight targets. Finally, there was a marginal main effect of Contrast 2 (gay/gay vs. gay/straight and gay/celebrate) ($b = .10, p = .069$). Interestingly, with Contrast 2, behavioral intentions were more positive toward the gay/gay target than toward the gay/straight and gay/celebrate targets.

The main effect of homophobia was modified by interactions with Contrast 1 (gay vs. straight) and Contrast 3 (gay/celebrate vs. gay/straight). For homophobia by Contrast 1, as homophobia increased, behavioral intentions toward gay targets became more negative relative to those toward straight targets ($b = -.15, p = .019$). For homophobia by Contrast 3, individuals who were low on homophobia had more positive attitudes toward the gay/celebrate target relative to the gay/straight target. However, this pattern reversed for participants who were high in homophobia ($b = -.14, p = .026$; see Figure 4).

There was also a significant interaction between intrinsic religiosity and Contrast 2 (gay/gay vs. gay/straight and gay/celebrate) ($b = -.15, p = .018$). For individuals low in intrinsic religiosity, behavioral intentions were more positive toward the gay/gay target than the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets. For individuals high in intrinsic religiosity there was the predicted “sin vs. sinner” pattern, where behavioral intentions were more negative toward the gay/gay target than the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets.

The two-way interaction between homophobia and Contrast 1 (gay vs. straight) was modified by a marginal three-way interaction between homophobia, intrinsic religiosity, and contrast 1 ($b = -.12, p = .069$; see Figure 5). For individuals low in intrinsic religiosity, the predicted negativity bias was evident: behavioral intentions became more negative toward gay targets relative to straight targets as homophobia increased. Higher levels of intrinsic religiosity served to intensify this pattern, such that behavioral intentions became even more negative toward gay targets at high levels of homophobia.

There was also a significant three-way interaction between intrinsic religiosity, homophobia, and Contrast 2 (gay/gay vs. gay/straight and gay/celebrate) for the behavioral intentions dependent measure ($b = .14, p = .041$; see Figure 6). For individuals low on homophobia, higher levels of religiosity lead to more positive behavioral intentions toward the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets, but have very little effect on behavioral intentions toward the gay/gay target. For individuals scoring in the mid range on homophobia, higher levels of religiosity lead to more negative behavioral intentions toward the gay/gay target, but have little effect on intentions toward the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets. Intentions toward the gay/gay target become more negative as religiosity increases, whereas intentions toward the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets become more positive. There were no significant four-way interactions.

Exploratory Analyses

To determine whether it was appropriate to conduct analyses of the mediating effects of thought-action fusion and sexual attitudes on the

relationships between the predictor (sexual prejudice, religiosity, and the scenario conditions) and dependent variables, the correlations between these individual difference measures and the dependent variables were examined for each of the five scenarios (see Table 2). The relationship between the sexual attitudes measure and the dependent variables appeared to be consistent across the scenarios, thus indicating that mediation analysis is permissible. That is, there was a consistent linear relationship between sexual attitudes and the dependent measures of attitude and behavioral intentions across the experimental conditions. However, the relationship between thought-action fusion and the dependent variables was not consistent across the scenarios, indicating that thought-action fusion would be more appropriately analyzed as a moderator than a mediator.

To test mediation by sexual attitudes on the relationships between the predictor variables and the attitude dependent variable, a covariate analysis was conducted, entering sexual attitudes in the first step of the hierarchical regression. All effects remained significant when the effects of sexual attitudes were partialled out, with the exception of the marginal interaction between intrinsic religiosity, homophobia, and Contrast 4.

A similar covariate analysis for sexual attitudes was also conducted for the behavioral intentions dependent variable. With the effect of sexual attitudes partialled out, gender and intrinsic religiosity no longer had significant main effects. In addition, both three-way interactions (homophobia x intrinsic religiosity x Contrast 1 and homophobia x intrinsic religiosity x Contrast 2) became non-significant, suggesting that sexual attitudes may have partially

mediated the effects of homophobia, intrinsic religiosity, and the experimental manipulations.

To examine thought-action fusion as a potential moderator, two hierarchical multiple regressions were run, one for each of the two dependent variables (attitudes and behavioral intentions). For each analysis, the first step included the proposed predictors (homophobia, intrinsic religiosity, and thought-action fusion) and the four contrast codes for the experimental condition factor. Due to limitations of the sample size and the lack of evidence in the previous analyses of significant moderation of the other predictor effects by sex, sex was not included as a predictor in these analyses. The second step contained two-way interactions between the predictors and the contrast codes, the third step contained three-way interactions, and the fourth step four-way interactions. All individual difference variables and interaction terms were centered at 0.

For the attitude dependent measure, thought-action fusion did not significantly moderate any of the effects reported for earlier analyses. However, for the behavioral intentions dependent measure, thought-action fusion interacted with some of the previously reported significant findings. The main effect of intrinsic religiosity (behavioral intentions become more positive with increasing religiosity) was modified by an interaction with thought-action fusion ($b = -.134$, $p = .025$). The previously observed effect only held for individuals low in thought-action fusion. For those scoring in the mid-level on thought-action fusion, the reverse pattern was observed. That is, behavioral intentions became more negative with increasing religiosity. For those high in thought-action fusion,

behavioral intentions did not change as a function of religiosity. Thought-action fusion was included in the present research primarily to explore possible mechanisms for any intrinsic religiosity effects. The above pattern of results, however, where thought-action fusion appears to have a curvilinear effect in moderating the effects of religiosity, is not readily interpretable.

The marginal main effect of Contrast 2 (gay/gay vs. gay/straight and gay/celebrate), where behavioral intentions were more positive toward the gay/gay target than toward the gay/straight and gay/celebrate targets, also interacted with thought-action fusion ($b = -.135, p = .017$). This effect appears to hold for those who scored low and mid-level on thought-action fusion. For individuals high on thought-action fusion, behavioral intentions did not appear to differ as a function of experimental condition. These results are consistent with individuals who score high on the thought-action fusion scale not differentiating between identity (in this case, being gay) and behavior.

The homophobia by Contrast 1 (gay vs. straight) and homophobia by Contrast 3 (gay/straight vs. gay/celebrate) interactions also interacted significantly with thought-action fusion ($b = .172, p = .019$ and $b = .129, p = .023$, respectively). The homophobia by Contrast 1 interaction previously reported was that, as homophobia increased, behavioral intentions toward gay targets became more negative than intentions toward straight targets. For participants low in thought-action fusion, and those who scored high in thought-action fusion, behavioral intentions towards both gay and straight targets became more negative as homophobia increased, though this effect was stronger for gay targets. For

participants scoring in the mid-level, intentions toward straight targets remained stable (and even became slightly more positive) as homophobia increased. In contrast, intentions toward gay targets became much more strongly negative. As with the thought-action fusion interaction involving religiosity, the curvilinear effects of thought-action fusion in moderating the homophobia effects are not readily interpretable.

The homophobia by Contrast 3 interaction previously reported was that individuals who were low on homophobia had more positive intentions toward the gay/celebrate target relative to the gay/straight target. However, this pattern reversed for participants who were high in homophobia. This effect held for individuals low on thought-action fusion, and, to a lesser extent, individuals in the mid-range on thought-action fusion. For individuals high on thought-action fusion, behavioral intentions towards both the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets became more negative with increasing levels of homophobia. This latter effect is again consistent with individuals who score high on the thought-action fusion scale not differentiating between identity and behavior.

Chapter 4

DISCUSSION

From the negativity bias perspective, perceivers high in homophobia were hypothesized to judge gay targets more negatively than straight targets on both dependent variables, across target level of sexual activity, and regardless of perceiver level of intrinsic religiosity. In contrast, the behavior-based morality judgment perspective predicted that perceivers high in homophobia and intrinsic religiosity would judge gay targets in gay relationships more negatively than celibate gay targets, gay targets in straight relationships, or straight targets. The attitudes and behavioral intentions of perceivers who are high in homophobia and low in intrinsic religiosity were hypothesized to reflect a negativity bias (rating gay targets more negatively than straight targets), rather than differentiating between targets on the basis of behavior. Perceivers low in homophobia were not expected to differentiate between gay and straight targets.

