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“LOVE THE SINNER, HATE THE SIN:” REALITY OR FICTION?

By

Scott G. Veenvliet

Bachelor of Arts (Honours), Trinity Western University, 1999

THESIS

**Submitted to the Department of Psychology
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Master of Arts degree
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2001**

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Dedicated to my wife, Melissa.

“You’re so cool.”

Abstract

Do religious individuals “love the sinner, but hate the sin?” More specifically, is relatively higher intrinsic religious orientation linked to tolerant attitudes toward gays and lesbians, yet condemnation of homosexual behaviour? There have been conflicting conclusions within the relevant literature in answering this question (Batson, Floyd, Meyer, & Winner, 1999; Fisher, Derison, Polley III, Cadman, & Johnston, 1994; Fulton, Gorsuch, & Maynard, 1999). 169 undergraduate students completed several scales measuring religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” and scales measuring attitude toward both homosexual people and homosexual behaviour. Intrinsic religion was associated with relatively less tolerance toward gays and lesbians if one did not account for religious fundamentalism, or church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.” After partialling out fundamentalism, the relationship between intrinsic religion and relatively less tolerance became nonsignificant. Also, an interaction between church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” and relatively higher intrinsic religious orientation scores clarified previous conflicting research. It was concluded from the present study that some individuals (higher intrinsic religious orientation) who attended religious groups that scored higher in church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” were more tolerant of homosexual people, yet less tolerant of homosexual behaviour. However, the majority of people involved in this study did not make a distinction between homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. It is suggested that further research could refine this discovery.

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To my Dad, Mom, sister Wendy and brother Brad; you helped me be who I am today. I’ll let you decide whether that is a good thing or a bad thing; Thanks.

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Introduction

When I was considering the topic of this thesis, I happened to meet a church leader from my past. Within seconds of our meeting, he shared a joke that helped determine the topic of this thesis.

A grade four teacher, who was a vocal atheist, asked the class for all who didn't believe in God to put up their hands. All put up their hands except for Lucy. The teacher confronted Lucy "why do you believe in such a foolish thing?" "Well" said Lucy, "my mother is a Christian, my father is a Christian, and I am a Christian." The teacher countered, if your mother was a moron, and your father was a moron, what would that make you? Lucy thought for a moment and replied, "I guess that would make me an atheist."

After a little uncomfortable polite laughter, I thought about this prejudice, and why it is often acceptable in the eyes of people who preach love and non-judgement? Perhaps the problem is that many people, although holding prejudicial attitudes, would deny that they themselves are prejudiced. They believe that they are following the Christian principle taught by Saint Augustine that one should love the sinner but hate the sin. Sadly, judgements often seem to include the person as well as his or her actions. The present work will investigate the extent to which religious people actually follow the aforementioned goal of reserving judgements for actions alone, rather than condemning both the sin and the sinner.

It is fitting to begin by defining prejudice. Social psychologist Rupert Brown (1995) explains that the term prejudice means "the holding of derogatory social attitudes

or cognitive beliefs, the expression of negative affect, or the display of hostile or discriminatory behaviour toward members of a group on account of their membership to that group” (p. 8). Prejudice can be displayed in various ways, through negative attitudes, which include cognitive beliefs, affect, and behaviour. The common thread is that the negative attitude must be directed toward a person, based on his or her membership in a certain group. As individuals we have the freedom to believe what we wish, including holding attitudes that are quite different from those of other people. Thus, declaring a person with a belief on a certain issue (e.g., belief that homosexuality is wrong) as prejudiced is inappropriate according to the above definition. The belief of the person must include derogatory attitudes toward the group member in order to be defined as prejudice (e.g., homosexuals are bad people).

It should be noted that the distinction between the homosexual person and homosexual behaviour is an ambiguous one. It might be argued that it is homosexual behaviour that defines the group, thus the behaviour ultimately leads to objections to the group that is defined by the (unacceptable) behaviour. Can a person separate an individual from his or her actions and judge the two independently? The sin/sinner distinction might well be a difficult one for many people. However, in this thesis the goal is to investigate whether religious individuals who say that they accept the principle of “love the sinner, hate the sin” are actually successful in doing so when the “sinners” are gay or lesbian persons and the “sin” is their homosexual behaviour. Let us now turn to what the relevant literature reveals about this topic.

Literature Review

Religious Involvement and Orientation

Much of the literature on prejudice and religion has focused on types of religiosity that predict prejudice. Research has for many years revealed that religious people were more prejudiced than non-religious people. Batson, Schoenrade and Ventis (1993) reviewed forty-seven studies dating between 1940 and 1990 that measured religious involvement and prejudice. Thirty-seven of these articles concluded that there was a positive relationship between prejudice (measured as ethnocentrism, racism, and anti-Semitism) and religious involvement. Eight of the studies, most of them carried out in the northern United States, revealed no relationship, and only two showed a negative relationship. This led the authors to conclude that, "religion is not associated with increased love and acceptance but with increased intolerance, prejudice, and bigotry" (p. 302).

This conclusion is quite shocking, especially when most major religions teach love and acceptance, not hate. However, researchers quickly recognized that not all people are religious for the same reason. Allport and Ross' (1967) distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic religion was intended to clarify the above relationship. People who have an extrinsic view of religion may go to religious services primarily for social contacts, making friends, or community involvement. To have an extrinsic view of religion is to view religion as a means to some other end. Others, who hold a more intrinsic view of religion, see faith as an end in itself. Religion is the focus of life, and other needs are arranged around this organizing factor. Allport and Ross argued (and

found some evidence) that intrinsic religiosity is related to non-prejudice and extrinsic religiosity is related to prejudice.¹

Intrinsic and extrinsic have not been the only two religious orientations that have been recognized. For example, the quest religious orientation (Batson & Ventis, 1982) has also been the focus of much research. Individuals who score high on this dimension tend to display an open, questioning view of faith. Doubts are important to them, and they seem to be actively searching for religious truth. It has been found that high quest scores are associated with a greater acceptance of out-groups (Alliemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Batson, Flink, Schoenrade, Fultz, & Pych, 1986; Batson, Naifeh, & Pate 1978; Batson & Ventis, 1982; Fulton, Gorsuch, & Maynard, 1999; McFarland, 1989). In a recent study (Batson, Eidelman, Higley, & Russell, 2001) it was found that a high quest orientation was associated with opposition to value-violating behaviour (intolerance of others) but no antipathy was associated with the person displaying value-violating behaviour. High quest individuals were apparently able to reject the “sin” (intolerance of others) that violated their values, yet they were also able to accept the “sinner” (the person who engaged in the unacceptable behaviour of intolerance). However, much of the religion-prejudice literature has been focused on the intrinsic and extrinsic religious orientations.

It has been argued that frequency of attendance at religious services could be a good proxy measure of religious orientation. Gorsuch and McFarland (1972) found that

¹ It is unclear from the conceptual definition of extrinsic religious orientation why it would be consistently positively correlated with prejudice.

people who attend religious services less than three times per month but more than four times a year score higher on extrinsic orientation measures, while people who attend more frequently than this score high on intrinsic orientation measures. People who attend religious services less than four times a year are deemed to be non-religious. Batson et al. (1993) analyzed the relationship between religious orientation or religious attendance and various measures of prejudice in the existing literature. Consistent with previous findings (see Allport, 1966; Donahue, 1985; Gorsuch, 1988; Gorsuch & Aleshire, 1974), Batson et al. (1993) concluded that people showing a more intrinsic religious orientation were relatively unprejudiced when compared to people who displayed an extrinsic focus of religious faith. There seemed to be no difference between non-religious individuals and people who scored high on intrinsic religious scales in terms of prejudicial attitudes. This curvilinear relationship between attendance and prejudice was widely accepted and only recently has come under question (Batson et al., 1993; Batson, Floyd, Meyer, & Winner, 1999; Fisher, Derison, Polley, Cadman, & Johnston, 1994; Hunsberger, 1995).

Interestingly, in a recent study by Burriss and Jackson (1999), the authors investigated how religious individuals make attributions for abusive behaviour. In this study, the principle “love the sinner, hate the sin” was put to the test. They found that higher intrinsic religious orientation was linked to relatively higher acceptance of abusive behaviour (sympathy directed toward the perpetrator of the abuse), if the target of the abuse violated traditional religious values (by having a homosexual orientation). In this instance, intrinsic religious orientation was linked to not hating the sinner, but loving the sinner’s abuser (or “loving the hater”). Apparently some people do distinguish between

sin and sinner, but does this happen in predictable ways in the context of research on prejudice?

Batson et al. (1999) investigated the widely accepted belief that intrinsic religious orientation was associated with non-prejudice in a study that measured whether religious individuals would be willing to help homosexuals. Participants were introductory psychology students who completed religious orientation scales and the following exercise. The participants were told that they were the second phase of a psychology study that was measuring “the effects of one person’s disclosure of intimate, personal information about him or herself to another person on the other person’s performance of tasks that either do or do not have consequences for the discloser” (p. 450). Participants then read a note (created earlier by the researchers) that contained personal information about someone who was supposedly involved in phase one of the study. Participants were told that they would be given a task that would allow them to help (financially) the person who disclosed information to them, or a different psychology student chosen at random who was not involved in the study. There were three conditions in this experiment and each participant was placed into one of the following: (a) the discloser revealed that she or he was a homosexual who hoped to visit grandparents in Santa Fe with the money awarded; (b) the discloser revealed that he or she was a homosexual who hoped to attend a gay pride rally in San Francisco; or (c) the discloser mentioned nothing about sexual orientation and hoped to visit his or her grandparents in Santa Fe.

Participants were given two large lists of random numbers, and were given two minutes to circle specific target numbers in each of the lists. Participants were told that for each target number they circled on list one, a ballot would be entered into a \$30 draw

for the discloser. For each target number circled on list two, a ballot would be entered for a random psychology student not involved in the study. Participants then had to decide whether to spend more time helping the discloser or the unknown random psychology student in the \$30 draw. It was found that people scoring high on intrinsic orientation helped the homosexual person significantly less in the condition where the homosexual target person was planning a value-threatening trip (gay pride rally) or a value-neutral trip (grandparents) when compared to the not-gay target person. The authors concluded that high intrinsic religious orientation was related to discrimination against homosexuals, as the amount of help given was comparably less.

However, one should be careful when considering this research, as it appears that the study by Batson et al. (1999) may contain some flaws. First, participants were allowed to help a person about whom they knew nothing, or someone whom they learned was a gay or lesbian participating in a value neutral or value conflicting activity. Overall, participants on average spent 81% of their time helping the individual about whom they had received information. "Discrimination" was operationally defined as helping at a statistically significant percentage less than a comparison group. Therefore, since high intrinsic individuals spent 71% of their time helping gay individuals visit grandparents (non-value threatening), and 70% of their time helping the person go to a gay-pride rally (value threatening), compared with the average time of helping the not-gay person, which was 87%, this was called discrimination. This is discrimination in a relative sense, but the discrimination does not seem to involve the derogatory attitudes or hostility often associated with prejudice (see the working definition that is set out on p. 1 of this thesis). That is, participants still spent more than two-thirds of their time helping the gay or

lesbian individual, even in the value conflicting condition. Therefore, although there is “relative prejudice” here, one might argue that there is actually considerable tolerance of (or even support for) gays and lesbians, in an absolute sense.

Second, the participants were also asked why they decided to split the two minutes as they did. Some people reported that they wanted to be fair and tried to split their time evenly between the two individuals. These participants were successful in doing this and on average spent about half of their time helping the person that disclosed information to them and half helping the unknown person. Unfortunately, based on the selected analysis of the data, these individuals would be seen as prejudiced, because compared to the average participant, they spent less time helping the person who disclosed information (i.e., the homosexual). Batson et al. (1999) did not mention to what extent intrinsic religious orientation was related to the use of this reasoning. It would seem that if high intrinsic individuals were to use this reasoning more often, it would lower the group average for helping the disclosing individual. The authors do say that the participants in the intrinsic group justified their prejudice as a moral stance on fairness, not a moral stance against homosexuality. In the control condition, if a participant spent equal amounts of time helping the individual who disclosed nothing about sexual orientation and helping the individual about whom he or she knew nothing, then following Batson et al.’s (1999) reasoning, this is a prejudiced action against the discloser.

Aside from these criticisms, Batson et al.’s (1999) focus on value conflict is an interesting one, and will be pursued in this thesis. According to realistic group conflict theory (e.g., see Sherif, 1966), prejudice can be observed when two groups are in conflict

over resources. Even symbolic resources, such as the teaching of one's values, can become a reason for conflict between groups (Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993; Jackson & Esses, 1997; Sears, 1988). In the Batson et al. (1999) study, religious individuals who perceived a conflict between their values and those of person attending a gay pride rally may have displayed comparatively less helpful behaviour toward the homosexual who was trying to get to the gay-pride rally in San Francisco. The choice not to help in this situation was based on the destination, not the person travelling. Religious individuals would probably respond in a similar fashion if a person who revealed nothing about his or her sexual orientation wanted to travel to an identical destination.

Consistent with the broader realistic group conflict theory, Batson et al. (1999) showed that that discrimination against the individual often is based only on group membership (e.g., not willing to help a gay person who is trying to visit grandparents in Santa Fe). Do religious individuals distinguish between the sin (in this context, value conflict) and the sinner? According to Batson et al. (1999) they do not, and this conclusion will be further tested in this research.

The characterization of the intrinsic individual as relatively non-prejudiced also came under attack in another study of prejudice toward gays and lesbians. Fisher et al. (1994) focused on the possibility that people who frequently attended religious services were more likely to follow the religious beliefs of the church (sometimes involving negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians) due to social influence. Fisher et al. (1994) hypothesised that intrinsically oriented individuals, who attend services more frequently (Gorsuch & McFarland, 1972), would over time adopt the attitudes and beliefs taught by their religious group. Fisher et al. (1994) randomly generated phone numbers (in order to

access unlisted numbers) from Orange County Florida and contacted them in order to perform a phone interview. One hundred nineteen men and one hundred seventy-five women completed the interview; the number of people contacted who chose not to participate was not reported. Ages ranged from 18 to 89 with more than one third older than 55. One component of this study was based on a local court case that was extensively covered by the media at that time. The specific details of the case were not clearly explained in this article, but it is surmised that a local deputy resigned from his position after it was learned by coworkers that he was gay. He later reapplied for his position but was denied employment. He sued, claiming discrimination based on his sexual orientation and demanded reinstatement as a police deputy and compensation of any back-pay lost. The anti-gay attitude measures for this study were based on participants' answers to questions about the case, and certain items from Herek's (1987) Attitudes Toward Gays scale. It was found that people who belonged to one of three fundamentalist groups (i.e., Church of Christ, Pentecostal, and Baptist) and those who designated themselves as "Christian" showed the most negative attitude toward gays. Other religious groups (i.e., Jewish, Methodist, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Catholic, Lutheran, and "Protestant") showed relatively more tolerance toward gays.

