

COLLEGE STUDENT IDENTITY AND ATTITUDES TOWARD GAYS AND LESBIANS

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This study investigates the relationship between an individual's attitude toward gay men and lesbians and their identity development. The sample included 440 undergraduates from a university in the northeast Texas area. Many, if not all, of the factors that are associated with negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians (i.e., restrictive gender-role attitudes, high levels of authoritarianism, perceptions of negative attitudes toward homosexuals within their peer group, little or no contact with homosexuals, and conservative religious ideologies) have a logical relation to identity development. Furthermore, the various functions that attitudes toward gays and lesbians can serve (e.g., value-expression, group membership) were hypothesized to be especially attractive for persons in specific identity statuses. Thus, the case was made that identity development may be a valuable framework in which to understand attitudes toward gays and lesbians. In the current study, attitudes toward gays and lesbians were related to identity development, though the relationship is complex. When comparing persons who were higher and lower on absolutism, attitude toward gays and lesbians were most similar in achieved identity groups, while those who were foreclosed were the most disparate. In the interaction between identity, absolutism and gender role stereotyping, some groups utilized their attitude to express values more than other groups. Clinical implications as well as limitations of the study are discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|--|------|
| LIST OF TABLES | iii |
| LIST OF FIGURES | iv |
| Chapter | |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Homophobia and Associated Phenomenon | 1 |
| Identity Development and Associated Phenomenon | 6 |
| Statement of Problem | 12 |
| Hypotheses..... | 13 |
| 2. METHODS | 15 |
| Participants | 15 |
| Materials | 15 |
| Informed Consent & Demographic Information | |
| Attitude Function Inventory | |
| Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-R | |
| Gender Role Belief Scale | |
| Attitude Toward Lesbians and Gays Scale | |
| Scale of Adult Intellectual Development, Absolutism Subscale | |
| Social Desirability Scale | |
| Additional Instruments | |
| Procedures..... | 20 |
| 3. RESULTS | 21 |
| 4. DISCUSSION..... | 24 |
| Summary of Findings | 24 |
| Clinical Implications..... | 28 |
| Methodological Limitations..... | 29 |
| Implications for Future Research..... | 31 |
| APPENDICES | 33 |
| REFERENCES | 63 |

LIST OF TABLES

| | Page |
|---|------|
| 1. Descriptive Statistics for Entire Sample..... | 41 |
| 2. Cell Sizes for Entire Data Set..... | 42 |
| 3. Cell Sizes After Randomly Re-Sampling from Over Represented Cells..... | 43 |
| 4. Means, Standard Deviations & Adjusted Means for the Absolutism by Identity Status Interaction..... | 44 |
| 5. Means, Standard Deviations & Adjusted Means for the Absolutism by Gender Stereotyping by Identity Status Interaction | 45 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. Interaction between Absolutism and Identity Status on Attitude Toward Lesbians and Gays..... | 38 |
| 2. Interaction between Absolutism, Gender Stereotyping and Identity Status on Affective Function Inventory, Value Expressive Subscale..... | 39 |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Homophobia and Associated Phenomenon

Despite the considerable strides made in the 20th century, gays, lesbians, and bisexuals (GLB) remain one of the most openly oppressed groups in the United States (Bolton, 1994). Negative reactions to gays and lesbians include cognitive, affective, and behavioral facets. As such, researchers have created a variety of terms describing specific kinds of negative reactions (cognitive, affective, behavioral) at various levels (intrapersonal, interpersonal, institutional, and cultural). These terms have been defined in various ways by different researchers causing some confusion.

Homophobia is the most widely used term to refer to negative reactions toward gays and lesbians. Initially it was popularized by Weinberg (1972) as a dread of being in close quarters with a homosexual person. It is important to note that homophobia is not a true phobia, but revulsion precipitated by prejudicial attitudes (Lehne, 1976; Weinberg, 1972). Some have argued that homophobia has been defined in so many different ways (e.g., irrational fears, biased attitudes) that it has lost meaning (Neisen, 1990). Certainly, the consumer of homophobia research would be advised to pay careful attention to the definition used in any particular study. The term has been used to describe phenomena far beyond the scope of Weinberg's (1972) definition of an internal, affective reaction.

The broadest term to date, heterosexism, refers to the ideology that encompasses all negativity toward gays and lesbians including the observable and internal.

Heterosexism is the ideology that only heterosexual attraction patterns and lifestyles are acceptable. It holds up heterosexuality as the only normal option, devalues homosexuality, and

relegates it into a category with sexual deviance (Herek, 1990). The phenomenon occurs at all levels from the cultural to the individual. At the cultural level, gays and lesbians are placed squarely outside of the model life course and lifestyle. Cultural heterosexism (Herek, 1990) involves the social phenomenon that creates and maintains anti-homosexual sentiment. At the cultural level, heterosexism is manifest by phenomena such as the denial of marriage rights to gays and lesbians. These kinds of biases filter through social institutions and face-to-face interactions all the way down to each person's thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Heterosexism at the individual level, psychological heterosexism, involves a specific person's homonegative belief and value system as well as their cognitive affective and behavioral reactions to gays and lesbians. This includes homonegative belief systems, and acceptance of anti-homosexual word and deed. Psychological heterosexism is especially pertinent to the discussion at hand because of the work that has gone into delineating it as a functional phenomenon (Herek, 1986, 1987).

Herek (1986a, 1987) lays out a neofunctional conceptualization of attitudes that helps in the definition and study of psychological heterosexism. Within this taxonomy, attitudes are divided into two categories, evaluative and expressive, based on how the individual benefits from the attitude. Evaluative attitudes are based on rewards or punishment from the attitude object. That is, the reward for expressing the attitude comes from the "object" that the person expresses the attitude toward. Herek (1987) classifies attitudes about gays and lesbians that originate from actual interactions as "experiential-schematic," and indicates that these attitudes are evaluative in nature. Voting behavior involves more general examples of evaluative attitudes. One could assert that a voter's attitude toward a candidate, expressed via voting, is usually based on the perceived benefit the candidate will have for his or her constituents and ultimately for the person casting the vote.

The benefits of expressive attitudes, on the other hand, derive from expression of the attitude and not the object itself. Attitudes toward gays and lesbians are most often expressive (Herek, 1986a, 1987) and the attitudes are based on what the group symbolically represents to the perceiver. Expression of the attitude leads to self-definition (value-expressive function), group acceptance (social-expressive function), or anxiety reduction (defensive function).

Value-expressive heterosexism serves the purpose of expressing self-concept through the assertion of values. A person who subscribes to a conservative religious ideology might condemn the GLB community as a way of asserting themselves as having sound morals. Social-expressive heterosexism helps the individual fit into an important group, the assumption being that the anti gay and lesbian expression will increase one's acceptance by the group. Finally, defensive anti gay and lesbian attitudes can reduce intrapsychic conflict. A man with low self-esteem might deride gay men as effeminate to bolster his sense of masculinity.

Herek (1987) studied college students' attitudes toward gays and lesbians by having them write essays about their feelings about the group. He then coded the responses to determine which of the functional categories (experiential-schematic, defensive, self-expressive) these attitudes served. Self-expression was, by far, the most common basis for attitudes toward gays and lesbians in the college students (Herek, 1987). He attributes this to identity development issues inherent in college students. Participants who expressed negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians for value expressive reasons "usually focused on traditional religious standards of right and wrong," (Herek, 1987). He also notes that these responses included themes of black and white thinking. During the course of this study it was determined that the social expressive function was a combination of two functions: social expression and value expression. The former

function is used to align with specific groups, while the latter serves to express self-definition (Herek, 1987).

Defensive functions are created and maintained by intrapsychic conflict. This involves a two-part process of first projecting unacceptable traits onto gays and lesbians, and then expressing negativity toward them (Herek, 1987). Many of the issues aroused by gays and lesbians tap likely sources of intrapsychic conflict such as sexuality, gender roles, or morality. Essays scored as containing defensive functions expressed feelings of disgust with homosexuality, or one of nine other characteristics of externalization such as concern about being hit on by a same-sex individual, or expression of greater hostility toward homosexuals of the participants' gender. Contrary to popular wisdom, defensiveness was the least common function served. To the extent that defensive functions do exist, it is possible that resolution of developmental issues will resolve internal conflict in these areas and reduce the need for this kind of ego defense. The large majority of the persons expressing experiential-schematic based attitudes held positive attitudes toward gays and lesbians.

Several traits have consistently been associated with negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians, including 1) restrictive gender-role attitudes, 2) high levels of authoritarianism and associated personality characteristics, 3) perceptions of negative attitudes toward homosexuals in their peer group, 4) little or no contact with homosexuals, and 5) conservative religious ideologies (Herek, 1984). Men have also been shown to evidence more negativity than women in attitudes toward gays and lesbians (Herek, 1986a, 2002; MacDonald, 1974).

This male/female discrepancy is usually attributed to the social construction of male gender identity (Herek, 1986b). Herek (1986a/b) has found that males utilize defensive heterosexism much more than women. He also reports that defensive homophobia was also

associated with an externalizing defensive style and conformity to the masculine gender role. He infers that males who use defensive homophobia likely do so because they have rigid gender-role stereotypes and are having difficulty maintaining a traditional masculine identity.

Summarizing the general body of research reviewed, the archetypal person expressing heterosexism would also be expected to have traditional rigid standards for morality and gender appropriate behavior, as well as authoritarian personality characteristics. This hypothetical person would perceive their peer group to be homogenous with regard to attitude toward gays and lesbians, and would most likely be male. Their bias against homosexuals would most likely be formed without the benefit of contact with gays or lesbians. The negativity would serve any or all of the following purposes: expression of values, expression of group membership, or psychological defense.

