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**REPERCUSSIVE DISCRIMINATION: RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AS AN
EXPLANATION OF PREVALENT HOMOPHOBIA AMONG RACIAL
MINORITIES**

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A Dissertation Submitted to The Graduate School at the
University of Missouri-St. Louis in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science

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ABSTRACT

Generally, attitudes in the United States towards lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) persons have become more favorable in recent years. Obviously, examining the politics of LGBTI persons and attitudes towards them is important considering that this demographic may account for 10% of the U.S. population; but a more inconspicuous reason it that examinations provide insight into the political landscape of how political minorities address various issues and interests. However, in studying public opinion towards gays and lesbians it is discovered that racial minorities, particularly African-Americans, generally possess negative attitudes to LGBTI persons and possess higher percentages of homophobic persons when compared to Whites. Some may assert the notion of racial minorities being more homophobic goes against logical arguments of empathy, considering that racial minorities have historically and, to some extent, currently face discrimination and marginalization. This dissertation is an examination of the salient homophobia among racial minorities in light of national attitudes that are becoming more favorable towards the gay and lesbian minority.

The explanations in literature are too often reliant on the antiquated narratives of religiosity, particularly the salience of the Black Church. This study asserts merit for a new theory, termed repercussive discrimination, which may be equally as impactful in understanding negative attitudes towards LGBTI persons. Based on the principles of transference, this theory asserts that an experience with racial discrimination is causal in homophobic attitudes for racial minorities. This study arrives at this determination by using a mixed methods approach to determine assess the significance of variables in determining a racial minority's propensity towards homophobia measured in different ways. By performing quantitative analyses of statistical data from 2000-2014 from the

American National Election Study (ANES) and the General Social Survey (GSS) and qualitative analysis of expert interviews, public records, and audiovisual materials, this dissertation finds: (1) no singular variable can explain homophobia for racial minorities; and (2) there is legitimacy for theories, which prompt new approaches to understanding these attitudes, such as repercussive discrimination.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am the sole author of this dissertation. However, sole authorship is not synonymous with sole contribution. It was once said that “two are better than one; because they have a good reward for their labor. For if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow” (Ecclesiastes 4:9-10). As the quote affirms, people have fortunately aided me, some I believe providentially guided, throughout this academic pursuit and through the writing of this dissertation. Therefore, I am deeply indebted to many who have been essential to this work’s completion. Words of appreciation will likely fail in expressing the debt of gratitude I owe to these individuals for their respective contributions, feedback, motivation, and support throughout this process.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACA	Affordable Care Act
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANES	American National Election Study
APA	American Psychiatric Association
CBC	Congressional Black Caucus
CDC	Centers for Disease Control and Prevention
GSS	General Social Survey
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex
MSM	Men who have sex with men
NBES	National Black Election Study
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares Regression
RD	Repercussive Discrimination
RDD	Random Digital Dialing

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH QUESTION

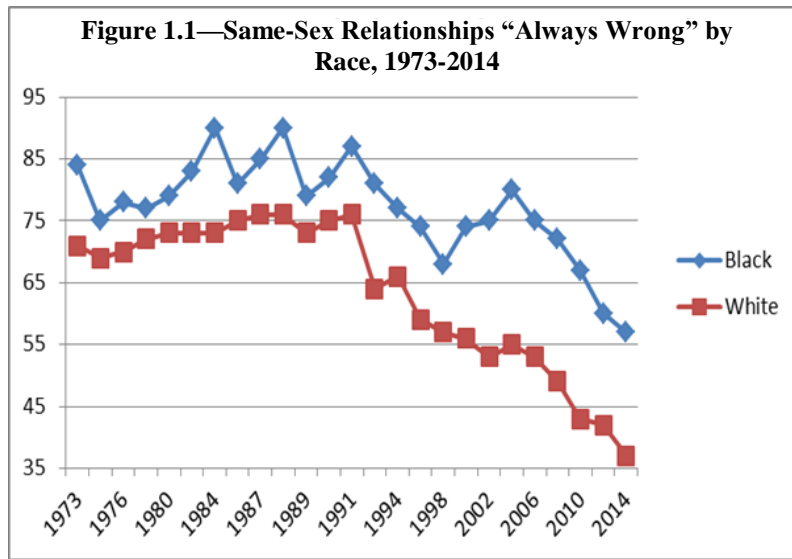
Why do racial minorities seemingly possess negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians compared to the attitudes exhibited by Whites; and why are racial minorities—people who have historically experienced marginalization—far more opposed to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) civil rights policies?¹ Studying homophobia within the populations of racial minorities may give insight into policy positions, similar to how the studies of racism reveal explanations of affirmative action opposition (Jacobson, 1985; Kuklinski, et al., 1997; and Federico and Sidanius, 2014). Some areas where homophobia studies are abundant are in areas of social traditionalism, the Christian Right, or religiosity (Green, 2000; Herman, 2000; Campbell and Monson, 2008). But, what other areas reveal observations meriting further investigation?

Scholars have studied attitudes towards LGBTI persons along: gender lines (Kite and Whitley, 1996; and Herek and Capitano 2002); educational differences (Kozloski, 2010); and, even in the context of judicial precedent and localized referendums (Donovan, et al., 2000).² But, these associations fail to reveal the rich ground that race does, because of the consistency in attitudes towards same-sex relations along racial lines. When looking at data from the General Social Survey (GSS), education, gender, religion, and even age have all demonstrated substantial shifts in public opinion in regards to same-sex relations. However, race consistently evinces itself as the most fruitful area for investigating in that more than half of the Black respondents currently are opposed to same sex relationships. According to

¹ This study uses the “LGBTI” designation, rather than the commonly used “LGBT” because it is a more inclusive designation and the designation officially used by the U.S. government in international efforts of human rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex persons. In addition, it should be understood that throughout this study the term “gay/gays” or “gays and lesbians” will be used as linguistic shorthand to represent the collectiveness of the LGBTI community.

² Donovan, et al. study is a part of the collection of studies in C. Rimmerman, K. Wald, and C. Wilcox, *The Politics of Gay Rights*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 161-190.

data from the GSS, there has yet to be a documented year where the majority of African-Americans, which until the 2000 Census where the largest minority population, favored same-sex relationships (*see Figure 1.1*).



Source: General Social Survey (GSS)

This is significant when compared to other demographic information commonly afforded in studying homophobia:

- In regards to education, persons with fewer years in education are generally found to be more homophobic. Homophobia for persons with a high school diploma or less peaked at 73% in 1982, but dropped to 47% in 2004, and has since remained around that number.
- In regards to gender, males are generally accepted to be more homophobic than females. Male homophobia, measured by an opposition to same sex relationships, peaked at 77% disapproval in 1987, but has declined to only a 29% disapproval as of 2014;
- In regards to religion, persons identifying as Protestant Christians were staunchly more homophobic compared to Catholics and others. Protestant homophobia, measured by an

opposition to same sex relationships, peaked at 80% in 1987, but has declined to only 33% in 2014; and,

- In regards to age, older persons are generally accepted to be more conservative and less accepting LGBTI norms. Homophobia among respondents age 59 to 89 peaked at 86% in 1987, but has declined to only 34% opposition in 2014.³

Considering how opinions on same-sex relationships for minorities fail to follow national trends the logical question is what factor(s) explain minority homophobia? Is there a commonality among racial minorities that can explain their propensity to resist accepting national attitudes towards gays and lesbians? Can race, in and of itself, explain homophobia; or, is there a commonality linking racial groups, perhaps their collective experience of discrimination and marginalization, that has some casual effect on their attitudes towards LGBTI persons?

Background to the Problem

There is some debate on the legitimacy of studies of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) politics and what contributions, if any, they offer to political science. The obvious reason that scholars should not ignore LGBTI groups and their political leanings is that the omission would leave a chasm in explaining a growing segment of the current political demographic. Estimations are not consistent, considering the U.S. Census only documents the number of individual living in same-sex households and not questions of sexual orientation identification; but, according to Gallup it is a population that is self-identified around 5%, but has estimates as high as 23%, according to Gallup. And,

³ All calculations were derived from using data provided by the General Social Survey (GSS), 1973-2014.

according to the Centers of Disease Control (CDC) 5.7 % of men have same-sex sexual activity and three times as many women have done so at approximately 17%, even if they do not identify as gay or lesbian. Therefore, crude averages of this demographic, depending upon the source and the criteria used, is approximated at one in every ten people.⁴

But studies of the LGBTI demographic extends beyond learning political patterns and behaviors of the group. Gary Mucciaroni, a political scientist and expert on LGBTI issues, addresses this notion with much more prudence. He says that studying the political development of issues important to gays and lesbians gives an insight as to “how minorities and excluded groups induce the majority to address their claims for recognition, freedom, and equality” (Mucciaroni, 2011, p. 18). Kenneth Wald (2000) says that the political development of LGBTI politics should even prompt scholars and students with “no personal stake” in political debates about LGBTI issues to engage in rigorous studies of gay politics essentially for the same reason that Mucciaroni asserts (Wald, 2000, p. 6). Wald says,

“the attempts by gays to alter their status through political means gives us the opportunity to study how small, weak and despised groups can use political means to challenge larger and stronger political forces who enjoy the support of entrenched social values” (Wald, 2000, p. 6).⁵

Additionally, empirical studies into LGBTI politics can reveal important implications about largely accepted theories in Political Science even contradict important theories and generate entirely new hypotheses (Mucciaroni, 2011, p. 19). However, it is important to note that while Mucciaroni’s (2011) and Wald’s (2000) rationale behind studying gay politics is still apposite to public opinion, minority group politics, etc., investigations may reveal findings

⁴ This approximation was derived by taking the average of self-identifying gays from Gallup, 5%, and estimated 23% of persons known to be gay or lesbians, also from Gallup with the statistics of sexual activity provided by the CDC, which gives 12.5%

⁵ This excerpt was taken from Wald’s chapter in *The Politics of Gay Rights* (2000), entitled “The Context of Gay Politics.”

once obscure to scholars. This is particularly salient considering that public opinion has shifted, and by many estimations, the shift has happened more abruptly than public sentiments for other minorities (racial minorities, women, immigrants, etc.).

Generally, public attitudes towards gays and lesbians have become more favorable in recent years. In the 1970s and 80s “sexual relations between two adults of the same sex,” as worded in the General Social Survey (GSS) was viewed as “always wrong” by more than 70% of the U.S. population.⁶ However, by 1998 that number diminished to approximately 50%. And, in 2012, when Barack Obama became the first sitting U.S. President to ever support and advocate for gay marriage, the numbers were completely reversed from the 1980s. Now some 8 out of 10 persons in the U.S. have no issue with same-sex relations, and some 71% of Americans support gay marriage (Ernest, 2012). However, this general shift in public attitudes towards LGBTI persons is not consistent across populations with notable differences across racial demographics. A temporal look at just Black-White attitudes from the GSS on same-sex relationships reveals that while only one in three Whites are opposed to these relationships, more than half of Blacks are still opposed (*see Figure 1.1*). Thus, the query this dissertation will attempt to answer is: Why are racial minorities collectively, but especially African-Americans, far more opposed to LGBTI relations and culture—homophobic—than White Americans?

This observation of higher homophobia for minorities is constant across surveys. The American National Election Study’s (ANES) questions on respondent’s attitudes concerning the extension of certain rights to gays and lesbians demonstrates that racial minorities are

⁶ According to some scholars that have long-standing vitae in the study of public opinion on gays and lesbians, such as Gregory Herek, the GSS is the oldest survey that has asked questions on morality of homosexuality and tolerance for homosexuals.

more opposed to gay rights than Whites. The 2012 ANES reveals that among Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics, White Americans have the smallest percentage of persons opposed to gay marriage, gay adoption, and gays serving in the military, 24.5%, 35.7%, and 13.3% respectively (*see Table 1.1*).⁷ Understanding this glaring difference in measuring White to minority homophobia, this dissertation attempts to evince an argument that perpetual racial discrimination provides some causality in the discussion of minority homophobia. Simply, the hypothesis of this dissertation asserts that racial discrimination must be included in discussions of minority homophobia; not to exclude previously proven associations, but to provide a more complete picture of contributing factors to minority homophobia.

Table 1.1 - Opposition to Gay Rights by Race, 2012			
	<i>LGBTI Issues</i>		
<i>Race</i>	<u>Gay Marriage</u>	<u>Gay Adoption</u>	<u>Gays/Lesbians Serving in the Military</u>
White	24.5%	35.7%	13.3%
Black	29.43%	38.07%	17.38%
Hispanic	24.93%	41.48%	14.42%

Source: ANES, 2012

Statements of the Problem: Neglecting Race and Religiosity's Crutch

Most of the current literature on LGBTI attitudes is not academic with rigorous analytical methodologies. Attitudes towards gays and lesbians are often studied in pigeonholed-manuals of political activism that attempt to explain attitudes, and by consequence political outcomes, in very basic and often overly simplistic terms (Wald, 2000). Generally, there are prominent explanations for homophobia that will be discussed more in detail in the upcoming literature review. In brief mention, factors that construct and

⁷ Data tabulations are "weighted" according to guidelines from the American National Election Study (ANES; www.electionstudies.org) to more accurately represent the population's sentiments as a representative cross-section.

shape American attitudes towards gays and lesbians mostly rest on gender, age, religious importance (Jenkins, et al., 2009) and/or political ideology (Lax and Phillips, 2009). However, when investigating the amount of literature that discusses homophobia along racial lines it is considerably smaller. Thus, the first problem in most studies of homophobia is an omission of studying this attitude within the context of race. It is likely presumed that the conspicuous differences in LGBTI attitudes among races will not provide any substantive findings—the contributors of White homophobia are consistent across all races. This is an obvious syllogistic fallacy, assuming that what is applicable generally is applicable to each individual group. Secondly, the literature that addresses this obvious distinction along racial lines, typically rest on the argument of religiosity. The most prominent argument for minority homophobia is religion in light of findings that minorities tend to place greater reliance on religion in affecting social and political decisions. This has been asserted in the importance of the Black Church in African-American communities (King, 2004) and Catholicism to Hispanic-Americans (Hunt, 1999). Thus, the limited scholarly research on LGBTI attitudes that does exist often neglects the context of racial differences; and when it is included religion often presents itself as the explanatory crutch for racial minorities.

Religion has been the accepted rationale for the staunch minority opposition to LGBTI culture and lifestyle. This reliance on religion is derived primarily from the importance of the Church to the social and political movements of minorities, such as the 1950s-60s Civil Right Movement (King, 2010). However, this presumption is highly subject to scrutiny. First, it presumes that religion is more impactful for minorities than Whites, which in the literature reviews of this study has not been discovered. As matter of fact, there is some evidence to the contrary. Political scientists David Campbell and J. Quin Monson's

(2008) co-authored study argues that it was White evangelical Christianity in response to state ballots concerning gay marriage which served as the key driving force in the 2004 presidential election cycle. Perhaps the crutch of religiosity has a crack in it when considering race and attitudes towards gays and lesbians

Race has not received the same attention as these factors. That is not to say that race has not been studied in explanations of orientations towards lesbians, gays, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) persons; Hudson and Ricketts (1980), Schneider and Lewis (1984), Lewis (2003), Jenkins, et al. (2009), and Davenport (2016) all, to some degree, look at race, particularly African-Americans, and their propensity to possess more negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians than Whites. However, compared to the other explanations, race plays a small role in the social sciences in light of a conspicuous association in the United States between racial minorities and negative attitudes towards (LGBTI) persons (Lewis, 2003).

The sensitive nature of the race issue, especially in America where it historically led to the marginalization, and even dehumanization of certain persons, may be a reason for its omission. A political discussion of race would require two contextual admissions, according to Marx (1998): (1) that there were, and still are, legal and extralegal mechanisms that “prevented Blacks [and other racial minorities] from improving themselves” (Marx, 1998, p. 120); and, (2) that “White racial identity was enforced by state institutions and apparatuses diminishing intra-White conflict” (Marx, 1998, p. 20). However, the scholarly literature too “often finds it more convenient to explore questions that are distant and less charged” (Cohen, 2006, p. x), which aids in accounting for a “tendency to define what are basically racial problems in non-racial terms” (Barker, 1999, p. 3). Thus, attempting to study a subject

matter as sensitive as race, where consensus is hard to achieve, may be discouraging to scholars.