Fisher et al. (1994) also examined the relationship between frequency of church attendance as a proxy measure of religious orientation (Gorsuch & McFarland, 1972) and attitudes toward gays and lesbians. For adherents of religious groups that were generally antigay, there was a significant positive correlation between negative attitudes toward homosexuals and church attendance. That is, the more frequently individuals attended services of religious groups that seemed to be more antigay, the more intolerant they

were of gays and lesbians. As this is concluded from correlations it is also possible that people who are generally more intolerant of homosexuals sought out religious groups that shared similar attitudes and attended them frequently. Even though the causal direction in this relationship cannot be determined here, it remains that intrinsic religious orientation (as measured by frequency of church attendance) correlated positively with antigay attitudes for participants who attended fundamentalist churches.

Participants who attended “gay-tolerant” churches also revealed a negative correlation, $r(157) = -.15$, $p < .05$, (although much weaker when compared to the “antigay” religious group, $r(88) = -.47$, $p < .001$) between frequency of church attendance and tolerant attitudes toward gays and lesbians. Fisher et al. (1994) did not comment on this finding for attendants of “gay-tolerant” churches as it only reached a significance level of .05 compared to the significance level of .001 for the participants who attended “antigay” religious groups. However, the finding that more intrinsically motivated members of “gay-tolerant” churches still had a significant negative correlation with tolerant attitudes toward gays and lesbians, runs contrary to the suggestion of social influence as the mechanism for the transfer of church teaching to the church members. If the hypothesis of social influence suggested by Fisher et al. (1994) was true, people who attended “gay-tolerant” churches should show gay-tolerant attitudes. The reported data did not reveal this relationship and challenges the social influence theory. It suggests an alternate explanation, one that Fisher et al. (1994) pursued in a second study. Intrinsic religious orientation (as measured by frequent church attendance) was negatively correlated with tolerance toward gays and lesbians for both “anti-gay” and “gay-tolerant” churches.

In the follow-up study, university students completed scales that measured religious orientation using Batson's (1976) Internal, External, and Interactional (quest) scales, Herek's (1987) Attitudes Toward Gays (ATG) and Lesbians (ATL) scales and questions about a fictional court case similar to that in the first study. Results indicated that the more intrinsic an individual was, the more intolerant he or she was of gays or lesbians. The finding of more prejudice for people who score high on intrinsic religious orientation is a powerful one, and generally contrary to what was published previously (see Batson et al., 1993). The conclusion reached by Fisher et al. (1994) was, "Where attitudes toward gays and lesbians are concerned, those with an intrinsic orientation cannot be seen as tolerant, even when compared to those with an extrinsic orientation" (p. 628).

A problem with the second study in the Fisher et al. (1994) article is the selection of the Herek (1987) ATG and ATL scales as the measurement of discriminatory attitudes toward homosexuals. When one examines the scales, certain items measure discrimination based on homosexual behaviour and others are based on the homosexual person. For example, item number five of the ATL scale states, "Female homosexuality is a sin." Based on Brown's (1995) definition of prejudice, agreement with this item is not a discriminatory attitude toward a person based on membership in a group. Other items on the scale, such as number thirteen that states, "Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach school," move beyond the value difference distinction to a definite prejudicial statement because the participant who agrees with this item is discriminating against the person based solely on group membership. Examination of Herek's (1987) scale reveals that nine items focus on judgment of homosexual behaviour and eight items

focus on judgement of the homosexual person. The three remaining items elude these categories. So, Fisher et al.'s (1994) conclusion may not be entirely justified. Religious individuals may have been merely disagreeing with homosexual values and behaviour, and answering in non-prejudicial ways to the person-directed items. In fact, a recent study (Fulton, Gorsuch & Maynard, 1999) recognized these two potentially distinct factors within the Herek (1987) Attitudes Toward Gays and Lesbians Scale and explored this possibility further.

Fulton et al. (1999) studied 257 participants from a conservative Christian college affiliated with the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, who completed the age universal I/E religious orientation scale (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989), and McFarland's (1989) ten-item Quest scale. Participants also completed a modified version of Herek's (1987) ATG and ATL scales (gender specific language removed), and an unpublished six-item religious fundamentalism scale. Fulton et al. (1999) divided the items on the Herek (1987) ATG and ATL scales into moral and non-moral items, based on the argument that certain items measure discrimination based on homosexual behaviour (i.e., moral) and others are based on the homosexual person (i.e., non-moral).² An example of a morally

² The authors' definition of prejudice is based on a distinction between behaviour and the person. They claimed that religious individuals might be seen as tolerant if they disagree with homosexual behaviour (i.e., a moral judgement), but hold no prejudicial attitudes toward homosexuals. The moral disagreement to homosexuality is based on passages from the Christian Bible (Leviticus 18:22, Romans 1: 18-32) that condemn homosexual behaviour. Fulton et al. (1999) recognized that fundamentalists largely view these texts

rationalized item is, "Homosexuality is a perversion" and an example of a non-moral item is, "A person's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination" (reverse scored). The authors regarded negative responses to the non-moral items as prejudicial. Negative responses to moral items were merely considered to be religiously based value differences.

Fulton et al. (1999) reported that the relationship between intrinsic religious orientation and attitudes toward homosexuals differed for moral versus non-moral items. Intrinsic religious orientation was positively correlated to agreement with the moral scale, as "words of God" and believe accordingly. However, in light of the authors' definition of prejudice as, "antipathy toward members of a group in excess of that required by religious value statements" (p.14), they argued that religious individuals who disagree with homosexual behaviour are not acting in a prejudicial way because they are following what they believe the Christian Bible teaches. Further, individuals who move beyond the judgement of behaviour to a negative judgement of the individual are said to be prejudiced because they are displaying antipathy "in excess of that required by religious value statements" (p.14). Although Fulton et al. (1999) may arrive at an acceptable definition of prejudice with this logic, others using the same reasoning may take it one unfortunate step further. This definition of prejudice allows for the possibility of religious value statements that may condemn certain people (i.e., homosexuals) merely by interpreting religious statements to include judgement on the person as well as the behaviour. The present author would argue that one should abandon this definition of prejudice, as it could lead to dangerous conclusions.

$r(176) = .15$, $p < .05$, but uncorrelated with the non-moral scale, $r(176) = -.01$. That is, there was apparently some tendency for participants to make some distinction between sin and sinner.

But the Fulton et al. (1999) investigation is not without problems. The data in this study came from a very homogeneous group (Seventh Day Adventists) and its generalizability is unclear. Also, use of the Herek (1987) attitudes toward homosexuals scale is fraught with difficulties. Scale items such as, "Homosexuality should *not* be a cause for job discrimination" (reverse scored), "Homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions," "Homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality," and "I would not be too upset if I learned that my son or daughter were a homosexual" (reverse scored) show the difficulty in separating items involving homosexual behaviour from those that focus on judging the homosexual person. Fulton et al. (1999) also failed to provide scale reliability data for the moral and non-moral subscales generating further concern about the meaningfulness of the low correlation between intrinsic and moral scale items compared to the nonsignificant correlation between intrinsic and non-moral scale items.

Table 1: Summary of Conclusions

	Relationship of I to ATHP	Relationship of I to ATHB	Relationship of I to ATH	Support the distinction between Sin/Sinner
Batson et al. (1999).	Higher intrinsic group reported lower help behaviour	Higher intrinsic group reported lower help behaviour	N/A	No
Fisher et al. (1994).	N/A	N/A	Negative correlation	No
Fulton et al. (1999).	Nonsignificant correlation	Negative correlation	Nonsignificant correlation	Yes

Note: I = Intrinsic religious orientation; ATHP = Positive attitude toward homosexual people; ATHB = Positive attitude toward homosexual behaviour; ATH = Positive attitude toward homosexuality (behaviour and person combined).

We now have different conclusions from the three main studies reviewed (see Table 1). Batson et al. (1999) and Fisher et al. (1994) concluded that more intrinsic individuals displayed stronger prejudicial attitudes toward homosexuals. Fulton et al. (1999) concluded that intrinsic individuals were able to distinguish between “the sin and the sinner,” and were negative only toward the “sin.” But is the success or failure of a person at following the principle of reserving judgements for actions a function of religious orientation alone? Isn’t it possible that religious teachings (along with religious orientation), as suggested by Fisher et al. (1994), play an important role? Unfortunately, religious teachings and content were not measured by Batson et al. (1999) or Fulton et al.

(1999). Fisher et al. (1994) attempted to do this, but they failed to make the distinction between behaviour and person in their prejudice measures, and therefore have confounded results. The author of the present study proposes to measure participants' perceptions of church teaching of "love the sinner, hate the sin" in regards to homosexuality. Measuring "proscribed" and "nonproscribed" prejudice will allow us to investigate the important variable of church attitude toward homosexual behaviour and homosexual people.

Proscribed and Nonproscribed Prejudice

The Batson et al. (1999) and Fisher et al. (1994) studies focused on prejudice against a very specific group, gays and lesbians. However, the more general literature on prejudice and religion, which indicated that intrinsic individuals showed more tolerance when compared to extrinsic people, typically assessed prejudice toward racial or ethnic groups (e.g., Blacks and Jewish people, see Batson et al.'s (1993) literature review). Perhaps there are fundamental differences between prejudice toward homosexuals and these other types of prejudice. Some prejudices are clearly condemned by certain religious groups, whereas others are unopposed, or even supported. In this regard Batson et al. (1993) distinguished between "proscribed" and "nonproscribed" prejudices. A proscribed prejudice is one, such as racism, that is condemned by one's religious community. A nonproscribed prejudice is one that a religious group is silent about, or may even support, such as negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians. This distinction between proscribed and nonproscribed prejudice is important, as people who are more intrinsic in their religious orientation view religion as central to their lives, and thus should be more likely to adhere to church teachings (Batson et al., 1993; Fisher et al.,

1994). They will agree with their religious group's position on prejudices that are proscribed (acceptance of Blacks, Jews, etc.) and nonproscribed (non-acceptance of homosexuals). On the other hand, extrinsic individuals will be aware of church teachings, but their beliefs will be independent of church teaching (Batson et al. 1993), possibly because they care less about what is encouraged by their religious group (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999).

Duck and Hunsberger (1999) tested Batson et al.'s (1993) hypotheses regarding proscription and religious orientation by surveying over 800 introductory psychology students. The participants completed religious orientation scales, the Attitudes Toward Homosexuals Scale³ (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) and other measures created by the authors that tapped the participants' views of their religious groups' proscribed and nonproscribed prejudices. As expected, intrinsic orientation was negatively related to racism (proscribed prejudice) whereas an extrinsic orientation was positively related to racism. For nonproscribed prejudice (negative attitudes toward homosexuals) the relationships were reversed. Thus, an intrinsic approach to religion was associated with a seeming acceptance of church teachings and attitudes with respect to both perceived proscribed and nonproscribed prejudices. Perhaps the prejudices displayed by individuals who tend to show an intrinsic orientation are limited to these nonproscribed prejudices.

³ The majority of questions from this scale tap discrimination against the homosexual person and therefore may rightly be called an accurate measure of prejudice against homosexuals.

The proscribed and nonproscribed distinction is important for the present research on “love the sinner, hate the sin” because, as was shown by Duck and Hunsberger (1999), the impact of the religious group’s teachings may be substantial for individuals who hold a more intrinsic religious orientation. The important question for this research is, do people perceive that their religious group makes a distinction between homosexual behaviour and the homosexual person? If so, it is expected that individuals with an intrinsic religious orientation will make the same distinction.

Duck and Hunsberger (1999) asked to what extent the participant’s religious group approved or disapproved of (a) homosexuality, and (b) equal rights for gay persons. The definition of prejudice used in the present research (Brown, 1987) suggests that a negative attitude toward homosexuality is a judgement of behaviour (not necessarily prejudice), while a negative attitude toward equal rights for gay persons is a personal prejudicial judgement. Duck and Hunsberger (1999) found that there was a positive correlation between these two items, $r = .74$, $p < .001$, suggesting that participants did not perceive their religious group as teaching the distinction between “sin and the sinner.” But analysis by denominational divisions, or grouping by religious orientation was not performed. It is probable that there would be differences between religious groups in their advocacy of the principle “love the sinner, hate the sin.” The present study will measure participants’ perception of their religious group’s acceptance of homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. It is expected that this variable will interact with religious orientation in predicting a person’s success at “loving the sinner, but hating the sin.”

There are yet more possibilities that may account for the conflicting conclusions found in the Batson et al. (1999), Fisher et al. (1994) and Fulton et al. (1999) articles: right-wing authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism and Christian orthodoxy.

Right-Wing Authoritarianism, Fundamentalism and Christian Orthodoxy

Right-wing authoritarianism can be defined as “the covariation of authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionalism” (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992, p.114). People who agree with authoritarian ideals also tend to be more religious on average, typically continuing in the religion in which they were raised. They participate in religious activities more frequently, such as prayer, reading of scriptures, and attending services, when compared to others. They also are apt to be quite punitive, and favour strict punishment when asked about judicial matters. These highly religious people are relatively prejudiced as well. They discriminate against “out-group” members, based on racial or religious grouping, and are much more favourable toward “in-group” members (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). These individuals also tend to be quite fundamentalist in their religious beliefs (Hunsberger, 1996; Hunsberger, Owusu, & Duck, 1999).

Fundamentalism is defined as:

the belief that there is one set of religious teachings that clearly contains the fundamental, basic, intrinsic, essential, inerrant truth about humanity and deity; that this essential truth is fundamentally opposed by forces of evil which must be vigorously fought; that this truth must be followed today according to the fundamental, unchangeable practices of the past; and that those who believe and follow these fundamental teachings have a

special relationship with the deity (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992, p.118).

This definition of fundamentalism is therefore independent of a specific set of religious beliefs and applies to various religions; other definitions of fundamentalism have largely limited themselves to the Christian tradition (see Burton, Johnson, & Tamney, 1989; McFarland 1989; Tamney & Johnson, 1988; Wilcox, 1989). Fundamentalist individuals, like high right-wing authoritarians, show relatively high out-group animosity and in-group favouritism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Fulton et al., 1999; Hunsberger, 1996; Hunsberger, 1995; Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999; Johnson, 1992; Marsiglio, 1993). As Hunsberger (1995) states in his review of religion and prejudice, “both religious fundamentalism and authoritarianism encourage obedience to authority, conventionalism, self-righteousness, and feelings of superiority” (p.121).