Identity Development and Associated Phenomenon

College for the “traditional” student (i.e., a person who graduates from high school and goes directly to college) is generally viewed as a time of great experimentation and self-discovery. As one moves out of the parental household and into a dormitory or apartment the individual becomes increasingly independent. Even those who live at home during college encounter a more diverse group of people and ideas than he or she is likely to have encountered before. During this same time of life, the individual is pressured toward resolution of identity issues in vocational, and sexual identity (i.e., college is the place where one is expected to decide on career, and begin dating in earnest). Arnett (2000) posits the college experience as a time and place where issues of identity are especially pertinent. These shifts in identity likely affect the previously mentioned personality characteristics associated with heterosexism.

Marcia (1966) posited four modes of reacting to the late adolescent identity crisis: diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement. The two extremes are identity diffusion, and identity achievement. Identity achievement describes someone who has gone through a “crisis” phase in which various values and options have been considered. Resolving this crisis involves developing and committing to values and lifestyle choices based on an internal frame of reference (Marcia, 1966). It implies an ability to understand persons who have chosen different solutions to the challenge of identity development.

A person described as having a diffused identity on the other hand has no firm commitments regarding lifestyle or values. They may or may not have gone through a prior period of crisis where questions of identity have been salient. However during identity diffusion, the person’s decisions are fleeting and generally not well thought out. Career choice, for example, may be based on minimal understanding of the job and be changed regularly (Marcia 1966).

Persons whose identity is in moratorium are similar to persons in the diffused identity state in that both have vague commitments that are not robust to challenges. Unlike identity diffusion, however, moratorium involves an ongoing crisis or struggle to define the self. A person in moratorium may feel divided by divergent pressures from parental, social, and personal influences.

The final identity solution possible is a foreclosed identity. This identity status applies to persons who have never been in identity crisis, but expresses commitment. The person has taken the values and decisions of their parent(s) as their own without any significant questioning. This status is characterized by the most rigidity. As a result, a person who is using this solution to

create identity is likely to feel threatened in situations where their values are challenged (Marcia, 1966).

There is a body of research indicating that significant changes in identity status occur during the college experience. Researchers tapped vocational choice, religious beliefs, and political ideology in three longitudinal studies that had similar findings (Waterman & Waterman, 1971; Waterman, Geary, & Waterman, 1974; Waterman & Goldman 1976). The college experience fostered gains in vocational identity development in all three studies. Each study found increases in the number of students who had reached identity achievement, and decreases in the numbers of students in moratorium. Religious identity development was also found to progress, though few students reached identity achievement by graduation. One of the studies (Waterman & Goldman, 1976) found no identifiable patterns of development of political ideology among college students. The other two studies (Waterman & Waterman, 1971; Waterman, Geary, & Waterman, 1974) found that students' did make developmental gains in political ideology. Even so, half of the students in these two longitudinal studies indicated no clear beliefs and no attempts to come to them. Generalizing these results to current students may be problematic due to the uniqueness of the American political scene in the late 1960's and early 1970's, when these studies were conducted. However, this research does indicate that identity development is a multidimensional process; also it leaves open the question of gender differences in identity development.

Kroger studied identity development in the domains of occupation, religion, politics, and sex roles over a two-year time span using a sample of university students in New Zealand. She also found that the domains developed at different rates. Gender differences in the process of development were minimal. Kroger (1989) writes, "perhaps the only meaningful [gender]

difference lay in the area of sex role values.” Women showed a significant net gain in the achievement status, which was also the most stable identity category. Men, on the other hand, showed no pattern of change and diffusion was their most stable identity category. The sex role values domain had the weakest relationship to global identity status for both men and women. In light of the current line of arguments, one is left wondering if the male-female differences in homophobia are linked to the content of gender role stereotypes or process of gender identity development.

Cramer (2000) studied the relation between gender, identity status, personality, and psychological functioning. She found that self-monitoring and openness to experience promote the process of exploration in that they are associated with moratorium in males. Ego resiliency and self-esteem are a consequence of exploration, being associated with achievement in men and women. Interestingly, she found openness to experience negatively related to both committed identity statuses (foreclosed and achieved). Her findings indicated that identity development is moderated by gender. She used two measures of global identity development (as opposed to Kroger’s (1989) method of separating domains for analysis) and found that women were “somewhat further along in their identity development” than the men. She also found that the men and women in the committed identity statuses (achieved and foreclosed) had more similarities than those in the uncommitted statuses (diffusion and moratorium). The differences that did emerge revolved around men tending toward self-definition/ autonomy, while women preferred connectedness/social concern. For example, both men and women who were classified as having an achieved identity status fit well with the commonly accepted tenants of the status. Both groups had high self-esteem, low anxiety, low depression, and high ego resiliency. Men and women differed in how they expressed assertiveness and personal adequacy. Men did this via

self-definition, autonomy, striving, and separateness from others. Cramer (2000) describes these men as self-focused and not open to incorporating the views of others. Women from the achievement group, in contrast, expressed the same qualities almost exclusively within the context of interpersonal relationships.

A similar pattern was observed in the foreclosed identity status. Both men and women in this category were characterized as preferring status quo, and not favoring new experiences. However, males expressed this with more personal rigidity and “up-tightness” than the females (Cramer, 2000). The women were more capable of adaptation. This higher level of adaptive functioning of women in the foreclosed status has been documented previously. For example, in females, foreclosure is associated with many of the positive characteristics (e.g., resistance to conformity pressure, lower anxiety) associated with identity achievement (Marcia & Friedman, 1970; Schenkel, 1975; Toder & Marcia, 1973).

Males in the diffused identity status displayed the expected characteristics. Their value system was unstable and they were unpredictable. They were also vulnerable to anxiety and depression. The depression was associated with an antagonism toward others. Females in this identity status had a different presentation. One consistent feature among females was a difficulty adapting to environmental challenges and acting interpersonally. Instead of the male tendency to antagonize, females were more likely to withdraw socially.

Males in moratorium fit into the expected attributes, openness to experience, low sense of personal adequacy, unclear values, and unclear goals (Cramer, 2000). These men also tended to be anxious and depressed. The psychological features that separated the men in moratorium from those in the other three identity statuses is their social self-consciousness, and self-monitoring. Cramer (2000) reports being puzzled by the fact that almost no personality factors

were significantly associated with female moratorium. She hypothesizes that this is due to the extremely complex nature of female identity development.

Cramer's (2000) findings are relevant to the current research two ways. First, it confirms that certain identity statuses are related to anxiety, depression, and changes in interpersonal functioning for both men and women. This lends credence to the argument that the defensive as well as identity-expressive functions of negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians may be more or less attractive to a person depending on their identity status. Also, Cramer's (2002) research indicates that the male and female experience and expression of diffusion, foreclosure, moratorium, and achievement are different. Overall, the men would seem to be more prone to anti gay and lesbian bias throughout the process: in diffusion they were more antagonistic, in moratorium they were more depressed anxious and self-conscious, in foreclosure they were more rigid, and in achievement they were less open to incorporating the views of others into their own.

Given the facts that 1) gender has been repeatedly linked to heterosexism, 2) gender identity is the domain least synchronous with other identity domains, and 3) gender moderates the experience and expression of identity development, it is likely that a person's overall or composite identity status, has only a loose association with their ideas regarding gender roles. Thus it is important to consider gender role ideology separate from global identity.

One's epistemological approach to the world is also likely to relate to their attitude toward gays and lesbians. Recalling the representative person, having negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians has been associated with belief systems that hold rigid black and white conceptualizations of the world. This person is likely to perceive there to be one correct interpretation to the world (i.e., one correct moral perspective, one correct way to be masculine). This kind right-wrong rigidity seems most descriptive of persons in the foreclosure status, and

least descriptive of those having an achieved identity. However, even within identity status groups it is likely that the level of sophistication of thought varies considerably. To the extent that a person constructs the world in all or nothing terms, negative attitude toward nontraditional groups is an increasingly useful vehicle for self-expression and defensiveness.

Statement of Problem

Given the fact that many if not all of the factors associated with negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians relate to identity development, it is surprising that there has been no attempt to look at the relationship between identity development status and attitudes toward gays and lesbians. Persons described as foreclosed, for example, are described as rigidly holding particular beliefs derived from key authority figures (parents, religious leaders, etc.). Also, persons in this status are expected to experience discomfort and threat in situations where their beliefs are challenged (Marcia 1966). Attitude towards gay men and lesbians would logically seem to become polarized. Conversely, a person in the achieved identity status is expected to have some ability to understand persons who have resolved the crisis of identity with a different solution. The functions that attitude toward gays and lesbians serves (e.g., value-expression, group membership) may be especially attractive during developmental periods when values or group affiliation are a source of anxiety. Furthermore, the kinds of anxiety inherent in identity crisis can be assuaged by expression of attitude toward gays and lesbians. It is proposed that identity development is a useful framework for the conceptualization and study of negative attitudes toward stigmatized and controversial groups, such as gays and lesbians.

The current research is based upon the idea that an individual's attitude toward gay men and lesbians is strongly influenced by the need to define identity and alleviate anxiety resulting from the crises of identity. The usefulness of anti-gay bias for these purposes is mediated by

one's gender identity development and ability to take multiple perspectives. Also, it is expected that persons in different identity statuses will have different characteristic patterns in the function of their attitudes toward gays and lesbians.