Although it was theorized that these two perspectives were mutually exclusive, the findings demonstrated that both processes were at work in judgments of gay and straight targets. When gay targets were compared to straight targets, homophobia led to an evident negativity bias, which was intensified by higher levels of intrinsic religiosity. However, although perceivers who were higher in homophobia showed this overall negativity bias, there was still evidence of differentiation between gay targets based on sexual behavior for perceivers who were high in intrinsic religiosity. As intrinsic religiosity increased,

participant attitudes became more negative toward the gay/gay target and more positive toward the gay/straight and gay/celebrate targets.

Mak and Tsang (2008) proposed that intrinsically religious individuals view sexual behavior, but not sexual attraction, as a value violation. The presence of negative attitudes and intentions toward the gay/celebrate and gay/straight targets in the present study indicates that both same-sex sexual attraction and same-sex sexual behavior are viewed as value violations. Judgments do differ in their degree of negativity based on target behavior, but all gay targets were viewed more negatively than straight targets. This suggests that it is not intrinsic religiosity, *per se*, that is determining tolerant or intolerant attitudes towards homosexuality.

Interestingly, based on the covariate analysis, the negativity bias and sin vs. sinner effects were partially mediated by sexual attitudes. While this analysis was exploratory, it does have some interesting implications. The interaction between homophobia, intrinsic religiosity, and Contrast 1 (gay vs. straight), where we see an intensification of the negativity bias for individuals higher in intrinsic religiosity, becomes non-significant when the effect of sexual attitudes is partialled out. In addition, the interaction between homophobia, intrinsic religiosity, and Contrast 2 (gay/gay vs. gay/straight and gay/celebrate), where individuals higher in intrinsic religiosity expressed more positive intentions toward gay/straight and gay/celebrate targets relative to gay/gay targets also becomes non-significant with sexual attitudes partialled out. These findings suggest that attitudes toward sexuality, which are often linked to religious

teachings (Mak & Tsang, 2008), may help to explain both differing attitudes toward gay targets vs. straight targets, and different perceptions of various gay targets.

The comparison of the gay/straight and gay/celebrate targets was included to further delineate the boundaries of the “sin vs. sinner” effect. However, intrinsic religiosity did not interact with this contrast, thus indicating that the differentiation is based on engaging or not engaging in homosexual behavior, and does not break down further by different types of non-engagement. Unexpectedly, Contrast 3 (gay/straight vs. gay/celebrate) interacted with homophobia, for both the attitude and behavioral intentions dependent measures. Participants low on homophobia expressed more positive attitudes and intentions toward the gay/celebrate target, while participants high on homophobia were more positive toward the gay/straight target. For participants low on homophobia, this may be reflecting a belief that the gay/straight target is not being true to him or herself by acting in a way that contradicts his or her feelings of sexual attraction. In contrast, participants high in homophobia may perceive the gay/straight target as behaving in a positive manner by choosing to act in opposition to the “wrong” feelings of sexual attraction.

The exploratory analyses of thought-action fusion as a moderator demonstrated that this effect only holds for those scoring low to mid-level on thought-action fusion. Individuals with a high level of thought-action fusion did not differentiate between the gay/straight and gay/celebrate targets, and thus showed only increasingly negative intentions as homophobia increased. This

finding demonstrates that the thought-action fusion scale did appear to be measuring degree of differentiation between targets based on behavior. However, thought-action fusion was included in the present study as a potential explanation for the mechanisms of moral judgments thought to be involved in intrinsic religiosity. From the present results, it appears that thought-action fusion, as measured by the Shafran et al. (1996) scale, is measuring a different mechanism than that which is involved in intrinsic religiosity.

The straight/straight and straight/celibate targets were included to explore the impact of sexual behavior on morality judgments of straight targets. Individuals low in religiosity show increasingly negative attitudes toward both targets as homophobia increases. For higher levels of religiosity, attitudes improve towards the straight/celebrate target, but remain negative toward the straight/straight target. Based on the covariate analysis conducted with the sexual attitudes measure, this effect appears to be partially mediated by attitudes toward sexual behavior. Overall, the straight/celebrate scenario did not provide highly relevant and useful data, and could most likely be omitted from future replications. It is unclear how participants perceived a straight target who was committed to remaining celibate, as this is a relatively uncommon situation.

One limitation of the present study is that participants judged only same-sex targets. A replication of this study with opposite-sex judgments would allow for confirmation of this, as well as clarifying the nature of the observed main effect of gender. Women expressed attitudes and behavioral intentions that were significantly more positive than men's across all experimental scenarios.

However, in the present study participant gender and target gender are perfectly confounded, thus making it impossible to determine which variable is driving this effect. Obtaining opposite-sex judgments would clarify whether female perceivers tend to rate both male and female targets more favorably than male perceivers, or whether both male and female perceivers rate female targets more favorably than male targets. It should be noted, however, that such opposite-sex judgments might also confound sexual attraction in the person ratings.

Additionally, the measure of homophobia used (Homophobia Scale, Wright et al., 1999) may not have offered the most precise test of the hypotheses. This scale measures general attitudes toward homosexual individuals, but does not differentiate between attitudes toward gay men and attitudes toward lesbians. The content of stereotypes towards these two groups differs, each group is seen as posing different threats, and the threats posed differ depending on perceiver gender. Therefore, more precise measurement of attitudes towards gay men and lesbians would allow for a more effective test of the moderating effect of homophobia on the “sin vs. sinner” and negativity bias processes. In addition, the homophobia scale does not provide a direct measure of whether or not the participant believes that homosexual individuals are immoral. Such a measure would provide a more direct test of the hypotheses and would allow for examination of whether and how this belief relates to homophobia and intrinsic religiosity. The current measure also measures overtly negative attitudes towards homosexual individuals. While it is still relatively socially acceptable to express negative attitudes towards gay men and lesbians (compared to expressing racist or

sexist attitudes), many individuals, especially the more highly educated participants assessed in college samples, may exhibit a social desirability bias in their responses to such a scale.

The use of a college sample also poses potential problems for the present research. Higher levels of education are correlated with more positive attitudes toward homosexuality (Herek, 1994, as cited in Blashill & Powlishta, 2009b). The range of attitudes toward homosexuality may, therefore, have been limited in the present study. Replication with a more representative sample from the general population could provide a more accurate picture of the impact of homophobia on morality judgments of homosexuality.

The present study intended to compare celibate to sexually active targets. However, in the scenarios intended to portray sexually active targets, the sexual activity was implied (through a statement that the target was in a committed relationship), rather than explicitly stated. This may have weakened observed differences in target judgments and led to unintentional variability in perceiver interpretation of the sexually active targets. In addition, previous research on the sin vs. sinner effect (e.g., Mak & Tsang, 2008) used helping behavior as their dependent measure, rather than attitudes and behavioral intentions, as in the present research. Although there are potential confounds inherent in measuring helping behavior (e.g., individuals are more likely to offer help to female targets), inclusion of a similar behavioral measure would have allowed for a more direct comparison to previous research.

The present study suggests several interesting areas for future research. Cottrell and Neuberg (2005) have demonstrated that different groups are perceived as posing different threats, and therefore elicit specific, functional emotional responses. Moral transgressions and value violations tend to elicit an emotional response of disgust (Rozin, Lowery, Imada, & Haidt, 1999). By examining the profile of emotional responses to the targets used in the present research, it would be possible to more precisely determine whether same-sex attraction, same-sex sexual activity, or both were viewed as immoral.