The link of these two factors to Christian orthodoxy adds complexity to the developing picture of religion and prejudice. Christian orthodoxy typically refers to an individual’s agreement with the central tenets of orthodox Christian belief (e.g., Fullerton & Hunsberger, 1982). It has been found that both religious fundamentalism and right-wing authoritarianism correlate positively with Christian orthodoxy (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). However, belief in orthodox Christian tenets has no reliable relationship to prejudice. For example, Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992) reported no association between Christian orthodoxy and prejudice. Also, Kirkpatrick (1993) found that although Christian orthodoxy did show a relationship to certain prejudicial attitudes, the data clearly showed that fundamentalism more consistently correlated to negative attitudes toward certain groups. He concluded that

compared to Christian orthodoxy, religious fundamentalism was a much better predictor of prejudice.

Returning to the conclusion that intrinsic religious orientation is associated with prejudice toward homosexuals (Batson et al., 1999; Fisher et al., 1994), it seems reasonable that religious fundamentalism and right-wing authoritarianism may be important unmeasured confounding factors. Some studies (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999; Fulton et al., 1999; Hunsberger, Owusu, & Duck, 1999; Kirkpatrick, 1993; McFarland, 1989; McFarland, 1998) have recognized the importance of measuring and controlling for fundamentalism and/or right-wing authoritarianism in investigations of the relationship between religion and prejudice.

Fulton et al. (1999), in their study of religion and attitudes toward homosexuals, controlled for the effects of religious fundamentalism in the relationships between religious orientation and prejudice. They found that the zero-order correlation of intrinsic orientation with attitudes toward homosexuals on moral scale items, $r = .15$, $p < .05$, shifted in a more tolerant direction when partialling out fundamentalism, $r = .01$, ns. This pattern also occurred for the correlation of intrinsic orientation with attitudes toward homosexuals on non-moral scale items, $r = -.01$, ns, which became a significant negative association when partialling out fundamentalism, $r = -.14$, $p < .05$. Fundamentalism itself correlated substantially with both moral, $r = .46$, $p < .001$, and non-moral, $r = .37$, $p < .001$, scale items, suggesting that religious fundamentalism is not a factor to be ignored when investigating religion and prejudice.

The discovery of the relationship between intrinsic orientation and intolerance disappearing when controlling for fundamentalism or right-wing authoritarianism was

revealed in other studies as well. For example, Duck and Hunsberger (1999) found that the positive relationship of intrinsic religion with negative attitudes toward homosexuals (Study 1: $r = .27$; $p < .001$, Study 2: $r = .21$; $p < .001$) disappeared when controlling for the effects of right-wing authoritarianism (Study 1: $r = -.04$; ns, Study 2: $r = -.03$; ns). This closely resembles what was found in the Fulton et al. (1999) article where fundamentalism was controlled. Other studies show similar results when controlling for religious fundamentalism or for authoritarianism, which are often closely related.⁴

Hunsberger, Owusu, and Duck (1999) measured Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), Religious Fundamentalism (RF), Attitudes Toward Homosexuals (ATH) (all from Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) and Sexist Attitudes Toward Women (SATW) (adapted from Benson & Vincent, 1980) in Canadian and Ghanaian introductory psychology students. Partial correlations suggested that RF was a better predictor of negative ATH and RWA was a better predictor of SATW. This conclusion was reached when the authors discovered that the relationship between RF and ATH, $r = .56$, remained strong when partialling out RWA, $r = .44$. In contrast, when partialling RF from the relationship between RWA and ATH, $r = .38$, the correlation became nonsignificant, $r = .05$. When analysing the association between RWA and SATW, $r = .45$, a partial correlation controlling for RF reduced the correlation only slightly, $r = .41$.

⁴ Hunsberger (1995) has even stated, “fundamentalism might be viewed as a religious manifestation of right-wing authoritarianism.” Correlations between religious fundamentalism and RWA range from .45 to .74 (see Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Hunsberger, 1996; Hunsberger, Owusu, & Duck; 1999).

However, the relationship between RF and SATW, $r = .22$, became nonsignificant when partialling out RWA, $r = -.08$. This study showed the importance of measuring religious fundamentalism when studying religion and prejudice toward homosexuals.

McFarland (1989) measured intrinsic, extrinsic and quest religious orientations and their relationship to different targets of discrimination (Blacks, homosexuals, communists, women). The participants for this study were 173 white religious undergraduate men and women.⁵ It was found that intrinsic religious orientation was positively correlated to discriminatory attitudes toward communists, $r = .18$, $p < .05$, and homosexuals, $r = .17$, $p < .05$, for all respondents. In respect to negative attitudes toward women, there was a gender difference. Surprisingly, more intrinsically oriented women showed traditionalist attitudes toward women, $r = .19$, $p < .05$, whereas men did not. But, all the above-mentioned relationships disappeared when controlling for fundamentalism (measured by six items created by the author). In fact, the relationship of intrinsic religion to general discrimination (all target groups combined) was significant in a negative direction, $r = -.14$, $p < .05$. That is, intrinsic religious orientation was related to tolerance when the effect of fundamentalism was controlled.

Quite a collection of studies have amassed which confirm that when examining intrinsic religious orientation, the effects of fundamentalism are not to be ignored. But

⁵ Participants deemed religion as important by responding with a four or five on a one- to five-point scale that asked how important religion was to him or her. Non-white participants were also removed from the sample because numbers were too few for proper analysis.

statistically, what is actually happening when one performs these partial correlations?

When performing a partial correlation, the presumption is that the factor being controlled for is relatively independent of one of the two correlated factors. Fundamentalism and intrinsic religious orientation are often found to be moderately to strongly correlated (Fulton et al., 1999, $r = .31$, $p < .001$; Kirkpatrick, 1993, $r = .64$, $p < .01$; McFarland, 1989, $r = .45$, $p < .001$, McFarland, 1998, $r = .82$, $p < .001$). Is intrinsic religious orientation so powerfully related to religious fundamentalism that when religious fundamentalism is partialled out, the remaining relationship no longer holds any significant meaning?

Related to this question, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between items from religious fundamentalism scales and intrinsic religious orientation scales. For example, Gorsuch and McPherson's (1989) I/E Revised Scale contains the item "It doesn't much matter what I believe so long as I am good" (reverse scored). This is similar to Altemeyer and Hunsberger's (1992) Religious Fundamentalism scale item, "It is more important to be a good person than to believe in God and the right religion" (reverse scored). Other items such as "I try hard to live all my life according to my religious beliefs" (I/E Revised) and "My whole approach to life is based on my religion" (I/E Revised) could arguably appear on fundamentalism scales as well. This leaves one to wonder, what is left of the intrinsic religious orientation that is independent of fundamentalism?

This question is beyond the scope of this study. It would require a great deal of investigation into the definitions of religious fundamentalism and intrinsic religious orientation, and into the scales that claim to measure them. For the purposes of this

study, in our analysis of religious orientation and its relationship to prejudice, we examined the effects of controlling for fundamentalism in order to replicate previous research. We also analysed the predictive power of this religious fundamentalism for “loving the sinner, but hating the sin” when interacting with church teaching. This study also provides complete correlational data of religious fundamentalism’s relationships to intrinsic religious orientation and negative attitudes toward homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. Perhaps this information will allow future research to investigate more thoroughly whether the scales measuring intrinsic religious orientation are measuring something importantly different from religious fundamentalism.

The Present Study

Various researchers have tried to understand the relationship between religion and prejudice, and the developing picture is complex. This study proposes to add to the discussion by examining if religious individuals do distinguish between the act and the actor with respect to homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. Fisher et al. (1994) and Batson et al. (1999) arrived at a different conclusion than did Fulton et al. (1999) regarding the inclination of intrinsically motivated religious individuals to make this distinction. Fulton et al. (1999) claimed that people who score high on intrinsic scales distinguish between sin and sinner while Batson et al. (1999) and Fisher et al. (1994) claimed that both the sin and sinner receive the same negative responses from intrinsic individuals. But Fulton et al. (1999) and Fisher et al. (1994) used very weak measures that undercut the power of their conclusions. Batson et al. (1999) failed to measure fundamentalism and the church-based proscription or nonproscription of negative

attitudes toward homosexuals in their study. These problems have been addressed in this thesis.

First, the issue concerning the scales used by Fulton et al. (1999) and Fisher et al. (1994) was addressed by creating items that better distinguish between attitude toward homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. Second, participants responded to a story about a gay teacher seeking employment at a elementary school. Half of the respondents read that this teacher shares nothing about his sexual orientation with the students, and the other half read that he teaches about his sexual orientation. Finally, participants were asked to sentence a criminal for various crimes committed. Half read that the criminal was a “family man” and half read that he was a “homosexual.”

Hypothesis one is an attempt to replicate the findings of Batson et al. (1999), Fisher et al. (1994) and Fulton et al. (1999). Hypothesis two is the critical analysis for this thesis, where perceived teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” is included with intrinsic religious orientation in an effort to discover the influence of these two factors on predicting tolerance toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour. This procedure is the proposed link to explain the conflicting results tested in hypothesis one. Hypothesis three to five are an exploration into the relationship extrinsic religious orientation, quest religious orientation, and religious fundamentalism has with attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour. The influence of church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” with extrinsic, quest and fundamentalism in predicting tolerance toward homosexuality is also explored.

Hypothesis 1. Relationships between Intrinsic religious orientation and attitudes toward homosexuality.

(a) **Tolerant attitudes toward homosexuality (combined scores of attitude toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour) will be negatively correlated with intrinsic religious orientation. This prediction is consistent with the findings of Fisher et al. (1994).**

(b) **It is predicted that individuals with relatively high intrinsic religious motivation will have a significantly less tolerant attitude toward hiring a gay teacher (in both conditions where he does not share about his sexual orientation values with students, and where he does share) when compared to people with low intrinsic religious orientation.**

(c) **Intrinsic religious orientation scores will be negatively correlated with tolerant attitudes toward homosexual behaviour, and uncorrelated with tolerant attitudes toward homosexual people as reported by Fulton et al. (1999).**

(d) **When partialling out fundamentalism from the relationships of homosexual behaviour and homosexual people to intrinsic religious orientation, the correlations will shift in a more tolerant direction. This prediction is also consistent with the findings of Fulton et al. (1999).**

Hypothesis 2

Higher intrinsic religious orientation, when combined with relatively high levels of church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” will result in relatively positive attitudes toward homosexual people (“love the sinner”) and relatively less tolerant attitudes toward homosexual behaviour (“hate the sin”). This is consistent with the claim of Batson et al. (1993) that people who score high on intrinsic religious orientation are more likely to internalize and reflect church teachings. This hypothesis will be tested by

performing a repeated measures regression analysis with attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour as the dependent variable. The independent variables will be church teaching about sin/sinner distinction, and intrinsic religious orientation. It is expected that these two independent variables will interact significantly to predict a difference between the two dependent measures.

This hypothesis will also be tested in two additional regressions, one for the employment vignette, and the other for the criminal sentencing scenario. For the employment vignette the dependent variable is attitude toward hiring the gay teacher. In the criminal sentencing scenario, the dependent variable is severity of the criminal sentence. The independent variables for both regressions are intrinsic religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” and experimental condition. For these two regressions, the three-way interaction is expected to be significant (condition by intrinsic by church teaching of sin/sinner). As with the previous regression, higher church teaching interacting with higher intrinsic religious orientation will predict relatively more tolerant attitudes toward homosexual people (compared with lower church teaching interacting with higher intrinsic religious orientation) and less tolerant attitudes toward homosexual behaviour.

Hypothesis 3

Higher extrinsic religious orientation will be linked to relatively positive judgements toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour, regardless of church teaching about “love the sinner, hate the sin.” This is based on the fact that Duck and Hunsberger (1999) using similar measures and a similar sample (university students in a

first-year psychology class at Wilfrid Laurier University) found that extrinsic religious orientation was positively correlated with tolerance toward homosexuals.

This hypothesis will be tested by performing a repeated measures regression analysis with attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour as the dependent variable. The independent variables will be church teaching about sin/sinner distinction, and extrinsic religious orientation. It is expected that these two independent variables will not interact significantly to predict a difference between the two dependent measures.

Hypothesis 3 will also be tested in two additional regressions, one for the employment vignette, and the other for the criminal sentencing scenario. For the employment vignette the dependent variable is attitude toward hiring the gay teacher. In the criminal sentencing scenario, the dependent variable is severity of the criminal sentence. The independent variables for both regressions are extrinsic religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” and experimental condition. For these two regressions, the main effect for extrinsic religious orientation will be significant, with higher extrinsic scores predicting a more tolerant attitude toward hiring the gay teacher and criminal sentencing of the homosexual.

Hypothesis 4

Higher quest religious orientation will be linked to relatively positive judgements of homosexual people and homosexual behaviour. Quest, as with high extrinsic religious orientation, will not be affected by church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.” This is due to the fact that individuals high in quest religiosity often are rather independent of external influence, such as traditional church teaching (Burriss, Jackson,

Tarpley, & Smith, 1994). High quest religion has also been consistently linked to tolerance (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Batson et al., 1986; Batson et al., 1978; Batson and Ventis, 1982, Fulton et al., 1999; McFarland, 1989). This hypothesis will be tested by performing a repeated measures regression analysis with attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour as the dependent variable. The independent variables will be church teaching about sin/sinner distinction, and quest religious orientation. It is expected that these two independent variables will not interact significantly to predict a difference between the two dependent measures.

This hypothesis will also be tested in two additional regressions, one for the employment vignette, and the other for the criminal sentencing scenario. For the employment vignette the dependent variable is attitude toward hiring the gay teacher. In the criminal sentencing scenario, the dependent variable is severity of the criminal sentence. The independent variables for both regressions are quest religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” and experimental condition. For these two regressions the main effect for quest will be significant, with higher quest scores predicting a more tolerant attitude toward hiring the gay teacher and criminal sentencing. Finally, quest will be strongly positively correlated with attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour.

Hypothesis 5

Higher religious fundamentalism, when combined with comparatively high levels of church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” will result in relatively positive attitudes toward homosexual people, and relatively less tolerant attitudes toward homosexual behaviour. This prediction is based on the fact that people scoring high in

fundamentalism believe their religion to be the only true religion, and therefore follow its teachings steadfastly (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992).

This hypothesis will be tested by performing a repeated measures regression analysis with attitude toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour as the dependent variable. The independent variables will be church teaching about sin/sinner distinction, and religious fundamentalism. It is expected that these two independent variables will interact significantly to predict a difference between the two dependent measures.

Hypothesis 5 will also be tested in two additional regressions, one for the employment vignette, and the other for the criminal sentencing scenario. For the employment vignette the dependent variable is attitude toward hiring the gay teacher. In the criminal sentencing scenario, the dependent variable is severity of the criminal sentence. The independent variables for both regressions are religious fundamentalism, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” and experimental condition. For these two regressions, the three-way interaction is expected to be significant (experimental condition by religious fundamentalism by church teaching of sin/sinner).