Hypotheses

The current study is designed to explore the relationship between identity status, absolutism, gender role ideology, and attitudes toward gays and lesbians as well as use of the various attitude functions. It is hypothesized that:

1. The identity statuses are expected to fall into the following rank order (highest to lowest) regarding negativity of attitude toward gays and lesbians: foreclosure, moratorium, diffusion, and finally achievement. Additionally, persons holding traditional gender-role ideology, and persons having absolutist epistemological styles are each predicted to hold more negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians than their non-traditional and non-absolutist counterparts.
2. Persons in the various identity statuses are expected to have specific patterns of attitude function use. Specifically, persons in foreclosure are expected to have the lowest rates of experiential-schematic functions and the highest rates of defensive functions. Also, persons in foreclosure and moratorium are expected to have the highest rates of value-expressive and social-expressive functions. Finally, persons in the achievement group are expected to have the highest rates of experiential-schematic function use and the lowest use of the defensive function.
3. Level of attitudinal negativity towards gays and lesbians within each of the four statuses is expected to be moderated by gender role ideology as well as absolutism. Specifically, persons whose identities are in the foreclosed and moratorium identity statuses who also

espouse a traditional gender role ideology as well as those endorsing an absolutist epistemology are expected to have significantly more negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians than their non-traditional and non-absolutist counterparts.

4. Attitudinal function is expected to be moderated by gender role ideology as well as absolutism. Specifically, persons in the foreclosed and moratorium identity statuses espousing a Traditional gender role ideology as well as those endorsing an absolutist epistemology are expected to rely more on Defensive functions and less on experiential-schematic functions.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Participants were drawn from undergraduate classes offered by the psychology and rehabilitation social work and addictions departments at a university in the North Texas area. The students were given extra credit for participation in this study. A total of 560 packets were handed out and 440 were returned for scoring. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 54, with an average age of 22.63 (S.D.=4.96). European-Americans accounted for just over half of the sample (n=249, 56.6%) (see ethnicity statistics in Table 1). Because of a clerical error, the item assessing gender was not included in 130 packets. This led to 71 participants (16.1%) in the final sample for whom gender is not known. The remainder of the sample consisted of 94 males (21.4%), and 275 females (62.5%) (see gender statistics in Table 1).

Materials

Informed Consent and Demographic Information. Refer to Appendix C for a copy of the informed consent that was attached to each research packet. Participants were also asked demographic information as well as questions about their contact with a variety of groups (e.g., gays & lesbians, disabled people) (see Appendix D). One of the covariates, contact with gays and lesbians was computed by adding participants' likert responses to the following demographic items: "How frequently do you interact with gays and lesbians?" and "In your entire life, how much interaction have you had with gays and lesbians?" (see Appendix D).

Attitude Functions Inventory (AFI, Herek, 1987). The AFI is a ten item paper and pencil instrument which yields scores on four scales representing the categories of attitude function posited by Herek (1986a): a) experiential-schematic (function: organizing world based on past experience), b) social-expressive (function: expressing group membership/solidarity via expression of attitudes), c) defensive (function: relief of intrapsychic anxiety by externalizing conflict and expressing attitudes toward it), and d) value-expressive (function: attitudes expresses values important to self-concept) (see Appendix E). Respondents reply on a nine-point Likert scale (1=not at all true of me, 5=true of me, 9=very true of me). Herek (1986b) indicates that different researchers may wish to utilize participant responses in different ways (e.g., subscale raw score composites could be used as cutoff measures, or subscale means could be used to group respondents for analysis). In the current study AFI responses will be used to assess the functions most utilized by persons in different identity statuses. Subscale averages will be used for this comparison.

The AFI scale is designed to measure attitude functions regarding various stigmatized groups with minor wording changes to the questions. Herek (1987) validated the scale using four versions, each assessing attitudes toward a different group (gay men and lesbians, cancer patients, AIDS patients, and the mentally ill). The subscales are either two or four items in length, and internal consistency is moderate. Across the four attitude topics, *alpha* coefficients ranged from .41 to .62 for the social-expressive items, .53 to .61 for the value expressive items, .72 to .82 for the defensive items, and .67 to .82 for the experiential-schematic items. Specific *alpha* coefficients are not given for the “gay men and lesbians” version of the AFI. In the current study the AFI yielded the *alpha* coefficients of .81 for the experiential schematic, .82 for the social expressive, .84 for the defensive, and .44 for the value expressive subscales.

Construct validity was assessed via each scale's correlation with measures of defense mechanisms, self-monitoring, and self-consciousness (Herek, 1987). Persons scoring higher on the AFI defensive subscale, for example, were found to often employ an externalizing defensive style. Social-expressive attitude functions were associated with public self-consciousness and high self-monitoring (A high self-monitor is concerned about how they are viewed by others and will change what they do and say to fit different situations). Finally, persons using value-expressive functions were low self-monitors. Experiential-schematic scores were associated with other-directedness (i.e., pleasing others and conforming to social situations).

Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-Revised Version (EOM-EIS, Benion & Adams, 1986). The EOM-EIS is a pen-and-paper instrument measuring the relative prevalence of Marcia's (1966) ego-identity statuses (see Appendix F). Respondents indicate the extent to which each of 64 statements reflects their thoughts and feelings. The items cover religious, occupational, political, philosophical, and social topics in both ideological and interpersonal contexts. Responses are given via a six-point Likert scale (1=Strongly Disagree, 6=Strongly Agree). Two items are devoted to each of the four identity statuses in each of the four ideological and interpersonal content areas.

Internal consistency scores are: diffusion, .68; foreclosure, .90; moratorium, .73; and achievement, .66. The scales' stability coefficients range from .82 to .90 across a 2-week interval (Servaty, 1997). The factor structure is relatively consistent with theoretical predications, indicating construct validity (Benion & Adams, 1986). Finally, the instrument has been shown not to covary with social desirability (Benion & Adams, 1986). The EOM-EIS was used to group participants into the four identity statuses in this research.

Gender Role Beliefs Scale (GRBS, Kerr & Holden, 1996). The GRBS is a 20-item paper and pencil instrument consisting of twenty items relating to gender role ideology. Participants respond to the items using a 7-point Likert scale (1=*strongly agree*, 4=*undecided*, 7=*strongly disagree*) (see Appendix G). High scores indicate a stereotypical (traditional) ideology pattern. The scale was shown to have convergent validity with a measure that involved 150 questions regarding gender role beliefs and participant reactions to descriptions of two women (one traditional, one feminist). Researchers (Kerr & Holden, 1996) were also able to differentiate participant groups expected to have differences in gender role ideology using mean GRBS scores. Specifically, a one-way ANOVA demonstrated a difference among three criterion groups (feminist, undifferentiated, traditional), $F(2, 188)=37.01$, $MSE=292.63$, $p<.0001$. Also, significant male-female differences in gender role ideology repeatedly emerged as predicted (males more conservative than females). The scale was also shown to have test-retest reliability (four-week interval) of .86, and *alpha* reliabilities in the mid .80's. GRBS scores were used to separate participants into higher or lower use of gender role stereotyping (Kerr & Holden, 1996).

Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gays Scale (ATLG, Herek, 1984, 1988). The ATLG scale is a paper and pencil instrument consisting of twenty items. Responses are given in a 9-point Likert format (*strongly agree* to *strongly disagree*) (see Appendix H). The scale consists of two ten item sub-scales measuring attitudes toward gay men and attitudes toward lesbians. The scale has satisfactory internal consistency (*alpha*=.90 for the ATLG, .89 for the ATG, and .77 for the ATL). Herek (1984, 1988) established that attitudes toward lesbians and gay men derive primarily from a single factor, condemnation-tolerance. Higher scores on the ATLG are indicative of more condemnatory attitudes toward gays and/or lesbians.

Scale of Adult Intellectual Development Absolutism Scale (SAID-44, Martin, Silva, Newman, & Thayer, 1994). The absolutism scale of the SAID-44 is a 12-item subscale measuring a person's tendency to perceive the world in undisputable terms (see Appendix I). Persons using an absolutistic epistemological style would believe that someone who differed in opinion was either wrong or insincere (Martin et al., 1994). Each subscale item consists of three or four statements expressing an epistemological standpoint (e.g., The world is absolute, exact, and black and white. The answers are real, tangible, and exact. Every question can be answered by someone. The world is big but pretty simple). Items were developed using Kitchener and King's reflective judgment theory (1981). This theory was developed out of a study of epistemic justifications manifested by students during the span of time from high school through graduate school. The items in the absolutism subscale are all derived from the earliest two (of seven) developmental positions in which dualism, or either/or thinking underlies the person's conception of knowledge. The participant responds to the group of statements on a 7-point Likert scale (1=*least like me*, 7=*Most like me*).

The absolutism subscale was shown to have an *alpha* reliability of .79. Test-retest (3 week interval) and split-half reliability were calculated to be $r=.75$, and $r=.57$ respectively. Even though the absolutism subscale is the only part of the SAID 44 that will be used in the current research, participants will complete the entire instrument. This was done in the interest of possible future analyses that are beyond the scope of the current research. Participants' were grouped into higher absolutism, and lower absolutism categories for the purpose of analysis.

Social Desirability Scale (SDS-20, Strahan, & Gerbasi, 1972). The Marlowe Crown Social Desirability Scale (M-C SDS) was designed to measure response sets biased toward positive self-presentation (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). It contains 33 items describing desirable but unlikely personal characteristics. The Social Desirability Scale (SDS-20), is a twenty-item short-form of the M-C SDS that was developed by Strahan and Gerbasi (1972) (see Appendix J). This shorter scale was used in the present research. The scale has *alpha* reliability coefficients of .70 with college males and .66 with college females (Strahan & Gerbasi 1972). Framboni and Cooper (1989) found similar reliability coefficients in a later study (.70 for men, and .71 for women). They also found a strong and significant correlation ($r=.90$) between the SDS-20 and M-C SDS (Framboni & Cooper (1989)).