Those who differentiate between “sin” and “sinner” do not necessarily experience a different emotional reaction to the target than those who do not differentiate. The differentiation is observable in reported attitudes and behavioral intentions toward the target. Future research could, therefore, explore more in depth the cognitive processes that mediate the pathway from emotional response to behavioral intention. For example, the added level of cognitive processing necessary for the sin vs. sinner distinction to be made might be more likely for participants who enjoy thinking and processing information (i.e., those who are high on need for cognition; Cacioppo & Petty, 1982). Alternatively, this mechanism may be related to differences in religious dogma and teaching, as discussed by Cohen (2003).

Finally, exploring the sin vs. sinner distinction in other areas of morality, such as adultery, theft, cheating, etc. would define the boundaries of this phenomenon, and determine whether the process operates in a similar way to judgments of homosexuality. Essentialist beliefs might prove a powerful

moderator in determining the situations under which the sin vs. sinner effect occurs. That is, homosexuality is often essentialized (i.e., seen to be an inherent characteristic of an individual, and not a consciously chosen characteristic), while identities, such as adulterer or thief, might carry a greater perception of choice.

While Allport (1966) theorized that tolerance and lack of prejudice were at the heart of intrinsic religiosity, it seems that the story, at least when it comes to sexual orientation, is not so straightforward. The moderating effect of homophobia on the interaction between intrinsic religiosity and judgments of gay and straight targets perhaps shows us that religiosity itself is not inherently tolerant or intolerant. To the extent that an individual has learned sexual prejudice, religiosity can enhance that intolerance, but for individuals who are not sexually prejudiced, religiosity can promote tolerance.

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Table 1

Means, SDs, and Cronbach's Alpha for all Individual Difference Variables

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Cronbach's Alpha
Intrinsic Religiosity	2.99	.80	.79
Homophobia	2.43	.93	.96
Thought-Action Fusion	2.76	.87	.93
Sexual Attitudes	2.86	.47	.89

Table 2

*Correlations of Dependent Variables and Individual Difference Measures by**Scenario*

Scenario		H	IE	TAF	SA	BI	A
Gay/Gay	Homophobia	1	.428**	.131	-.029	-.531**	-.576**
	Intrinsic Religiosity	.428**	1	.271*	.114	-.388**	-.232
	Thought Action Fusion	.131	.271*	1	.129	-.163	-.223
	Sexual Attitudes	-.029	.114	.129	1	.167	.118
	Behavioral Intentions	-.531**	-.388**	-.163	.167	1	.701**
	Attitudes	-.576**	-.232	-.223	.118	.701**	1
Gay/Celibate	Homophobia	1	.090	.140	-.107	-.538**	-.407**
	Intrinsic Religiosity	.090	1	.233	.411**	.086	-.104
	Thought Action Fusion	.140	.233	1	.374**	.089	.028
	Sexual Attitudes	-.107	.411**	.374**	1	.183	-.015
	Behavioral Intentions	-.538**	.086	.089	.183	1	.665**
	Attitudes	-.407**	-.104	.028	-.015	.665**	1
Gay/Straight	Homophobia	1	.182	.187	.302	-.220	-.099
	Intrinsic Religiosity	.182	1	.407**	-.017	.188	.149
	Thought Action Fusion	.187	.407**	1	.306*	.416**	.281*
	Sexual Attitudes	.302	-.017	.306*	1	.109	-.165
	Behavioral Intentions	-.220	.188	.416**	.109	1	.652**
	Attitudes	-.099	.149	.281*	-.165	.652**	1
Straight/Straight	Homophobia	1	.138	.079	.136	-.164	-.398**
	Intrinsic Religiosity	.138	1	.309*	.603**	.218	.030

	Thought Action Fusion	.079	.309*	1	.259	.301*	.126
	Sexual Attitudes	.136	.603**	.259	1	.204	-.019
	Behavioral Intentions	-.164	.218	.301*	.204	1	.700**
	Attitudes	-.398**	.030	.126	-.019	.700**	1
Straight/ Celibate	Homophobia	1	.251	.247	-.271	-.136	-.039
	Intrinsic Religiosity	.251	1	.321*	.133	.101	.111
	Thought Action Fusion	.247	.321*	1	.397**	.213	.126
	Sexual Attitudes	-.271	.133	.397**	1	.227	.152
	Behavioral Intentions	-.136	.101	.213	.227	1	.753**
	Attitudes	-.039	.111	.126	.152	.753**	1

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 1. Attitudes as a function of homophobia, marked by Contrast 3 (gay/straight vs. gay/celibate).