Method

Participants

108 female, 57 male, and 4 gender unspecified participants were recruited during a mass-testing session following an introductory psychology class at Wilfrid Laurier University. Their ages ranged from 18 to 34 with more than 75% aged 19 or 20. The participants received .5% research credit in their introductory psychology course for completing and submitting the research questionnaire. The study was introduced to the

participants as a survey of social and religious attitudes (see Appendix A for the verbal instructions presented to the participants). All class members were invited to participate, not just those who considered themselves to be religious. Participants also were invited to read a form outlining their rights as research participants (see Appendix B for the information and consent form). In this form, they were encouraged to complete each question truthfully and honestly as there is no “right” answer and privacy and anonymity of responses was assured. Upon completion of the questionnaire, participants submitted both the computer scorecard and the question booklet. Full disclosure of the project’s results was posted publicly for participants to review (see Appendix C for research feedback given to participants).

Questionnaire

The questionnaire was divided into six sections (see appendix D for research questionnaire). Participants were asked to complete all six sections, and place all their responses to the items on a supplemental computer scorecard. Section one contained the following scales, which used the response format, -4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree).

1. The Allport and Ross (1967) nine-item Intrinsic and eleven-item Extrinsic religious orientation scales were used. An example item from the Intrinsic scale is, “I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life,” and an example Extrinsic item is “The primary purpose of prayer is to gain relief and protection.” Cronbach’s alphas in the present study were .87 for the Intrinsic scale and .66 for the Extrinsic scale.

2. A 12-item Quest Scale (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991), which contains items such as, “For me, doubting is an important part of what it means to be religious,” was used. Cronbach’s alpha in the present study was .80.

3. A 14-item short form of the Religious Fundamentalism (RF) scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) followed the religious orientation measures.⁶ Cronbach’s alphas for this scale have been reported to range from .92 to .94 (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Hunsberger, 1996; Hunsberger, Owusu, & Duck, 1999; for the long version of RF scale) for samples similar to the one proposed in this study. A sample item from this scale is, “God has given mankind a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed.” Cronbach’s alpha in the present study for the short-form of this scale was .89.

4. The following two scales contain items from Altemeyer & Hunsberger’s (1992) Attitudes Toward Homosexuals Scale, as well as items created by the author. The first scale measures Attitudes Toward Homosexual Behaviour (ATHB). The items are as follows:

1. A sexual relationship between two men can be just as intimate as a sexual relationship between a man and a woman.
2. Homosexual acts are wrong.
3. Homosexual behaviour is a perfectly acceptable form of sexuality.

⁶ The full 20-item scale was administered, with two experimental items included for further development of this scale. The fourteen-item short form was used as it proved to be quite reliable and psychometrically sound.

4. Homosexual acts are unnatural.

5. I have no problem with the sight of two men kissing each other on the lips.

6. Homosexual behaviours should be illegal in our society and prosecuted as criminal acts.

The scale that measures Attitudes Toward Homosexual People (ATHP) is as follows:

1. Sexual orientation should not be a cause for job discrimination.

2. Homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in elementary school.

3. If I discovered a new friend was a homosexual, it would not affect my relationship with that person.

4. I won't associate with known homosexuals if I can help it.

5. People should feel sympathetic and understanding of homosexuals, who are unfairly attacked in our society.

6. Homosexuals are deplorable.

For both scales, the even numbered items are reverse scored. The questions are evenly balanced with three pro and three con-trait items. Cronbach's alphas in the present study were .88 for ATHB, and .81 for ATHP.

5. A revised twenty-item Right-Wing Authoritarian (RWA) scale adapted from Altemeyer (1996) was administered. A sample item is "The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas." Cronbach's alpha in the present study for this scale was .92.

The second section of the questionnaire contained an employment vignette, designed by the author, as another measure of judgement of homosexual people. There were two conditions: a homosexual who teaches his class about his homosexuality (value-threat), and the homosexual teacher who never teaches about his sexual orientation (value-neutral). This is similar to the Batson et al. (1999) study where high intrinsic participants discriminated against homosexuals regardless of their actions (value-neutral: visit grandparents in Santa Fe, value-threatening: gay pride trip to San Francisco). Each participant received one of the two possible vignettes.

Please imagine that the following event is true. You are sent a brief description of a teacher who is seeking employment at a local elementary school. This is of particular importance to you, as this teacher would be teaching a child/nephew/niece of yours in the following year.

Mr. Brown is a highly qualified teacher that we are reviewing for employment here at Glenview Elementary School. We would like your input, as you are a valued member of our school community. Mr. Brown has been teaching for 12 years at two different schools, one in Waterloo and the other in Guelph and comes recommended by most that we speak to, including former students and fellow teachers. Mr. Brown wanted us to inform you that he attends a local gay/lesbian advocacy group and holds gay/lesbian values as central to his life. [He openly shares these values with his students and believes that they benefit from learning about others, and various perspectives on life] or [He keeps these values private, not sharing them with students, and believes they are personal matters that do

not belong in a school classroom.] His references have informed us that he is successful in doing this. He loves working with students, in and out of the classroom, and has enthusiastic reviews from most of his students each year. We are interested in your feedback on this potential new teacher.

Participants then comment on four statements using the same -4 (very strongly disagree) to +4 (very strongly agree) response format as above. These statements include, "This person seems qualified and would probably be a good teacher whom I feel comfortable supporting," "I have strong reservations about someone like this teaching children," "I would allow a child I was in guardianship of to have this teacher," and "I would remove a child I was in guardianship of from this school, if this person became his or her teacher." Participants who respond negatively toward the teacher who is not vocal about his sexual orientation, are considered to be displaying prejudice because they are discriminating against an individual based only on his membership to a particular group. Cronbach's alpha for these four items was .89.

Section three contained a task that requires the participants to judge an individual based on the fact that he has pled guilty to criminal charges, and was convicted for the crime. They judged the same individual on the same scale regarding a number of criminal charges. Participants selected one of nine possible sentences for each of the criminal charges (no punishment, an appropriate fine, less than 1 year jail time/community service, a 1- to 5-year jail term, a 6- to 10-year jail term, a 11- to 20-year jail term, a life (25-year) jail term with possible parole, to remain in jail for the rest of his

life, a death sentence). Half of the participants read that the criminal is a family man, and the other half read that the criminal is a homosexual.

We are gathering data on the public's opinion of criminal sentencing and what the proper punishment for criminal action should be. The following individual has been convicted of a crime, to which he has pled guilty.

John Smith has no previous criminal charges; he has a university education, and his friends and family confirm that he has never been in any similar trouble in the past. He is 32 years old, a white male, and [a family man] or [a homosexual]. Please blacken the appropriate bubble for the criminal sentence John Smith should receive for each of the following crimes. Please answer each independent of the others; these are not cumulative charges. Respond as if each of the following charges was the only crime John Smith was convicted of.

There are eight specific crimes listed that the participants assigned sentences for (sexual assault, first-degree murder (with premeditation and intent to kill), child molestation, minor tax evasion, drunk driving causing death, arson causing a million dollars damage, soliciting a prostitute, and provoked assault). Religious individuals, if they are acting in a non-prejudicial way, should give the same criminal sentence for both individuals regardless of group membership. Cronbach's alpha for these items was .70.

Section four contains the 4-item Sin/Sinner scale that measure participants' perception of their religious groups position on homosexual behaviour (two items) and attitudes toward homosexual people (two items). The final Sin/Sinner score was calculated by subtracting items one and three (judgement of behaviour) from items two

and four (judgement of person).⁷ The participants answered using the -4 (very strongly disapprove) to +4 (very strongly approve) format.

Think for a moment of *your religious group*, and *what its position is on the following issues*. In general, to what extent does your religious group approve or disapprove of the following? If you do not belong to a specific religious group, please leave the questions unanswered.

1. Homosexual acts/behaviours.

⁷ Many participants who attended religious groups answered positively to both the behaviour and person questions, or negatively to both. That is, many participants perceived that their religious group accepted both the homosexual person and homosexual behaviour ($n = 16$), or conversely, condemned both ($n = 47$). Yet there was still a small portion of the sample that attended groups that made the distinction between behaviour and person ($n = 14$). Subtracting the two behaviour items from the person items reflects the effort to address this small but important group. Thus, the final measure has individuals who attended churches that accepted homosexual people, yet disagreed with homosexual behaviour, scoring high on the Sin/Sinner scale. Individuals that attended churches that did not make this distinction (therefore accepting both or condemning both) would result in mid- to low-range scores.

The validity of the Sin/Sinner scale was reinforced when we correlated it to the item which asked “does your religious group approve or disapprove of hating the sin (e.g., homosexual acts), yet loving the sinner (e.g., homosexual people).” They were significantly correlated, $r = .46$, $p < .001$.

2. Equal rights for gay (homosexual) persons in our society.
3. Homosexual behaviour as a normal form of sexuality.
4. Welcoming homosexual persons into the group.
5. Hating the sin (e.g., homosexual acts), yet loving the sinner (e.g., homosexual persons).

Section five is a twenty-item doubt scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1997) included for a different research project. Participants were asked “to what extent, if any, do you NOW have doubts about religion, serious concerns about the basic truth of religion, because of the following?” Two sample items are: “The existence of God, an all-good, all-powerful supreme being who created the universe,” and “The death of a loved one.”

The final section collected some demographic information, including age, gender, religious affiliation, religious and spiritual interest, voting practice in the most recent federal election, denominational association, and frequency of religious service attendance.

Results

Table 2 presents the psychometric properties of the scales used in the present study. Except for the criminal sentencing task, and the extrinsic religious orientation scale, all scales had acceptable to very good internal consistency. The weaker alpha of the extrinsic scale is of concern, but is consistent with previous research. The means of the scales relating to attitudes toward gays and lesbians (ATHB, ATHP, Employ) are all above the “neutral-point,” indicating that the mean score for each scale resulted in a relatively positive judgement. Therefore, when discussing an individual or group’s

attitude toward gays and lesbians in this study, we must remember that they are in relative terms. Some people in the present study may be relatively less tolerant than others, yet still be well above the “neutral-point” on the scale.

Table 2: Psychometric Properties of Scales

Scale	Number of Items	Possible Range	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	Mean Intercorr.	Cron's Alpha
Intrinsic	9	0 to 72	26.77	15.49	.42	.87
Extrinsic	11	0 to 88	38.74	11.57	.15	.66
Quest	12	0 to 96	48.40	15.25	.25	.80
RF	14	0 to 112	31.55	21.17	.37	.89
RWA	20	0 to 160	48.35	27.15	.36	.92
ATHB	6	0 to 48	31.57	12.99	.56	.88
ATHP	6	0 to 48	35.17	9.97	.43	.82
E – shares	4	0 to 32	24.95	7.99	.78	.93
E – does not share	4	0 to 32	26.70	6.35	.52	.81
C – family man	8	0 to 64	33.56	6.36	.21	.69
C – gay man	8	0 to 64	33.16	6.64	.24	.72

Note. RF = Religious Fundamentalism, short form 14-item scale; RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarianism; ATHB = Attitudes Toward Homosexual Behaviour; ATHP = Attitudes Toward Homosexual People; E - shares = Positive Attitude Toward Hiring a

Gay Teacher who shares his gay values with students; E – does not share = Positive Attitude Toward Hiring a Gay Teacher who does not share his gay values with students; C – family man = Criminal Sentencing Task for family man as the criminal; C – gay man = Criminal Sentencing Task for gay man as the criminal; Higher scores on ATHB, ATHP equals more tolerance.

Table 3 presents correlations among the main measures in this study. As expected there were strong positive correlations among Intrinsic religious orientation, Religious Fundamentalism, and Right-Wing Authoritarianism. These measures were also all significantly negatively correlated to both positive Attitudes Toward Homosexual People and positive Attitudes Toward Homosexual Behaviour.

Table 3: Intercorrelations of Main Measures

Measure	Extrinsic	Quest	RF	RWA	ATHB	ATHP	Sin/Sinner
Intrinsic	-.02	-.06	.61**	.50**	-.30**	-.25**	.46**
Extrinsic		.28**	-.11	-.06	.11	.09	-.21*
Quest			-.38**	-.37**	.28**	.13	-.17
RF				.78**	-.61**	-.49**	.31**
RWA					-.68**	-.63**	.20
ATHB						.75**	-.24*
ATHP							-.03

Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; RF = Religious Fundamentalism; RWA = Right Wing Authoritarianism; ATHB = Attitudes Toward Homosexual Behaviour; ATPH = Attitudes Toward Homosexual People. Higher scores on ATHB and ATPH mean more positive attitudes toward behaviour or persons respectively

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1(a) stated that intrinsic religion would be negatively correlated with positive attitudes toward homosexuality. To create a measure similar to the one used by Fisher et al. (1994) we combined our ATHB and ATPH scores into one measure. This total score of positive attitudes toward homosexual behaviour and people correlated negatively with intrinsic religious orientation, $r(163) = -.29, p < .01$. This similar to what was reported by Fisher et al. (1994), when correlating the Internal (similar to intrinsic)

scale with Attitudes Toward Lesbians scale, $r(158) = -.35$, $p < .001$, and Attitudes Toward Gays scale, $r(158) = -.39$, $p < .001$. Thus, when the present data were analyzed in a manner similar to that used by Fisher et al., (1994), increased intrinsic religion was associated with increased intolerance toward homosexuality.

Hypothesis 1(b) predicted that relatively high intrinsic individuals would have a significantly lower positive attitude toward hiring a gay teacher when compared to participants who scored relatively low on intrinsic religious orientation. A 2 X 2 analysis of variance was performed with positive attitude toward hiring the gay teacher as the dependent variable, with condition (1 - gay teacher who was very private about sexual orientation, 2 - gay teacher who shared about his sexual orientation with students) and intrinsic religious orientation (1 - top third, 2 - bottom third) as the independent variables. There was a main effect for intrinsic religious orientation, $F(3, 105) = 7.99$, $p < .01$, with the high intrinsic group scoring a mean of 23.32 and low intrinsic group scoring a mean of 27.48. This reveals that the higher intrinsic religious orientation group had a comparatively less tolerant attitude toward hiring the gay teacher, regardless of the teacher sharing or not sharing about his sexual orientation with the students. However, the "neutral point" on the scale is 16, therefore both groups are relatively tolerant toward hiring this teacher. The effect for condition approached significance, $F(3, 105) = 3.51$, $p = .06$, with the average positive attitude toward hiring the gay teacher who did not share his values ($M = 26.78$) a little higher than the average positive attitude toward hiring the gay teacher who did share his values ($M = 22.06$). The interaction of condition by intrinsic was not significant, $F(3, 105) = .43$, ns . Compared to the low intrinsic group,

high intrinsically oriented individuals are relatively less positive toward helping the gay person who performs a value-neutral or value-conflicting action.