Additional Instruments. In addition to the materials described above, ten instruments assessing attitudes toward various groups were included in the packet. These materials were included in an attempt to avoid biases in response that might result if gays and lesbians were the only social group participants were asked questions about. Being outside the scope of this project, they were not included in the data analysis. These additional instruments included the Attitude Toward Blacks scale (Brigham, 1993), Attitude Toward Whites scale (Brigham, 1993), Kogan scale (Hilt & Lipschultz, 1999), Attitude Toward Disabled People scale (Antonak, 1981), Communication Apprehension Toward Dying Persons scale (Hayslip, 1986-87). Attitude Function Inventories (Herek, 1987) worded toward each of these groups (Blacks, Whites, old people, disabled people, and dying persons) were also included. The entire Scale of Adult Intellectual Development (SAID-44, Martin, Silva, Newman, & Thayer, 1994) was included, although the absolutism subscale was the only part used in this study. The entire SAID was included for the benefit of possible analyses of the data set beyond the scope of the current

research. Being outside the scope of the current research, this extra portion of the SAID and the additional instruments were not utilized in this project.

Procedures

Participants were recruited one of two ways. The principal researcher posted fliers advertising the opportunity to participate in research in exchange for extra credit. The study was described as looking at attitudes toward groups some people have strong feelings about. Participants who arrived at the designated testing locations were each given a packet containing an informed consent sheet and all survey instruments. The researcher read the informed consent statement (see Appendix C) and directed the participants to place the packets in a box at the head of the room when they were completed.

The other method used to recruit participants involved researchers going to undergraduate classes and handing out packets to the students who were interested in receiving extra credit in exchange for participation in research. The research was described as a study about their attitudes toward groups some people have strong feelings about. These students were told to read the informed consent, complete the packet and return it to the researcher at specified future class time (usually within one week).

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Data were analyzed using several Multivariate Analyses of Covariance (MANCOVA). The independent measures were: identity status (cells included: foreclosed, moratorium, achievement), gender role beliefs (2 cells; higher gender stereotyping, lower gender stereotyping), and absolutist epistemology (2 cells; higher absolutism, lower absolutism). Attitudes toward gays and lesbians and attitude functions were the two dependent variables. Experience with gays and lesbians as well as social desirability were used as covariates. The median scores for stereotyping (4.30) and absolutism (4.75) were used to define the cutoff between the lower and higher classifications. The diffusion identity status cells were eliminated from the analysis because of inadequate cell size (cell sizes ranged from 0 to 3). Most of the cells in the achieved identity status were also small (see Table 2). Thus, the data was initially run using the foreclosed, moratorium, and achievement identity cells (i.e., a 3 X 2 X 2 MANCOVA), and then re-analyzed without the achievement cells (2 X 2 X 2 MANCOVA). These two analyses were each re-run after randomly re-sampling from the largest cells to make the sizes roughly equivalent (see Table 3). This was done as a way to correct for two of the assumptions of MANCOVA being violated: normality of distribution and homogeneity of variance.

The initial analysis, a 3 X 2 X 2 MANCOVA with no re-sampling from over-represented cells yielded main effects for absolutism $F(5, 365)=2.69$ $p=.02$, and gender role stereotyping $F(5, 365)=19.02$, $p<.01$. The main effect for absolutism was specific to two of the dependent measures. These included the social expressive (AFISE) $F(1,369)=6.45$, $p=.01$, and defensive(AFID) $F(1,369)=11.15$, $p<.01$ attitude functions. Persons classified as higher with regard to absolutism were less likely to use their attitudes toward gays and lesbians for social

expressive or defensive functions than their lower absolutism counterparts. The main effect for gender role stereotyping impacted attitudes toward gays and lesbians (ATLG) $F(1,369)=95.28$, $p<.01$, and AFID $F(1,369)16.32=$, $p<.01$. These findings indicate that persons classified as higher with regard to gender role stereotyping endorsed more negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians, and were less likely to use their attitudes toward gays and lesbians in a defensive manner.

There were two significant interaction effects, the first being between absolutism and identity status $F(10, 732)=1.96$, $p=.04$. The interaction between absolutism and identity status was specific to attitudes toward gays and lesbians $F(2,369)=4.69$, $p=.01$. For those classified as lower on absolutism, the foreclosed identity status group indicated the most positive attitudes toward gays and lesbians while the achieved identity status group indicated the least positive such attitudes. Conversely, for those in the higher absolutism category, the achieved identity status group endorsed the most positive attitudes toward gays and lesbians while the foreclosed identity group indicated the least positive such attitudes (see Figure 1). Thus, in this interaction, the relative position of the three identity statuses' average ATLG score reverses when one compares higher absolutism and lower absolutism groups (see Table 4).

The second significant interaction was the three-way interaction between absolutism, gender role stereotyping and identity status $F(10, 728)=1.94$, $p=.04$. For persons who are lower on absolutism and in moratorium, value expression (i.e. attitudes are used to express a value important to self concept) is a greater function of attitudes toward gays and lesbians for the higher gender role stereotyping group than for the lower stereotyping group. However, for persons who are higher on absolutism and in moratorium, value expression is a lesser function of attitudes toward gays and lesbians for the higher gender role stereotyping group than the lower

stereotyping group (see Table 5). The inverse is true for the foreclosed participants. That is, for persons who are lower on absolutism and in foreclosure, value expression is a lesser function of attitudes toward gays and lesbians for the higher gender role stereotyping group. However, for persons who are higher on absolutism and in foreclosure, value expression is more likely to be part of attitudes toward gays and lesbians for the higher gender role stereotyping group than for the lower stereotyping group (see Figure 2).

When the achieved identity cells were all removed from the data set, eliminating all of the small cells from the analysis and the data were re-analyzed, this did not change any of the above findings reported. However the results were less meaningful, since the achieved identity cells were absent and thus no conclusions could be drawn about them from this analysis. As noted above, cell sizes varied widely, violating the assumptions of homogeneity of variance and normality of distribution. To rule this out as a possible source of error, a random sample of the data in over represented cells was removed. The remaining data yielded cells of roughly equivalent sizes for analysis (see Table 3). The data was again analyzed as both a 3 X 2 X 2 and a 2 X 2 X 2 MANCOVA. Comparing the re-sampled 3 X 2 X 2 to the original MANCOVAs, the size of two effects were diminished such that they were no longer significant. These two changes involved the main effect for Absolutism ($F(5,278)=2.21, p=.06$) and the interaction between Absolutism and Identity Status ($F(10, 554)=16.67, p=.08$).

The re-sampled 2 X 2 X 2 MANCOVA also yielded a nonsignificant effect for the interaction between Absolutism and Identity Status ($F(5, 249)=.1.99, p=.08$). However, this analysis yielded a significant main effect for Absolutism ($F(5,249)=2.95, p=.02$), thus supporting the two initial analyses while disagreeing with the 3 X 2 X 2 re-sampled analysis.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The current research is an investigation of the relation between an individual's attitudes toward gay men and lesbians and their own identity development. Many, if not all, of the factors that are associated with negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians (i.e., restrictive gender-role attitudes, high levels of authoritarianism, perceptions of negative attitudes toward homosexuals within their peer group, little or no contact with homosexuals, and conservative religious ideologies) (Herek, 1984) have a logical relation to identity development. Thus the case was made that identity development may be a valuable framework in which to understand attitudes toward gays and lesbians. Thus, the various functions that attitudes toward gays and lesbians can serve (e.g., value-expression, group membership) were hypothesized to be especially salient as a function of specific identity statuses.

Summary of Findings

The finding that higher levels of gender role stereotyping were associated with more negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians is consistent with prior research (Herek, 1984). A more unique finding was the tendency of people who were less absolutistic in their thinking to be more likely to use social expressive and defensive attitude functions. That is, college students with less absolutistic thinking use their attitudes toward gays and lesbians to express group affiliation or protect themselves from discomfort at homosexuality. It is possible that less absolutism precludes many of these people from having the certainty in the correctness of their beliefs implicit in the use of value-expressive attitudes. Furthermore, persons who use social expressive attitude functions also tend to be socially anxious and concerned with the impression they make on others (Herek, 1987). In the absence of strongly held values, and in combination with social self-consciousness attitudes toward controversial groups may be confusing or anxiety

provoking. Thus, it may be easier for people in this position to adopt the opinions of those around them.

This research also indicates an amendment must be made to the assertion that students who think in more absolutistic terms tend to be more negative in their attitudes toward gays and lesbians. This finding did not hold up for those with achieved identities. In this study, when the higher and lower absolutism groups were subdivided into identity statuses, it was clear that the effect was different for the various developmental positions. Foreclosed students evidenced the expected relationship between absolutism and negativity toward gays and lesbians, as did those in moratorium, though to a lesser extent. Their achieved identity peers, on the other hand, evidenced no difference in attitude toward gays and lesbians across levels of absolutism (see Figure 1). Thus, for those in the achieved identity status category, absolutistic thinking is not a correlate of negativity toward gays and lesbians.

The implication that, among persons who are less absolutistic in their thinking, those who have achieved identities are more negative in their attitude toward gays and lesbians than are those with a less developed identity (i.e., those in foreclosure or moratorium) contradicts the hypothesis that exploration and identity achievement would lessen negativity towards gays and lesbians. The finding could be accounted for by a process similar to those posited by Helms (1995), and Cass (1984). These writers both describe a developmental progression of first vilifying, then idealizing a controversial social group before finally settling into a more balanced attitude. While this attitudinal shift may look like a move toward homonegativism, it would seem to be analogous to African-Americans shifting from reactive immersion into Black culture to a more secure sense of their Black identity (Helms, 1995). In this scenario, African-Americans are less likely to surround themselves with visible symbols of Black culture, and they begin to re-

engage White culture. Rather than being a retreat from Black identity, this shift indicates increased comfort and self-assurance in it (Helms, 1995). Similarly, persons who become increasingly settled into an identity chosen after exploration may change in their attitudes toward gays and lesbians without going from pro to anti gay.