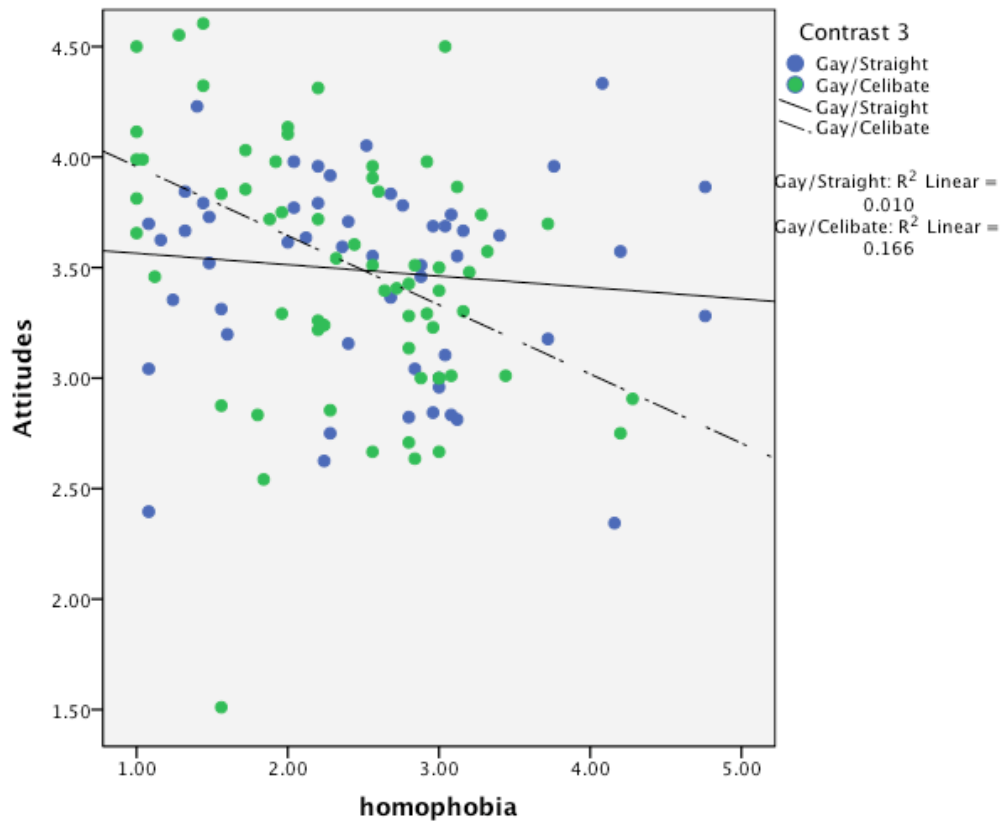
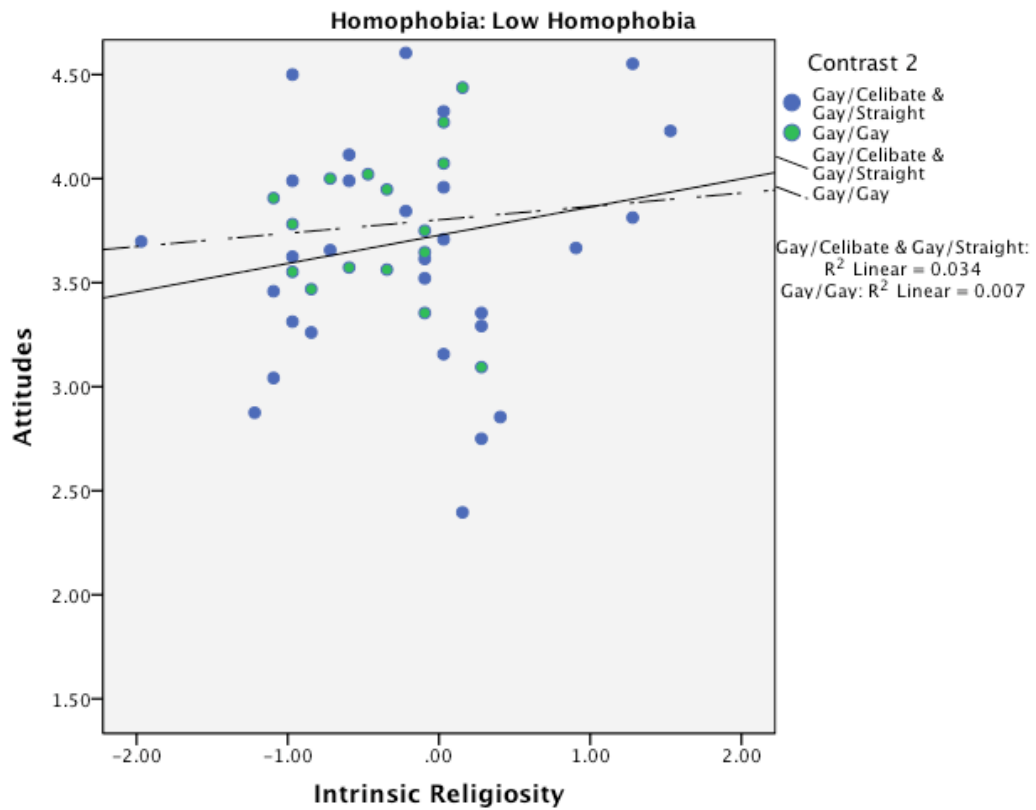
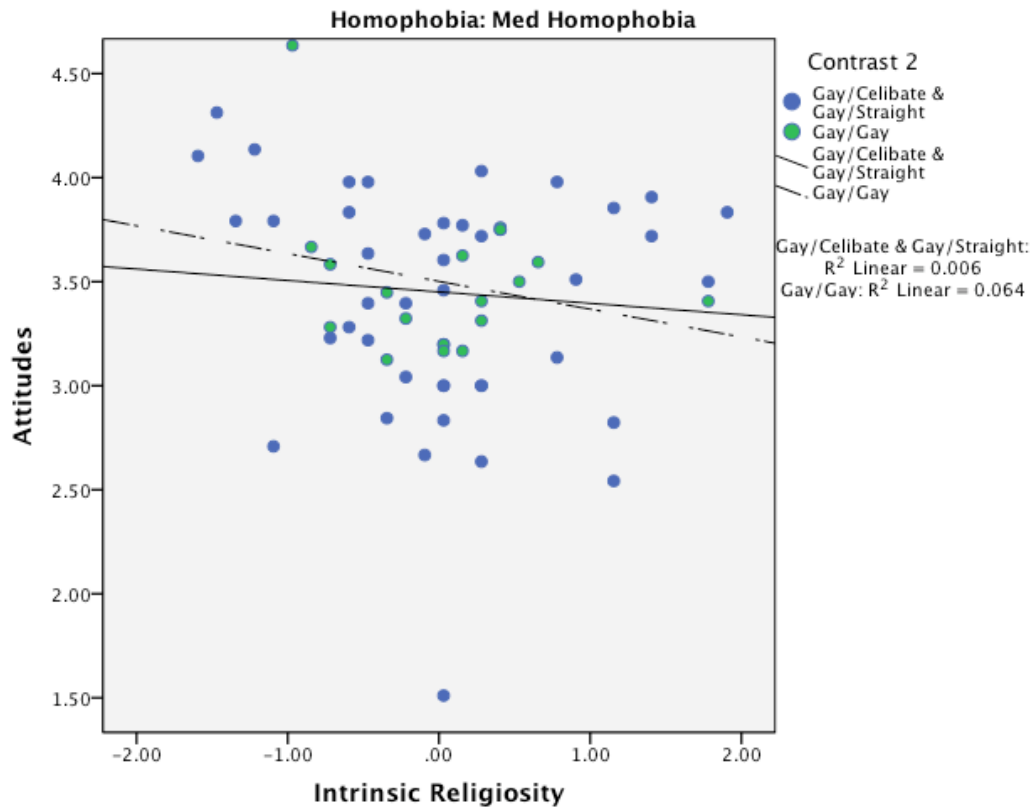


Figure 2. Attitudes as a function of intrinsic religiosity, marked by Contrast 2 (gay/gay vs. gay/celibate and gay/straight), at low, medium, and high levels of homophobia.