Homophobia and other political attitudes associated with the LGBTI population are emotionally charged and often asserted to be ideologically driven, with differences across regions and levels of government (Lax and Phillips, 2009). Compounding this tense subject matter with the sensitive subject of race may also be a cause for the absence of race in explaining homophobia. Despite the reasons, assessing possible casual factors for homophobia among racial groups is not adequately addressed in literature though the phenomenon has been existential as long as same-sex attitudes have been documented. Since the GSS began documenting attitudes of same-sex relationships, Blacks have possessed greater opposition than Whites.

Purpose of the Study: Interjecting Race and Racial Discrimination

For some, race is not a comfortable topic of discussion and one that can be highly emotional. African-American policy expert Kendra King says that discussions of race can “produce some of the most severe ‘knee-jerk’ reactions” (King, 2010, p. 2). However, there are contextual realities that are salient among racial minorities; shared realities that exist for non-White persons in the United States that provide contextual and substantive understandings about social and political ideologies and practices. Racial minorities are more likely to be less educated, more likely to be insecure in socio-economic status and wealth, more likely to have a self-reported dependency on religion to shape life choices, and more likely to experience discrimination on the basis of race—this study aims to investigate these

shared commonalities in association with minority homophobia.⁸ But, this study also theorizes that there is a consequential effect of experiencing racial discrimination that affects the political and social choices of ethnic minorities in regards to LGBTI attitudes.

It could be hypothesized that this line of thought is counterintuitive; presuming that the salient experience of racial discrimination by ethnic minorities would cause increased empathy towards other marginalized populations, including LGBTI persons. However, studies, such as the one offered by race and ethnicity scholar Lauren Davenport, are beginning to reveal that an experience with discrimination does not necessarily make a person more empathetic. Davenport (2016) discovers that only when looking at “explicitly racial” issues, such as the saliency of racism, increased racial understanding, or support for race-based affirmative action is there an increased likelihood of support from racial minorities. Davenport even includes liberal issues that are race-neutral, including gay marriage. Davenport’s findings on gay marriage are consistent with the data presented in this chapter, where the majority of Whites are supportive and the majority of minorities are opposed.

However, this still does not demonstrate worthiness of the principal theory of this study. Perhaps any of the previously stated commonalities among racial minorities can lend more explanatory leverage for this perceived homophobia salient among minorities. Yet, when examining the variables commonly associated with racial minorities—more frequent experience with racial discrimination, placing greater importance on religion, possessing lower education and lower income—the cogency of racial discrimination becomes clearer.

⁸ Racial minorities in this dissertation is understood to be any person that does not racially identify as White, including Blacks, Hispanics, and those who identify as “Other,” which may include person of mixed racial backgrounds.

No other previously stated association occurs more frequently than racial discrimination, according to the most recent data available from the ANES. Education level, religious importance, and income all fail to demonstrate the indomitable frequency to racial minorities that racial discrimination does (*see Table 1.1*).

Table 1.2 – Comparison of Minority Associations, 2012⁹			
Table 1.2a – Frequencies of Education by Minority Status			
Education	Minority Status		Total
	White	Racial Minority	
No Bachelor's Degree	67.06%	78.84%	70.49%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	32.94%	21.16%	29.51%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
<i>Source: ANES, 2012</i>			
Table 1.2b – Frequencies of Income by Minority Status			
Income	Minority Status		Total
	White	Racial Minority	
Less than \$75,000	63.65%	79.73%	67.96%
\$75,000 or More	36.65%	20.27%	32.04%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
<i>Source: ANES, 2012</i>			
Table 1.2c – Frequencies of Religious Importance by Minority Status			
Religion Importance in Life	Minority Status		Total
	White	Racial Minority	
Important	63.31%	76.74%	67.22%
Not Important	36.69%	23.26%	32.78%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
<i>Source: ANES, 2012</i>			
Table 1.2d – Frequencies of Racial Discrimination by Minority Status			
Racial Discrimination	Minority Status		Total
	White	Racial Minority	
Never Experienced	54.21%	18.62%	43.94%
Experienced	45.79%	81.38%	56.06%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
<i>Source: ANES, 2012</i>			

If racial discrimination is so strongly associated with a minority designation and the existence of homophobic attitudes are greater for minorities, perhaps it is the experience of racial discrimination on the minority designation that impacts these attitudes and not race itself.

⁹ Data tabulations are "weighted" according to guidelines from the American National Election Study (ANES; www.electionstudies.org) to more accurately represent the population's sentiments as a representative cross-section.

Major Findings

This dissertation finds that the causable variables used in studying homophobia for Whites are not necessarily applicable in studies of homophobia for racial minorities. Of the variables that are commonly included in explanations of homophobia, age seems to be the only variable that has equal impact in explaining attitude-effects across race. Gender, political ideology, and even religion have different effects in explaining homophobia for Whites compared to minorities.¹⁰ This dissertation finds that variables with strong evidence in explaining homophobia for racial minorities are age, education, and an experience with racial discrimination. Moreover, the common narrative of religion may not be as essential in explaining minority homophobia as it once was, even among African-Americans. However, the finding of this dissertation study go beyond what variables have explanatory power in associations of homophobia, but even attempt to answer why such variables may have these effects, particularly racial discrimination.

Cultural and institutional norms for racial minorities place the approval of older persons, particularly of the same family, of higher importance than individual expressions, which may account for the age and generational effects of minority homophobia. In addition, and new to the studies of attitudes towards gays and lesbians, is that for racial minorities, scholars must take the experience of racial discrimination into consideration; explained in this dissertation by the theory of repercussive discrimination. Racial discrimination not only is impactful for shaping how minorities view social and political realities, but it has psychological-political effects, essentially creating cognitions that determine how minorities view other minorities, particularly LGBTI persons. The linkage between racial discrimination

¹⁰ Socioeconomic status, a common variable in assessing public opinion, was not a commonly asserted variable in literature regarding homophobia. Therefore, it was not included in the analysis.

and homophobia is embodied in this dissertation's theory of repercussive discrimination, which according to both statistical and informational data seems to have evidence as an acceptable theory. Personal experiences with racial discrimination and arguably the internalization of historical discrimination, makes minorities, notably African-Americans, more dissatisfied with life and social conditions, more fearful, and foster a sense of helplessness, which to some degree explain their negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians.

Dissertation Contributions and Chapter Outline

This dissertation study attempts to add to the existing empirical studies that examine homophobia, with a robust focus on understanding homophobia for racial minorities. The dissertation provides three fundamental contributions to the growing athenaeum of attitudes towards LGBTI persons. As previously stated, its analysis is oriented in the context of racial minorities. Most literature on homophobia assumes little or no significant differences along racial lines in understanding these attitudes and the political implications. The study attempts to further elucidate the discovery of new findings when assessing political attitudes in the context of race. Secondly, the dissertation adds some of the most recent available national data to the investigations of homophobia. And, finally, this study adds to the intersectionality camp of studying politics—some factors are determined by the presence of absence of other variables and how they interact with other factors.

In the next chapter, this study will define terms and concepts that are central to this study. In Chapter Three this dissertation essentially isolates explanations of homophobia into four fundamental explanatory periods or “approaches.” These approaches reveal: (1) the

changing populations that were the subjects of studying homophobia, particularly as there were national shifts in attitudes towards LGBTI persons—attitudes of greater acceptance; and, (2) the changing complexity of explanations as scholars were attempting to understand homophobia, not generally, but within in certain populations. Most importantly, this literature will show a need for this study, because existential literature on homophobia and theories on race fail to answer the essential question of this study—why are racial minorities seemingly more homophobic than Whites?

To some it may be illogical to discuss homophobia in a context that attempts to explain it as an effect of racial discrimination. But, as this chapter has outlined the differences in attitudes among races, paradoxically situated with its omission in literature, demonstrates itself as a fruitful area of investigation in the study of homophobia. Because, racial discrimination is largely an experience of racial minorities, who display the greatest measures of homophobia, there is ground for the assertion of new and untried approaches to studying the phenomenon of persistent minority homophobia. In Chapter Four this dissertation outlines the theory in a discussion that details the plausible connection between racial discrimination and minority homophobia—the theory termed repercussive discrimination. A derivative of the theory of transference, repercussive discrimination essentially has four general components, which happen in context of a particular population: a traumatic experience, that creates an emotion, followed by preferential attitude, which ultimately shapes a policy position. This chapter also reveals how this theory can be conceptualized and measured.

Chapter Five and Chapter Six will serve as empirical chapters to assess both the central premise of the study and other plausible factors that may interact with racial

minorities to prompt their seemingly staunch measures of homophobia. The hypotheses of these chapters are embodied on overarching objectives. These objectives are to demonstrate: (1) that approaches for explaining homophobia for racial minorities must differ from approaches that explain homophobia for White Americans; (2) among hypothesized variables in discussions of minority homophobia, an experience with racial discrimination has a statistically significant association; (3) this association between minority homophobia and an experience with racial discrimination in the context of minorities is as strong as commonly accepted explanations of homophobia (age, gender, religious importance, etc.), and may be as strong as other commonly interactive conditions, such as religion's effect on minority designation; and (4) the probable nature of racial discrimination as the agent for homophobia among racial minorities. The first three objectives will be investigated in Chapter Four through purely quantitative methods using the ANES from the years 2004 to 2012, as data is available, and the GSS from the years 2000 to 2014, as data is available.¹¹ The fourth objective will be researched in Chapter Six through a triangulation of qualitative methods, including interviews of elites and policy experts on minority politics and scholars on LGBTI politics.

If the primary hypothesis of this study proves valid, then there are implications about the trauma of racial discrimination and the plausibility of it explaining other attitudes that are largely distinct along racial lines. As promulgated earlier in this chapter, racism and racial discrimination are psychological attitudes (with obvious institutional manifestations) that rest at the pinnacle of discriminatory attitudes (Marx, 1998). Furthermore, if the primary

¹¹ These years have been chosen because they provide a temporal context in which public attitudes and views towards same-sex relationships had shifted, becoming more favorable among the general public; whereas, attitudes and views of same-sex relationships were still majorly opposed among racial minorities (Brewer, 2003).

hypothesis of this paper proves valid it will provide further evidence for the need in studying racial discrimination, not solely to explain differences in realities among racial groups, but as a method for explain correlative policy positions.

CHAPTER TWO: DEFINING TERMS AND CONCEPTS

This dissertation contains terms and concepts that often have ambiguous meanings, such as homophobia, and terms that often are erroneously interchanged with other concepts, such as race, which is often used synonymously with ethnicity. This chapter will define, characterize, and conceptualize three terms key to this dissertation: homophobia, race, and racial discrimination/racism.

Understanding Homophobia as Heterosexism

The term homophobia can be somewhat misleading because it does not actually characterize a “phobia” or fear. According to Daniel Wickberg (2000), the term was derived as a part of the linguistic strategies of liberals in the 1970s to tackle what they perceived as “obstacles to a just social order” (Wickberg, 2000, p. 42). When the term was first coined by George Weinberg, its political motivations were evident in his description of the attitude as a “disease.” This linguistic characterization was likely to combat accepted notions, even from the American Psychiatric Association (APA), that designated homosexuality as a mental illness. However, as scholars, sociologists, and psychologist began to study the attitude they provided definitions that were more empirical and less politically motivated. From scholars like Stephen Morin and Ellen Garfinkle (1978) homophobia has been more widely understood as an attitudinal, and arguably prejudicial, predisposition that causes an aversion to same-sex relationships, culture, and associated culture, such as that of transgender persons. Morin and Garfinkle (1978) define homophobia as

“any belief system which supports negative myths and stereotypes about homosexual people. More specifically, it can be used to describe: (a) belief systems which hold that discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation is justifiable; (b) the use of language or slang, e.g., ‘queer,’ which is offensive to

gay people; and/or (c) any belief system which does not value homosexual life styles equally with heterosexual life styles.”¹²

Thus, homophobia is similar to racism, sexism, and ageism, where there is a psychological bias towards a respective demographic that marginalizes the demographic; in this case, the LGBTI population.

However, it has been almost four decades since Morin and Garfinkle’s formulation, and there has been a growing expansion of the gay community; designated the LGBTI community. The gay community, or LGBTI population, includes bisexual persons, transgender persons, and other non-conforming gender identities; each having their own “phobia.” Biphobia is the ideological equivalent for bisexual persons; and, transphobia is the ideological equivalent for transgender people. But according to social clinical expert and social work professor, Kamilah Majied there is no need for the nuanced distinctions of attitudes for the different identities in the LGBTI population. Majied asserts that homophobia not only apply to persons that practice same-sex relationships, such as gays and lesbians, but it will encompass the ideologies of biphobia and transphobia or “anything considered non-heterosexual” (Majied, 2010, p. 155). Thus, when homophobia is referenced in this dissertation it will be used as more of an umbrella concept along the lines of heterosexism—a concept that characterizes heterosexuality as the norm and acceptable practice of intimate relationships and expressions of sexuality. Therefore, homophobia is any negative attitude or cognition directed towards persons who possess a non-conforming gender minority. It is the belief system, discriminatory actions, antagonistic language, and ranking of sexual identities

¹² The excerpt that fundamentally defines and characterizes homophobia is originally found in “Male Homophobia,” by Stephen F. Morin and Ellen M Garfinkle in the *Journal of Social Issues*, 1978, but was accessed as a secondary source through the Wickberg article “Homophobia: On the Cultural History of an Idea” in *Critical Inquiry*, 2000.

that deems all non-heterosexual identities as less in value than heterosexual identities. And, for the discipline of political science, homophobia leads to the opposition of policies that grant rights to persons that would otherwise receive those rights if they were heterosexual.

Race: A Social and Political Construct

There is a difference between “race” and “ethnicity.” According to detailed historical and etymological assertions of anthropologist Peter Wade, both are social constructs. However, ethnicity denotes a difference in culture and/or nationality; whereas, race is a difference in categorization and implies superiority, based on some observable genetic variation or observable difference in culture (Wade, 2010, pp. 12-19). Thus, the notions are not synonymous, because race is based, at least partly, on ethnicity or things associated with ethnicity. To further understand race, this dissertation looks at a common misconception of race and how race came about.

Race is often conceptualized under older accepted notions based on biological constructs. The classic article by Theodosius Dobzhansky, entitled “The Race Concept in Biology,” informs of the common biological definition of “races as populations that differ from each other in the frequencies of certain genes” (Dobzhansky, 1941, p. 162). This leads to race being “defined largely by skin color, facial features, and other visual cues” (Obasogie, 2000, p. 585). But, more contemporary scholars, such as Debra Thompson (2008), demonstrate the complexity of the notion of race, asserting that race “is not simply skin color or morphological characteristics” (Thompson, 2008, p. 528). According to her, race is indeed a social construct—something accepted as a result of occurrences of society; but, race also has political/institutional components—meaning that authoritative entities can, to some

degree, assign race. This is why persons of same African ancestry are designated as one race in America—Black—and another in Latin America—Mulato.

Anthony Marx (1998) elucidates race as a construct of social and political composition. Marx does a comparative study of South Africa, the United States, and Brazil; and through an examination of legal and extralegal actions, from colonialism through apartheid, concludes that the “states made race” (Marx, 1998, p. 2). To be more accurate, polities used the power to “enforce racial distinctions” (Marx, 1998, p. 2). Thus, race is not only a difference in biology, but a difference in social and political standings. It historically has been the social signifier by which the racial majority has discriminated against a minority, including inequitable “colonial encounters, slavery, discrimination, resistance, and so on” (West, 2010, p. 19). Consequentially, when race is viewed solely in biological terms, it is viewed “apolitical,” which may explain its exclusion in political attitudes concerning LGBTI people. However, “race is one of the most powerful social signifiers of identity and difference [because it holds] important implications for social, political, and economic life” (Thompson, 2008, p. 525).

Racial Discrimination and Its Effects on Non-racial Issues

This dissertation defines racial discrimination as an overt or subtle proclivity to order or rank others solely based upon racial designation—even ethnicity and culture if those constructs are closely related to how the majority assigned race—with such rankings

resulting in “inequitable treatment.”¹³ Shaun Harper’s (2012) definition goes further and implies that institutions and societal structures can maintain racist realities. He says racism is:

“individual actions (both intentional and unconscious) that engender marginalization and inflict varying degrees of harm on minority persons; structures that determine and cyclically remanufacture racial inequality; and institutional norms that sustain White privilege and permit the ongoing subordination of minoritized persons” (Harper, 2012, p. 10).