Another source of this finding may have to do with the nature of identity development. The subject of attitudes toward gays and lesbians is controversial and thus may provoke anxiety in some. The research on identity development indicates that many personality variables considered desirable are correlated with more sophisticated identity statuses (i.e., achievement, and to a lesser degree moratorium). These personality variables include postconventional moral reasoning, self-esteem, and an internal locus of control (Archer, 1989). Therefore as people progress through levels of identity development they may be more comfortable integrating some discomfort or concerns regarding gays and lesbians into their attitudes.

Conversely, this study found that foreclosed individuals who are higher on absolutism are the most negative in their attitudes, likely because of an internalized set of conservative values coupled with the tendency of foreclosed individuals to be extremely uncomfortable when challenged with views divergent from their own (Marcia 1966). As one compares these people with their peers who are in identity moratorium and achievement, one sees decreasing levels of negativity. In fact, though there is a difference between those who are higher and lower in absolutistic thinking in their attitude toward gays and lesbians, the individuals with achieved identities have nearly identical levels of negativity (or positivity). This may account for some of the difference among those who do not condone homosexuality. Attitude toward gays and lesbians are complex, and while some describe homosexuality as wrong and vilify gays and lesbians, others are able to express the opinion that homosexuality is wrong while maintaining a

level of acceptance. This latter group may consist of these people who are absolutistic in their thinking, but also achieved in identity.

The interaction between absolutism, gender stereotyping, and identity status indicates that, for people in moratorium with lower absolutism, higher gender role stereotyping is associated with greater use of value expressive attitude function toward gays and lesbians. However, for people in moratorium with higher absolutism, higher gender role stereotyping is associated with less of a tendency to use value expressive attitude functions toward gays and lesbians. Thus, it would seem that for persons in moratorium a tension between authoritarianism and gender ideology energizes the importance of values in one's attitudes toward gays and lesbians. That is, a tendency toward gender stereotyping with little reliance on absolutistic thinking (or lower gender stereotyping coupled with more absolutistic thinking) leads to values as a means for deriving attitudes toward lesbians and gays. It is possible that this discrepancy is associated with a set of values or tensions between values that make value expressive attitude functions more attractive.

A similar but inverted interaction occurred among the foreclosed students. For these people, a combination of both higher absolutism and higher stereotyping, or lower absolutism and lower stereotyping led to higher use of value expressive functions in attitudes toward gays and lesbians. Here value expression was a more used function when stereotyping and absolutism were both higher or both lower. Those with achieved identities show a similar pattern whether they think in more or less absolutistic terms: more traditional stereotyping behavior is associated with slightly more reliance upon value expressive attitude functions (see Figure 2). This is a complex and new finding. Further research will be needed before it is clear what interpersonal dynamics drive the various phenomena indicated.

Clinical Implications

The current research has several implications for counselors and educators. First is the likelihood that, when one is in the classroom or therapy office working with a student who constructs their world in predominantly concrete, all or nothing terms, there is a likelihood that the student will also espouse more negative views toward gays and lesbians. The same is true when a student endorses more stereotypical gender roles. As was noted above, the association between authoritarianism, stereotypical gender roles and negativity toward gays and lesbians has been well established (Herek, 1984). However there are new complexities to this relationship that have not been found until this project.

As people who think in all or nothing terms, and as those better able to see multiple perspectives developed an achieved identity they became increasingly similar in their level of attitudinal negativity toward gays and lesbians. This implies that persons working with relatively pro-gay and lesbian college students need to be comfortable with the fact that students may be shifting from an idealized view of gays and lesbians to a more genuine attitude which may include admissions of some discomfort or endorsement of stereotypes. Conversely, providing experiences that promote exploration and resolution of tasks related to identity development would seem to create a decrease in attitudinal negativity among students holding the most negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians, and perhaps other stigmatized groups. Given the theoretical assumption and research finding that college students move from less to more sophisticated levels of identity development (i.e. Foreclosed to Moratorium to Achievement) (Waterman, 1982) the implication is that, for those with the most negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians, promoting developmental change will promote a more acceptance of gays and lesbians.

Methodological Limitations

External Validity and Generalizability. The sample upon which this research is based has some limitations. The purpose of the research was to provide insight into college student identity development. Thus, the sample was comprised of college students and the implications expressed here can be applied to that population. However, these findings may not be generalized to non-college student populations.

In comparing this sample to the population of the university from which it was drawn, several demographic groups were not represented in the correct proportion. Considering only the portion of the sample for which gender is known, women comprised 79%, versus 60% enrollment for the entire student body of the university (Clark, 2002). Two ethnic groups were underrepresented, Caucasians (56.6% in this sample, versus 73% university-wide) and Asian-Americans (3.7% in this sample versus 8% university wide) (Clark, 2002). However, part of this discrepancy might derive from the university's lack of a "biethnic" category, and their inclusion of those who endorsed "other" into their Caucasian category (Clark, 2002). Finally, Freshman were underrepresented (12.7% in this sample versus 18% university wide), and Juniors were over represented (32.0% in this sample versus 25% university wide).

The participants were drawn from introductory and advanced classes in psychology and rehabilitation social work and addictions departments. Although these classes are taken by undergraduates from a number departments across the university, It is likely that the demographics of this sample best represent students majoring or minoring in the social sciences.

Low Reliability. The *alpha* reliability coefficient for the Attitude Function Inventory Value Expressive subscale was especially low (.44). While this is understandable given the scale's two-item format, it also indicates that a sizable proportion of the students' scores are due

to factors which are not measured in the current study. Thus there may be extraneous variables influencing such scores.

Cell Size. Low cell sizes precluded analysis of the diffusion cells. Uneven cell sizes create a chance of finding an effect that is an artifact of between cell differences in within cell variability. Thus, the findings which were nonsignificant in the re-sampled Multivariate Analyses of Covariance analyses (main effect for absolutism, and interaction between absolutism and identity status) are thus vulnerable to this interpretation. However, there is also the possibility that the loss of statistical power that occurs with a decrease in sample size contributed this nonsignificant finding.

The issue of uneven cell size seems to be a product of very few persons in the diffused and achieved identity statuses, and the tendency of participants to cluster into the cells with both higher absolutism and higher gender role stereotyping or lower absolutism and lower gender role stereotyping. The extremely low numbers of students in the diffusion status contrasts with other studies of college students (Cramer, 2000; Midgett, 1997). One possibility is that the description of this study as looking “attitudes toward groups some people have strong feelings about” had a different effect on the students in diffusion and achievement than on those in foreclosure and moratorium. That those in moratorium and foreclosure felt an interest in either exploring (as in moratorium) or expressing (as in foreclosure) these attitudes is consistent with the developmental tasks associated with each identity status (Marcia, 1966). On the other hand, those in diffusion may have avoided or not completed the study because of a lack of opinion or concern about the attitudes elicited. In addition, those with an achieved identity may have been relatively uninterested in exploring their attitudes.

Another possibility, of course, is that the student body of the university included very few who were either in diffusion or achievement in enough domain areas (e.g. occupation, politics) to classify the person in this overall identity status. The idea that college students would have begun the identity development process but not resolved it would be consistent with Eriksonian theory, if at odds with others' samples (Cramer, 2000; Midgett, 1997). However, university-specific patterns in identity development have been posited by other authors (Waterman, Geary, & Waterman, 1974). It is entirely possible that, with regard to overall identity development, the student body is predominantly in the intermediate stages of identity development.

The tendency of participants to cluster into cells that were both higher or both lower on the factors absolutism and gender role stereotyping seems to be borne out of a logical relationship between the two variables. This would seem to be a methodological issue inherent in researching two constructs that are distinct but related.

Implications for Future Research

Replication of this project with efforts to boost the numbers of persons in diffusion and achievement would allow for a more complete study of the trajectory of attitudes toward gays and lesbians throughout the four identity statuses. This might be obtained by increasing the number of freshmen included, or perhaps recruiting high school seniors and recent college graduates.

Another venue that could be especially fruitful is a qualitative study of persons in each of the cells in the absolutism by identity status, and absolutism by identity status by gender role stereotyping interactions. This could give better insight into the nature of the progression of attitudes toward gays and lesbians in the absolutism by identity status interaction. Also, it could help understand how, for persons in moratorium, the combination of higher gender role

stereotyping and lower absolutism, or lower gender role stereotyping and higher absolutism interact to energize the importance of values in attitudes toward gays and lesbians.

The scope of this study could also be expanded to include the more sophisticated epistemological styles (i.e., relativism, evaluativism) (Martin, Silva, Newman, & Thayer, 1994). This would allow analysis of the interaction between identity development and the full range of epistemological justifications. Another possible offshoot would be replication, but with a different stigmatized group. This would help determine whether the effects shown are specific to gays and lesbians or if they are universal to all stigmatized social groups. Though this was beyond the ambition of the current project attitudes toward Blacks, Whites, old people, disabled people, and dying persons were assessed in an attempt to obscure the focus of this research and reduce the possibility of response bias. These questions may yet be explored in future analysis of the data set gathered for this research.