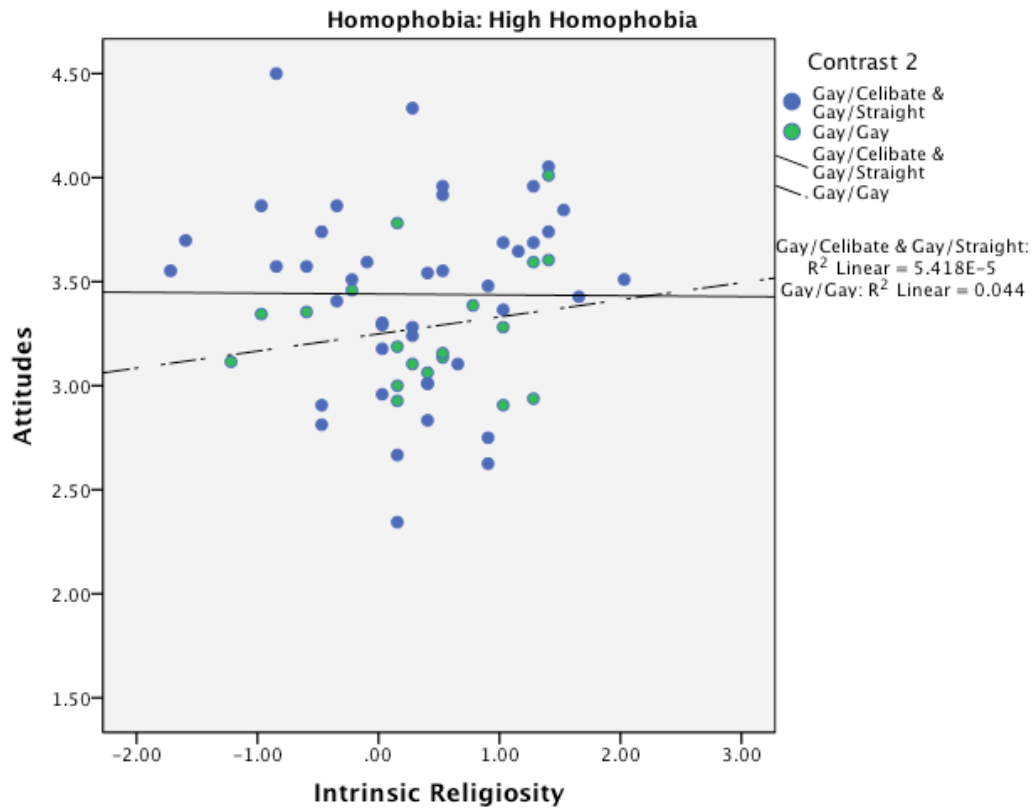
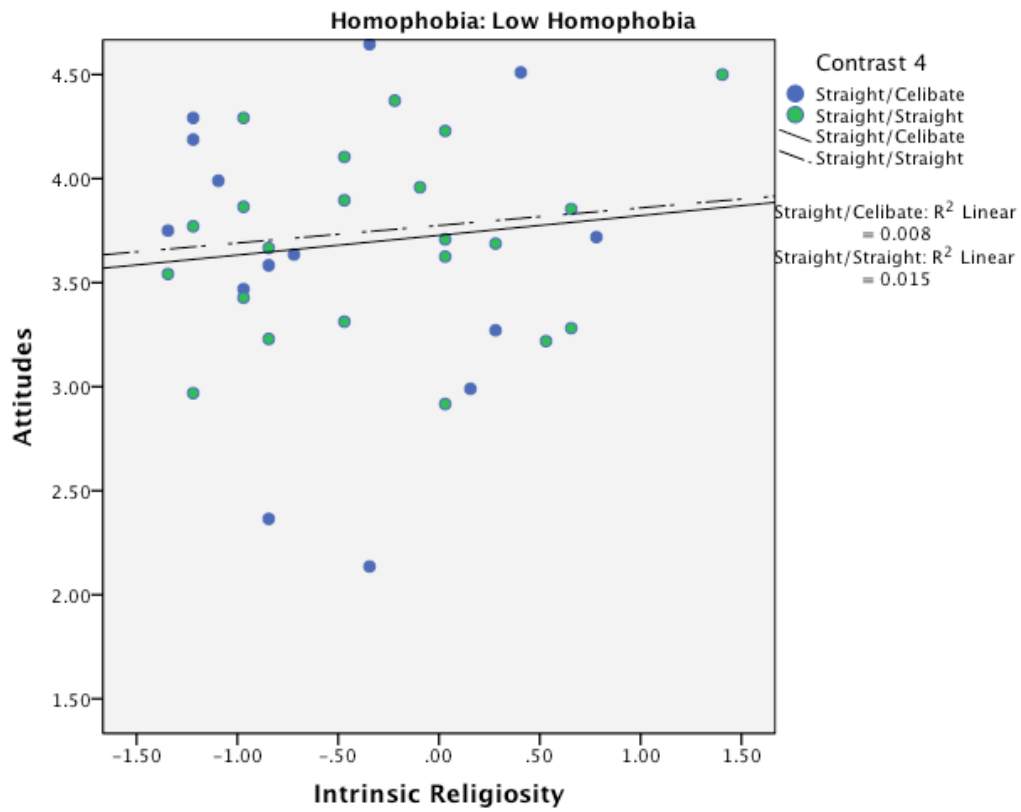
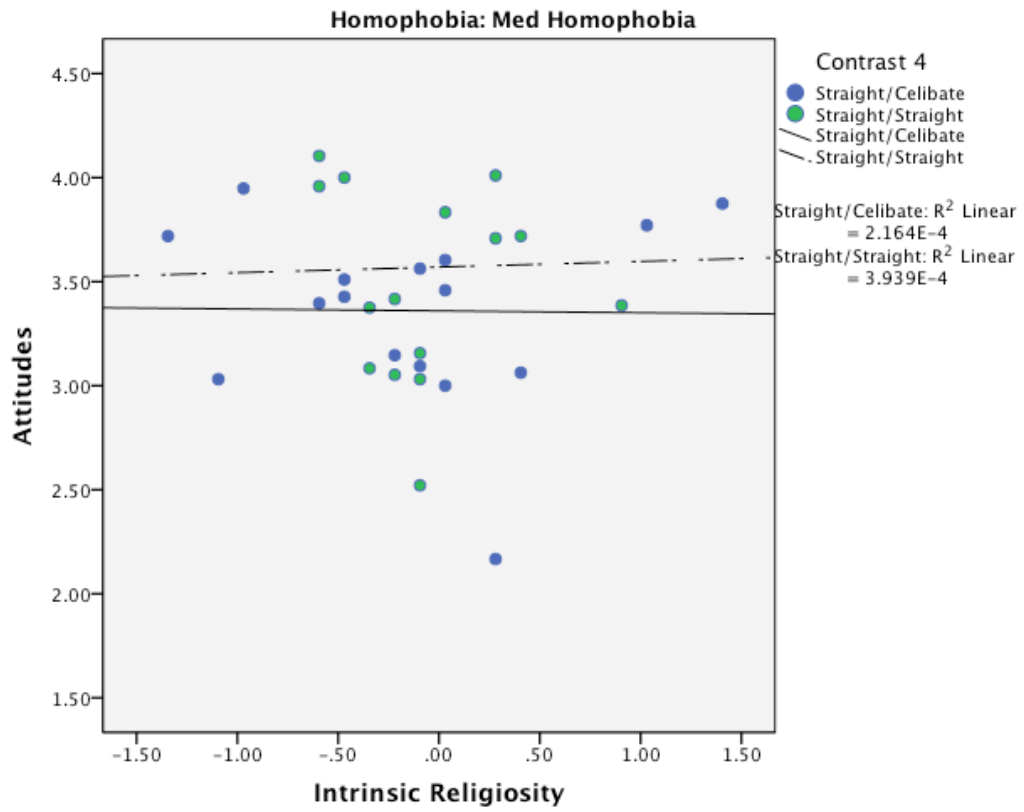


Figure 3. Attitudes as a function of intrinsic religiosity, marked by Contrast 4 (straight/straight vs. straight/celebate), at low, medium, and high levels of homophobia.





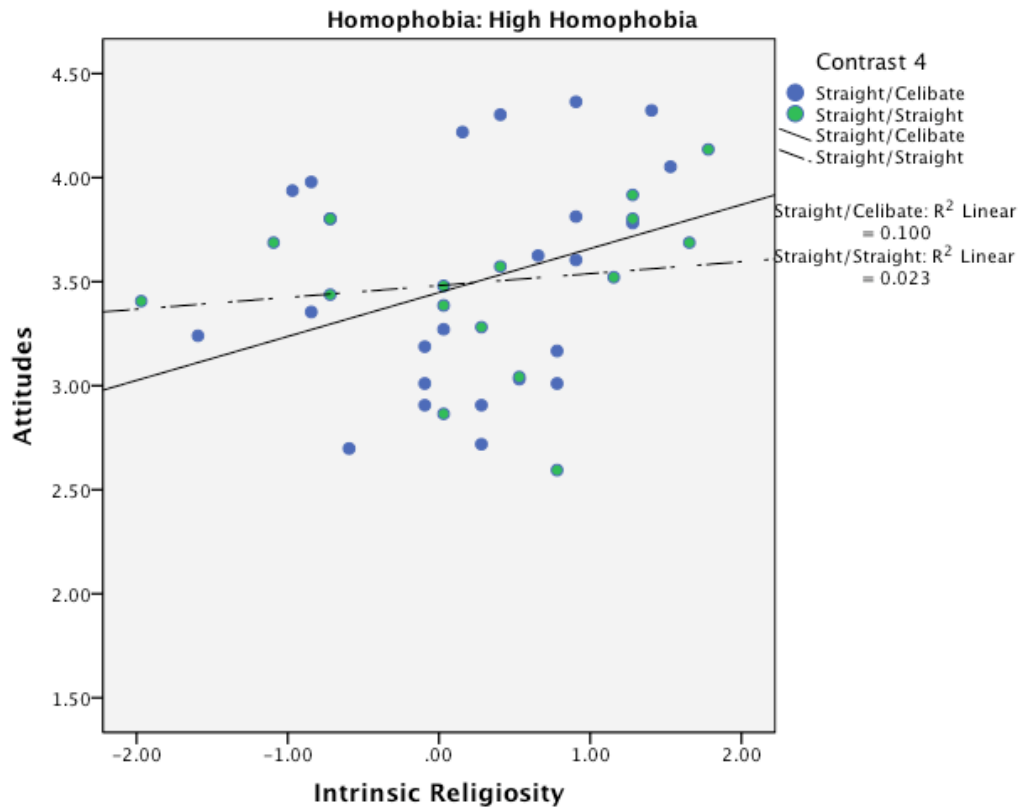


Figure 4. Behavioral intentions as a function of homophobia, marked by Contrast 3 (gay/celebrate vs. gay/straight).