It is important to understand the logic of Harper; he investigates the notion of “institutional racism” but never promulgates that institutions are inherently racist. Institutions only perpetuate the racist biases of individuals and groups. Therefore, even though studies of institutional racism are valid, particularly in policy prescription, this dissertation will characterize racism from an individual-level analysis. This individual-level analysis of racism as an attitude or emotion allows for more accurate assessment of actual racism, whether by admission or the creation of a measuring scale—a common approach used by Kinder and Sanders (1996) and Sears, et al. (1997). Looking at institutional inequities that sustain White privilege may be harder to substantiate as racism and subject to a higher level of criticism.

Scholars have studied various manifestations of individual racial discrimination; the two most common in literature are symbolic racism and ethnocentrism. Jacobson (1985), Sears (1988), and Tarman and Sear (2005) study symbolic racism, also called racial resentment—the prejudicial disposition towards any race that causes any opposition to any related designation, affiliation, or association to the racial group. Originally defined as an anti-Black affect rooted in conservative values, symbolic racism was originally measured by

¹³ This definition of racism is derived from the conference paper “Affirmation Action Opposition: A Personification of Modern Racism,” presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association annual meeting (Boston, MA), 2014.

testing three components: (1) Blacks were too demanding, inducted to measure antagonism towards Blacks; (2) resentment that governmental prescriptive measures towards Blacks, inducted to measure the perception that Blacks were receiving an unwarranted social and political advantages; and (3) the denial of continued discrimination (Sear, 1988). The other manifestation, ethnocentrism, is a “strong individual predisposition toward bias in favor of racial in-groups” (Hammon and Axelrod, 2006, p. 927). Ethnocentrism has been studied by Raden (2003), Bizumic, et al. (2009), and Kinder and Kam (2009 & 2012). And, they all find, at least in a Western context, that ethnocentrism causes feelings of superiority for the individual identifying with the racial in-group, while simultaneously producing judgements of inferiority for all other groups. However, more important than the varying manifestation are the effects of individual racial discrimination, especially the less-recognizable effects.

An individual’s attitudes on a non-racial issue can be determined by the racial attitudes towards individuals or groups of a certain race. This concept, known as the “spillover of racialization,” is largely credited to scholar Michael Tesler (2012, 2013, and 2015). Tesler’s (2012) study demonstrated how Barack Obama, a symbol of black political forwardness, changed support among Whites and Blacks on healthcare policy. Looking at opinions on the Affordable Care Act (ACA), which by many measures had significant objective similarities with healthcare legislation efforts of President Clinton. He notes that Whites became less supportive and Blacks more supportive because they associated the policy with President Obama’s race. Tesler (2013) concluded that old-fashioned racist sentiments towards President Obama impacted White American alignment to political parties, ideology, and voting preferences. And Tesler (2015) showed how focus on President Obama’s race, particularly after his election and re-election increased polarization and further

divineness on issues of strong public opinion. Beyond the specific findings in each of these studies, Tesler demonstrates that the effects of racism are not limited to the inequitable treatment of the recipient, but can impact attitudes on non-racial issues. If associating the race of legislator or politician with a policy can trigger opposition to the policy for a racist person or group, as Tesler repeatedly demonstrates, could not the experience of racial discrimination also have spillover effects on non-racial issues, such as a racial minority tending to exhibit higher homophobia?

Intersectionality scholars, such as Audre Lorde, may argue against the notion that racism affects attitudes in a manner that sexism or classism does not (Lorde, 1995). Most notably known for saying, “there is no hierarchy of oppression.” This dissertation disagrees with Lorde and such scholars. Racism, has been the most salient discriminatory ideology “entrenched” into the federal fabric of the U.S. (Marx, 1998, p. 272). Political scientist Evelyn Simien (2004) discusses the reality of the Black woman and states that “the hierarchy of interests within the Black community [and arguably without] assigns priority to race over gender,” and other identifying designations (Simien, 2004, p. 319). And, the saliency of racism is revealed in conspicuous affirmations and even subtle one. Marx details conspicuous affirmations, noting that racism was institutionalized in government through the Constitution, in societal mores through interpretations of the Christian Bible, and in accepted norms through the extralegal practices of unfair conventions like Jim Crow. Lorde (1995), in an almost imperceptible way, demonstrates the saliency of race by listing order. Though her piece is to redefine difference among women, with the exception of the title, she makes reference to race first whenever in the context of other differentiations. She describes herself as a “black lesbian feminists socialist mother of two” (Lorde, 1995, p. 284). Or, in her

discussion of the “mythical norm” she states “this norm is usually defined as white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, Christian, and financially secure” (Lorde, 1995, p. 285). Again, she cites race first. If race and racism demonstrate obvious and subtle predominance in America, is it dubious to assess homophobia in the context of race? Examining negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians in the context of race may reveals one minority’s political awareness of another minority. Also, examining these attitudes also demonstrates when and why theories of empathy are applicable, if at all.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW—EXPLANATIONS OF HOMOPHOBIA

This literature review shows that the analyses of this dissertation fall within the current approach of studying homophobia and opposition to gay policy measures; but offers new lines of inquiry for the subject. The review provides justification for the principal objective of this study—different approaches are needed when studying homophobia within racial groups—and the central hypothesis of the dissertation—there is an association between an experience of racial discrimination and homophobia for racial minorities. This literature review is structured so that it gives a temporal look at how homophobia has been explained over the past approximate thirty years; and shows that as attitudes towards generally became more favorable that different approaches were employed to investigate these attitudes.

The literature that attempts to provide explanations of homophobia and steadfast opposition to civil liberties desired by LGBTI persons is filled with varying arguments about causality and effects. These explanations vary from simple explanations, like Herek's (2002) work that finds that gender influences public opinion on attitudes towards gays and lesbians, to complex explanations, like Jenkins, et al's. (2009) piece that affords an interaction of importance among multiple demographic variables—gender, age, education, political ideology, and religion—that contribute to LGBTI attitudes. However, upon examination of these approaches to explaining homophobia, some seemingly waned in their explanatory capacity over the brief time this subject has been researched. More importantly, the attitudinal differences observed across demographics in the early studies of attitudes towards LGBTI persons, were less likely seen as explanations of homophobia; but were results of experiences, cultures, and norms distinctive to the respective demographic.

There are four fundamental “approaches” or scholarly theoretical strategies for explaining homophobia. These approaches can be looked at through a temporal lens, with some overlap, where academic research on homophobia and attitudes towards gays and lesbians could be characterized by a particular methodological approach in response to public sentiment. The approaches seemingly evolved as public opinion generally changed and target of studies shifted from the observing differences in attitudes to attempting to explain why certain attitudes persisted in respective groups.

First Approach: Singular Demographic Explanations

The first approach for explaining homophobia, which occupied most of the 1990s, seemed to explain homophobia along demographic lines, such as: age, with older people generally holding more negative views of LGBTI persons (Whitley, 1987); race, with Blacks more in opposition of gay rights (Carter, 1994), and; gender, with men generally expressing more homophobic sentiments than women (Herek & Capitanio, 1995). It has even been researched how party loyalty—commitment to sentiments that advanced the respective party agenda—was aligned closely with sentiments of homophobia with Republican or conservative party affiliation typically demonstrating an entrenched opposition to LGBTI rights (Feldman, 1988; Sniderman, et al., 1991; Zaller, 1992).

Research psychologists Gregory Herek and John Capitanio contributed heavily to this demographic explanation. In their 2002 published work, “Gender Gaps in Public Opinion about Lesbians and Gay Men,” they assess data from a 1999 national random digital dialing (RDD) survey in which they reaffirm previous studies regarding attitudes towards gay people—“women tend to be more tolerant and less hostile than men” (Herek & Capitanio,

2002, p. 41). Their study does not make any substantive new revelations in regards to gay attitudes, but contributes greatly to studies of homophobia and LGBTI attitudes because of its reliability, using several measures of attitudes. While most other national surveys of this type tend to focus “on opinions about civil liberties and civil rights,” this study assesses: (i) attitudes on civil rights, including non-discrimination laws, gay marriage, and gay adoption; (ii) commonly accepted stereotypes regarding gays and lesbians, such as homosexuality is a choice, LGBTI persons have proclivities towards pedophilia, or suffer from a mental illness; (iii) personal discomfort about being in proximity to gays and lesbians, and; (iv) effective reactions to gay people. Herek and Capitanio’s study shows that no matter how attitudes are assessed men are more homophobic and less tolerant than women, across all measures.

However, the study is not without flaw; Herek and Capitanio overstate the nuanced differences in attitudes towards gay men when compared to attitudes towards lesbians. These findings are interesting, but inconsequential in discussion of homophobia, especially when considering that findings revealed consistent opposition to civil rights, majorly negative beliefs about homosexuality, and overall personal discomfort towards both gay men and lesbians received consistent negatives attitudes from a majority of male respondents. Secondly, Herek and Capitanio failed to explain the origins of these differences—differences that are quite peculiar in light of the fact that the sample of women surveyed generally possessed characteristics associated with negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians (lower annual income, higher unemployment, and a greater impact of religious mores on life decisions). Though their findings are largely reliable, they seem to leave the study without an attempt at explaining why the observed gender differences exists.

However, studies that focus heavily on demographics as explanations, like Herek and Capatiano (2002) study, gradually became less explanatory as the majority of the American public began to become more accepting of LGBTI culture; thus, the demographic lines became less significant. White House Press Secretary John Ernest noted that by the end of the 1990s less than half of the American public had negative views towards gays and lesbians and self-admitted homophobia was on a decline.¹⁴ Reinforcing how the singular explanations along demographic lines were not as salient as once were, in their 2009 study Jenkins, Lambert, and Baker discovered that of these common demographic delineations only gender and race even showed some statistical significance in explaining negative views of gays and lesbians and an unwillingness to extend rights to gays for college students. As it became more evident that demographics were increasingly weaker in explaining homophobia in general, scholars shifted into a second approach.

Second Approach: Psychological and Sociological Explanations

The second explanatory approach for explaining homophobia focused less on demographics and concentrated more on psychological, ideological, and sociological factors, such as the importance of religion and traditional morality (Herman, 2000), personal contact with LGBTI persons (Overby and Barth, 2002), and even attribution—whether homosexuality is genetics or a choice of lifestyle—in explaining homophobia (Haider-Markel and Joslyn, 2008). This period of explaining opposition to gay rights dominated much of the literature for the first decade of the new millennium. Of these explanations, the most prominent is religiosity; more religious persons tend to be more homophobic and more

¹⁴ See The White House Blog entitled “President Obama Supports Same-Sex Marriage” at the URL: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2012/05/10/obama-supports-same-sex-marriage>.

opposed to increasing civil liberties for LGBTI persons, according to Didi Herman (2002). She states that across the spectrum of various religions, religion “has taken the lead and provided the foundation of antigay activity” (Herman, 2000, p. 139). However, some other infrequent explanations tend to reveal more peculiar findings. One such explanation is personal contact with LGBTI persons—an exposition studied by Overby and Barth (2002) and Barth, et al. (2009).

In “Community Context, Personal Contact, and Support for an Anti-Gay Rights Referendum” Barth, Overby, and Huffman examine data from a 2006 state ballot referendum in South Carolina where the proposition was “to amend the state constitution... to prohibit same-sex marriages” (Barth, et al., 2009, p. 357). They find a 15-point difference in support of the constitutional amendment prohibiting same-sex marriage among persons who knew and had an interpersonal contact with gays or lesbians. These individuals who had interpersonal contact were far less likely to support the proposed amendment. Barth, et al. (2009) show more positive feelings towards gays and lesbians and more supportive of policy expanding the civil rights of LGBTI persons correlates with other studies examining how interracial personal contact produces positive feelings towards racial minorities, such as Forbes (1997). The correlation that basically affirms contact theory gives credence to the notion from the preceding chapter that homophobia falls into the same psychological category as racism and sexism, because exposure often curbed prejudicial opinions.

Furthermore, the findings of Barth, Overby, and Huffman (2009) are reliable considering the litany of literature that supports the finding. However, in a discussion about national attitudes concerning gays and lesbians the study would be excluded because their assessment rest on one state—South Caroline—a state that can hardly be seen as

exemplifying the median attitude of citizens nationally. South Carolina is staunchly more conservative, politically and socially, and has a majority population that identifies as evangelical Christian. This coupled with lower-than-average LGBTI populations may serve as credible reasons the authors assert their reluctance to “draw definitive conclusions” concerning their findings (Barth, et a., 2009, p. 361).

Additionally, studies of psychological reasons for homophobia often revealed a shift in psychology itself, which made the studies harder to assess. Political scientist Paul Brewer (2003) shows how the most prevalent argument of morality favored a pro-gay stance; because, people accepted that morality was longer defined by traditional norms or accepted religious ideologies. He noted that respondents considered it more immoral to exhibit homophobia and deny gays and lesbians rights than to justify denying rights under banners of traditionalism (Brewer, 2003, p. 1216). These types of conclusions established a need for new approaches, especially as Americans generally were becoming “increasingly comfortable with homosexuality” (Barth, et al. 2009, p. 355). Additional research was needed to explain the causes for its prevailing presence in minority populations. Since this approach, scholars have revisited and continuously shown that these differences across demographics and socio-psychological differences persist, but that they are more piecemeal in explaining homophobia—it was not these demographic and cognitive differences, in and of themselves, but how they interact with other factors that reveal valuable information about attitudes towards gays and lesbians.

Third Approach: The Interaction of Demographics to Explain Homophobia among Minority Populations

As the general population became more supportive of LGBTI rights and possessed lower aversions to gay culture and lifestyles, it became evident that generally only men, the elderly, the less educated, and political conservatives all continued to demonstrate higher measures of homophobia and higher opposition of pro-gay legislations. And, those who took the Bible as literal truth favored legal bans on gay rights (Barth, et al., 2009). More importantly, assessing demographic differences offered little insight beyond that obtain during the first and second approaches. But, these demographics differences raised new questions about why these differences existed, especially when national public opinion was shifting.

In this third explanatory approach the interaction of demographics variables was studied. Likely, ahead of his time, Phillip Harper (1991 & 2000) looked at class/economic condition and race in a qualitative study of Blacks attitudes towards the death of Max Robinson.¹⁵ However, much credence is given to scholars like Gregory Lewis (2003), for his comprehensive quantitative analyses. Lewis assessed black-white differences in homophobia by examining the interaction of race with demographics of education, age, gender, and frequency of church attendance.¹⁶ Lewis. looked at four major series of surveys: the GSS, the ANES, Pew Research Polls, and Gallup Polls. He aimed to explain the perception of Blacks being more homophobic than Whites. Lewis discovers that none of the accepted narratives of Blacks being more religious or less educated could explain Black

¹⁵ Max Robinson was prominent African-American broadcast journalist, suspected of engaging in homosexual activities after his diagnosis and unexpected death from AIDS.

¹⁶ According to Google Scholar, Lewis' (2003) piece "Black-White Differences in Attitudes toward Homosexuality and Gay Rights" has been cited more than 370 times in peer-reviewed works.

homophobia—“religion, education, age, and gender all appear to have less impact on Black attitudes than on White attitudes” (Lewis, 2003, p. 73). Lewis’ discovery may be shocking to some as the assertion of religious importance was the primary objection to this dissertation’s preliminary study, “Towards a Theory of Repercussive Discrimination.”¹⁷ Gregory Lewis persuasively shows that the high disapproval of homosexuality by Black Americans cannot be linked to religion, “religion actually appears to affect White more than Black homophobia” (Lewis, 2003, p. 75).

But Lewis’ findings go beyond rejecting the common narrative of the deeply religious roots of African-Americans. In the process he basically shows why the third approach of explaining homophobia was short-lived and insufficient—interacting demographics provides little explanation at explaining why homophobia persists within minority populations.

“All the demographic variables examined were related less strongly to Black than White attitudes, suggesting that attitudinal research on Black attitude formation and change may be necessary to develop an effective, culture-specific campaign against homophobia” (Lewis, 2003, p. 75).