The first half of hypothesis 1(c), which stated that intrinsic scores would be unrelated to positive attitudes toward homosexual people, was not supported by the present study. The correlation between the intrinsic religion scale and attitude toward homosexual people, $r(163) = -.25$, $p < .01$, shows a negative relationship. This is different from the findings of Fulton et al. (1999), where there was no significant correlation, $r(176) = -.01$, ns, between intrinsic scores and attitudes toward homosexual people (called non-moral judgements in the study). The second half of the hypothesis, which stated that intrinsic scores would be negatively correlated to tolerant attitudes toward homosexual behaviour was supported, $r(163) = -.30$, $p < .01$.

Hypothesis 1(d) stated that when partialling out fundamentalism, the relationship between intrinsic scores and attitudes toward homosexuality (both behaviour and people) would shift in a more tolerant direction. Table 4 presents the partial correlations that were carried out between intrinsic religious orientation scores and ATHB, AHP, attitude toward a gay teacher that shares about sexual orientation, and attitude toward a gay teacher that does not share about sexual orientation, controlling for religious fundamentalism.

Table 4: Correlations and partial correlations (with religious fundamentalism controlled)
between intrinsic religious orientation and attitude and employment scores

	ATHB	ATHP	Employment – shares	Employment – does not share
Intrinsic Religious Orientation	-.30**	-.25**	-.28**	-.43**
Intrinsic with Fundamentalism partialled out	.13	.08	.05	-.06

Note. ** $p < .01$; ATHB = Attitude toward homosexual behaviour; ATP = Attitude toward homosexual people.

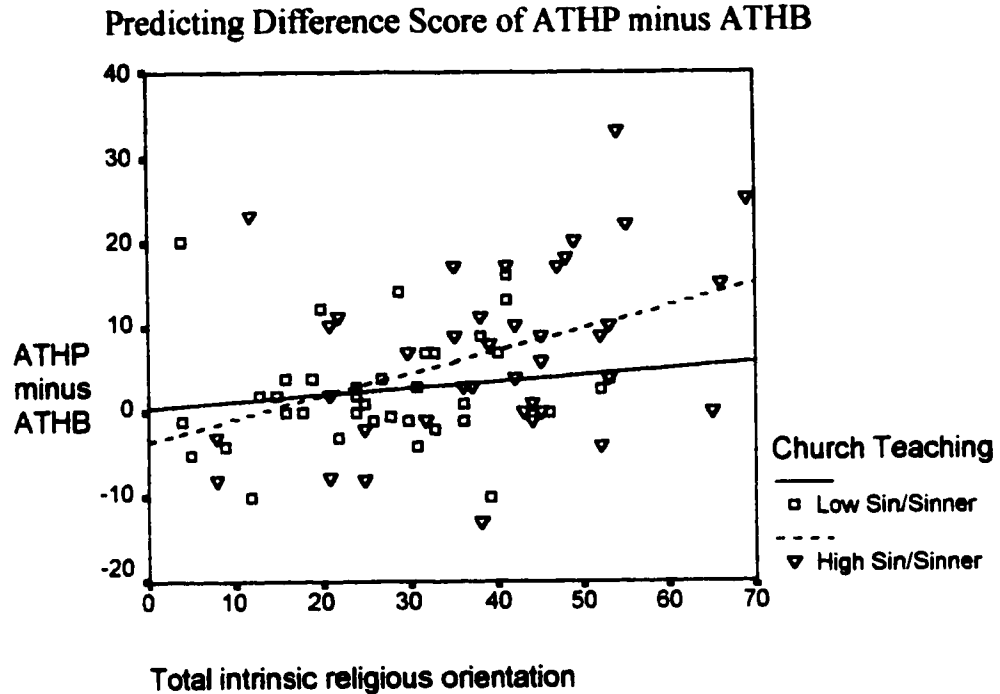
It is quite apparent from this table that the partialling out of the factor religious fundamentalism had an impact on the relationship between intrinsic religious orientation and the measures of attitude. All the correlations shifted from significantly negative to non-significant; that is, they went from being negatively correlated with various attitude toward gays and lesbian measures, to not significantly correlated.

Hypothesis 2

Do relatively high church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” and relatively high intrinsic religious orientation interact to predict tolerance of homosexual people, yet condemnation of homosexual behaviour as was hypothesised? The interaction effect was assessed by means of a hierarchical repeated measures regression with intrinsic religious orientation and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” as the independent variables. Two vectors were created (-1 for ATP, and +1 for ATHB, designated the

condition variable) with the two dependent variables of attitudes toward homosexual people and attitude toward homosexual behaviour. If the model is significant, it shows that the independent variables are able to predict a difference between the two dependent measures of ATHP and ATHB. The complete model was significant, $F(8, 173) = 153.09$, $p < .001$, and accounted for 88% of the variance in the difference between attitude toward homosexual people and attitudes toward homosexual behaviour. The three-way interaction for condition, intrinsic religious orientation and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” was significant, $\beta = -.11$, $t = -2.57$, $p = .01$. We attempted to illustrate this three-way interaction by creating a difference score by subtracting ATHB from ATHP. A higher difference score indicates a relatively greater tolerance of homosexual people, compared to homosexual behaviour. A scatter plot was then created, with intrinsic religious responses plotted on the X-axis, and the new difference score on the Y-axis. The scores were broken down by high (top third) and low (bottom third) groups of church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.”

Figure 1: Interaction of Sin/Sinner scale with Intrinsic scores in



As one can see from Figure 1, as intrinsic religiosity increases for the high church teaching (“love the sinner, hate the sin”) group, so does the relatively greater tolerance of homosexual people compared to homosexual behaviour. This relationship does not appear for the low church teaching group. The (almost) horizontal line indicates no interaction of low church teaching to intrinsic religious orientation in predicting our difference scores. Thus, the three-way interaction in the repeated measures regression (as illustrated in Fig. 1) indicates the importance of church teaching for individuals scoring high on intrinsic scales with respect to their attitudes toward homosexual people compared to their attitudes toward homosexual behaviour. This in turn is in relation to “low intrinsics,” for whom church teachings are relatively unimportant in this regard.

This hypothesis was tested a second time using the employment vignette scores as the dependent variable. A hierarchical regression analysis was carried out with attitude

toward employment of a gay man as the dependent variable, and with intrinsic religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin”, condition (1-gay teacher does not share his gay values, and 2-gay teacher shares his values with students) as the independent variables. The overall model was significant, $F(7, 82) = 2.21, p < .05$, and accounted for 16% of the variance in attitude toward hiring a homosexual teacher. The three-way interaction involving intrinsic religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” and experimental condition was significant, $\beta = -2.31, t = -2.28, p < .05$. In order to better understand this interaction, a scatter plot was generated, with intrinsic religious orientation on the X-axis, and the scores of attitude toward hiring a gay teacher on the Y-axis, grouped by high and low church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.” Figures 2 and 3 respectively show the two conditions, one where the teacher shared his sexual orientation values, and the other where he did not share these values with his students.

Figure 2: Interaction of Sin/Sinner scale with Intrinsic scores in Predicting Attitudes Toward hiring a Gay Teacher who does not Share His Values

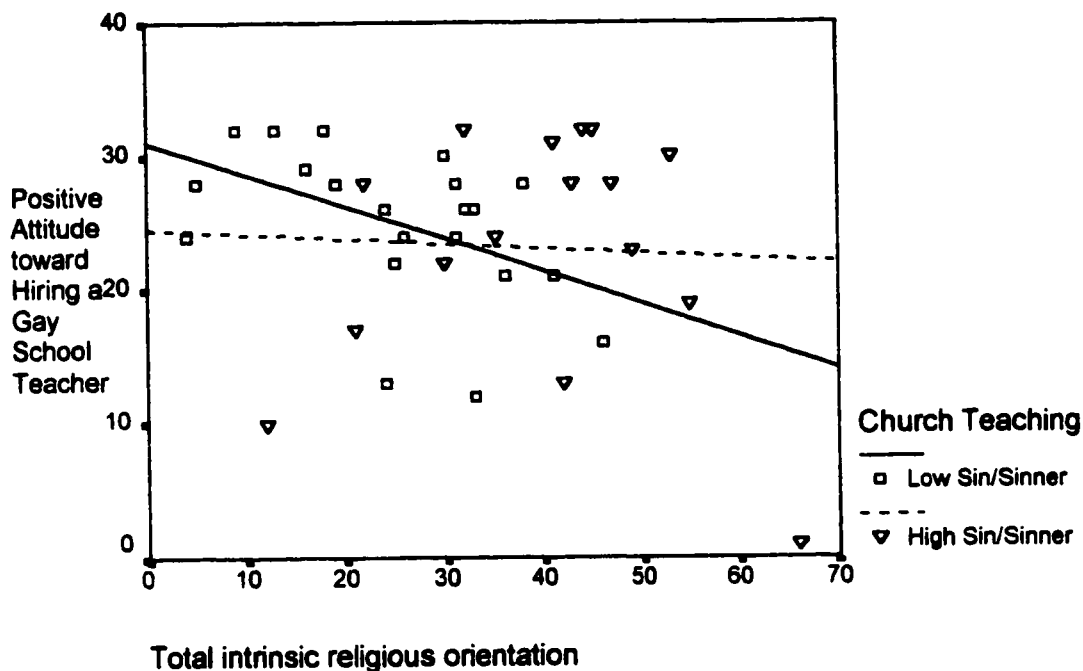


Figure 2 shows the interaction of intrinsic scores with the Sin/Sinner scale for attitude toward hiring a gay teacher who did not share his sexual orientation values (value-neutral) with students. For lower church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” as intrinsic increases, the positive attitude toward hiring the gay teacher decreases. However, for the higher church teaching group, the attitude toward hiring the gay teacher remains relatively stable, regardless of intrinsic scores. Intrinsic religion seems to involve increased acceptance of church teaching; thus for some higher intrinsic individuals who attend gay-intolerant churches, it can mean a relatively less tolerant attitude toward gay people.

Figure 3: Interaction of Sin/Sinner scale with Intrinsic scores in Predicting Attitudes Toward hiring a Gay Teacher who does Share His Values

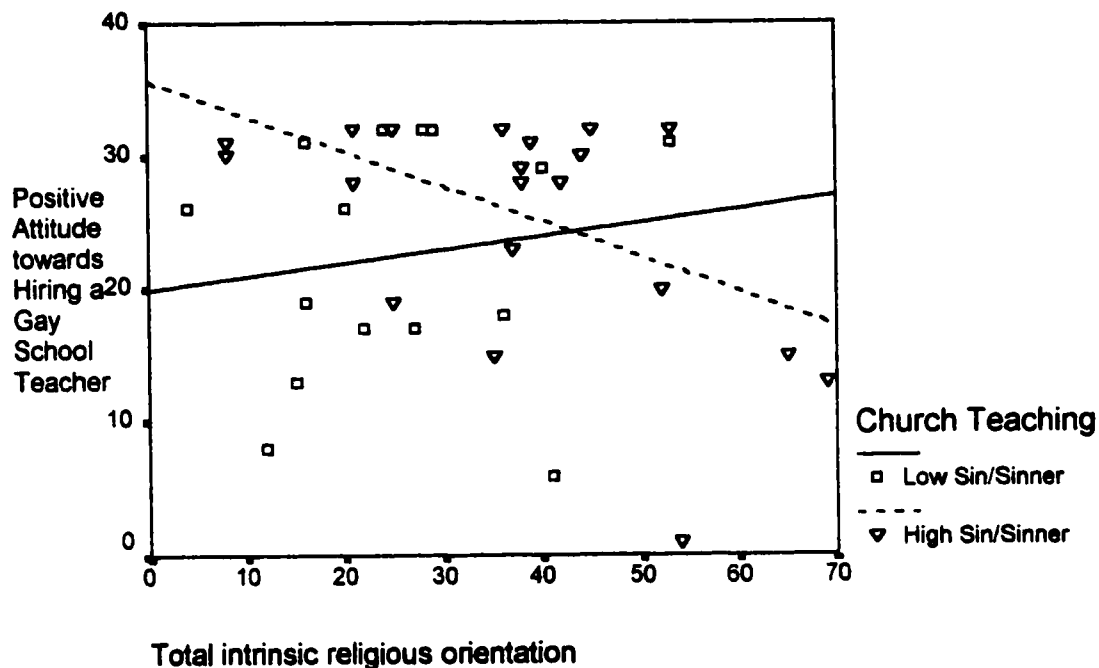


Figure 3 shows that, for the high Sin/Sinner group, the relationship between intrinsic religious orientation and attitude toward the gay teacher who shares his sexual orientation values with students, are as predicted; as intrinsic scores increase, there is steep decline in attitude scores. However, for the low church teaching group, this relationship is reversed. High intrinsic religious orientation, when associated with church teaching that makes a distinction between sin and sinner indicates a relatively less accepting attitude toward the gay teacher who shared about his sexual orientation values with students, and less of an effect for high intrinsic religious orientation if it is linked to low church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.” These two figures tell a similar story to Figure 1; high Sin/Sinner scores interacting with high intrinsic religious orientation shows an relative acceptance of homosexual people, and relatively less tolerance of homosexual behaviour.

Finally, the same regression procedure was carried out again for the criminal sentencing scenario. A hierarchical regression analysis was carried out with the criminal sentencing total score (the total of all eight criminal sentences) as the dependent variable, and with intrinsic religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin”, condition (1 – “family man” as the criminal, and 2 – “homosexual” as the criminal). This model proved to be non-significant, $F(11, 81) = 0.77$, ns.

With respect to hypothesis two, the first two of the three regression analyses offer support. That is, intrinsic religious orientation interacted with church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” such that higher intrinsic scores and higher church teaching scores meant a relative tolerance toward homosexual people, yet relative less tolerance toward homosexual behaviour. Also, higher intrinsic scores interacting with lower church teaching scores revealed a relatively lower tolerance toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour.