APPENDIX A

FIGURES

Absolutism X Identity Status Interaction

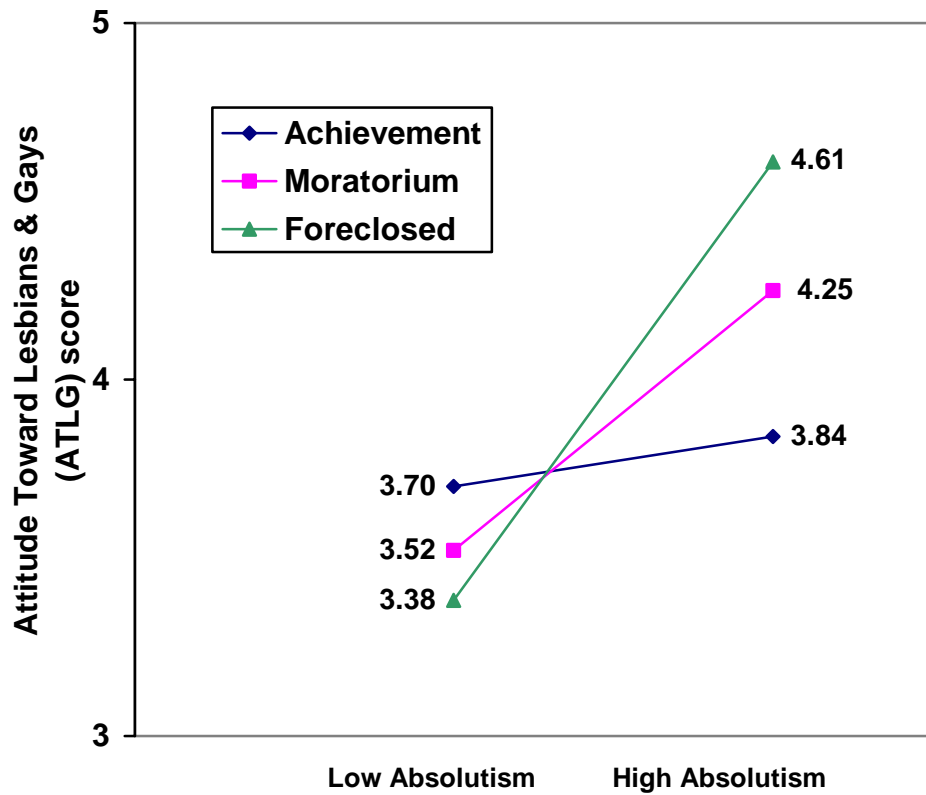
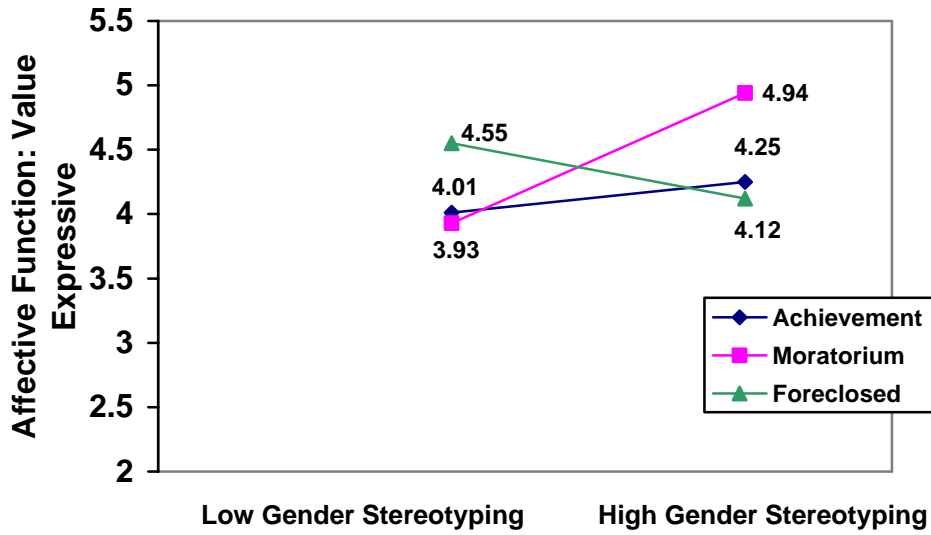


Figure 1. Interaction between Absolutism and Identity Status on Attitude Toward Lesbians and Gays [$F(10, 732)=1.96, p=.04$]

Absolutism X Gender Stereotyping
X Identity Status Interaction

Low Absolutism



High Absolutism

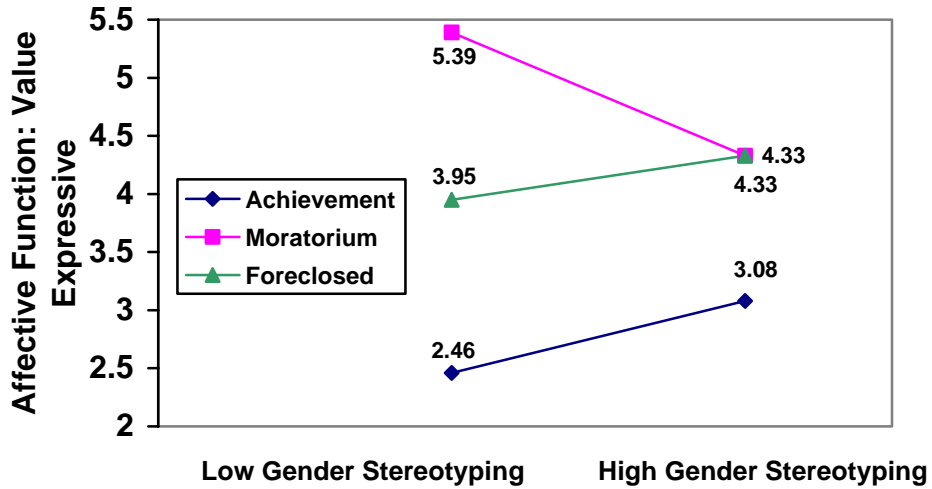


Figure 2. Interaction between Absolutism, Gender Stereotyping, and Identity Status on Affective Function Inventory, Value Expressive Subscale [F(10, 728)=1.94, p=.04]

APPENDIX B

TABLES

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Entire Sample (N=440)

| Variable | <i>n</i> | % * |
|------------------------------------|----------|------|
| Gender | | |
| Male | 94 | 21.4 |
| Female | 275 | 62.5 |
| Unknown | 71 | 16.1 |
| Ethnicity | | |
| African-American | 62 | 14.1 |
| Asian-American | 13 | 3.0 |
| European-American | 249 | 56.6 |
| Hispanic, Latino/a, Chicano/a | 37 | 8.4 |
| Native American | 8 | 1.8 |
| Pacific Islander | 3 | 0.7 |
| Biethnic | 20 | 4.5 |
| Other | 37 | 8.4 |
| No Response | 11 | 2.5 |
| Academic Class | | |
| Freshman | 56 | 12.7 |
| Sophomore | 82 | 18.6 |
| Junior | 141 | 32.0 |
| Senior | 160 | 36.4 |
| No Response | 1 | 0.2 |
| Years Since Entered College | | |
| 0-1 | 70 | 15.9 |
| 2 | 76 | 17.3 |
| 3 | 96 | 21.8 |
| 4 | 72 | 16.4 |
| 5 | 60 | 13.6 |
| 6+ | 65 | 14.8 |
| No Response | 1 | 0.2 |
| Sexual Orientation | | |
| Heterosexual | 413 | 93.9 |
| Gay/Lesbian | 9 | 2.0 |
| Bisexual | 17 | 3.9 |
| No Response | 1 | 0.2 |

*Percentages may not add to 100 because of rounding.

Table 2

Cell Sizes for Entire Data Set (N=387)^a

| Identity status | | Low gender stereotyping | High gender stereotyping | Total |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Diffusion | Low absolutism | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| | High absolutism | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Foreclosure | Low absolutism | 74 | 43 | 117 |
| | High absolutism | 34 | 64 | 98 |
| | Total | 108 | 107 | 215 |
| Moratorium | Low absolutism | 47 | 20 | 67 |
| | High absolutism | 20 | 48 | 68 |
| | Total | 67 | 68 | 135 |
| Achievement | Low absolutism | 19 | 5 | 24 |
| | High absolutism | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| | Total | 24 | 9 | 33 |

^a 12.0% of the total sample (53 cases) are missing because the one or more of the instruments was not able to be scored.