Basically, he asserts that studying homophobia within a demographic, specifically racial demographic, requires interacting the respective demographic with attitudinal or cognitive conditions to understand probable causality of the homophobic sentiments.

Lewis notes which variables are statistically significant, but fails to assert any hypotheses that explain why the differences exist. As comprehensive as the Lewis study, he fails to assert theoretical reasons for the Black-White differences in attitudes. He never affords an explanation as to why religion would have a greater impact for Whites, when institutions, such as the Black Church, are largely accepted to drive ideology for African-

¹⁷ “Towards a Theory of Repercussive Discrimination” was a conference paper presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association Annual Meeting (Philadelphia, PA), 2015.

Americans. Perhaps interacting demographics only can provide description—the what—and not explanation—the why.

Fourth Approach: Interacting the Demographic and the Psychological to Explain Homophobia among Minority Populations

After three explanatory strategies used by scholars in analyses of homophobia, there is more known about *who* is homophobic, than *why* they exhibit these attitudes, especially when accepted norms are increasingly more comfortable with LGBTI populations and culture. Therefore, scholars took Lewis' advice and began to perform attitudinal research along the demographics lines where homophobia was prevalent, including the assessment of race.

Social scientists Morris Jenkins, Eric G. Lambert, and David N. Baker (2009) investigated “the established perception that Blacks are more homophobic than Whites” (Jenkins, et al., 2009, p. 589). The salient negative view of homosexual culture from African-Americans, compared to Whites was self-reported by many Blacks because of the importance of religion, largely determined by the Black Church (Jenkins, et al. 2009, p. 591). In efforts to test this theory, Jenkins essentially recreates the Lewis (2003) study at a Midwestern public university; but rather than conceptualizing religiosity solely as a descriptive variable in the number of times a respondent attends a religious service, these scholars conceptualized it descriptively and as an attitudinal or cognitive variable by looking at the importance of religion on the everyday choices of the respondents. Jenkins, et al. discovered that Blacks in the sample did place a greater importance on religion in their lives and attended religious service with a greater frequency; but when assessing the significance of religion on the minority status in attempts to predict views on gays and lesbians, it was discovered that “both

measures of religion were significant predictors for Whites; [but] for Blacks, neither measure of religion had a significant effect in views of gay and lesbian persons” (Jenkins, et al., 2009, p. 606).

These findings cannot be generalized to the whole African-American population, because it focused on only one university. But the more attenuated aspect of the study is their limiting of assessments of homophobia to only Black-White differentiations; as referenced in the previous chapter the salient homophobia is not a Black-White issue, but a racial minority-racial majority issue. When assessing attitudes on gay civil rights, every racial group is more homophobic and more supportive of anti-gay legislation than Whites. Thus, a focus only on Blacks will likely produced theories that are incomplete at explaining homophobia among racial minorities. This study’s theory of repercussive discrimination looks at the shared experience among racial minorities in American—racial discrimination. And, attempts to show how this can provide a more complete explanation as to why racial minorities collectively are more homophobic than Whites.

The approaches to studying homophobia have mostly informed readers who is homophobic: Blacks, men, and older persons in the First Approach; traditional moralists and persons with strong opinions of attribution in the Second Approach; and less-educated Blacks in the Third Approach. It is the Fourth Approach that endeavors to explain why these persons possess these attitudes—a question particularly salient when national public opinion tends to be more favorable towards non-traditional sexual orientations and non-conforming gender identities. More importantly, none of these approaches possess any known studies that examine racial discrimination as a plausible cause of homophobia, though it is one of the most frequent occurrences for racial minorities (*reference Table 1.1*). Thus, this study is

imperative because it attempts to understand why racial minorities, approximately 35% of the U.S. population, tend possess homophobic attitudes; but, it does it to investigate the frequent occurrence of an experience of discrimination on the basis of race.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE THEORY OF REPERCUSSIVE DISCRIMINATION

Repercussive discrimination is a theory that attempts to explain the observed persistent minority homophobia as an effect of racial discrimination. If the analysis in subsequent chapters demonstrates that there is a relationship between homophobia and racial discrimination in the context of race, then the theory of repercussive discrimination, a specified characterization of transference, is the theory that explains the linkage between these variables. But is there a need for a new theory? Could other existing theories, such as group identity theory or advanced marginalization, give credible explanations of the salient homophobia among racial minorities? This chapter first addresses existing theories and critically assesses them to show how they would be insufficient in explaining minority homophobia. Next, this chapter will present a discussion of repercussive discrimination. This discussion will: (i) discuss transference—the psychological notion by which repercussive discrimination is derived; (ii) define and conceptualize the theory of repercussive discrimination, and; (iii) present the rationality of the theory and demonstrate how it produces policy-altering emotions other than empathy.

Group Identity Theory and Advanced Marginalization

Perhaps what this dissertation and other scholarly works perceive as homophobia from racial minorities is an over-zealous concern with the collective interest of racial minorities—a notion called group identity theory, also known as group consciousness. Political scientists Lucius Barker, Mack Jones and Katherine Tate (1998) discuss how group consciousness has shaped the political involvement of racial minorities, particularly African Americans. They say:

“Race consciousness has been shown to promote Black political participation. Blacks’ self-awareness as a discriminated and disadvantaged group in society leads them to be more politically active than other disadvantage groups who lack a comparable collective identity” (Barker, Jones, and Tate, 1998, p. 238).¹⁸

Political scientist and social choice theorist Michael Dawson (1994) develops this argument further in the contemporary classic, *Behind the Mule*. He concludes that collective racial interests remains the primary motivator for political behavior among racial minorities, especially African-Americans. He says, “the primary imperative in Black politics is to advance the political interest of African-Americans as a racial group” (Dawson, 1997, pp. 6-7). Dawson goes as far as to say that even despite the differences in class, and arguably other delineations within the African-American community, race will maintain “high levels of political unity among African-Americans regardless” (Dawson, 1997, p. 8). This line of thinking—a thinking that affirms the preeminence of race in the identity-psyche of persons—is congruent with the concepts of Anthony Marx as explained in Chapter 1. But the presumption of many based on Dawson, Barker, et al., and Marx is an ideological overreach. It is a presumption that any social or political issue not rooted in addressing the collective needs of the respective racial minority (based on their historical experiences of being subjugated to Whites) is antagonistic to that race’s agenda. It is a presumption that all interests that are not explicitly pro-Black are, by default, anti-Black.

This extreme notion of group consciousness is a presumption that though persons have multiple identities and diverse interests as a result that, instead of prioritizing those identities and associated interests, a person can only have and maintain one dominant identity at a given time. For example, under this understanding an African-American female must, at

¹⁸ This quote from Barker, et al. was taken from the text *African American Politics* by Kendra King.

least, temporarily relinquish her willingness to identify as female in order to promote her identity and interests as an African-American. While she argues against the injustice of prioritizing identity, political scientist Evelyn Simien (2004), also argues that there must never be the complete relinquishment of an identity and says that this line of thinking is the primary reason Black women have been forced to assert their “black feminist consciousness.” Both racial and gender identities exist simultaneously. Erroneous application of group identity theory as an explanation for homophobia would then imply that the perceived strong measures of homophobia among ethnic minorities is really a misunderstanding of identity. It is one thing when group identity cultivates ranking and ordering of issues; but the altogether exclusion and hostility towards the accepted notions of other populations, particularly mainstream ideologies, is an inaccurate but accepted constituent of group identity theory, as least as it is explained by Mary Herring, Thomas Jankowski, and Ronald Brown (1999, p. 363). In-group preference is not synonymous with out-group disdain. If racial minorities saw racial issues as more important, it should not necessarily mean an illegitimizing of LGBTI issues for Blacks in that group.

Herring, et al. (1999) assesses the exact same data as Dawson (1994)—the 1984 National Black Election Study (NBES)—and concludes that “in-group and out-group orientations are distinguishable from one another” (Herring, et al., 1999, p. 379).¹⁹ Simply, the acceptance of non-group related interests is not antagonistic to the respective group—women’s issues are not anti-Black issues for the African-American woman. Therefore, group identity theory could at best only explain why some persons may rank the importance of

¹⁹ The National Black Election Study Series (NBES) was “to provide large-scale scientific surveys and make possible in-depth investigation of the political attitudes, perceptions, and electoral behaviors of a large, representative sample of adult Black Americans”—www.icpsr.umich.edu.

issues and prefer that racial issues are addressed before LGBTI issues; however, it could not explain the opposition to LGBTI issues altogether.

Aside from theorists like Dawson, there are others who attempt to address the marginalization of LGBTI persons by racial minorities, such as Cathy Cohen in *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Cohen's primary objective is to address the under-addressed plights of the African-American community, particularly HIV/AIDS, through the theories of secondary marginalization and advance marginalization. Cohen argues that Black leaders and influential figures framed HIV as a gay issue, separate and apart from the Black issues, even though HIV rates were highest in the Black community. These theories reveal attitudes towards gays and lesbians as homophobic through ideals of elitism—"Black organizations and the elites that run them were loathe to organize around HIV/AIDS in part because they felt that those who contract the disease brought it on themselves [through]... deviant behavior" (Spence, 2010, p. 258). Perhaps unconsciously, this attitude encouraged some leaders to believe that there was no overlap between Black issues and gay issues. This attitude substantiated a culture that separated two minority groups—Blacks and gays. For persons who were also LGBTI in communities of color, Cohen argued that this separation "heightened stratification [within] marginal communities" (Cohen, 2006, p. 63). Her aim is to address divisiveness within groups of color—groups already coping with past and/or present alienation from society's dominant groups replicating such exclusion internally creating social cleavages within an already excluded group.

This theory of advanced marginalization does reveal why there are less favorable attitudes towards LGBTI persons, but only if they are of the same race. The fact that the

theory can give some reasoning for Black homophobia towards Black gays and lesbians, for example makes it much stronger at explaining minority homophobia than group identity theory. By definition advanced marginalization is the use of “ideological myths” to justify “the exclusion and oppression” of marginal communities by persons who themselves are marginalized; it emphasizes that groups and segments of society “conform to dominant norms and behaviors” (Cohen, 2006, p. 63). The theory is characterized by the exclusion of people who are racial minorities and gay from members of their same race, by using unsubstantiated, and sometimes untrue, assertions that the issues of gays and lesbians were brought on by their own actions, differing from the marginalization of racial minorities. Or, that support of gay initiatives could undermine the progress made by minorities.

However, the theory cannot fully explain the attitudes we observe. As stated earlier, Cohen’s theory would only explain in-group homophobia—for example, Blacks exhibiting homophobia towards other Blacks who identify as gay or lesbian. But this notion presumes that are unproven differences in homophobic feelings respective to a person’s racial group; and, there is no evidence that shows racial minorities are more or less favorable to LGBTI persons not a part of their respective race. Furthermore, the concept rest on similar principles to Dawson’s group identity theory, in that HIV was not addressed by Black elites because it did not align with Black issues or fit into the Black identity. Thus, advanced marginalization disregards key issues. For example, it excludes the possibility that Black homosexuals can address the issues of HIV/AIDS infection rates without disavowing their blackness. Cohen’s theory separates an issue of the respective race and policy preference between two identities and does not permit elites to address the problem inclusively.

In sum, Dawson's theory is inapplicable and Cohen's theory is incomplete. Application of group consciousness or group identity as an explanation of homophobia would presume that in-group love is synonymous with out-group hate; such would negate theories of intersectionality, where persons can have overlapping identities, even when those identities are in conflict. Cohen's theory of advanced marginalization only explains homophobia directed at other minorities of the respective race. And again, would presume that there are unproven differences in in-group homophobia as opposed to out-group homophobia. Therefore, in efforts to more adequately explain the observed homophobia among racial minorities, this study relies on the theory of repercussive discrimination. But in order to understand this issue it is important to revisit transference, the theoretical basis for repercussive discrimination.

Repercussive Discrimination: Understanding Transference, Definitions, and Rationality

Transference is the foundation for the theory of repercussive discrimination, a theory that offers a way to improve our understanding of discrimination towards homosexuals by racial minorities. Transference refers to the unconscious redirection of emotions from one person to another, often from one person in the past to one in the present. "The concept of transference asserts a central theme of psychoanalysis, that the past influences the present" (Michels, 1985, p. 13).²⁰ Transference is most commonly attributed to famed psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud, who developed the theory in an attempt to counsel patients coping with psychosexual conflicts experienced early in life, typically experienced during childhood

²⁰ In *The Transference in Psychotherapy: Clinical Management*, ed. by Evelyne A. Schwaber.

(Freud, 1990).²¹ According to Freud, a patient's "resistance" to treatment was concluded to be a result of trauma experienced earlier in life (Freud, 1990, p.5).²² He concluded that patients were not receptive to treatment measures because they had transferred the cognitions related to the original sexual trauma to him as their psychotherapist, though he was uninvolved in the original incident.

Over the last century, scholars have found that transference extends far beyond the limited characterizations of Freud—sexual trauma of the past influencing the present mental health outcomes. First, manifestations of transference are not limited to the patient-analyst relationship. Transference occurs in varying relationships of everyday life (Sullivan, 1958; Michels, 1985; Anderson & Berk, 1998). Transference has been used in social work to understand behavior, criminal justice studies to determine the competency of alleged criminals, and in conflict resolutions to determine provocation. As, psychoanalysis is a science, Thomas Szasz (1990) uses a scientific analogy that demonstrates the logic of transference occurring in all human relationships. He says,

“To define transference in terms of the analytic situation [that is the patient-analyst situation] is like defining microbes as little objects appearing under a microscope... As the occurrence of bacteria is not limited to laboratories, so the occurrence of transference is not confined to the analytic situation” (Szasz, 1990, p. 27).²³

Second, transference is not limited to sexual trauma, often the conclusion of Freud. Robert Michels states “any aspect of mental life may be involved in transference responses” (Michels, 1985, p. 15). A substantive understanding of Michels (1985) and Szasz (1990)

²¹ Original publication of the cited Freud literature was 192, but was republished in 1990 in *Classics in Psychoanalytic Techniques*.

²² In *Classics in Psychoanalytic Technique*, ed. by Robert Langs; original article was published by Freud in 1912 as a part of a five-part series on psychoanalytic techniques.

²³ In *Classics in Psychoanalytic Technique*, ed. by Robert Langs; original article was published by Szasz in 1963 in the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*.

informs that any experience traumatic enough to create a cognitive construct, which would not exist absent the original experience, can cause one to “project” or transfer that cognition on to any other individual(s) in the projectors present reality. Michels (1985) says the internal constructs can be “wishes, fantasies, emotions, defenses, attitudes, patterns of relationship with others, etc.” (Michels, 1985, p. 15). Melanie Klein (1990) provides specific examples.²⁴ She notes in her assessment of patients three reappearing constructs. The first construct she asserts is fear, which she termed the “death instinct” (Klein, 1990, p. 10). This fear, according to Klein, was a result of a loss of trust in persons and institutions because of the trauma experienced. Once a trauma erases an established trust, persons develop persecutory anxiety because of their inability to maintain trust. The second construct she asserts is neurosis or a detachment from reality, because persons had not healthily dealt with their trauma. Signs of this detachment are embodied in “object-relations,” where a relation to a person or entity is concretized in objects that represent the person or entity. The third construct she discusses is a lack of happiness or lack of satisfaction in life, which she terms “depressive anxiety” (Klein, 1990, p. 11).

The first experimental demonstrations of the transference concept are often credited to Susan Anderson and Michele Berk (1998). By a pre- and post-test method, they demonstrate that there are mental constructs that individuals create in regards to past occurrences, specifically past experiences with significant others, as examined in their study. They demonstrate that individuals use these constructs in regards to individuals not involved in the original trauma (Anderson & Berk, 1998, p. 114). An individual’s reaction to a person

²⁴ Original publication of the cited Klein literature was 1951, but was republished in 1990 in *Classics in Psychoanalytic Techniques*.

today may be from a past trauma that has nothing to do with the recipient. Thus, there may not be an obvious linkage between the entity that caused the past trauma and the individual upon who is transferred the current cognition. By using triggers and cues, in regards to significant-other representations, Andersons and Berk were able to show that “perceivers appear to believe that they learned about a new person what they simply inferred on the basis of significant-other representation” (Anderson & Berk, 1998, p. 110). The Anderson and Berk study extends beyond patient-analysts observations by which transference largely rested; but demonstrates the testability of transference and theories that draw on it. Furthermore, they reveal that testing this notion is not necessarily related to making a connection between the progenitor of the trauma and the recipient of the transferor’s emotions; but two separate connections. First, connecting the trauma to a psychological construct, and then separately connecting the construct to a judgement about a new and distinct new individual.