It was noted that in hypothesis 1(d), when partialling out religious fundamentalism, the significant relationships between intrinsic religion and attitudes toward homosexuality (both behaviour and people) decreased substantially and became nonsignificant. It seemed appropriate therefore to control for fundamentalism in the above regression analyses. The three hierarchical regressions used to test hypothesis two were carried out again, with religious fundamentalism entered in the first step of each regression, thus allowing fundamentalism to be partialled out before the subsequent steps of the hierarchical regression. The first regression, involving the ATHB and ATHP scales, the overall model remained significant, $F(9, 172) = 135.29$, $p < .001$, as did the three-way interaction of condition by church teaching by intrinsic religious orientation, β

= -.11, $t = -2.56$, $p = .01$). For the second regression, involving the teacher employment vignette, the overall model also remained significant, $F(8, 81) = 5.72$, $p < .001$, as did the three-way interaction of condition by church teaching by intrinsic religious orientation, $\beta = -2.13$, $t = -2.39$, $p < .02$. The last regression, involving the criminal sentencing scenario, the overall model remained non-significant, $F(12, 79) = .77$, ns. Therefore, it appears that none of the findings were altered by this control for fundamentalism. This reinforces the conclusion that it is indeed the intrinsic variable, and not religious fundamentalism, interacting with church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” that influences attitude toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour scores.

Hypothesis 3

This hypothesis stated that church teaching interacting with extrinsic religious orientation would not be a significant predictor for tolerance of homosexual people compared to homosexual behaviour and that extrinsic religious orientation would be correlated to positive attitudes toward homosexuality (both behaviour and people). A hierarchical repeated measures regression was carried out with extrinsic religious orientation and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” as the independent variables. Two vectors were created (-1 for ATHP, and +1 for ATHB, designated the condition variable) with the two dependent variables of attitudes toward homosexual people and attitude toward homosexual behaviour. Although the complete model was significant, $F(8, 181) = 159.28$, $p < .001$, the interaction for condition, extrinsic religious orientation and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” was not, $\beta = .14$, $t = 1.47$, ns. This result is consistent with the prediction that Sin/Sinner scores would not interact with extrinsic scores to predict a difference between ATHP and ATHB scores.

A second hierarchical regression analysis was carried out with attitude toward employment of a gay man as the dependent variable, and the independent variables were extrinsic religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin”, and the condition variable (1-gay teacher does not share his sexual orientation values with students, and 2-gay teacher shares his sexual orientation values with students). The overall model was not significant, $F(6, 87) = 1.38$, ns.

A third hierarchical regression was carried out with the criminal sentencing total score as the dependent variable, and the independent variables were extrinsic religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin”, and the condition variable (1 – “family man” as the criminal, and 2 – “homosexual” as the criminal). The overall model was non-significant, $F(6, 88) = 1.57$, ns.

These results support the hypothesis that church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” does not interact with extrinsic religious orientation in predicting differences between tolerance of homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. However, it was also predicted that extrinsic religious orientation would be positively correlated to positive attitudes toward homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. The correlational data from Table 3 do not support this claim as extrinsic scores were nonsignificantly correlated to ATHB and ATHP scores.

Hypothesis 4

This hypothesis stated that higher quest religious orientation would be linked to relatively positive judgements of homosexual people and homosexual behaviour. Also, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” interacting with quest religious orientation would not be a significant predictor for a difference between attitude toward homosexual

people and homosexual behaviour scores. A hierarchical repeated measures regression was carried out with quest religious orientation and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” as the independent variables. Two vectors were created (-1 for ATHP, and +1 for ATHB, designated the condition variable) with the two dependent variables of attitudes toward homosexual people and attitude toward homosexual behaviour.

Although the complete model was significant, $F(8, 183) = 181.53, p < .001$, the interaction for condition, quest religious orientation and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” was not, $\beta = .004, t = .06, ns$. The two-way interaction between quest religious orientation and condition was significant, $\beta = .38, t = 4.81, p < .001$, indicating that there was a significant difference between ATHB and ATHP scores predicted by quest religious orientation alone. As quest religious orientation increases the difference score of homosexual people minus homosexual behaviour decreases. That is, as quest scores increased, the relative tolerance of homosexual people rose slower when compared to the rise in the tolerance of homosexual behaviour.

Hypothesis four was also tested in a second hierarchical regression with attitude toward hiring a gay teacher as the dependent variable and the independent variables of quest religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin”, and condition (1-gay teacher does not share his sexual orientation values with students, and 2-gay teacher shares his sexual orientation values with students). The complete model was not significant, $F(6, 85) = 1.38, ns$.

A third hierarchical regression was carried out with the criminal sentencing total score as the dependent variable. The independent variables were quest religious orientation, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” and the condition variable

(1 – “family man” as the criminal, and 2 – “homosexual” as the criminal). This model was non-significant, $F(6, 89) = .31$, ns.

It was also predicted that quest religious orientation would be positively correlated with positive attitudes toward homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. Table 3 reveals that the correlational data do support half of this prediction, in that Quest was significantly positively correlated with ATHB, $r(169) = .28$, $p < .01$, but not ATHP, $r(169) = .13$, ns.

Part of hypothesis four is supported, in that no interaction between quest and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” appeared when attempting to predict a difference between attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour. Also as predicted, the present data set supports the hypothesis that quest religious orientation has a positive relationship to attitudes toward homosexual behaviour. Strangely, there was not a similar positive relationship between quest religious orientation and attitude toward homosexual people.

Hypothesis 5

The final hypothesis stated that church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” interacting with religious fundamentalism would be a significant predictor of a difference between attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour. A hierarchical repeated measures regression was carried out with religious fundamentalism and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” as the independent variables. Two vectors were created (-1 for ATHP, and +1 for ATHB, designated the condition variable) with the two dependent variables of attitudes toward homosexual people and attitude toward homosexual behaviour. Although the complete model was significant, $F(8, 181) =$

198.89, $p < .001$, the interaction for condition, religious fundamentalism and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” was not, $\beta = -0.03$, $t = -0.49$, ns. The two-way interaction of condition by fundamentalism was significant, $\beta = -0.32$, $t = -6.51$, $p < .001$, meaning that the factor of religious fundamentalism was significant in predicting the difference between the ATHP and the ATHB scores. As the score of fundamentalism increased, the difference between relative tolerance of homosexual people minus the relative tolerance of homosexual behaviour increased. That is, as fundamentalism increased, the relative tolerance of homosexual behaviour fell faster when compared to the decrease of tolerance of homosexual people.

A second hierarchical regression analysis was carried out with attitude toward employment of a gay man as the dependent variable, and the independent variables were religious fundamentalism, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin”, and the condition variable (1-gay teacher does not share his sexual orientation values with students, and 2-gay teacher shares his sexual orientation values with students). The model was significant, $F(6, 88) = 6.46$, $p < .001$, but the three way interaction was not, $\beta = 0.63$, $t = 1.13$, ns. The only term that was significant was the main effect for fundamentalism, $\beta = .55$, $t = 5.89$, $p < .001$. Religious fundamentalism was a strong predictor of relatively less tolerant attitudes toward hiring the gay teacher, regardless of whether the teacher taught about his sexual orientation values to the class or not.

A third hierarchical regression was carried out with the criminal sentencing total score as the dependent variable. The independent variables were religious fundamentalism, church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” and the condition

variable (1 – “family man” as the criminal, and 2 – “homosexual” as the criminal). This model was non-significant, $F(6, 89) = .66$, ns.

None of the three regressions revealed an interaction of church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” with religious fundamentalism to predict attitudes toward homosexual people that differ from attitudes toward homosexual behaviour. It is revealed by the main effects of fundamentalism found in the first two regressions that religious fundamentalism is related to relatively less tolerance of homosexual acts and people, regardless of the amount of church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.”

Discussion

We began this study by asking the question, do religious individuals follow the religious principle “love the sinner, hate the sin.” From the above data, we can conclude that yes, in certain circumstances, some religious individuals do distinguish between “the sin and the sinner.” However, for most individuals there was little difference between their judgements of homosexual behaviour and gay or lesbian people, either accepting ($n = 113$) or condemning both ($n = 13$). This can be seen in the high correlation of the ATHB and ATHP scales (Table 3). The people who seemed to distinguish between homosexual behaviour, and homosexual people in their judgement, were the relatively high intrinsic individuals who also reported a relatively high church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.” The interaction of these two factors might explain the inconsistencies in the findings of Batson et al. (1999), Fisher et al. (1994) and Fulton et al. (1999) outlined in the introduction.

Intrinsic Religious Orientation

When coupled with relatively strong church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” increases in intrinsic religion were accompanied by a relative increase in tolerance of homosexual people and relatively less tolerance for homosexual behaviour. This finding clarifies the results of Fisher et al. (1994). Fisher et al. concluded from their study that there was a link between “high levels of prejudice toward gays and lesbians [and] high levels of religiousness and several indicators of an intrinsic orientation to religion, especially among adherents to generally antigay religions” (p. 629). Our results related to hypothesis 1(a) support this conclusion, but this is not the complete picture. The data from the present study are consistent with part of Fisher et al.’s (1994) conclusion, in that relatively high intrinsic religious orientation, and lower church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” results in relatively less tolerant scores on attitude toward homosexuals. To complete the picture however, Fisher et al.’s (1994) conclusion should be amended to read that linking higher church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” with higher intrinsic religious orientation, reveals a more tolerant attitude toward gays and lesbians, and a less tolerant attitude toward homosexual behaviour.

In a more recent study on intrinsic religious orientation’s relationship to helping behaviour, Batson et al. (1999) concluded by saying “devout, intrinsic religion was associated with aversion not just to promoting homosexuality but to helping a homosexual reach the quite innocent goal of visiting grandparents” (pp. 456). This conclusion was supported by hypothesis 1(b) in the present study. The group that scored higher on intrinsic religious orientation measures tended also to have lower tolerance scores toward the gay teacher, even when the teacher was not going to share anything

about his sexual orientation with the students. However, including the factor of church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” does not allow for the same conclusion. There was an interaction for intrinsic religious orientation by church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.” Relatively higher scores on Sin/Sinner interacted with intrinsic religious orientation, in that an increase in intrinsic religion revealed a more tolerant attitude toward a gay teacher who did not share about his sexual orientation. Low church teaching interacting with intrinsic religion did not show the same tolerant relationship. The conclusion offered by Batson et al. (1999) should therefore be amended to read that relatively high intrinsic religious orientation interacting with relatively high teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” allows for a comparatively positive attitude toward gays and lesbians, yet not toward homosexual behaviour. However, when coupled with relatively low teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” relatively high intrinsic religious orientation is associated with relatively less tolerant attitudes toward gays and lesbians and their behaviour.

The last study that we attempted to replicate and refine in the present thesis was by Fulton et al. (1999). They concluded, “[high] intrinsics appear to be relatively accepting of homosexual people, but not homosexual behaviour.” This conclusion was based on correlational data, comparing the negative correlation of intrinsic religious orientation with tolerant attitudes toward homosexual behaviour to the nonsignificant correlation of intrinsic religious orientation with tolerant attitudes toward homosexual people. Hypothesis 1(c) analyzed the present data in the same way as the Fulton et al. (1999) study, and it resulted in a different conclusion. In the present study, intrinsic religion was negatively correlated to both tolerant attitudes toward homosexual people

and behaviour. The significant negative correlations in the present study might have been a result of the more diverse sample (only Seventh Day Adventists participated in Fulton et al. investigation), and the more powerful measures used in this study (e.g., to deal with the problems associated with the Herek (1987) scale mentioned previously).

The present findings seem to clarify the conclusions as well as the discrepancies among Batson et al. (1999), Fisher et al. (1994), and Fulton et al. (1999). Intrinsic religious orientation is associated with relatively less tolerance toward homosexual behaviour and people when linked with religious teaching that is relatively less tolerant toward homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. However, when high intrinsic religious orientation is associated with church teaching that emphasises the “love the sinner, hate the sin” distinction, the results seem to indicate a relative tolerance of gays and lesbians, yet relatively less tolerance of homosexual behaviour. This finding is not surprising, as it has been claimed in previous research that individuals who score high on intrinsic religious orientation measures are very concerned with following what their religion teaches, as following church instruction is a central motivating factor of their religious beliefs and behaviour (Batson et al., 1993, Fisher et al., 1994)⁸. Other individuals, who scored lower on the intrinsic religious orientation scale, did not reveal

⁸ This explanation makes the assumption that the causal direction is from the church teaching, which then influences the participant’s attitude toward homosexuality. It is also possible that the causal direction is reversed, such that higher intrinsic individuals are reporting that their church teaches what they already believe.

the same interaction, possibly because they did not as readily internalize the teaching of their religious group.

Extrinsic Religious Orientation

As hypothesised, extrinsic religion did not interact with church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” in any of the experimental conditions. Possibly, more extrinsic individuals are aware of church teaching but choose to believe independently of what is encouraged by their religious group (Batson et al., 1993), or possibly because they just care less about what is encouraged by their religious group (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999) or finally, they might be uninformed regarding their religious group’s position due to low importance and low church attendance.

However, the proposed relationships between extrinsic religion and tolerant attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour failed to appear. The nonsignificant correlation of extrinsic religious orientation with attitudes toward homosexuals (behaviour and people) is consistent to what was found by Fulton et al. (1999), whereas another study found significant negative correlations of extrinsic measures with tolerance toward gays and lesbians (Fisher et al., 1994). Yet another study has found significant positive correlations between extrinsic scores and tolerance toward homosexuals (Duck & Hunsberger, 1999). One possibility for the conflicting findings is the poor psychometric properties of the extrinsic scale. Also, it is possible that there is no consistent relationship between extrinsic religious orientation and attitudes toward homosexual behaviour or people, due to stronger unmeasured influences (e.g., education level, social influence, age, research setting).

Quest Religious Orientation

As Hypothesised, quest religious orientation did not significantly interact with church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” in predicting a difference between attitude toward homosexual people, and attitude toward homosexual behaviour. This prediction was based on the fact that quest religious orientation emphasizes thought independent of one’s religious group, an open-minded quest for truth that sometimes questions basic church teachings (Batson & Ventis, 1982). Therefore, it is not surprising to find that church teaching did not significantly influence the decisions of these people in their attitudes toward homosexuals.

However, the predicted positive correlation between quest religious orientation and attitudes toward homosexual people failed to appear. There was a positive relationship between quest and tolerance of homosexual behaviour as predicted, but not for tolerance of homosexual people. The majority of previous research (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Batson et al., 1986; Batson et al., 1978; Batson and Ventis, 1982, Fulton et al., 1999; McFarland, 1989) has indicated that quest religious orientation is consistently related to tolerance of others.

In search of an explanation for our unexpected quest results, it was noted that in some of the studies reviewed, participants who were not interested in religion were removed from the sample (Batson, 1976; Batson et al., 1999; Fisher et al., 1994). The decision to remove these participants is based on the rationale “that one does not have a religious orientation if one is not at all religious” (Fisher et al., 1994, p. 627). Participants in the present study were asked, “How interested in religion are you?” They could respond on a scale of 0 (not interested at all) to 9 (extremely interested). Including only those participants who answered this question with a 5 or above, the correlation of

quest religious orientation with attitude toward homosexual behaviour, $r(79) = .38$, $p < .001$, remained significant, and the correlation of quest religious orientation with attitude toward homosexual people, $r(79) = .28$, $p < .05$, became significant. It is possible that some participants who were not interested in religion were confounding the results for quest religious orientation.