Table 3

Cell Sizes After Randomly Re-Sampling from Over Represented Cells (N=296)

| Identity status | | Low gender stereotyping | High gender stereotyping | Total |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|-------|
| Diffusion | Low absolutism | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| | High absolutism | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Total | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Foreclosure | Low absolutism | ^a 45 | 43 | 88 |
| | High absolutism | 34 | ^a 44 | 78 |
| | Total | 108 | 107 | 166 |
| Moratorium | Low absolutism | ^a 28 | 20 | 48 |
| | High absolutism | 20 | ^a 29 | 49 |
| | Total | 67 | 68 | 135 |
| Achievement ^a | Low absolutism | 19 | 5 | 24 |
| | High absolutism | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| | Total | 24 | 9 | 33 |

^a Denotes cells that were sampled from.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations & Adjusted Means for the Absolutism X Identity Status Interaction

| | | ATLG Scores | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|-------------|-----------|---------------|
| | | <i>M</i> | <i>SD</i> | Adjusted Mean |
| Low Absolutism | | | | |
| | Identity Achievement | 3.59 | 1.77 | 3.70 |
| | Moratorium | 3.31 | 1.75 | 3.52 |
| | Foreclosure | 3.22 | 1.70 | 3.38 |
| High Absolutism | | | | |
| | Identity Achievement | 4.75 | 1.41 | 3.84 |
| | Moratorium | 4.53 | 1.54 | 4.25 |
| | Foreclosure | 4.26 | 1.79 | 4.61 |

Table 5

*Means, Standard Deviations & Adjusted Means for the
Absolutism X Gender Stereotyping X Identity Status Interaction*

| | | Attitude Function Inventory Value Expressive Subscale | | | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|---|-------|------------------|--------------------------|-------|------------------|
| | | Low Gender Stereotyping | | | High Gender Stereotyping | | |
| | | <i>M</i> | S. D. | Adjusted Mean | <i>M</i> | S. D. | Adjusted Mean |
| Low Absolutism | Identity Achievement | 3.97 | 2.44 | 4.01 | 4.20 | 1.72 | 4.25 |
| | Moratorium | 3.83 | 1.96 | 3.93 | 4.95 | 2.44 | 4.94 |
| | Foreclosure | 4.47 | 2.45 | 4.55 | 4.19 | 1.88 | 4.12 |
| High Absolutism | Identity Achievement | 2.70 | 1.48 | 2.46 | 3.00 | 1.22 | 3.08 |
| | Moratorium | 5.25 | 2.06 | 5.39 | 4.45 | 1.68 | 4.33 |
| | Foreclosure | 3.88 | 1.82 | 3.95 | 4.44 | 1.75 | 4.33 |

APPENDIX C
INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT

You are about to participate in a research study looking at attitude toward various groups. You may or may not be a member of some of these groups, but please respond to all questions. This project will take thirty minutes to an hour to complete.

Do not put your name or any identifying information on these forms. Your anonymous responses will be combined with others' responses and analyzed as a group. The results of the study will likely be published. You may withdraw at any time without penalty, prejudice or loss of benefits.

If you feel the need to talk to a counselor after participating in this study, UNT Counseling and Testing Center is located in the General Academic Building room 471 and their phone number is (940)565-2741. You may contact the principal researcher, Zac Tureau, or his research advisor Dr. Bert Hayslip via the Psychology department (Terrill Hall rm. 351 (940)565-2671).

This project has been reviewed by the UNT committee for the protection of human subjects (Phone: (940)565-3940).

APPENDIX D
DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Demographic Information

- 1) Age: _____
- 2) Gender M F (Note: This item was omitted for the last 130 packets given out.)
- 3) Ethnicity:
- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| African-American | <input type="checkbox"/> A |
| Asian-American..... | <input type="checkbox"/> B |
| European-American | <input type="checkbox"/> C |
| Hispanic (Latino/a, Chicano/a)..... | <input type="checkbox"/> D |
| Native American | <input type="checkbox"/> E |
| Pacific Islander..... | <input type="checkbox"/> F |
| Biethnic | <input type="checkbox"/> G |
| (Describe: _____) | |
| Other | <input type="checkbox"/> H |
| Describe: _____ | |
- 4) University Classification: 1 Freshman, 2 Sophomore, 3 Junior, 4 Senior
- 5) How many years has it been since you first entered college (here or anywhere else).
 Years: 0-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6+
- 6) Do you have a disability? Yes, No
- 7) How would you describe your sexual orientation:
 1 Heterosexual, 2 Gay/Lesbian, 3 Bisexual.
- 8) How frequently do you interact with old people?
 1 Never, 4 Several Times Per Week
 2 Less Than Once Per Month 5 Daily
 3 Several Times Per Month,
- 9) In your entire life, how much interaction have you had with elderly people?
 A None
 B Very Little (A few brief interactions)
 C Some (Many brief interactions)
 D Much (minor work or personal relationships)
 E Very Much (Long-term relationship)
- 10) How frequently do you interact with gays and lesbians?
 1 Never, 4 Several Times Per Week
 2 Less Than Once Per Month 5 Daily
 3 Several Times Per Month,

- 11) In your entire life, how much interaction have you had with gays and lesbians?
- A None
 - B Very Little (A few brief interactions)
 - C Some (Many brief interactions, no relationships)
 - D Much (work or personal relationship)
 - E Very Much (Significant interactions most days)
- 12) How frequently do you interact with blacks?
- 1 Never,
 - 2 Less Than Once Per Month
 - 3 Several Times Per Month,
 - 4 Several Times Per Week
 - 5 Daily
- 13) In your entire life, how much interaction have you had with blacks?
- A None
 - B Very Little (A few brief interactions)
 - C Some (Many brief interactions, no relationships)
 - D Much (work or personal relationship)
 - E Very Much (Significant interactions most days)
- 14) How frequently do you interact with whites?
- 1 Never,
 - 2 Less Than Once Per Month
 - 3 Several Times Per Month,
 - 4 Several Times Per Week
 - 5 Daily
- 15) In your entire life, how much interaction have you had with whites?
- A None
 - B Very Little (A few brief interactions)
 - C Some (Many brief interactions, no relationships)
 - D Much (work or personal relationship)
 - E Very Much (Significant interactions most days)
- 16) How frequently do you interact with disabled persons?
- 1 Never,
 - 2 Less Than Once Per Month
 - 3 Several Times Per Month,
 - 4 Several Times Per Week
 - 5 Daily
- 17) In your entire life, how much interaction have you had with disabled persons?
- A None
 - B Very Little (A few brief interactions)
 - C Some (Many brief interactions, no relationships)
 - D Much (work or personal relationship)
 - E Very Much (Significant interactions most days)

18) How frequently do you interact with dying persons?

1 Never,

2 Less Than Once Per Month

3 Several Times Per Month,

4 Several Times Per Week

5 Daily

19) In your entire life, how much interaction have you had with dying persons?

A None

B Very Little (A few brief interactions)

C Some (Many brief interactions, no relationships)

D Much (work or personal relationship)

E Very Much (Significant interactions most days)

APPENDIX E

ATTITUDE FUNCTION INVENTORY (AFI; HEREK, 1987) FOR ATTITUDE TOWARDS

LESBIAN/GAY TARGET

Used with Permission

Attitude Function Inventory (AFI; Herek, 1987) for Attitude towards Lesbian/Gay Target.

Attitude Survey

- Key: Very True of Me (1) (2) (3) (4) (Neutral) (5) (6) (7) (8) (9) Not at all True of Me
- 1 My opinions about gay men and lesbians mainly are based on whether or not someone I care about is gay. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 - 2 My opinions about gay men and lesbians mainly are based on my personal experiences with specific gay persons. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 - 3 My opinions about gay men and lesbians mainly are based on my own judgment of how likely it is that I will interact with gay people in any significant way. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 - 4 My opinions about gay men and lesbians mainly are based on my personal experiences with people whose family members or friends are gay. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 - 5 My opinions about gay men and lesbians mainly are based on my perceptions of how the people I care about have responded to gay people as a group. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 - 6 My opinions about gay men and lesbians mainly are based on learning how gay people are viewed by the people whose opinions I most respect. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 - 7 My opinions about gay men and lesbians mainly are based on the fact that I would rather not think about homosexuality or gay people. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 - 8 My opinions about gay men and lesbians mainly are based on my personal feelings of discomfort or revulsion at homosexuality. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 - 9 My opinions about gay men and lesbians are based on my concern that we safeguard the civil liberties of all people in our society. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
 - 10 My opinions about gay men and lesbians mainly are based on my moral beliefs about how things should be. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

APPENDIX F

EXTENDED OBJECTIVE MEASURE OF EGO IDENTITY STATUS-REVISED VERSION

(EOM-EIS, BENNION & ADAMS, 1986)

Used with Permission

Extended Objective Measure of Ego Identity Status-Revised Version (EOM-EIS, Bennion &
Adams, 1986).

- Response Scale:
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 = strongly agree 2 = moderately agree 3 = agree</p> | <p>4 = disagree 5 = moderately disagree 6 = strongly disagree</p> |
|--|---|
-
1. I haven't chosen the occupation I really want to get into, and I'm just working at what is available until something better comes along. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 2. When it comes to religion I just haven't found anything that appeals and I don't really feel the need to look. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 3. My ideas about men's and women's roles are identical to my parents'. What has worked for them will obviously work for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 4. There's no single "life style" which appeals to me more than another. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 5. There are a lot of different kinds of people. I'm still exploring the many possibilities to find the right kind of friends for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 6. I sometimes join in recreational activities when asked, but I rarely try anything on my own. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 7. I haven't really thought about a "dating style." I'm not too concerned Whether I date or not. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 8. Politics is something that I can never be too sure about because things change so fast. But I do think it's important to know what I can politically stand for and believe in. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 9. I'm still trying to decide how capable I am as a person and what work will be right for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 10. I don't give religion much thought and it doesn't bother me one way or the other. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 11. There's so many ways to divide responsibilities in marriage, I'm trying to decide what will work for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 12. I'm looking for an acceptable perspective for my own "life style," but haven't really found it yet. 1 2 3 4 5 6
 13. There are many reasons for friendship, but I choose my close friends on the basis of certain values and similarities that I've personally decided on. 1 2 3 4 5 6