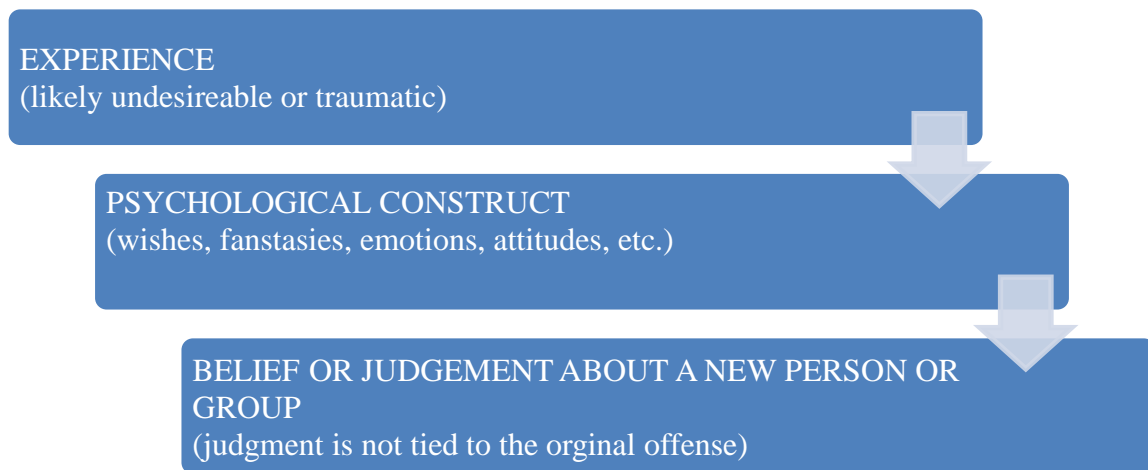


Figure 4.1 - Stages of Transference

Transference has three essential components (*Figure 4.1*): (i) an experience, likely cognitive-shaping, either because of the trauma from the experience as Freud alludes to or from the significance of the individual(s) in the experience, as Anderson and Berk assess; (ii)

the creation of a cognitive construct as a result of the experience and; (iii) belief or judgement about a new individual, based on the construct, despite knowledge or relationship with the new individual. These three components serve as the foundation of repercussive discrimination.

Repercussive discrimination is a projection of discrimination rooted in the trauma of discrimination. By definition repercussive discrimination can be defined as the internationalization of discriminatory trauma, real or perceived, experienced by a racial minority, resulting in cognitive processes that through beliefs and judgements lead to the support or opposition of a policy position that essentially marginalizes some persons, such as LGBTI persons. It could be characterized as the unconscious process by which racial minorities arrive at psychological leanings that affect or create political minorities out of gays and lesbians. As the name suggests, repercussive discrimination deals with a specific type of trauma. It is solely based upon the trauma of racial discrimination—a differentiation in treatment, preferential towards the in-group and prejudicial towards the out-group, towards a persons or group based on a factor or factors of race, ethnicity, nationality, creed, of like designation that is not mutable or easily altered (Bayer, 1987). In addition, when one exhibits repercussive discrimination, the individual arrives at a discriminatory view of a category of people, which is manifested in policy positions. Repercussive discrimination is a projection of discrimination rooted in trauma of discrimination

Repercussive discrimination has four essential components: (i) an individual experience with racial discrimination; (ii) a cognitive construct, likely an attitude or feeling about society or some institution; (iii) a belief or judgment about LGBTI persons, and; (iv) a

policy position that marginalizes gays and lesbians. Figure 4.2 gives a visual depiction of the stage and progressions of repercussive discrimination.

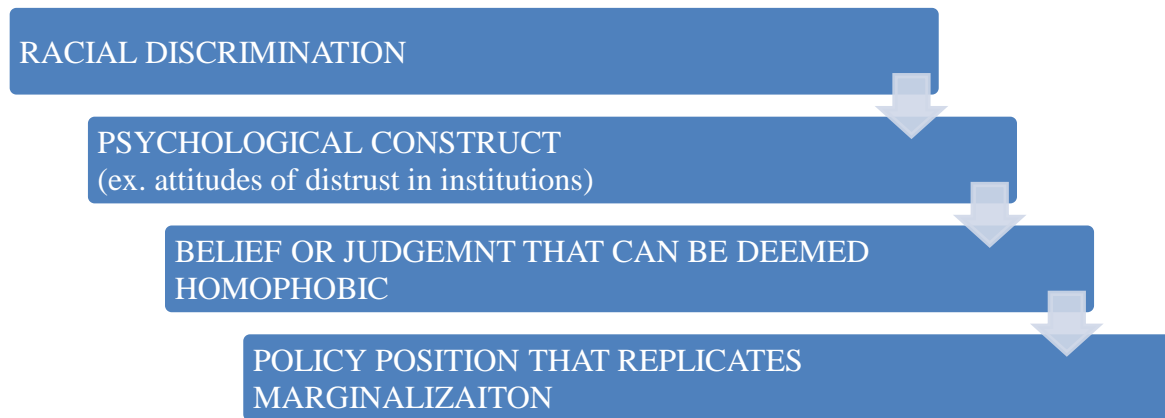


Figure 4.2 - Stages of Repercussive Discrimination

Repercussive discrimination explains a cognitive process by which racial minorities can become homophobic and oppose pro-gay policy positions, even in light of more supportive national public opinion. Still there may be questions to the acceptability of this theory. What is it about gays and lesbians that make them the recipients of this transference that occurs in repercussive discrimination? Why does the theory of repercussive discrimination specify the social ideology of homophobia, as opposed to sexism or some other system of thought?

Why Repercussive Discrimination Can Produce Homophobia

Racial minorities have great difficulty perceiving LGBTI persons as helpful allies to race-based causes, and instead are more likely to see LGBTI persons as impediments to minority causes. In Chapter One of this dissertation, the notion is put forth that homophobia is similar to racism, sexism, and ageism, where there is a psychological bias towards a respective demographic that marginalizes the demographic. However, if that is true, why are homosexuals the recipients of discrimination by minorities? There are two reasons that

homosexuals can be targeted by the transference of racial minorities hypothesized by the theory of repercussive discrimination. These reasons are: (1) unacceptableness of homophobia as a choice-behavior within minority communities and (2) the perception that homosexuality is an impediment to minority progression.

Of the different kinds of discrimination (i.e. racism, sexism, xenophobia, homophobia, etc.), only homophobia is designation specific. Sexism does not designate males or females, racism does not select which race. Homophobia is aimed at a target group—LGBTI persons—because of a supposedly chosen behavior rather than inherent characteristics. According to Wickberg (2000):

“In practice, sexism was discrimination against and oppression of women; in practice, racism was discrimination against and oppression of Blacks and later, other races of color. In theory, however, any discrimination on the basis of race or sex could be seen as racist or sexist; the category was neutral. Homophobia on the other hand, designates homosexuals as objects and victims” (Wickberg, 2000, p. 44).

In this view, homophobia is a chosen view of the discriminator to discriminate against a person who makes a supposed life choice, rather than a discriminatory ideology. Liberals designated those who discriminated against LGBTI individuals as “homophobic,” and by doing so, they made it possible to conceive homophobia as a difference in thinking and not part of a discriminatory ideology.

Minorities, particularly African-Americans, saw themselves, women, immigrants, and the disabled as political minorities. However, they did not see LGBTI individuals as a political minority, but instead as a deplorable subculture. Kendra King (2010) notes that the African-American community even lobbied to the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) to take a public stand against gay liberties, especially gay marriage, in 2004 (King, 2010, p. 177). Thus, it was, and perhaps still is, more acceptable for minorities to be homophobic as

opposed to sexist or xenophobic, even though it leads to discriminatory practices and norms parallel to racism or xenophobia. Essentially, there is no dominating view in the African-American community that sees LGBTI persons as political minorities.

Among many African-Americans, it remains uniquely acceptable to be anti-gay. This is why the Black church advocates homophobia while opposing racism and xenophobia, and increasingly sexism. Religion is not necessarily causal in homophobia, but many racial minorities, particularly Black religious leaders make it legitimate for Black to possess attitudes of homophobia. The legitimization of homophobia in the Black church and other institutions demonstrates religion's use as a tool to substantiate an ideology, in similar ways that terrorist organizations have used Islamic principles and religious indoctrination as only a tool for guiding behavior Pape (2003 & 2005), Rinehart (2006), and Horgan (2008).

This inability to accept gay culture and lifestyle in minority communities is made even clearer when comparing other minorities groups contribution to racial minority causes; for example, the role of women to racial causes. From the civil rights to immigration rights, minorities generally accept the contributions of females, perhaps not at the same level of men, but the gap is shrinking. This acceptance is not given to homosexuals (Davenport, 2016). Evelyn Simien talks to some degree about a second-class acceptance of women, particularly Black women. Though Simien's goal is to promote a "black feminist consciousness," she asserts not only the pertinent participation of women, but the acceptance of the Black community to allow women to participate, even if it was largely in a subservient role—second to Black men.

It is also important to note, that there has been an absence of gays from leading roles in racial minority movements, which may have created feelings of resentment towards the

population because they were absent during pivotal times such as the Civil Rights movement. This fits into the conversation of repercussive discrimination, because when minorities historically faced discrimination, their perception is that they were not supported by gays and lesbians, though this is unsubstantiated. According to Keith Boykin (2000) gays and lesbians have generally not played major roles in the advancement of minorities. This may seem to some a circular argument, seeing that historically openly gay activists were often marginalized and prohibited from doing such, but people whose sexual orientation was discovered post political life were rarely civil rights leaders, advocates of equality legislation, or movement leaders for racial rights, especially when compared to their heterosexual counterparts. Boykin (2000) notes that aside from Lorraine Hansberry, Bayard Rustin, and James Baldwin black LGBTI persons have done little for Black progress. “Black lesbians and gays often lacked the financial resources to make a significant financial contribution to political leaders, they lacked access to other resources that would open doors of political power...” (Boykin, 2000, p. 84). Simply, Boykin theoretically offers notions proven by Davenport (2016) almost two decades before the study was published.

In contrast, the role of women in the civil rights movement was highly important. Evelyn Simien (2004) notes that Black women participated at higher rates than Black men during the civil rights movement (Simien, 2004, p. 321). These women, such as Amelia Boynton, Dorothy I. Height, and Fannie Lou Hammer, were accepted as leaders in the movement, especially in areas of voter registration and fighting localized Jim Crow. Even women that were not of the African-American race were accepted, like Yuri Kochiyama. The belief that women as a minority group are impediments to racial minority progress is almost nonexistent. Citing the same period of time and same movement for racial equality, Bayard

Rustin said in his reflective essay of 1987 that his sexuality was “a problem for the movement.”²⁵ Rustin’s personal counsel to King was inconsequential, because “his sex life was a burden;” it was a blockade in a movement of racial equality.

In summary, the theory of repercussive discrimination posits that the designation-specificity of homophobia, which implies a behavioral choice, and the visible absence of gays and lesbians from race movements, are the results of Black discrimination against LGBTI individuals rather than being causes of homophobia. The next chapter provides an empirical test of repercussive discrimination and other factors that may contribute to minority homophobia.

²⁵ Transcript of Baynard Rustin’s 1987 essay was reprinted by *The Advocate* in January 2015, URL: <http://www.advocate.com/arts-entertainment/people/2015/01/19/bayard-rustin-martin-luther-king-s-views-gay-people>.

CHAPTER FIVE: QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN, ANALYSIS, AND FINDINGS

As explained in Chapter One, the quantitative analysis in this chapter will be to address three of the four objectives of this study: (1) that approaches in explaining homophobia for racial minorities must differ from approaches that explain homophobia for White Americans; (2) among hypothesized variables in discussions of homophobia, racial discrimination has a statistically significant association for racial minorities; and (3) this association between minority homophobia and racial discrimination in the context of minorities is as strong as commonly accepted explanations of homophobia (age, gender, religious importance, etc.), and may be as strong as other commonly interactive conditions, such as religion's effect on minority designation. Essentially, this research design is set up to assess a plausible relationship that may partially explain minority homophobia.

Quantitative Research Design – Data Sources

The subsequent quantitative analysis uses two national survey data sources: The General Social Survey (GSS) and the American National Election Study (ANES). The use of national surveys, as opposed to a regional or a self-distributed survey, may increase the validity of findings because it removes the criticism of making national generalizations on homophobic sentiment or support/opposition of gay rights for minorities based on data from a region that can hardly be seen as exemplifying the median attitude of citizens nationally.

The GSS is an ideal choice for any study concerning public opinion and social attitudes because of its cross-section design, which permits “the study of time-trends in its various attitude measures and the pooling of data from years so that subgroup analysis can be performed” (Alwin, 1988, p.92). And, in regards to LGBTI attitudes, the GSS is considered

to have the longest history of posing questions about the opinion of same-sex relationships, dating back to 1973.²⁶ This lends the GSS as the optimal data resource in assessing attitudinal trends for racial minorities, such as their sentiments on same-sex relationships. Additionally, the GSS is selected because of its reliability in reflecting sentiments according to the population demographics. In efforts not to under-sample segments of the population, data collection design will even supplement the sample in years where a particular relevant subgroup is under-sampled. According to Duane Alwin (1988) the survey supplemented the sample with additional “Black households,” because this segment was underrepresented in the original sample. The survey also proves itself highly reliable because it includes the standard socioeconomic and demographic variables; and, as evident from previous chapters, reputable scholars on same-sex public opinions and gay policy also have used the GSS (Herek and Capitanio, 1995; Herek, 2002; Brewer, 2003, and; Lewis, 2003).

The ANES also presents itself as a vital resource to this study because of its design; it is designed to be used “in conjunction with other individual- and macro- level data collections” (Sapiro & Bartels, 1998, p. 66). Therefore, using it in collaboration with the GSS only strengthens any findings revealed in this study. Lewis (2003) and Philpot, et al. (2009) used the ANES in conjunction with other national surveys.²⁷ In addition, it presents additional racial minorities groups beyond African-Americans, notably Hispanics, which currently comprise the largest racial minority demographic in the United States. This allows

²⁶ The General Social Survey (GSS) dates back to 1972 and annual surveys “were conducted through 1978, when the GSS temporarily went to a biennial schedule... With refunding of GSS in 1983 the project returned to an annual schedule” (Alwin, 1988, p.91). The GSS went back to a biennial schedule in 1994.

²⁷ Lewis (2003) uses the American National Election Study (ANES), the General Social Survey (GSS), Gallup and Time; Philpot, et al. (2009) uses the ANES in conjunction with the National Black Election Survey (NBES).

for an analysis beyond White-Black differentiation, as previous scholars assess, but a more complete notion of a White-minority assessment.

Quantitative Research Design – Hypotheses, Hypothesis Rationales, Variables, and Methodology

The essential goal of this study to give an explanation for the staunch homophobia existing among ethnic minorities, and test the theory of repercussive discrimination that asserts minority homophobia is a result of a connection to racial discrimination. Thus this study's quantitative analysis looks to examine five hypotheses that investigate possible explanations for the perceived homophobia among racial minorities.

Hypothesis One: In comparison to Whites, explanations for homophobia are different for racial minorities.

Chapter One established differences in percentages of respondents that can be deemed homophobic by race—White respondents appearing to have a much smaller percentage than racial minorities. This hypothesis attempts to show that homophobia among racial minorities cannot be explained by the same variables that explain homophobia generally or among Whites. Basically, the two racial groups require a different approach to understanding the populations that are homophobic.