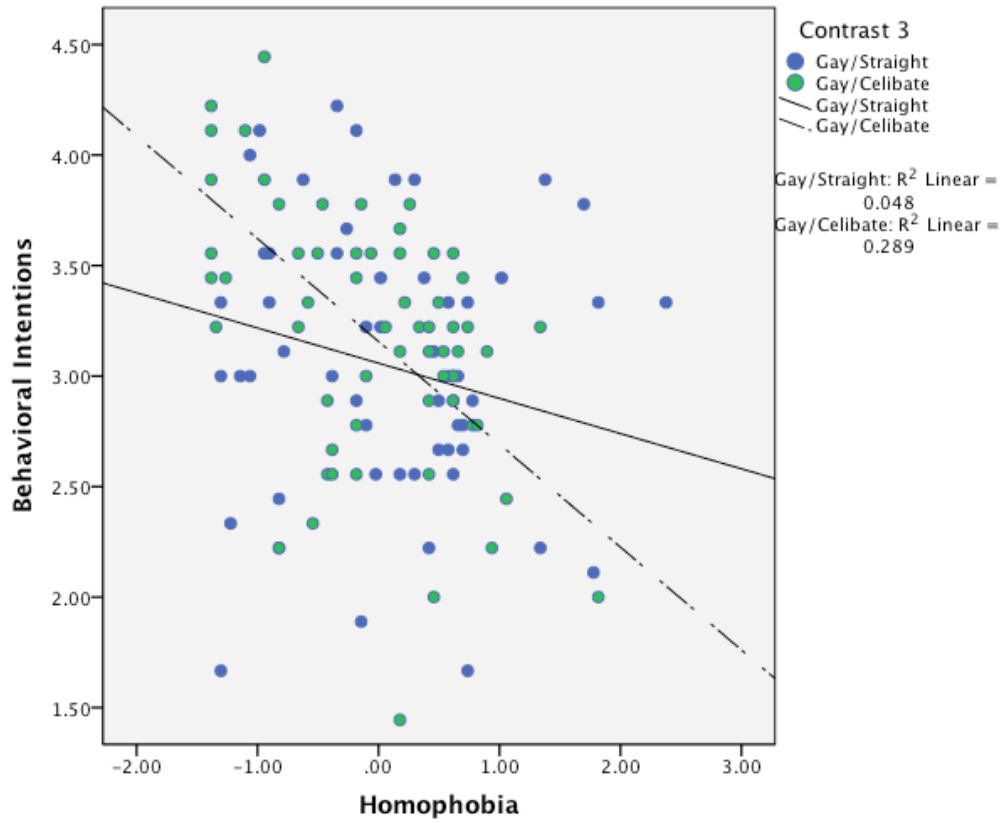
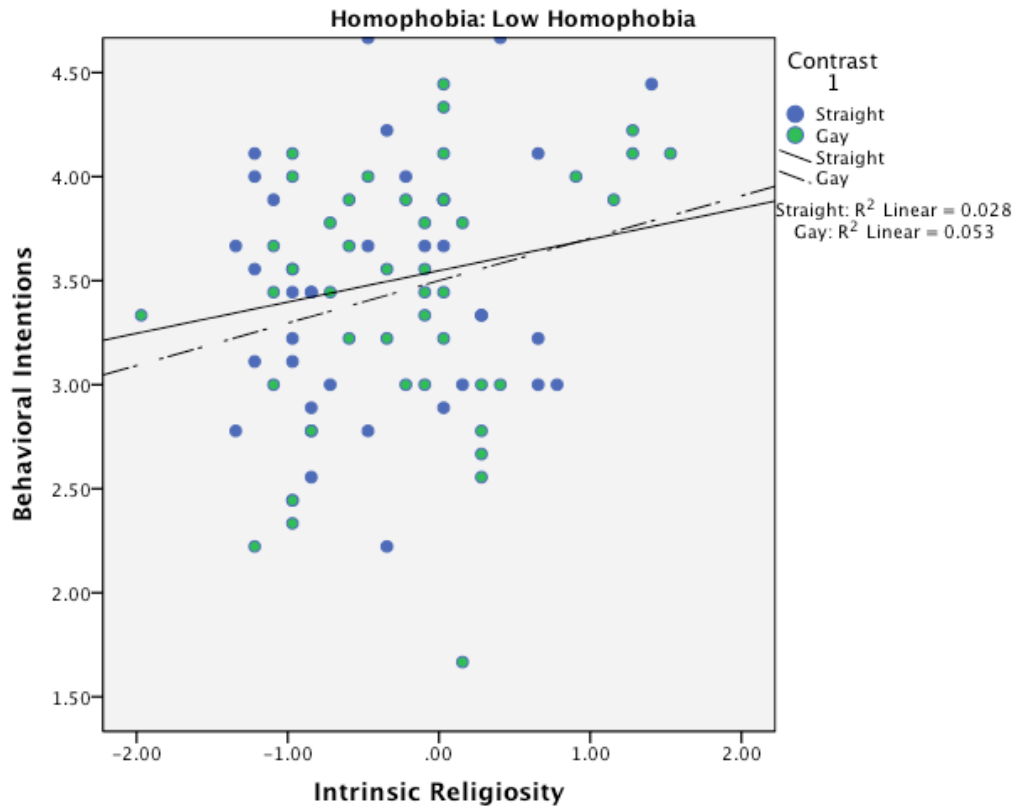
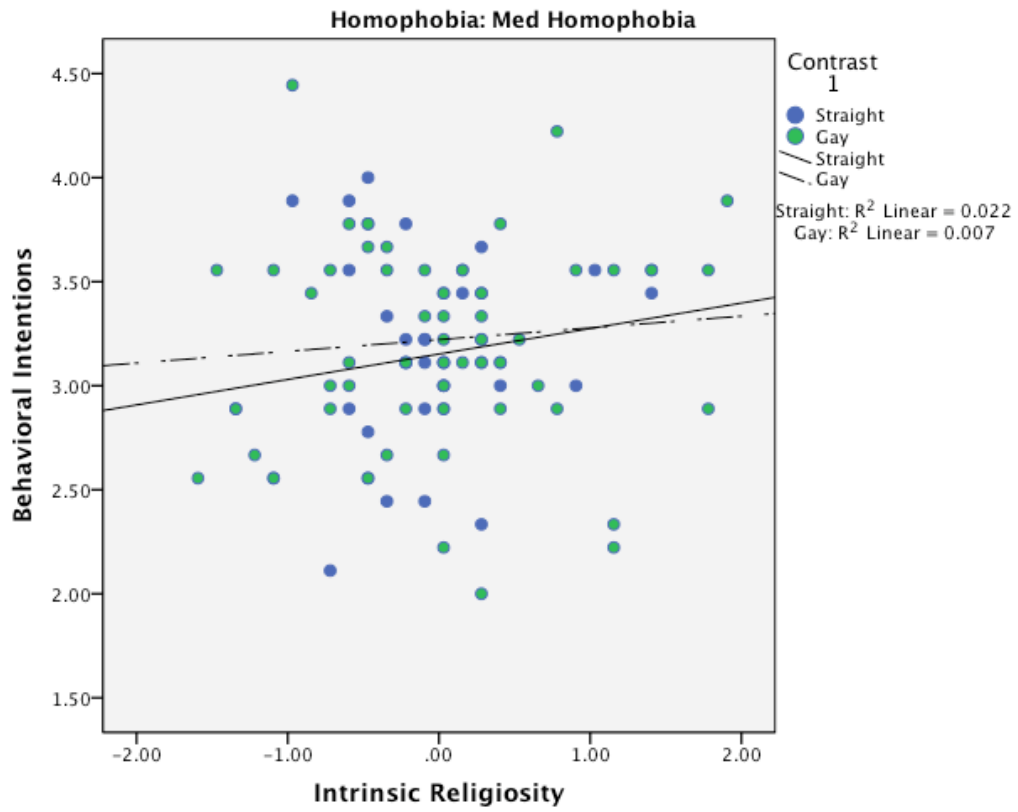


Figure 5. Behavioral intentions as a function of intrinsic religiosity, marked by Contrast 1 (gay vs. straight), at low, medium, and high levels of homophobia.