Religious Fundamentalism

Religious fundamentalism was predicted to interact with church teaching to show a difference between judging homosexual behaviour and homosexual people, but this relationship failed to appear. Fundamentalism was linked to relatively lower tolerance of both homosexual people and homosexual behaviour, regardless of church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.” This finding is similar to previous literature that links religious fundamentalism to relatively lower tolerance of out-groups (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Fulton et al., 1999, Hunsberger, 1996; Hunsberger, 1995; Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999; Johnson, 1992; Marsiglio, 1993).

Interestingly, the regression analyses for intrinsic religious orientation were not affected by partialling out fundamentalism. This strengthened the conclusion that it was intrinsic religiosity that meaningfully interacted with church teaching to predict differences in participants’ attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour.

As was found by Fulton et al. (1999), the correlations between intrinsic religious orientation and the measures of attitudes toward homosexual behaviour and homosexual people were affected by controlling fundamentalism. All the relationships changed from significant negative to non-significant. What happened here? According to Fulton et al.

(1999) the answer simply would be that the association between intrinsic religious orientation and relatively lower tolerance toward homosexuals was accounted for by religious fundamentalism. Therefore, when partialling out fundamentalism, intrinsic religious orientation was no longer associated with lower tolerance toward homosexuals. However, in several studies, including the present one, the overlap between intrinsic religious orientation and religious fundamentalism was found to be substantial. The two scales correlated in the present study at .61. Could it be that the reason the relationship disappeared when controlling for one, was that these two scales were unintentionally measuring the same factor?⁹

If these two scales greatly overlap, why did the relationship between intrinsic religious orientation and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” not vanish when partialling out religious fundamentalism? Also, there must have been some important difference between these factors since fundamentalism did not interact with church teaching in any way, yet intrinsic religious orientation did. This is further complicated by the significant positive correlation between religious fundamentalism and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” meaning that the more fundamentalist people were, the more likely they were to report belonging to a religious group that supported “loving the sin, hating the sinner,” in terms of homosexual behaviour and

⁹ The average correlation between each of the 9 Intrinsic scale items, and each of the 14 Religious Fundamentalism items was .43. Some of the intrinsic scale items even had higher inter-item correlations with the 14 Religious Fundamentalism items than did existing items on the fundamentalism scale.

homosexual people. But this church teaching did not interact with religious fundamentalism to predict attitude scores as it did with intrinsic religious orientation. Alas, the issue of the exact relationship between intrinsic religious orientation, religious fundamentalism, and the scales that measure them proved again to be too large to be adequately answered here, but it remains an important question that should be researched in future studies.

Limitations

There are some limitations to the present research that should be recognized. First, as with most research relying on university students as participants, the generalizability of the results is somewhat limited. Perhaps future research investigating the relationship between religion and attitude toward gays and lesbians could use a sample that better represents the population demographics. Also, the participants were recruited at a Canadian university, and it is further unknown how the results from this study will apply to people of other countries.

The criminal sentencing scenario did not work as planned. This was probably due to the description of the criminal offered to participants. The information given about “John Smith” was minimal, including only a statement about his skin colour (white) education (university) and criminal past (clean). Retrospectively, the statement about his sexual orientation appeared to be inappropriate and out of place. This unusual set-up probably warned the participants to answer tolerantly so as not to appear prejudiced. Perhaps more information should have been included in the description, so the statement about his sexual orientation would have appeared more relevant and less unexpected.

An argument against the items for the Attitude Toward Homosexual People scale that was developed for the present thesis could be raised. Items such as “Homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in elementary school” and “If I discovered a new friend was a homosexual, it would not affect my relationship with that person” could have been interpreted to ask for a judgement of both homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. It must be emphasized that these questions were a great improvement over the Herek (1987) scales used in the reviewed research (Fisher et al., 1994; Fulton et al., 1999). The difficulty when attempting to create items that unquestionably target homosexual people is due to the fact that the line between judging the act and the actor is extremely fine. The items which appear on the ATHP scale were our best attempt at “splitting the hair” between judging the person and that person’s actions.

Another limitation emerged when discussing the interaction of intrinsic religious orientation with church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” in predicting attitude toward homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. The limitation was that of discovering causal direction. Was it the church teaching (high or low) that caused the relatively higher intrinsic individual to respond in a similar manner, or was it that higher intrinsic individuals projected their beliefs onto what they believed was taught by their church? This was a concern when relying on the self-report of participants for church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin.” The participants could have been innocently unaware, deliberately inaccurate, or genuinely wrong concerning their actual church’s position on these issues. Perhaps future research could target a specific religious congregation and have a relatively objective measure of the church’s teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” to compare with participant’s responses.

A final concern for the present research was the fact that these results do not report absolute scores of tolerance toward gays and lesbians. Everything was reported in relative terms. Could it be possible to move beyond relative language and conclude strongly that certain religious orientations, or religious teachings lead to acceptance or condemnation of homosexual behaviour and people? In answering this question, it should be emphasized that this research was an exploratory first step. These results revealed that there was a significant interaction between church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” and intrinsic religious orientation, and that it was in the predicted direction. It also clarified the former confusing conflicting conclusions surrounding the relationship of intrinsic religious orientation to attitudes toward gays and lesbians. This first step was an important one, and now the specifics of this interaction can be explored in order to clarify the relative relationships between factors.

Conclusions

Taking these limitations into account, the following conclusions were supported by the present study:

1. The main question presented at the outset of the thesis was, is it possible for religious individuals to “love the sinner, hate the sin?” The answer from this research is a hesitant yes, if the individual is relatively high in intrinsic religious orientation, and he or she attends a religious group that stresses “love the sinner, hate the sin.” Individuals that met the aforementioned criteria were apparently often successful in making a distinction between the homosexual behaviour and the homosexual person, scoring relatively lower in tolerance toward the former and relatively higher in tolerance toward the latter. These

findings seem to clarify the conclusions as well as the discrepancies among Batson et al. (1999), Fisher et al. (1994), and Fulton et al. (1999).

2. The present research revealed that many religious individuals claim to be very tolerant, both toward homosexual behaviour and homosexual people. Many religious groups reportedly did not make the distinction between homosexual people and homosexual behaviour, and group members rarely showed any difference as well.

3. There were no significant positive correlations found between extrinsic religion and attitudes toward homosexual people or homosexual behaviour. The present research also suggested that extrinsic religious orientation did not interact with church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” when predicting a difference between attitude toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour.

4. The study revealed no interaction between quest religious orientation and church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin,” when predicting a difference between attitude toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour. Quest religious orientation was related to relative tolerance toward homosexual behaviour. Quest was also linked to relative tolerance toward homosexual people when including only those participants who were moderately to extremely interested in religion.

5. Religious fundamentalism was negatively correlated with attitudes toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour. Religious fundamentalism did not interact with church teaching of “love the sinner, hate the sin” when predicting a difference between attitude toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour.

6. When ignoring the influence of church teaching, intrinsic religious orientation was positively correlated to relatively less tolerance of homosexual people and

homosexual behaviour. This relationship became nonsignificant when partialling out religious fundamentalism. The importance and meaning of this finding should be explored in greater detail in future research.

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Appendices

Appendix A

Verbal Instructions to Students in Class

Thank you for your time today. The purpose of this questionnaire study is to investigate various social beliefs including religious attitudes (both belief and disbelief) and attitudes toward social and political issues, and minority groups. Everyone is welcome to participate. It usually takes less than 40 minutes to complete the study and you will receive .5-research credit for participation. When completing the items, use a pencil to blacken the appropriate bubble on the computer scorecard for every item. Also, notice that the responses progress from left to right, not top to bottom. Please don't look at any questionnaire but your own, and do not talk with others while the survey is in progress. When you are finished, hand in both the questionnaire and the computer scorecard at the front of the room, and print your name on one of the sign up sheets so that you receive credit for completing the questionnaire.

[Pause until most have the questionnaire]

Please take a quick moment and look at the computer scorecard. Notice that there are two sections, and the items progress from left to right, not top to bottom like your regular computer cards. Some items on the questionnaire will be answered in section 1 (the larger section) and others will be in section 2 (the bottom part), just read the instructions for each task and it will inform you where to answer the items. Also, please fill in the major, year and gender items at the very top. For the major, just select one that

is closest to what you are taking, as not all are represented. Any questions? If you have questions during the study, raise your hand and I will try to help you. Thanks again for your time. Now please read the information on the front page, detach it from the questionnaire and then begin to complete the items.

Appendix B

Consent Form

Wilfrid Laurier University, Study Information Letter

Social Attitudes

You are invited to participate in a study that I am conducting for my master's thesis. The purpose of the study is an investigation into social attitudes (e.g., your belief or disbelief regarding religious issues, and attitudes about social issues, government, specific minority groups, etc.). You will be asked to respond to a number of items that measure different aspects of your beliefs. Following this, you will read and respond to two hypothetical situations. Finally, some information about you and your religious group (if you belong to one) will be asked. It should take no longer than 40 minutes. You may skip any item you do not wish to answer, although our research depends on people's willingness to complete as many items as possible. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty to you, in which case your data will not be used.

Your responses to the questions are completely anonymous – do not put any identifying marks on the questionnaire. The questionnaires will be kept in a locked room and destroyed after the completion of the research. You are entitled to 1 credit toward your final grade in your introductory psychology class for participation in this research. Also, as described in your psychology class, you have the option of completing journal article reviews to receive these research credits.

Please feel free to ask questions about the study, its procedures, and your rights as a research participant. My name is Scott Veenvliet and I am a master's candidate in the Psychology program. My office is N2060, and I can be reached at ext. #2990 or email at veen1053@mach1.wlu.ca. You can also contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Hunsberger, at ext. #3219, or email at bhunsber@wlu.ca. If more concerns arise, please contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Board, Dr. Bruce Arai, ext. #3753.

A summary of the results of the study will appear on the bulletin board outside of the psychology office in the science building on the second floor by April 15th. Results will also be presented in a thesis defence, which will be advertised when it is scheduled in the psychology department.

In terms of risks and benefits, it is possible that some people might feel uncomfortable with religious questions and the questions about attitudes toward others may cause some discomfort. Someone at Counselling Services (ext. 2338) or at the Chaplains' Office (ext. 2739) would be more than happy to

discuss any personal issues that arise, related or unrelated to this research. For the most part, people usually find the items interesting and enjoy completing the questionnaire. Another benefit to this research is that the study's findings may contribute to the related literature in psychology.

Please detach this page and keep it for reference. Completing and submitting the questionnaire will indicate that you have understood this consent form and have agreed to participate. Thank you for your time.

Appendix C

Research Feedback

Research Feedback

Title or Research Project: "Love the sinner, hate the sin;" Reality or Fiction

Researchers: Scott Veenvliet

Advisors: Dr. Hunsberger, Dr. Pancer, Dr. Wilson

Research Reference: #1610

Where research was conducted: Science Building, 1001, titled "Social Attitudes"

Summary of Research

The relationship between religion and attitudes towards minority groups has been the focus of much research in the past, and this project was an extension of previous findings. It has been found that people who are religious for intrinsic reasons are relatively tolerant, except when one considers these people's attitude toward gays and lesbians. It is also sometimes claimed that religious people attempt to "love the sinner, yet hate the sin." This research tested this principle, seeking to find if religious individuals displayed tolerant attitudes toward gays and lesbians, even if they showed relatively less tolerant attitudes toward homosexual behaviour.

Participants answered a number of items that measured their type of religious orientation (why a person is religious; e.g. external gain, internal gain, answering questions about our existence, etc.) and their level of religious fundamentalism (belief that one's religion is the only true religion). Participants also answered questions about their personal, and their religious group's attitude toward homosexual people, and homosexual behaviour.

Summary of Findings

The majority of religious individuals who completed the survey were either tolerant of both homosexual behaviour and homosexual people or relatively less tolerant towards both. There was a very small group, composed of people who scored comparatively high on intrinsic religious motivation and comparatively high on religious group teaching of "love the sinner, hate the sin." This group tended to be tolerant of homosexual people, yet relatively less tolerant of homosexual behaviour ("love the sinner, hate the sin"). That means if someone was highly religious for internal reasons, and attended a religious group that emphasised tolerance towards gays and lesbians, yet less tolerance of homosexual behaviour, he or she would be likely to display this "love the sin, hate the sinner" attitude. It was also found that higher religious fundamentalism was consistently linked to relatively less tolerant attitudes toward gays and lesbians, and homosexual behaviour.

Significance for Future Research

This study is important as it addresses concerns with previous research in the area. Earlier conclusions failed to recognize the influence of the religious group on high intrinsically motivated followers, and other research failed to distinguish between attitude toward homosexual people and homosexual behaviour when measuring attitudes toward

gays and lesbians. These reparations will help guide future research, and aid in understanding the relationship between religion and attitudes toward minority groups.

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix D
Questionnaire

Social Attitudes

Investigator: Scott Veenvliet, Department of Psychology, WLU

TASK 1: PLEASE ANSWER IN SECTION 1 ON THE BUBBLE SHEET

Below you will find statements concerning social, personal and religious attitudes. You will probably find that you agree with some of the statements and disagree with others, to varying extents. Please indicate your reaction to each statement by blackening a bubble in **SECTION 1**, using a pencil on the computer score sheet, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement, according to the following scale:

Blacken the bubble labelled	-4 if you <i>very strongly disagree</i> with the statement.
“	-3 if you <i>strongly disagree</i> with the statement.
“	-2 if you <i>moderately disagree</i> with the statement,
“	-1 if you <i>slightly disagree</i> with the statement.
“	0 if you feel exactly and precisely <i>neutral</i> about the
statement.	
“	+1 if you <i>slightly agree</i> with the statement.
“	+2 if you <i>moderately agree</i> with the statement.
“	+3 if you <i>strongly agree</i> with the statement.
“	+4 if you <i>very strongly agree</i> with the statement.

You may find that you sometimes have different reactions to different parts of a statement. For example, you might very strongly disagree (“-4”) with one idea in a statement, but be precisely neutral (“0”) regarding another idea in the same item. When this happens, please combine your reactions, and write down how you feel “on balance” (that is, a “-2” in this example).

Please note: Responses on the bubble sheet progress left to right, not top to bottom.

- 1) Humans are not a special creature made in the image of God; we are simply a recent development in the process of animal evolution.
- 2) Those who feel that God answers prayers are just deceiving themselves.
- 3) My religion has played a role in my personal development.
- 4) Although I believe in my religion, I feel there are many more important things in my life.
- 5) It is important for me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and meditation.
- 6) If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, I attend church.