In the testing of this hypothesis the dependent variable will be homophobia and homophobia will be assessed three ways. The first will be an admission of homophobia; however, an admission of being homophobic may not be easily acquired from the respondent, in similar ways that respondents rarely admit to being racist or sexist. Understanding this, leads this study to present other ways of measuring homophobia. Fortunately, both the GSS and ANES document the social attitudes of respondent beyond attitudes about relationships of LGBTI persons. Both data sets ask questions that gauge

opinion to civil rights, civil liberties, and political opinions on LGBTI persons, which when formulated into a scale can also be used as a proxy-measure of homophobia. In light of probable reluctance of respondent's admittance of being homophobic, these derived scales may prove a truer measurement of attitudes towards gays and lesbians. Therefore, the variable of homophobia will be assessed three different ways: (1) an admission to think that same-sex relations are "always wrong" from the GSS; (2) a homophobia scale derived from various questions of civil liberties and societal inclusion from the GSS with respect to gays and lesbians, and; (3) a homophobia scale derived from various questions of national policies affecting gays and lesbians from the ANES.

The first scale used in this dissertation will be from questions asked in the GSS, which though may seem antiquated in a time where homophobia is declining, assesses homophobia from the perspective of societal and communal inclusion. The concept of this scale is closely relatable to the community context questions regarding homophobia addressed in the Barth, et al., 2009 study—whether or not persons want "interpersonal contact" with gays and lesbians and how prevalent gay culture is in their communities. It is composed of three questions asked to respondents: (1) should a homosexual be allowed to speak out in community settings; (2) should a homosexual be allowed to teach in a college or university; and (3) should books favoring homosexuality be available in public libraries. Validity is given to this scale by measuring for a coefficient of internal validity—a Cronbach's alpha. Over the years analyzed in this study, this scale has an average score of internal validity of 0.79 which ensures that the questions fit well together, to accurately and reliably measure homophobic sentiments based on opinions of community inclusion.²⁸

²⁸ The average Cronbach's Alpha score is derived by taking the mean of the score for the following years: 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012; the scores for those years were 0.79, 0.77, 0.82, and 0.79, respectively.

The second scale used in this dissertation will be from questions asked in the ANES, which deals with specific state and/or national policy proposal, provides contemporary LGBTI policy concerns and their inclusion nationally, rather than in the community context. This concept of this scale is closely relatable to national rights policies for gays and lesbians, and looks at some of the same issues analyzed by Brewer (2003), including: (1) a willingness to allow gays and lesbians to marry; (2) a willingness to allow gays and lesbians to adopt children; (3) a willingness to allow gays and lesbians to openly serve in the military, and: (4) a willingness to protect gays and lesbians from workplace/employment discrimination. Validity is given to this scale by measuring for a coefficient of internal validity—a Cronbach’s alpha. Over the years analyzed in this study, this scale as an average score of internal validity of 0.68 is derived ensuring that the questions fit well together, to accurately and reliably measure homophobic sentiments based on opinions of gays and lesbian policy nationally.²⁹

The independent variables in this study are all included based upon their asserted significance in the literature. However, there is some incongruence between the data sets. For example, to measure religiosity, the GSS measures the impact of the respondent’s religious upbringing (the religion in which a person was raised, such as Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Buddhist, etc); whereas, the ANES measures self-reported religious importance (the degree to which religious convictions provide guidance in day-to-day living). Also, there are concepts from literature that are measured in one data set and not the other, over the time this study assesses data. As a result, for Hypothesis One, the analysis from GSS will include five variables: age, sex, party identification, religious upbringing, and years of education.

²⁹ The average Cronbach’s Alpha score is derived by taking the mean of the score for the following years: 2004, 2008, and 2012; the scores for those years were 0.68, 0.59, and 0.77, respectively.

Analysis from the ANES will include six variables: age, gender, political ideology, religious importance, years of education, and tolerance of others' moral standards.

To test this hypothesis, the output for two separate sets of regressions using the same set of previously mentioned independent variables will be presented—one set for Whites and one for racial minorities. Running the regressions for the appropriate years—2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012—will seek to discover if there is enough evidence to assert a different approach for understanding explanatory variables in minority homophobia. In regards to the regression output that assesses homophobia in terms of an admission, a logit regression is the selected regression. “Logit and probit models are appropriate for dichotomous outcomes” (Gordon, 2010, p. 406). This variable was recoded because it does not attempt to measure the degree of negative attitudes—as done in the scales—but is a proxy for blatant homophobia. It looks at the notion that a person possesses no positive feelings at all towards non-traditional relationships. And, since this variable was recoded into a dichotomous choice, where the selection of “always wrong” was coded as “1” signifying a presence of homophobia and “not wrong at all” was coded as “0” signifying no presence of homophobia, the logit regression option is an acceptable statistical analysis technique.³⁰ In regards to the regression output that assesses homophobia as a scale, a multivariate ordinary least squares regression is the selected choice, because the dependent variable of homophobia is assessed as an interval scale.

³⁰ The original variable from the GSS asked a respondent's attitudes about “sexual relations between two adults of the same sex—do you think it is always wrong [coded-1], almost always wrong [coded-2], wrong only sometimes [coded-3], or not wrong at all [coded-4]? Since, this ordinal arrangement measures the degree of opposition to same-sex relationship, and this measure of homophobia was to assess and admission, the two middle categories were eliminated.

In these regressions outputs evidence to accept the hypothesis will be based on discovering if there is a difference in the coefficients from the regression output. The observed differences of: (1) directional impact coefficient—meaning that as there is a shift in the respective independent variable does it increase homophobia for White, while decreasing it for racial minorities or vice versa; (2) statistical significance—meaning that for the year in observation and the respective variable there is statistical significance for White, while no significance for racial minorities or vice versa; or, (3) both occur—there is a difference in direction of homophobia and a difference in statistical significance for Whites, as opposed to minorities.³¹ And, if Hypothesis One demonstrates reliability—that is demonstrating a difference in variables significance in White homophobia compared to minority homophobia in approximately half the cases—it will provide sufficient evidence, at least according to the level of this study, that the attempts at explaining homophobia for racial minorities must differ from Whites. If the evidence supports Hypothesis One, then this study will move on to Hypothesis Two.

Hypothesis Two has to be understood in the context of Hypothesis One, if it produces sufficient evidence; that is, it may not be reliable to assess homophobia for racial minorities in the same manner it is assessed for Whites. Also, understanding the information from Table 1.2—that racial discrimination has the greatest association with a minority designation, this hypothesis reconstructs the regressions of Hypothesis One but with the intent to include an assessment of the impact of experiencing racial discrimination on racial minorities.³² It is

³¹ This dissertation accepts the standard measure of statistical significance, where the p-value is equal to or less than 0.05, under the assumption of regression following a normal distribution in a two-sided hypothesis test.

³² An interaction variable as explained by Rachel Gordon (2010) is a variable used to assess the relationship between a predictor variable, in this case being a racial minority, and the outcome variable, which is being homophobic, depending on the level of another predictor variable, which is an experience with racial discrimination.

needful to note that the experience with racial discrimination is a self-reported admission, based upon the respondent's perception. Some may logically debate whether such a measure equates to an actual occasion of racial discrimination, and whether an individual can perceive discrimination when in actuality no inequitable treatment has occurred. However, Political Science possesses accepted theories that are highly perception based, such as Tedd Gurr's theory of relative deprivation; and it is the perception that alters political thought and/or behaviors.³³ Therefore, for the purpose of this study, the perception of racial discrimination is synonymous with an experience of racial discrimination because it is what the individual believes to be true, and likely that which is politically motivating.

Hypothesis Two: In comparison to other singular factors that are hypothesized to contribute to homophobia that have been asserted in literature (i.e. gender, party identification, etc.), the impact of racial discrimination on racial minorities is as strong a predictor, if not stronger, of homophobia than past asserted variables.

To properly assess this hypothesis this dissertation looks to understandings of interaction effects as explained by Richard Williams (2015) of the University of Notre Dame.³⁴ Based upon Williams' explanation, this dissertation asserts a two-stage process to assess Hypothesis Two. First, the regressions from Hypothesis One will be recomputed with two additional independent variables: race and an experience with racial discrimination as a dummy variable. If race proves to demonstrate statistical significance it will further demonstrate the need for studying political attitudes, particularly homophobia, along racial

³³ Relative deprivation can be summarized as the notion that individuals, groups, and communities rebel against government when they perceive that the gap between what they receive from government and what they believe they should receive from government is too great. For full understanding of this theory, see Gurr's *Why Men Rebel* (1970).

³⁴ Williams' publication, "Interaction Effects and Group Comparisons" can be found at <https://www3.nd.edu/~rwilliam/stats2/151.pdf>.

lines. But, more importantly, a dummy variable of racial discrimination will provide evidence that an experience with racial discrimination is significant in predicting homophobia attitudes. This finding would demonstrate that a probable difference in homophobic attitudes for those who have experienced discrimination compared to those who have not when all other independent variables are constant or equal.

The second stage of assessing Hypothesis Two is to add a “dummy interaction.” In this case the dummy interaction will assess a difference in homophobic attitudes for the same racial group based on the experience or absence of racial discrimination. If comparing racial groups, Whites with no experience of racial discrimination, for example, to Hispanics with an experience with racial discrimination have a higher coefficient and statistical significance, it will be interpreted that the racial discrimination for minorities increases a propensity towards homophobia and this study will accept Hypothesis Two.

Understanding arguments that attempt to conclude how racial discrimination produces empathy for other political minorities, this hypothesis’s merit is imperative to the validity of this study. If the dummy interaction of racial discrimination’s effect on a racial minority shows acceptable evidence in a sufficient number of cases, then it further validates that racial discrimination does not always produce empathy and political support for other political minorities.³⁵ Unfortunately, this regression will rely on one year of data from the ANES, 2012—a question asking an experience of discrimination based on race was not proposed to respondents in 2004 or 2008. For the GSS, the question about an experience of discrimination based on race, was asked on years not coinciding with a presidential election. Therefore, the years assessed will be: 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014.

³⁵ Davenport (2016) also provided evidence that the discrimination experienced by Blacks does not make them more inclined to support gay policies, unless the policies had an obvious benefit to the Black demographic.

However, favorable findings for Hypothesis Two do not, in and of themselves, validate the theory of repercussive discrimination as this study asserts. An acceptance of Hypothesis Two would simply demonstrate there is a positive relationship between racial discrimination for the racial minorities and their attitudes towards LGBTI persons.³⁶ However, this does not provide an explanation as to why the relationship may exist. The theory of repercussive discrimination is used to provide an explanatory theory as to how the presumed relationship between racial discrimination, highly experienced by racial minorities, and their propensity towards homophobia exist. Therefore, based on the theory of repercussive discrimination, the missing component is linking the trauma of racial discrimination to a cognitive construct commonly shared by racial minorities. These constructs, as mentioned in Chapter Three, are “wishes, fantasies, emotions, defenses, attitudes, patterns of relationship with others, etc.” (Michels, 1985, p. 15). And these attitudes are exemplified in fears rooted in mistrust, detachment from society and life, or some similar mental defense because of the trauma experienced (Klein, 1990). In order to address this and strengthen the tenants of the theory of repercussive discrimination, this study examines Hypotheses Three.

Hypothesis Three: In comparison to Whites, racial minorities are more likely to possess negative or less favorable attitudes/emotions towards political institutions, symbols, and social ideals.

Hypothesis Three presents itself as the first hypothesis in validating the theoretical assertion of the dissertation, repercussive discrimination. This hypothesis will test to see if racial minorities, keeping in mind the saliency of their experience with racial discrimination,

³⁶ There was some evidence asserting the relationship between racial discrimination and homophobia in the preliminary study of this topic, “Towards a Theory of Repercussive Discrimination”—a conference paper presented at the Northeastern Political Science Association Annual Meeting (Philadelphia, PA), 2015.

tend to develop oppositional attitudes and emotions. The methodology for testing this hypothesis will look at data that coincides with the years assessing the statistical significance of regression outputs from Hypothesis Two. It will present bivariate tabulations of attitudes that can be proxies of mental constructs as outlined by Klein (1990) in her discussion of transference. These attitudes were detailed in Chapter 4 of this dissertation and are:

- (1) Distrust of government or representations of government – Using the ANES, year 2012, assessing trust of government in Washington as a political institution; and using the GSS, year 2006, assessing the trust of law enforcement;³⁷
- (2) Emotional attachment to America – Using the ANES, year 2012, assessing emotions when seeing the American flag; and³⁸
- (3) Lack of satisfaction or happiness with social conditions – Using the ANES, year 2012, assessing satisfaction with life; and the GSS, years 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014, assessing general happiness.³⁹

However, an affirmation of this hypothesis does not prove repercussive discrimination—the notion that as a result of racial discrimination racial minorities are more likely to be homophobic. There is a need to demonstrate that racial discrimination contributes to these emotions. If it is discovered in Hypothesis Three that minorities tend to exhibit these attitudes at higher frequencies than Whites, then this study moves on to Hypothesis Four,

³⁷ This distrust component is grounded in Klein's (1990) and Freud's understanding of a fear of annihilation related to the original trauma; the fear makes person more untrusting exhibited through above-average levels of anxiety (p.10).

³⁸ This detachment attitude is based on Klein's (1990) discussion of "object-relations"—which evokes the notion that relations to entities are often demonstrated in the feelings towards an associated object (pp.10-11).

³⁹ This dissatisfaction emotion is based on Klein's (1990) discussion of "depressive anxiety"—which, though her discussion details it in mother-child relations, is essentially a depressive state, relating to "destruction or loss" (p. 11).

which investigates if the exhibited attitudes can be deductively reasoned as a product of minority discrimination on the basis of race.

Hypothesis Four: In comparison to minorities in general, minorities with an experience of racial discrimination are more likely to exhibit these negative emotions or less favorable attitudes/emotions towards political institutions, symbols, and social ideals.

The methodology for testing this hypothesis will compare minorities with no experience of racial discrimination with those that have experienced it to see if there is a change in their propensity towards negative attitudes. If this dissertation truly deems to test the suggested theory of repercussive discrimination, then simply illustrating that these emotions are exhibited by minorities is insufficient; it must demonstrate a difference comparatively where it can be deduced that racial discrimination had an effect, even if only partially, on the mental construction of these attitudes. A series of bivariate tables will be produced, where the proxies of attitudes (government distrust, emotional detachment, and satisfaction of life conditions) will serve as dependent variables and the minority's experience with racial discrimination will serve as the independent or causal variable. If Hypothesis Four provides sufficient evidence that minorities with an experience are more likely to hold these attitudes then this dissertation moves on to the final hypothesis, which investigates if minorities with these attitudes are more inclined to admit to homophobia or fall higher on a homophobia scale.

Hypothesis Five: In comparison to minorities in general, minorities that exhibit these negative emotions or less favorable attitudes towards political institutions, symbols, and social ideals are more likely to admit to homophobia or result in higher measures of homophobia on the provided scales.

The methodology for this final hypothesis mirrors Hypothesis Four in that it rests upon percentage analysis through a series of bivariate tables. However, in this hypothesis the proxies of attitudes will serve as the independent variable, and homophobia will serve as the

dependent variable; because this hypothesis attempts to tests if the attitudes and emotions are casual or affecting variables in whether an individual admits to homophobia or whether they score above-average on a homophobia scale.

All of the presented hypothesis are not essential in proving that there is a relationship between homophobia and a minority experience with racial discrimination, but all of the presented hypotheses are essential in supporting the theory of repercussive discrimination, which explains why the suggested relationship between racial discrimination and homophobic exist. Table 5.1 below provides each of the hypotheses’ purpose, methodology, and their needfulness to this dissertation.