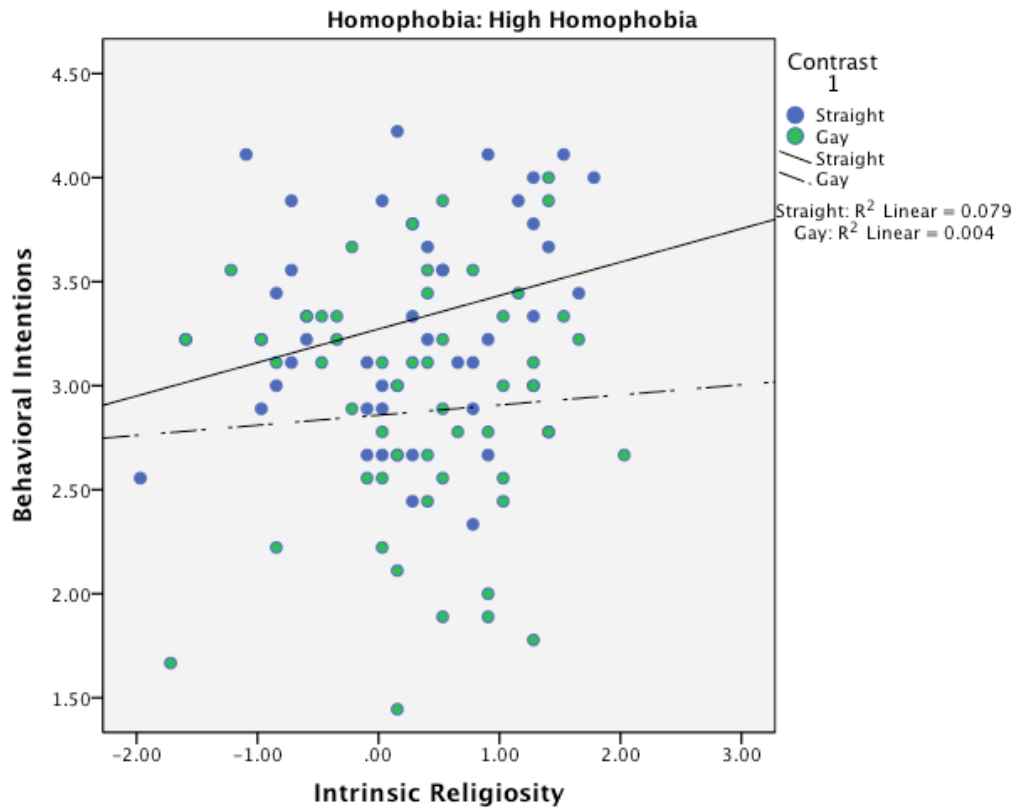
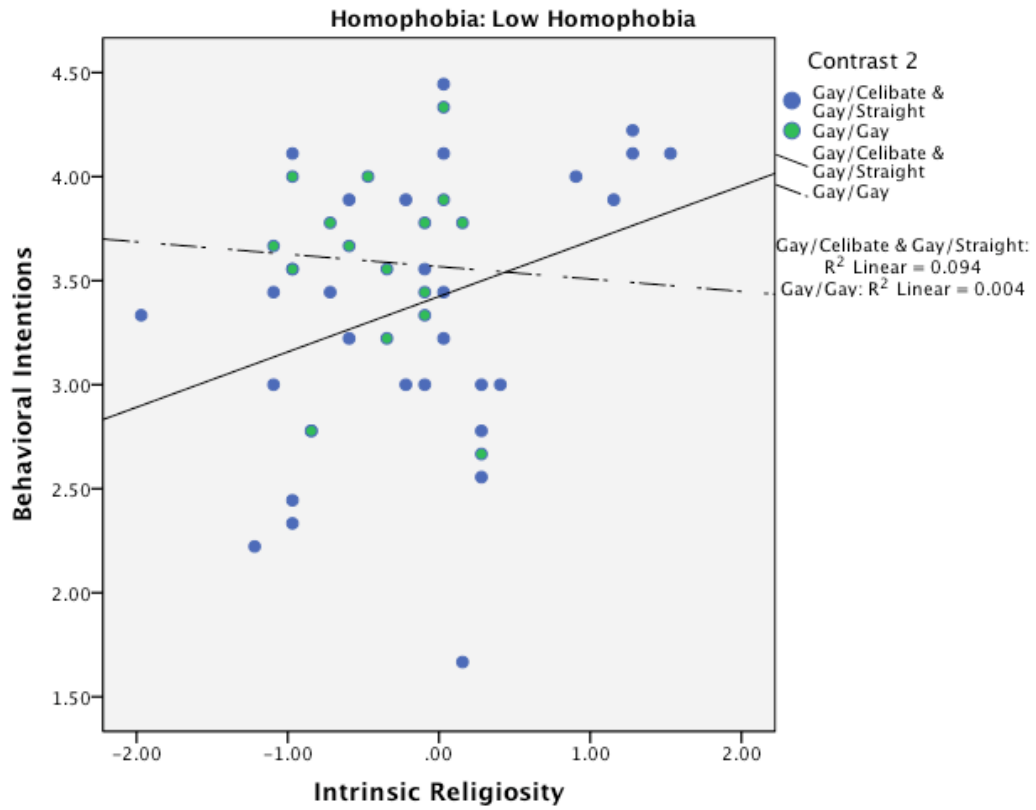
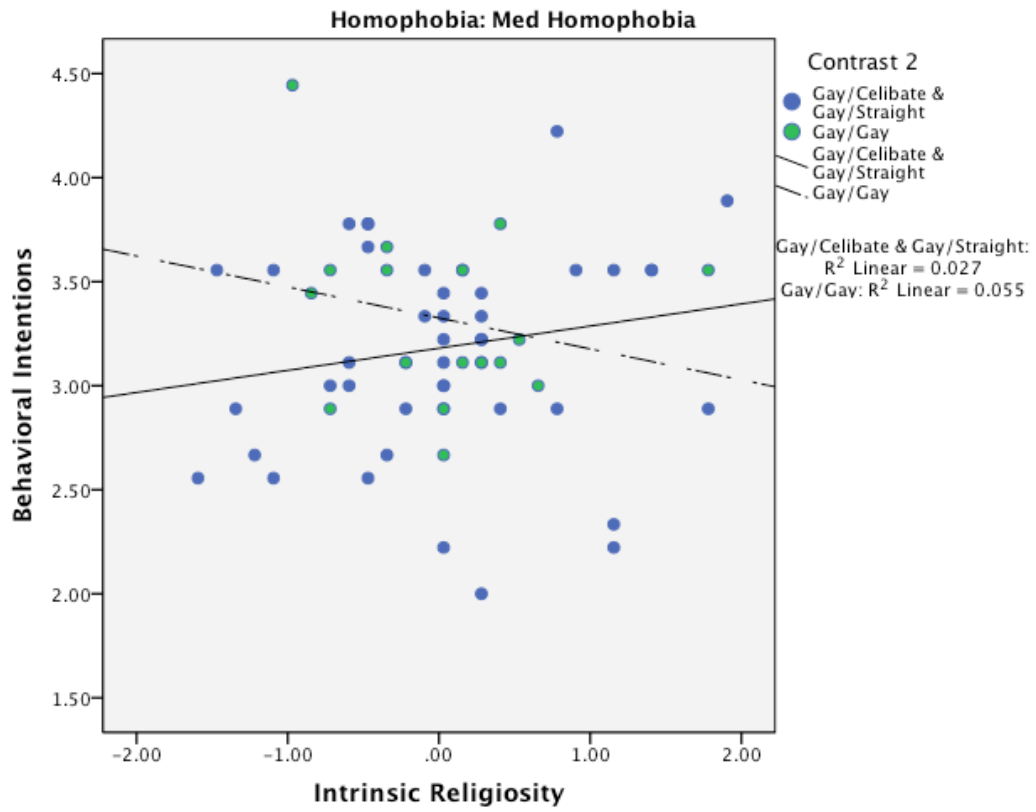
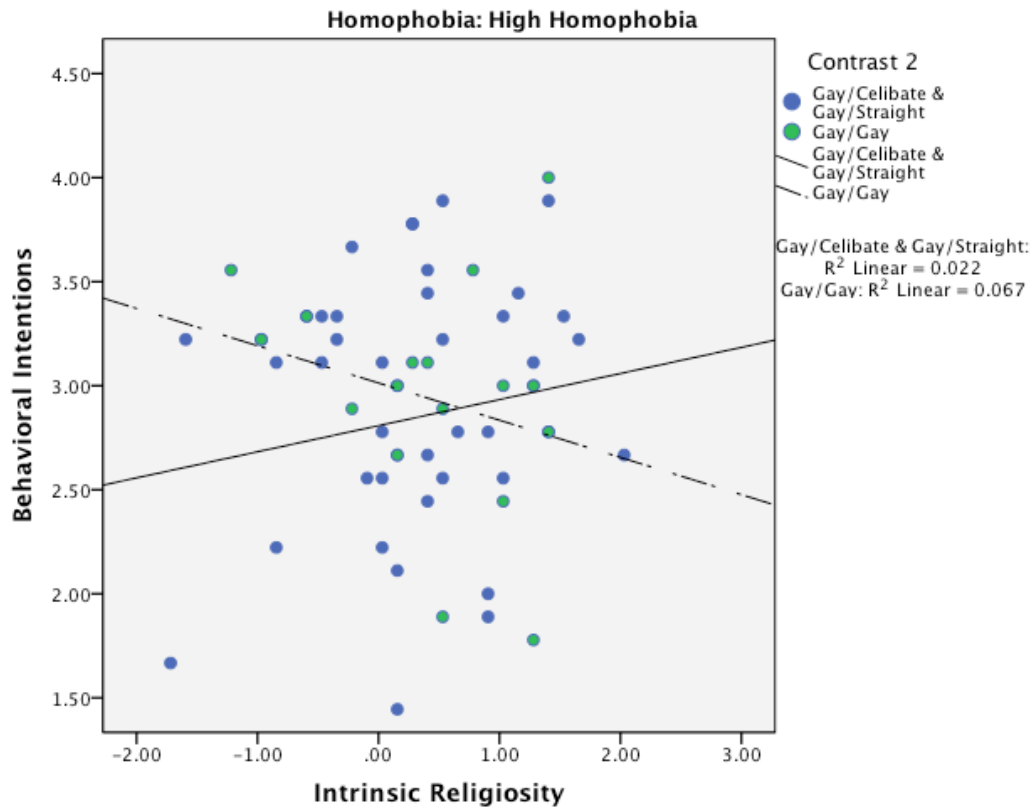