14. While I don't have one recreational activity I'm really committed to, I'm experiencing numerous leisure outlets to identify one I can truly enjoy. 1 2 3 4 5 6
15. Based on past experiences, I've chosen the type of dating relationship I want now. 1 2 3 4 5 6
16. I haven't really considered politics. It just doesn't excite me much. 1 2 3 4 5 6
17. I might have thought about a lot of different jobs, but there's never really been any question since my parents said what they wanted. 1 2 3 4 5 6
18. A person's faith is unique to each individual. I've considered and reconsidered it myself and know what I can believe. 1 2 3 4 5 6
19. I've never really seriously considered men's and women's roles in marriage. It just doesn't seem to concern me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
20. After considerable thought I've developed my own individual viewpoint of what is for me an ideal "life style" and don't believe anyone will be likely to change my perspective. 1 2 3 4 5 6
21. My parents know what's best for me in terms of how to choose my friends. 1 2 3 4 5 6
22. I've chosen one or more recreational activities to engage in regularly from lots of things and I'm satisfied with those choices. 1 2 3 4 5 6
23. I don't think about dating much. I just kind of take it as it comes. 1 2 3 4 5 6
24. I guess I'm pretty much like my folks when it comes to politics. I follow what they do in terms of voting and such. 1 2 3 4 5 6
25. I'm not really interested in finding the right job, any job will do. I just seem to flow with what is available. 1 2 3 4 5 6
26. I'm not sure what religion means to me. I'd like to make up my mind but I'm not done looking yet. 1 2 3 4 5 6
27. My ideas about men's and women's roles have come right for my parents and family. I haven't seen any need to look further. 1 2 3 4 5 6
28. My own views on a desirable life style were taught to me by my parents and I don't see any need to question what they taught me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
29. I don't have any real close friends, and I don't think I'm looking for one right now. 1 2 3 4 5 6

30. Sometimes I join in leisure activities, but I really don't see a need to look for a particular activity to do regularly. 1 2 3 4 5 6
31. I'm trying out different types of dating relationships. I just haven't decided what is best for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
32. There are so many different political parties and ideals. I can't decide which to follow until I figure it all out. 1 2 3 4 5 6
33. It took me a while to figure it out, but now I really know what I want for a career. 1 2 3 4 5 6
34. Religion is confusing to me right now. I keep changing my views on what is right and wrong for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
35. I've spent some time thinking about men's and women's roles in marriage and I've decided what will work best for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
36. In finding an acceptable viewpoint to life itself, I find myself engaging in a lot of discussions with others and some self exploration. 1 2 3 4 5 6
37. I only pick friends my parent would approve of. 1 2 3 4 5 6
38. I've always liked doing the same recreational activities my parents do and haven't ever seriously considered anything else. 1 2 3 4 5 6
39. I only go out with the type of people my parents expect me to date. 1 2 3 4 5 6
40. I've thought my political beliefs through and realize I can agree with some and not other aspects of what my parents believe. 1 2 3 4 5 6
41. My parents decided a long time ago what I should go into for employment and I'm following through their plans. 1 2 3 4 5 6
42. I've gone through a period of serious questions about faith and can now say I understand what I believe in as an individual. 1 2 3 4 5 6
43. I've been thinking about the roles that husbands and wives play a lot these days, and I'm trying to make a final decision. 1 2 3 4 5 6
44. My parents' views on life are good enough for me, I don't need anything else. 1 2 3 4 5 6
45. I've had many different friendships and now I have a clear idea of what I look for in a friend. 1 2 3 4 5 6

46. After trying a lot of different recreational activities I've found one or more I really enjoy doing by myself or with friends. 1 2 3 4 5 6
47. My preferences about dating are still in the process of developing. I haven't fully decided yet. 1 2 3 4 5 6
48. I'm not sure about my political beliefs, but I'm trying to figure out what I can truly believe in. 1 2 3 4 5 6
49. It took me a long time to decide but now I know for sure what direction to move in for a career. 1 2 3 4 5 6
50. I attend the same church as my family has always attended. I've never really questioned why. 1 2 3 4 5 6
51. There are many ways that married couples can divide up family responsibilities. I've thought about lots of ways, and now I know exactly how I want it to happen for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
52. I guess I just kind of enjoy life in general, and I don't see myself living by any particular viewpoint to life. 1 2 3 4 5 6
53. I don't have any close friends. I just like to hang around with the crowd. 1 2 3 4 5 6
54. I've been experiencing a variety of recreational activities in hope of finding one or more I can really enjoy for some time to come. 1 2 3 4 5 6
55. I've dated different types of people and know exactly what my own "unwritten rules" for dating are and who I will date. 1 2 3 4 5 6
56. I really have never been involved in politics enough to have made a firm stand one way or the other. 1 2 3 4 5 6
57. I just can't decide what to do for an occupation. There are so many possibilities. 1 2 3 4 5 6
58. I've never really questioned my religion. If it's right for my parents it must be right for me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
59. Opinions on men's and women's roles seem so varied that I don't think much about it. 1 2 3 4 5 6
60. After a lot of self-examination I have established a very definite view on what my own life style will be. 1 2 3 4 5 6

61. I really don't know what kind of friend is best for me. I'm trying to figure out exactly what friendship means to me. 1 2 3 4 5 6
62. All of my recreational preferences I got from my parents and I haven't really tried anything else. 1 2 3 4 5 6
63. I date only people my parents would approve of. 1 2 3 4 5 6
64. My folks have always had their own political and moral beliefs about issues like abortion and mercy killing and I've always gone along accepting what they have. 1 2 3 4 5 6

APPENDIX G

GENDER ROLE BELIEFS SCALE (GRBS; KERR & HOLDEN, 1996)

Used with Permission

Gender Role Beliefs Scale (GRBS; Kerr & Holden, 1996)

Personal Opinion Survey: Darken the box of the number that best represents your opinion.

Key: 1 = Strongly Agree 4 = Undecided 6 = Moderately Disagree
2 = Moderately Agree 5 = Slightly Disagree 7 = Strongly Disagree
3 = Slightly Agree

- 1 It is disrespectful for a man to swear in the presence of a lady 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 2 Women should not expect men to offer them seats on busses. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3 Homosexual relationships should be as socially accepted as heterosexual relationships. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 4 The initiative in courtship should usually come from the man. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 5 It bothers me more to see a woman who is pushy than a man who is pushy. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 6 When sitting down at the table, proper respect demands that the gentleman hold the lady's chair. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 7 Women should have as much sexual freedom as men. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 8 Women should appreciate the protection and support that men have traditionally given them. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 9 Women with children should not work outside the home if they don't have to financially. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 10 I see nothing wrong with a woman who doesn't like to wear skirts or dresses. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 11 The husband should be regarded as the legal representative of the family in all matters of law. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 12 I like women who are outspoken. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 13 Except perhaps in very special circumstances, a gentleman should never allow a lady to pay the taxi, buy the tickets, or pay the check. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 14 Some equality in marriage is good, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say-so in family matters. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 15 Men should continue to show courtesies to women such as holding open the door or helping them on with their coats. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 16 It is ridiculous for a woman to run a locomotive and for a man to darn socks. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 17 A woman should be as free as a man to propose marriage. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 18 Women should be concerned with their duties of childrearing and housetending rather than with desires for professional and business careers. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 19 Swearing and obscenity is more repulsive in the speech of a woman than a man. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 20 There are some professions and types of business that are more suitable for men than women. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

APPENDIX H

ATTITUDE TOWARD LESBIANS AND GAY MEN SCALE (ATLG; HEREK, 1988)

Used with Permission.

Attitude toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988)

Darken the box of the number that best represents your opinion:

Key: Strongly Agree 1 2 3 4 (5) 6 7 8 9 Strongly Disagree

- 1) Lesbians just can't fit into our society. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 2) A woman's homosexuality should *not* be a cause for job discrimination in any situation. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 3) Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural divisions between the sexes. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 4) State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 5) Female homosexuality is a sin. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 6) The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 7) Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 8) Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 9) Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 10) Lesbians are sick. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 11) Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 12) I think male homosexuals are disgusting. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 13) Male homosexuals should *not* be allowed to teach school. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 14) Male homosexuality is a perversion. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 15) Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 16) If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
- 17) I would *not* be upset if I learned that my son were a homosexual. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

18) Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

19) The idea of male homosexual marriages seems ridiculous to me. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

20) Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should *not* be condemned. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

APPENDIX I

SELECTED ITEMS FROM THE ABSOLUTISM SUBSCALE OF THE SCALE OF ADULT
INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

(SAID-44; MARTIN, SILVA, NEWMAN, & THAYER, 1994)

Used with Permission

Selected items from the Absolutism subscale of the Scale of Adult Intellectual Development

(SAID-44; Martin, Silva, Newman, & Thayer, 1994)

Read each group of statements below, then darken the number of the best response for you.

Use this key:

- 1= Strongly Like Me
- 2= Like Me
- 3= Slightly More Like Me than Unlike Me
- 4= Neither More Unlike Me, nor More Like Me (Equally Like Me & Unlike Me)
- 5= Slightly More Unlike Me than Like Me
- 6= Unlike Me
- 7= Strongly Unlike Me

1)

The world is absolute, exact, and black and white.

The answers are real, tangible, and exact.

Every question can be answered by someone.

The world is big but pretty simple.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8)

I make factual, absolute, or clear-cut decisions based on my background (for example, liberal or conservative positions.)

There are many viewpoints, but they are misguided.

Much of what I believe has been learned from an influential person in my life.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

APPENDIX J

SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE, SHORT FORM, (M-C 1(10); STRAHAN & GERBASI,
1972)

Used with Permission

Social Desirability Scale, Short Form, (M-C 1(10); Strahan & Gerbasi, 1972)

Darken the box of the best response for you.

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1) I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 2) I always try to practice what I preach. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 3) I never resent being asked to return a favor. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 4) I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 5) I have never deliberately said something to hurt someone's feelings. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 6) I like to gossip at times. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 7) There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 8) I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 9) At times I have really insisted on having things my own way. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 10) There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 11) I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 12) I have never intensely disliked anyone. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 13) When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 14) I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 15) I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrong doings. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 16) I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 17) There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |
| 18) I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something. | <input type="checkbox"/> True | <input type="checkbox"/> False |

19) There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others. True False

20) I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me. True False

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