Table 5.1 – Hypothesis Purpose and Methodology			
	<u>Purpose</u>	<u>Methodology</u>	<u>Needfulness</u>
<i>Hypothesis 1</i>	To show that the statistically significant variables in assessing White homophobia differ from those in assessing minority homophobia	OLS regression for scales of homophobia & logit regression for admitted homophobia	Demonstrate that approaches for understanding minority homophobia differ from understanding homophobia of White Americans
<i>Hypothesis 2</i>	To show that racial discrimination (for racial minorities) is a contributor to minority homophobia	OLS regression for scales of homophobia & logit regression for admitted homophobia	Further demonstrate that approaches for understanding minority homophobia differ from understanding homophobia of White Americans
<i>Hypothesis 3</i>	To show that minorities experience attitudes and emotions commonly associated with transference more frequently than Whites	Bivariate tabulations <i>Race (White v. Minority) as IV & proxy of attitude as DV</i>	First step in giving validity to repercussive discrimination (RD) by associating minorities to certain attitudes
<i>Hypothesis 4</i>	To show that the emotions are related to the minority experience of racial discrimination	Bivariate tabulations only examining racial minorities <i>An experience with racial discrimination as IV & proxy of attitude as DV</i>	Second step in validating RD; because it evinces racial discrimination as contributory the attitudes prevalent among minorities
<i>Hypothesis 5</i>	To show that these emotions are contributory to minority homophobia	Bivariate tabulations only examining racial minorities <i>Proxy of the attitude is IV & homophobia is DV</i>	Third step in validating RD; because it evinces the attitudes, which as a result of discrimination if H4 proves out, as contributory to homophobia

Findings

The presented findings of this section of the dissertation demonstrate, to a large degree, that it is needful for scholars to use different approaches in explaining homophobia for racial minorities as compared to Whites. The identifying characterizations—one of privilege for Whites and another of discrimination for minorities—produces substantive differences in the variables that are significant in regards to understanding homophobia for the two groups. This leads this academic study to conclude that holistic explanations for homophobia, or explanations that take into account a White majority are not always accurate if applied to racial minorities. More importantly, the findings reveal that when investigating minority homophobia there must be multivariate explanations. Explanations that assert singular associations to negative attitudes towards LGBTI persons are incomplete, if not altogether inaccurate. Additionally, there is evidence that racial discrimination, that is racial discrimination in the respective context for racial minorities, has an effect on homophobia. When one interacts an experience with racial discrimination with race, especially for African-Americans, it positively impacts an individual tendency towards homophobic attitudes.

Additionally, and likely filling in a theoretical gap in literature, there is sufficient evidence to use the theory of repercussive discrimination, which largely rests upon principles of transferences, to explain how racial discrimination is linked to the salient homophobia among racial minorities. This dissertation makes this claim, because each hypothesis presented is accepted according to the evidence presented. The respective hypotheses first show that by looking at the statistical significance and impact of variables, assessing homophobia for Whites may not produce the same associations as for racial minorities.

Secondly, the findings demonstrate a statistically significant relationship between racial discrimination for the racial minority and homophobia; then provides an explanation as to how racial discrimination influences homophobic attitudes through the path-connection in repercussive discrimination. This path-connection is made possible by linking racial discrimination to the attitude of social unhappiness/life dissatisfaction, and then linking this cognitive construct of dissatisfaction to homophobia.

Findings – Hypothesis One

Findings for Hypothesis One demonstrate a substantive, yet unsurprising, discovery. This dissertation asserts it would be a fallacy of analysis to presume that homophobia can be explained the same way for Whites as for racial minorities. For most years assessed in this study, where the respondent's admittance to same sex relations as "always wrong" is deemed homophobic, the casual variables affecting homophobia for Whites do not have the same impact for racial minorities. As matter of fact, we see differences in the statistical significance for more than half of the observations when comparing these two groups—variables that are statistically significant for Whites in most cases have no significance for racial minorities in their regards to attitudes towards LGBTI persons, especially looking across the variables of gender and party identification. The most notable similarities are across the variable of age, which in every year of this assessment, except 2004, demonstrates: (1) statistical significance; (2) a positive impact—an increase towards admitted homophobia as age increases, and (3) very close regression coefficients for both Whites and racial minorities (*see Table 5.2a*). The variable of education is also consistent in statistical significance, but demonstrates fairly noticeable differences in coefficients, can be interpreted

as meaning there is a difference in exactly how much education effects homophobia for minorities when compare to Whites. This may mean that of the variables selected, age and perhaps education are likely the only variables that can be used to explain homophobia across racial differences when assessing admitted homophobia.

Additionally, and in line with presented literature, this dissertation reaffirms the premise asserted by Gregory Lewis (2003) regarding the impact of religion on the attitudes of African-Americans towards gays and lesbians. Lewis argues against the accepted notions that the deeply religious roots of the Black church largely explains Black homophobia. And as this study presents, there is much credence given to Lewis understanding that in only one observation, the year 2000, is religious upbringing statistically significant in understanding homophobia when it is quantified by an admission that same-sex relationship are “always wrong.”

Findings for Hypothesis One provide mixed results when assessing homophobia through a scale. The scale from the GSS, which looks at homophobia from a societal and communal milieu, discovers similar findings to homophobia through an admission. In this characterization of homophobia, only age and education provide some congruency across racial lines. Findings reveal that as age increases proclivities towards higher measures of homophobia (that is falling higher on the scale) also increase for Whites and minorities; and findings for education reveal that as persons attain higher levels of education their proclivity towards higher measures of homophobia decrease for both groups. However, gender, party identification, and religious upbringing produce substantial differences in statistical significance, directional effect on homophobia, or both. In no year assessed is gender statistically significant for racial minorities. This means that for racial minorities there is no

consequential difference in attitudes towards the communal inclusion of the LGBTI persons. This is also true for party identification. However, party identification is statistically significant in every years for Whites. Religious upbringing, which measures the religion the respondent was reared in, only proved statistically significant in one year, 2000, and it had the opposite effect for racial minorities that it did for Whites.

Thus, for admitted homophobia and a communal scale of homophobia most of the variables demonstrate incongruent associations across race. This is interesting because the scale from the ANES, which can be deemed as a more national estimation of homophobia, demonstrates little to no difference in the explanations of homophobia across racial lines. The differences in the scale may account for this finding—as Barth, et al., (2009) concluded “context matters.” The context here is that racial differences seem less salient for national LGBTI issues as opposed to communal issues. Perhaps, when LGBTI issues are communal/more localized, race is more important in determining support as compared to national issues.⁴⁰

Additionally, as referenced earlier this dissertation, the data sets measure different concept for religiosity—the religion in which a person was raised in the GSS and religious importance on everyday decisions in the ANES. How these concepts are measured may also contribute to the inconsistencies in regards to religiosity. Finally, with the ANES, even though both groups frequently demonstrate the same directional impact and statistical significance, the coefficients differ. Taking religion for example, even though religion is

⁴⁰ Differences may also depend on the sample size of racial minorities, particularly African-Americans. The GSS supplements datasets often in order to combat under-sampling and the ANES purposely over-samples Blacks according to Philpot and Shaw (2015). While over-sampling may be touted as an enhancement “to gauge the range, diversity, and determinants of African-American political opinion and vote choice,” it also may skew results.

statistically significant for both groups, the evidence shows that religious importance increases the probability of exhibiting homophobia attitudes for Whites more so than minorities. Outputs from both datasets weaken arguments of the salience of religion's effect on LGBTI attitudes for racial minorities.

What these findings do reveal is that an admission of homophobia and a scale, depending on the variable-components of the scale (in this case a communal scale), demonstrate that it may not be accurate to assess homophobia for Whites along the same variables as for racial minorities. Gregory Lewis (2003) reached the same conclusion, when he stated that "Black and White attitudes have different roots" (p. 59). In this dissertation study, with the exception of age and education, there is evidence demonstrating that there are differences in statistical significance, how the respective variable impacts homophobia, or both. With three of the five selected variables showing differences along a White-minority divide, these findings conclude that explanations of homophobic attitudes differ along a White-minority divide, and explanations for homophobia in the general population—being Whites are the statistical majority in the general public—cannot be used in explaining homophobia for racial minorities. Thus, heavily based on the evidence of admitted homophobia and the communal scale from the GSS, this dissertation study accepts Hypothesis One.

Table 5.2 – White-Minority Explanations for Homophobia, 2000 – 2012

Table 5.2a – Differences in Explaining Homophobia for Whites and Racial Minorities

Variables	Attitude that Same-sex Relationships are “Always Wrong”								Measuring Homophobia through Scale							
	2000		2004		2008		2012		2000		2004		2008		2012	
	White	Racial Minority	White	Racial Minority	White	Racial Minority	White	Racial Minority	White	Racial Minority	White	Racial Minority	White	Racial Minority	White	Racial Minority
Age	.034*	.051*	.017*	.031	.034*	.044*	.034*	.035*	.010*	.009*	.005*	.002	.008*	.014*	.011*	.008*
Gender/Sex	-.144	-.169	-.389*	-.181	-.376*	-.070	-.330*	-.272	.015	-.062	-.036	-.002	-.006	.167	-.062	-.037
Party ID	.252*	.012	.323*	-.171	.300*	.081	.281*	.022	.033*	-.017	.022	-.086*	.047*	.043	.023	.030
Religious Upbringing	-.122*	.059*	.029	-.011	-.026	-.097	-.081	.042	-.038*	-.014	.011	-.002	.025	-.011	-.022	.051*
Education	-.208*	-.051	-.214*	-.243*	-.260*	-.107*	-.232*	-.095*	-.074*	-.062*	-.081*	-.109*	-.09*	-.058*	-.078*	-.080*

Source: General Social Survey, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012

Note: * significance at 95% confidence criterion

Table 5.2b – Differences in Explaining Homophobia for Whites and Racial Minorities

Variables	Measuring Homophobia through Scale					
	2004		2008		2012	
	White	Racial Minority	White	Racial Minority	White	Racial Minority
Age	.005*	.005	.005*	.004*	.003*	.005*
Gender/Sex	-.255*	-.145	-.179*	-.130*	-.131*	-.100*
Pol. Ideology	.366*	.203*	.121*	.086*	.182*	.098*
Religious Importance	-.368*	-.237*	-.216*	-.166*	-.293*	-.252*
Education	-.135*	-.147*	-.081*	-.073*	-.076*	-.089*
Tolerance	-.179*	-.234*	-.114*	-.083*	-.200*	-.182*

Source: American National Election Study, 2004, 2008, 2012

Note: * significance at 95% confidence criterion

NOTE: Orange cells demonstrate a difference in statistical significance only; yellow cells demonstrate a difference in directional impact only, and; red cells demonstrate a difference in statistical significance and directional impact.

Findings – Hypothesis Two

Evidence in Hypothesis One primarily rested upon a statistical significance test, in order to demonstrate that the hypothetical relationship of commonly afforded variables in studies of homophobia may differ for racial minorities when compared to Whites. However, Hypothesis Two takes into account statistical significance, standard errors and regression coefficients to understand just how impactful the not-so-common variable of an experience with discrimination is and how impactful the interaction of racial discrimination on racial minorities really is, if at all.

However, before detailing the statistical findings and providing an interpretation, it is needful to note that the additions of race and racial discrimination to these regressions produced issues in population assumptions; that is their addition reduced: (1) the years eligible for assessment, and (2) reduced the sample size/number of observations the eligible years remaining. First, as mentioned in the discussion of Hypothesis Two, the ANES did not ask questions of an experience with racial discrimination in 2004 or 2008. Therefore, there was only one year of data eligible for assessment of these variables relationship to a national policy scale of LGBTI issues at the time of this study, 2012. Additionally, conducting a year-by-year assessment of data from the GSS, as done in Hypothesis One, proved problematic; because of a small number of observations/sample size. In some years there was a noticeable small number of observations, which would subject findings to scrutiny about making inferences to the general population. For example, regression outputs from 2002 barely had 500 observations, which for making inferences about national attitudes is relatively small. This number is given perspective when compared to the output from the 2012 ANES, which had 4,832 observations. Therefore, rather than a year-by-year analysis of data from the GSS,

an aggregate data file was created compiling the data from the GSS 2002, 2006, 2010, and 2014. This increased the number of observations in the output assessing admitted homophobia to 2,813 and the number of observations in the output assessing a communal policy scale of homophobia to 3,280. Of course, this means that interpretation will be generalized to the collective time period, rather than each year, but the increase in sample size also increases reliability that the findings truly reflect public attitudes.

Statistical findings for admitted homophobia give merit to the inclusion of racial discrimination in variables assessing homophobia. The GSS shows that all variables were statistically significant with a p-value of 0.00, and all possessed acceptable standard errors that were smaller than the standard error for the y-intercept (*see Table 5.3*). Moreover and important to this hypothesis, both race and racial discrimination are statistically significant. This means that moving from White to Black increases the likelihood of admitted homophobia; and moving from no experience of discrimination to an individual experience increases the likelihood of admitted homophobia, even when controlling for other common predictors. For homophobia measured through a policy scale of LGBTI inclusion in the community, the results are almost identical to that of admitted homophobia. The major difference in these findings is that for the policy scale of homophobia religious upbringing no longer even proves itself statistically significant at the 95% confidence interval with a p-value of 0.70.

Contrasting to the findings from the GSS, the assessment of the ANES and a policy scale of national issues for gays and lesbians demonstrate a different narrative. A similar change in outcome occurred in assessing Hypothesis One. It is when a scale of national policy measures characterize homophobia that an experience with racial discrimination loses

statistical significance with a p-value of 0.34; whereas race does demonstrate itself as statistically significant. Moreover, and contradicting the findings from the communal scale of the GSS, the measure of religiosity—religious importance—is statistically significant (*see Table 5.3*).

Table 5.3 – Regression Output for Variables in Assessing Homophobia, 2002-2014			
	<i>Coefficients (standard error)</i>		
<i>Independent Variables</i>	<u>Admitted Homophobia</u>	<u>Communal Policy Scale for Homophobia</u>	<u>National Policy Scale for Homophobia</u>
Age	0.02 (0.00)*	0.01 (0.00)*	0.00 (0.00)*
Gender/Sex	-0.42 (0.08)*	-0.07 (0.03)*	-0.12 (0.02)*
Party Identification	0.24 (0.02)*	0.03 (0.01)*	
Political Ideology			0.15 (0.01)*
Religious Upbringing	-0.08 (0.02)*	0.00 (0.01)	
Religious Importance			-0.31 (0.02)*
Education	-0.20 (0.07)*	-0.07 (0.00)*	-0.08 (0.01)*
Tolerance			-0.19 (0.01)*
Race	0.55 (0.07)*	0.08 (0.02)*	0.05 (0.01)*
Racial Discrimination	0.99 (0.21)*	0.13 (0.06)*	0.03 (0.02)
<i>Number of Observations</i>	2,813	3,280	4,832
	<i>Source: General Social Survey, 2002-2014</i>		<i>Source: ANES, 2012</i>
<i>Note: * significance at 95% confidence criterion</i>			

This study offers two rationales for these findings. The first, and arguably more obvious, is that the inconsistencies concerning the statistical significance of racial discrimination are because of how homophobia is measured. When an individual can admit they perceive same-sex relationships, or non-traditional relationships, as always wrong it is probable from the data that an experience with racial discrimination was impactful in producing that attitude. This also true for when homophobia is measured through measures that assess LGBTI inclusion into the community. However, when looking at policies that are national, and arguably more controversial, such as gay adoption, it seems that discrimination loses its significance. The second rationale is the model constructs. The model assessing admitted homophobia and communal scale does not include a variable that assesses tolerance

of other’s moral standards. This variable was included in the national measure of homophobia, possessing a p-value of 0.00 and virtually no measure of standard error.

Even with racial discrimination failing to show statistical significance on a scale of national pro-gay policies, there is evidence that race and racial discrimination are significant predictors in assessing homophobia. However, the degree to which they affect homophobia is unknown.⁴¹ But, because in assessing admitted homophobia a logit regression is used—being a dichotomous variable—predicted probabilities can be computed to give an estimate as to which variable has the largest impact.⁴² For admitted homophobia, the change coefficient is statistically significant for all variables all possessing a p-value of 0.00. This corroborated the evidence concerning admitted homophobia in Table 5.3. However, the change coefficient for racial discrimination is the largest at 0.20, which race possessing the second largest change coefficient at 0.12 (*see Table 5.4*). Of the commonly assessed variable, no single variable has as large of an effect on admitted homophobia, as racial discrimination.

<i>Independent Variables</i>	<i>Change Coefficients (p-value)</i>
Age	0.01 (0.00)
Sex	-0.09 (0.00)
Party Identification	0.05 (0.00)
Religious Upbringing	-0.02 (0.00)
Education	-0.04 (0.00)
Race	0.12 (0.00)
Racial Discrimination	0.20 (0.00)
<i>Number of Observations</i>	2,813

Source: General Social Survey, 2002-2014

⁴¹ Comparing logit regression coefficients across variables that are not measured the same way is a fallacy of analysis. For, example gender is dichotomous with only two choices; whereas, political ideology has seven choices of measurement.