- 7) I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.
- 8) It doesn't matter so much what I believe so long as I lead a moral life.
- 9) The primary purpose of prayer is to gain relief and protection.
- 10) The prayers I say when I am alone carry as much meaning and personal emotion as those said by me during services.
- 11) Quite often I have been keenly aware of the presence of God or the Divine Being.
- 12) The church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships.
- 13) What religion offers me most is comfort when sorrows and misfortune strike.
- 14) I pray chiefly because I have been taught to pray.
- 15) I read literature about my faith (or church).
- 16) Although I am a religious person I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affairs.
- 17) If I were to join a church group I would prefer to join a Bible study group rather than a social fellowship.
- 18) My religious beliefs are really what lie behind my whole approach to life.
- 19) A primary reason for my interest in religion is that my church is a congenial social activity.
- 20) Occasionally I find it necessary to compromise my religious beliefs in order to protect my social and economic well-being.
- 21) One reason for my being a church member is that such membership helps to establish a person in the community.
- 22) Religion is especially important because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.
- 23) The purpose of prayer is to secure a happy and peaceful life.
- 24) As I grow and change, I expect my religion to also grow and change.
- 25) I am consistently questioning my religious beliefs.

- 26) It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties.
- 27) I was not very interested in religion until I began to ask questions about the meaning and purpose of my life.
- 28) For me, doubting is an important part of what it means to be religious.
- 29) I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years.
- 30) I find religious doubts upsetting.
- 31) I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relation to my world.
- 32) My life experiences have led me to rethink my religious convictions.
- 33) There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.
- 34) God wasn't very important to me until I began asking questions about the meaning of my own life.
- 35) Questions are far more central to my religious experience than are answers.
- 36) God has given humanity a fundamental, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed.
- 37) No single book of religious writings contains all the intrinsic, basic truths about life.
- 38) God will punish most severely those who abandon his true religion.
- 39) It is more important to be a good person than to believe in God and the right religion.
- 40) The basic cause of evil in this world is Satan, who is still constantly and furiously fighting against God.
- 41) There is *no* body of teachings, or set of scriptures that is completely without error.
- 42) Whenever science and sacred scripture conflict, science must be wrong.
- 43) God's laws never change. So-called "reforms" in religious teachings today just take us away from God.
- 44) "Satan" is just the name people give to their own bad impulses. There is really *no such thing* as a diabolical "Prince of Darkness" who tempts us.

- 45) When you get right down to it, there are only two kinds of people in the world: the Righteous, who will be rewarded by God; and the rest, who will not.
- 46) Parents should encourage their children to study all religions without bias, then make up their own minds about what to believe.
- 47) Scriptures from long ago may contain general truths, but they should *not* be taken literally from beginning to end.
- 48) To lead the best, most meaningful life, one must belong to the one, true religion.
- 49) Different religions and philosophies have different versions of the truth and may be equally right in their own way.
- 50) There is a religion on this earth that teaches, without error, God's will.
- 51) All of the religions in the world have flaws and wrong teachings.
- 52) No one religion is especially close to God, nor does God favour any particular group of believers.
- 53) Of all the people on this earth, one group has a special relationship with God because it believes the most in his revealed truths and tries the hardest to follow his laws.
- 54) The long-established traditions in religion show the best way to honour and serve God, and should never be compromised.
- 55) Religion must admit all its past failings and adapt to modern life if it is to benefit humanity.
- 56) It is silly to think people can be divided into "the Good" and "the Evil." Everyone does some good, and some bad things.
- 57) God's true followers must remember that he requires them to *constantly* fight Satan and Satan's allies on this earth.

The following statements have to do with your personal attitudes about various issues surrounding politics, sexual orientation, religion, and social issues.

- 58) A sexual relationship between two men can be just as intimate as a sexual relationship between a man and a woman.
- 59) Homosexual acts are wrong.
- 60) Homosexual behaviour is a perfectly acceptable form of sexuality.

- 61) **Homosexual acts are unnatural.**
- 62) **I have no problem with the sight of two men kissing each other on the lips.**
- 63) **Homosexual behaviours should be illegal in our society and prosecuted as criminal acts.**
- 64) **Sexual orientation should not be a cause for job discrimination.**
- 65) **Homosexuals should not be allowed to teach in elementary school.**
- 66) **If I discovered a new friend was a homosexual, it would not affect my relationship with that person.**
- 67) **I won't associate with known homosexuals if I can help it.**
- 68) **People should feel sympathetic and understanding towards homosexuals, who are unfairly attacked in our society.**
- 69) **Homosexuals are deplorable.**
- 70) **Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us.**
- 71) **Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anyone else.**
- 72) **It is always better to trust the judgement of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.**
- 73) **Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are no doubt every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.**
- 74) **The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.**
- 75) **There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.**
- 76) **Our country *needs* free thinkers who will have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.**
- 77) **Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fibre and traditional beliefs.**

- 78) Everyone should have their own life-style, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else.
- 79) The “old-fashioned ways” and “old-fashioned values” still show the best way to life.
- 80) You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority’s view by protesting for abortion rights, for animal rights, or to abolish school prayer.
- 81) What our country really needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path.
- 82) Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticising religion, and ignoring the “normal way things are supposed to be done.”
- 83) God’s laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished.
- 84) There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action.
- 85) A “woman’s place” should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.
- 86) Our country will be great if we honour the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get rid of the “rotten apples” who are ruining everything.
- 87) There is no “ONE right way” to live life; everybody has to create their *own* way.
- 88) Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy “traditional family values.”
- 89) This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group’s traditional place in society.

TASK 2: PLEASE CONTINUE ANSWERING IN SECTION 1

Please imagine that the following event is true. You are sent a brief description of a teacher who is seeking employment at a local elementary school. This is of particular importance to you, as this teacher would be teaching a child/nephew/niece of yours in the following year:

Mr. Brown is a highly qualified teacher that we are reviewing for employment here at Glenview Elementary School. We would like your input, as you are a valued member of our school community. Mr. Brown has been teaching for 12 years at two different schools, one in Waterloo and the other in Guelph and comes recommended by most that we speak to, including former students and fellow teachers. Mr. Brown wanted us to inform you that he attends a local gay/lesbian advocacy group and holds gay/lesbian values as central to his life. [He keeps these values private, not sharing them with students, and believes they are personal matters that do not belong in a school classroom.] or [He openly shares these values with his students and believes that they benefit from learning about others, and various perspectives on life.] His references have informed us that he is successful in doing this. He loves working with students, in and out of the classroom, and has enthusiastic reviews from most of his students each year. We are interested in your feedback on this potential new teacher.

Please continue to use the -4 (strongly disagree) to +4 (strongly agree) response scale.

90) I have strong reservations about someone like this teaching children.

91) I would allow a child I was in guardianship of to have this teacher.

92) I would remove a child I was in guardianship of from this school, if this person became his or her teacher.

93) This person seems qualified and would probably be a good teacher whom I feel comfortable supporting.

TASK 3: PLEASE CONTINUE ANSWERING IN SECTION 1

We are gathering data on the public's opinion of criminal sentencing and what the proper punishment for criminal action should be. The following individual has been convicted of a crime, to which he has pled guilty.

John Smith has no previous criminal charges; he has a university education, and his friends and family confirm that he has never been in any similar trouble in the past. He is 32 years old, a white male, and [a family man] or [a homosexual]. Please blacken the appropriate bubble for the criminal sentence John Smith should receive for each of the following crimes. Please answer each independent of the others; these are not cumulative charges. Respond as if each of the following charges was the only crime John Smith was convicted of.

Please darken the appropriate bubble according to the following scale. Base your responses on your personal opinion, not what you think John Smith would probably get in our current justice system.

Blacken the bubble for	-4 if John Smith deserves	no punishment for the listed crime.
	-3	an appropriate fine for the listed crime (but no jail time).
	-2	less than 1 year jail time/community service for the listed crime.
	-1	a 1 to 5 year jail term for the listed crime.
	0	a 6 to 10 year jail term for the listed crime.
	+1	a 11 to 20 year jail term for the listed crime.
	+2	a life (25 year) jail term with possible parole for the listed crime.
	+3	to remain in jail for the rest of his life for the listed crime.
	+4	a death sentence for the listed crime

94) Sexual assault

- 95) First-degree murder (with premeditation and intent to kill)
- 96) Child molestation
- 97) Minor tax evasion
- 98) Drunk driving causing death
- 99) Arson causing a million dollars damage
- 100) Soliciting a prostitute
- 101) Provoked assault

TASK 4: PLEASE CONTINUE ANSWERING IN SECTION 1

Think for a moment of *your religious group*, and *what its position is on the following issues*. In general, to what extent does your religious group approve or disapprove of the following? If you do not belong to a specific religious group, please leave the questions 102-106 unanswered.

Blacken the bubble	-4	if your religious group	<i>very strongly disapproves</i>	of the	
		following,			
	-3	“	<i>strongly disapproves</i>	of the following,	
	-2	“	<i>moderately disapproves</i>	of the following,	
	-1	“	<i>slightly disapproves</i>	of the following.	
	0	“	is exactly and precisely	<i>neutral</i>	regarding
		the following.			
	+1	“	<i>slightly approves</i>	of the following.	
	+2	“	<i>moderately approves</i>	of the following,	
	+3	“	<i>strongly approves</i>	of the following,	
	+4	“	<i>very strongly approves</i>	of the following,	

- 102) Homosexual acts/behaviours
- 103) Equal rights for gay (homosexual) persons in our society
- 104) Homosexual behaviour as a normal form of sexuality
- 105) Welcoming homosexual persons into the group

- 106) Hating the sin (e.g. homosexual acts), yet loving the sinner (e.g. homosexual persons)

TASK 5: PLEASE ANSWER IN SECTION 2 AT THE BOTTOM OF THE BUBBLE SHEET

Please use the following scale to respond, in section 2 of the answer sheet, to the statements below:

- 0 = Not at all
- 1 = Slightly
- 2 = Somewhat
- 3 = Moderately
- 4 = Quite
- 5 = Very
- 6 = Extremely

Religious Doubts: To what extent, if any, do you **NOW have doubts** about religion, serious concerns about the basic truth of religion, because of the following?

- 1) The existence of God, an all-good, all-powerful supreme being who created the universe.
- 2) The problem of evil and unfair suffering in the world.
- 3) The history of my religion; bad things religions did in the past.
- 4) Evolution vs. Creation.
- 5) The way religious people sometimes pressure others to believe what they believe.
- 6) The hypocrisy of "religious" people (i.e., the nonreligious behaviour of supposedly religious people).
- 7) Getting to know people from other religions, or people with no religion.
- 8) The death of a loved one.
- 9) Religious teachings about sex.
- 10) The way some religious people seem mainly interested in getting money from others.
- 11) The intolerance some religious people show towards other religions.

- 12) Religious teachings about the role of women.
- 13) Threats about what would happen to you if you were bad (e.g., being condemned to hell).
- 14) Finding that being religious did not bring you peace and joy after all.
- 15) The intolerance some religious people showed towards certain other people (e.g., homosexuals).
- 16) Claims that the Bible is the word of God.
- 17) The way religion kept people from enjoying themselves in sensible ways.
- 18) Religious teachings often do not make sense; they seem contradictory or unbelievable.
- 19) What happens to us when we die; is there really an afterlife?
- 20) Religious faith made people “blind,” not questioning teachings that should be questioned.

TASK 6: PLEASE CONTINUE ANSWERING IN SECTION 2

Please answer the following questions in section 2, according to each scale provided. Please blacken the appropriate bubble on the computer sheet for each of the following scales.

- 21) How interested in religion are you? [Please remember to blacken the appropriate bubble.]

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not interested at all								Extremely	
interested									

- 22) How religious a person would you say you are?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all religious								Extremely	
religious									

- 23) How interested in spirituality are you?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
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Not interested at all
interested

Extremely

24) How spiritual a person would you say you are?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
Not at all spiritual Extremely
spiritual

25) How many times would you say you ordinarily go to church in a month? If never, blacken the “0” bubble. If once a month, blacken the “1” bubble, if twice a month, blacken the “2” bubble and so on. If you go to church more than 9 times per month, simply blacken the “9” bubble.

26) In which of the following religious groups were you raised?

- 0 = Protestant Christian (e.g. United, Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, etc.)
- 1 = Catholic
- 2 = Jewish
- 3 = Muslim
- 4 = Hindu
- 5 = Buddhist
- 6 = Mormon
- 7 = Some other religious group
- 8 = Personal religion (no affiliation with any religious group)
- 9 = No religion

27) If you were raised Protestant, which denomination? [If you were not raised Protestant, skip to the next item.]

- 0 = Anglican
- 1 = United Church
- 2 = Lutheran
- 3 = Baptist
- 4 = Presbyterian
- 5 = Mennonite or Brethren
- 6 = Pentecostal
- 7 = Salvation Army
- 8 = two or more different Protestant denominations
- 9 = a Protestant denomination not listed above (please print it on the back of the computer sheet)

28) With which religious group do you presently identify yourself or think of yourself as being?

- 0 = Protestant
- 1 = Catholic
- 2 = Jewish
- 3 = Muslim
- 4 = Hindu
- 5 = Buddhist
- 6 = Mormon
- 7 = Some other religious group
- 8 = Personal religion (no affiliation with any religious group)
- 9 = No religion

29) If you presently identify with a Protestant religious group, which denomination? [If you do not identify with a Protestant denomination, skip to the next item.]

- 0 = Anglican
- 1 = United Church
- 2 = Lutheran
- 3 = Baptist
- 4 = Presbyterian
- 5 = Mennonite or Brethren
- 6 = Pentecostal
- 7 = Salvation Army
- 8 = two or more different Protestant denominations
- 9 = a Protestant denomination not listed above (please print it on the back of the computer sheet)

30) Did you vote in the last federal election (November, 27th, 2000)? Blacken "0" for no, "1" for yes, and "2" if you were not eligible to vote (e.g., not a Canadian citizen).

31) Which party did you vote for? [If you did not vote in the last federal election, which one would you have voted for, if you had voted?]

- 1 = Canadian Alliance Party
- 2 = Green Party
- 3 = Liberal Party
- 4 = Progressive Conservative Party (PC)
- 5 = New Democratic Party (NDP)
- 6 = Bloc Québécois
- 7 = Independent
- 8 = Other political party

32-33) What is your age? For the first digit, blacken the appropriate bubble for #32, for the second digit blacken the appropriate bubble for #33.

34) What is your gender? 0 = Female, 1 = Male.

End of survey. Thank you for your time and cooperation!

Detach the coversheet from the front of the booklet and take that with you. Please give the completed computer sheet and the questionnaire booklet to the monitors at the front of the room and remember to sign a research participation sheet before leaving the room.