Figure 6. Behavioral intentions as a function of intrinsic religiosity, marked by Contrast 2 (gay/gay vs. gay/celebrate and gay/straight), at low, medium, and high levels of homophobia.







APPENDIX A
TARGET SCENARIOS

Male:

John is a senior at Arizona State University who plans on being a police officer when he graduates. He enjoys riding his motorcycle and shooting pool.

Occasionally, he plays cards with his friends. John is known as someone who solves problems by taking charge and figuring out what needs to be done. He also enjoys art in his free time.

Male Experimental Manipulation:

- *Same-sex attraction/Same-sex relationship.* John is attracted to men, chooses to have relationships with men, and is in a committed relationship with his boyfriend Mike.
- *Same-sex attraction/Celibate.* John is attracted to men, but chooses not to have relationships with men and to remain celibate.
- *Same-sex attraction/Opposite-sex relationship.* John is attracted to men, but chooses not to have relationships with men, and is in a committed relationship with his girlfriend Michelle.
- *Opposite-sex attraction/Opposite-sex relationship.* John is attracted to women, chooses to have relationships with women, and is in a committed relationship with his girlfriend Michelle.
- *Opposite-sex attraction/Celibate.* John is attracted to women, but chooses not to have relationships with women and to remain celibate.

Female:

Jennifer is a senior at Arizona State University who plans on being a nurse when she graduates. She enjoys gymnastics and baking cookies. Occasionally, she plays cards with her friends. Jennifer is known as someone who solves problems by consulting with others and paying attention to their emotions. She also enjoys art in her free time.

Female Experimental Manipulation:

- *Same-sex attraction/Same-sex relationship.* Jennifer is attracted to women, chooses to have relationships with women, and is in a committed relationship with her girlfriend Michelle.
- *Same-sex attraction/Celibate.* Jennifer is attracted to women, but chooses not to have relationships with women and to remain celibate.
- *Same-sex attraction/Opposite-sex relationship.* Jennifer is attracted to women, but chooses not to have relationships with women, and is in a committed relationship with her boyfriend Mike.
- *Opposite-sex attraction/Opposite-sex relationship.* Jennifer is attracted to men, chooses to have relationships with men, and is in a committed relationship with her boyfriend Mike.
- *Opposite-sex attraction/Celibate.* Jennifer is attracted to men, but chooses not to have relationships with men and to remain celibate.

APPENDIX B

TARGET EVALUATION QUESTIONS

Morality

1. This person sees nothing wrong with cheating to get ahead in the world. (R)
2. This person always follows the rules.
3. This person feels ashamed if he or she breaks a rule.
4. Following rules is more important to this person than taking care of others' feelings. (R)
5. This person always looks out for himself or herself before others. (R)
6. This person believes that extenuating circumstances can never justify breaking rules.
7. Overall, I would consider this person a moral person.

Conscience

1. If I confided private information to this person, I would be confident that he or she would keep my secret.
2. This person follows rules to avoid punishment, not because he or she is a good person. (R)
3. This person always follows his or her conscience.
4. In social interactions, this person takes care to avoid hurting others' feelings.
5. This person only helps others when doing so will further his or her own interests. (R)
6. This person gives to others without expecting anything in return.
7. This person has a strong internal moral code that he or she lives by.
8. This person believes that sometimes doing the right thing requires breaking a rule.
9. Overall, I would consider this person a good person.

Competence

1. I would feel comfortable entrusting a complex problem-solving task to this person.
2. This person is well-respected by his or her classmates and professors for his or her skills and abilities.
3. This person has a very low GPA. (R)
4. Most people would consider this person to be incapable of handling difficult problems. (R)
5. This person is intelligent.
6. Overall, I would consider this person a competent person.

Likeability

1. This person is well liked by their classmates and professors.
2. This person acts very cold towards others. (R)
3. I would want to spend time with this person in a social context.
4. This person has many friends.
5. This person has trouble making friends. (R)
6. Overall, I would consider this person a likeable person.

Behavioral Intentions

1. I would be happy to have this person teaching at my child's school.
2. This person would be a good role model for children.
3. I would prefer to avoid any kind of physical contact with this person.
(R)
4. I would feel safe leaving my child alone with this person.
5. When this person is hired as a high school teacher, he or she should be closely supervised at work. (R)
6. I would donate money to a charity sponsored by the church that this person belongs to.
7. I would donate money to a political cause that this person is actively involved in.
8. If I got into legal trouble I would ask this person for advice.
9. If I were having romantic troubles I would ask this person for advice.