⁴² Predicted probabilities coefficients provide an estimation that the outcome value =1 (admitted homophobia), when a specific value is applied to a predictor variable.

Therefore, considering there is evidence towards the impact of racial discrimination in two of the three ways homophobia is measured, notably admitted homophobia . This study moves to the second stage of assessing Hypothesis Two—assessing racial discrimination by race.

In this stage the study investigates if the interaction of race and racial discrimination provides evidence that racial discrimination increases a minorities propensity towards homophobia. Statistical findings for admitted homophobia give evidence towards accepting Hypothesis Two. The dummy interaction of racial discrimination by racial group shows that African-Americans without an experience of racial discrimination have a higher inclination towards admitted homophobia when compared to Whites. This is evinced by the coefficient 1.73, but that impact is heightened by 0.021 when interacting an experience with racial discrimination to 1.94 (*see Table 5.4*). Thus, as a person moves from a White person with no experience with racial discrimination to an African-American also with no experience the likelihood of admitting to being homophobic increases; however, it is increased further when that African-American has experienced racial discrimination. This finding is also true when assessing homophobia through a policy scale of communal inclusion. African-Americans without an experience of racial discrimination have an inclination towards admitted homophobia when compared to Whites, but that impact is heightened by 0.05 when interacting an experience with racial discrimination (*see Table 5.4*).

Though racial discrimination alone did not show acceptable measure of statistical significance of its impact in a scale of attitudes on national policy issues, the interaction may suggest that racial discrimination does affect LGBTI attitudes for minorities, at least for African-Americans. Initial observations of the output illustrate that the coefficient is larger for Blacks with no experience racial discrimination when compared to Whites with no

experience. However, that coefficient borderlines on statistical significance at the 95% confidence criterion with an exact p-value of 0.053; whereas, Blacks with an experience of racial discrimination has a much stronger p-value 0.01. Furthermore, the standard error for Blacks with no experience with racial discrimination is larger than the standard error measure for the y-intercept, meaning it may not accurately reflect the population. Therefore, this study accepts that African-Americans with an experience racial discrimination are more likely to exhibit homophobia, even on national issues.

Table 5.5 – Regression Output for Racial Discrimination-Race Interaction in Assessing Homophobia, 2002-2014⁴³			
	<i>Coefficients (standard error)</i>		
<i>Independent Variables</i>	<u>Admitted Homophobia</u>	<u>Communal Policy Scale for Homophobia</u>	<u>National Policy Scale for Homophobia</u>
No experience-Black	1.73 (0.38)*	0.23 (0.10)*	0.18 (0.09)
Experience-Black	1.94 (0.48)*	0.28 (0.13)*	0.09 (0.03)*
No Experience-Other	0.75 (0.73)	0.12 (0.20)	-0.28 (0.10)*
Experience-Other	omitted	omitted	omitted
No Experience-Hispanic			0.09 (0.06)
Experience-Hispanic			-0.06 (0.04)
	<i>Source: General Social Survey, 2002-2014</i>		<i>Source: ANES, 2012</i>
<p><i>Notes: The racial group “Other” was omitted because of collinearity to Blacks w/an experience of racial discrimination in the GSS and because of collinearity to Hispanics w/no experience of racial discrimination in the ANES.</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;"><i>* significance at 95% confidence criterion</i></p>			

These findings reveal that there is evidence towards accepting Hypothesis Two. However, the confidence in accepting the tested hypothesis is much stronger in the analysis of admitted homophobia. When persons are cognizant of their homophobic attitudes, and willing to admit it, the linkage is much clearer as to what affects those attitudes. Simply, the interaction of race and racial discrimination is more likely to be salient when a person is

⁴³ This Table only reports the coefficients, standard error, and statistical significance for the interaction of race and racial discrimination. However, the independent variables previously reported in the Table 5.3 were a part of the full regression output.

willing to admit their homophobia. When looking at homophobia measured through a scale, the components of the scale to measure homophobia will likely play a major role in whether or not racial discrimination alone is important. Moreover, African-Americans with an experience of racial discrimination produced statistically significant coefficients with low standard errors in every regression output. This was true even assessing the national policy scale, which did not show statistical significance for African-Americans with no experience. Looking at the evidence collectively, this dissertation deems that there is enough evidence to accept Hypothesis Two, which establish some relationship between racial discrimination and minority homophobia.

Findings – Hypotheses Three

Findings of Hypotheses Three are essential to the theory of repercussive discrimination offered by this dissertation. The theory of repercussive discrimination endeavors to explain the connection of racial discrimination for the racial minority to perceived homophobia, largely based on the concept of transference. In the concept of transference, there are attitudes, abstract thought, wishes, emotions created because of an undesirable experience and these cognitions that directly affect a worldview. In repercussive discrimination, there is a necessitation for emotions highly prevalent among the racial group that have significant relationships to homophobia.

Findings for Hypothesis Three overall reveal fairly strong evidence that racial minorities are far more likely to exhibit these thoughts and attitudes. First, Hypothesis Three reveals somewhat strong evidence in regard to racial minorities' possession of attitudes of distrust for social and political institutions. Table 5.5 shows that while Whites are more distrustful of government in Washington, that minorities are more distrustful of government

enforcement agencies. There is less than a one-percentage point difference in whether minorities are never trusting of government in Washington, compare to a fourteen-percentage point difference in whether minorities feel that they can trust law enforcement, assessed by the admission that there are no law enforcement officers they can trust.

<i>Trust of Government in Washington⁴⁴</i>			<i>Number of Police Office to Trust</i>		
	Whites	Minorities		Whites	Minorities
Always or Most of the Time	9.16%	14.56%	Zero – “0”	52.25%	68.71%
Half of the Time	25.48%	32.92%	One – “1”	17.61%	14.97%
Some of the Time	55.10%	42.94%	Two to Five	24.07%	12.24%
Never	10.26%	9.58%	Six or more	6.07%	4.08%
Total	100.00%	100.00%	Total	100.00%	100.00%
<i>Source: ANES, 2012</i>			<i>Source: GSS, 2006</i>		

Other cognitions demonstrate much stronger evidence for the acceptance of Hypothesis Three. In regards to racial minorities’ possession of feelings of attachment to America and perhaps notions of American exceptionalism, assessed by their emotional connection to the American flag, it is discovered that minorities exhibit less patriotic emotions when seeing the American flag. Frequencies of Table 5.6 reveal that minorities are almost twice as likely to not feel patriotically emotional at the flying of the American flag, assessed by an admission of “slightly good or not good at all.” In addition, minorities are less likely to feel “extremely good” or “very good” (*see Table 5.6*).

⁴⁴ Data tabulations are "weighted" according to guidelines from the American National Election Study (ANES; www.electionstudies.org) to more accurately represent the population’s sentiments as a representative cross-section.

Table 5.7 – White-Minority Comparison by Attitudes of Attachment, 2012⁴⁵		
	<i>Race</i>	
<i>Patriotic Emotions When Seeing Flag</i>	White	Minorities
Extremely or Very Good	75.93%	65.86%
Moderately Good	16.16%	21.20%
Slightly Good or Not Good at All	7.91%	12.94%
Total	100.00%	100.00%

Source: ANES, 2012

Lastly, findings of this hypothesis reveal that racial minorities are considerably less satisfied with social and political life conditions. Again, this finding is not shocking, considering that current data reveals that Blacks and Hispanics are 10% less likely to have a bachelor’s degree; the median household income for Blacks is almost half that of Whites, with Hispanics only doing marginally better than Blacks, and; racial minorities, including Asians and persons of mixed race, are almost 25% less likely to own a home than their White counterparts.⁴⁶ Table 5.7 reveals that in 2012 minorities are almost nine percentage-points less likely to exhibit high satisfaction with social and political life conditions.

Table 5.8 – White-Minority Comparison by Attitudes of Dissatisfaction, 2012⁴⁷		
	<i>Race</i>	
<i>Satisfaction with Life</i>	White	Minorities
Extremely or Very Satisfied	49.17%	40.95%
Moderately Satisfied	35.00%	39.99%
Slightly Satisfied or Not Satisfied at All	15.83%	19.06%
Total	100.00%	100.00%

Source: ANES, 2012

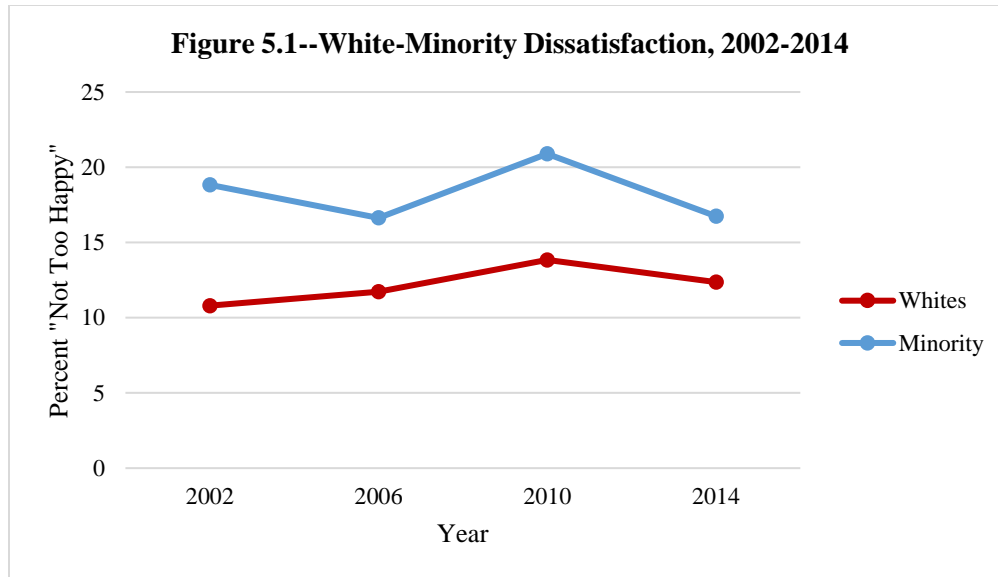
But, this dissatisfaction among minorities isn’t a singular occurrence. A Gallup study by Josephine Mazzuca (2004) also revealed that minorities, particularly Black and Hispanic

⁴⁵ Data tabulations are "weighted" according to guidelines from the American National Election Study (ANES; www.electionstudies.org) to more accurately represent the population’s sentiments as a representative cross-section.

⁴⁶ Data provided by the U.S. Census “Educational Attainment in the United States: 2015” & “Income and Poverty in the United States: 2014” and Pew Research’s “Wealth Inequality Has Widened along Racial, Ethnic Lines Since End of Great Recession”

⁴⁷ Data tabulations are "weighted" according to guidelines from the American National Election Study (ANES; www.electionstudies.org) to more accurately represent the population’s sentiments as a representative cross-section.

Americans, were far more likely to be unhappy and dissatisfied than similarly associated White Americans, and that study ranged from 2000-2004. Figure 5.1 reveals that this has been a consistent attitude for racial minorities over even a longer period of time. Using the GSS, and looking from 2002-2014, minorities consistently possess attitudes of unhappiness, and the frequency was far higher than that of Whites.



Considering the presented evidence, this dissertation accepts Hypothesis Three and affirms that racial minorities possess negative attitudes at a higher frequency than Whites. But, is this observed difference due to racial discrimination? Is that even an observable difference among racial minorities with no experience of racial discrimination and those with an experience of racial discrimination that could serve as evidence that this experience creates a higher probability towards these attitudes? To answer this query, the dissertation progresses to Hypothesis Four.

Findings – Hypothesis Four

Findings for Hypothesis Four demonstrate that when assessing racial minorities there is some evidence that those who have an experience with racial discrimination are more likely to possess less favorable or negative attitudes used as proxies for cognitive constructs associated with transference, as outlined in Chapter Four. When examining minority respondents, those who have experienced discrimination were more likely to be distrustful of government and institutions that represented government, more likely to have feelings of detachment, and more likely to be unhappy/possess high levels of life dissatisfaction.

Analysis of trust of law enforcement from GSS (2006) reveals that persons who have experienced racial discrimination were less trusting of police officers. As matter of fact, no minority respondents with a discriminatory experience acknowledged that they trusted six or more police officers, compared to the 5% of minorities with no experience who admitted to knowing six or more officers that they trusted. Conversely, this distrust of government was not as strong when examining the ANES (2012) and a query of trusting the national government in Washington D.C. In this regard racial minorities who had experienced racial discrimination were more trusting of government in Washington. This trust of federal government by the discriminated minority is explained by various scholars, such as the neo-classic work of Gary Orfield (1974). Orfield interjects that when local governments defend inequitable norms as the status quo, racial minorities have turned to the federal government to rectify unfair local practices—legal and extralegal (Orfield, 1974, p. 777). Perhaps this explains why discriminated minorities are less trusting of officers—a local authority—but more trusting of Washington.

Investigations of emotional detachment to America reveal stronger findings—findings that imply that minorities feel some detachment from the United States, but that feeling is intensified when including racial discrimination. Approximately 73% of minorities with no experience of racial discrimination feel extremely good or very good when seeing the flag flying. This could be interpreted as one in every four minorities, for reasons other than racial discrimination, feel only moderately good or not good at all when seeing the flag. However, there is a 9%-point difference when accounting for racial discrimination among minorities. Only 64% of minorities who are recipients of some form of racial discrimination admit to feeling extremely or very good when seeing the flag flying. This dissertation interprets that racial discrimination impacts attitudes of detachment for racial minorities from a position of where only one in every four would feel some level of detachment to where four in every ten would feel some level of detachment.

Findings also give strong evidence in regards to revealing that racial minorities who have experienced racial discrimination are more likely to be dissatisfied with life or unhappy about social conditions, than minorities in with no experience. Table 5.9 reveals that in every year assessed, with the exception of 2014, an experience with discrimination produced a smaller percentage of minorities that are very happy or highly satisfied. And, only 2010 shows signs that data is far from holding any acceptable standard of statistical significance. However, in 2006 there was a double-digit difference in percentage among respondents, with 13% fewer minorities acknowledging high satisfaction when assessing racial discrimination with a pr-value of 0.00.⁴⁸ This gives even more salience to the individual experience of racial

⁴⁸ Statistical significance in for tabulations are achieved in STATA by using the “chi2” option; however, the “chi2” option cannot be performed with weighted data. Therefore, this only assumes that the differences are statistically significance for the ANES 2012, which must be weighted in order to make generalizations to the

discrimination, because during this time frame America often assert existing in a post-racial society with the election of Barack Obama.

Table 5.9 – Minority-Discriminated Minority Comparison of Very Happy/High Life Satisfaction, 2002-2014		
Year	Experience of Racial Discrimination	
	No/Never	Yes
2002	25.79%	18.18%
2006	30.24%	17.31%
2010	23.98%	14.29%
2012	44.54%	40.19%
2014	29.70%	41.67%
<i>Source: ANES, 2012 & GSS, 2002, 2010, 2014</i>		
<i>Note: ANES questioned satisfaction with life and GSS questioned general happiness</i>		

The implications of Hypothesis Four are that racial discrimination is indeed a trauma, impacting cognition, and that impact is that it exacerbates feelings of detachment and social dissatisfaction for racial minorities. The experience of racial discrimination, an experience that has circumnavigated equality and fairness for minorities, “is the largest standing and most glaring exception to the American promise of freedom and equality;” and as a result has created a disconnected and unhappy racial minority population in America (Bobo, 1988, p. 85). Thus, this dissertation accepts Hypothesis Four and moves to Hypothesis Five to endeavor finding which mental construct discussed, if any, may contribute to minority homophobia.

Findings – Hypothesis Five

When examining minority respondents, those who are the most distrusting of government seemingly do not necessarily have a stronger association to homophobia to those who are more trusting of government. This would lead to rejecting government distrust as a

population. The option demonstrates if the differences observed in cross tabulations are statistically significant, through the “pr-value;” logically the same as the p-value in regression outputs.

linking cognition in explaining minority homophobia. Analysis of homophobia from GSS (2006) reveals mixed results that in regards to respondents that admitted same-sex relationships as “always wrong,” there is no substantive difference in homophobia when assessing the number of law enforcement officers the respondent trusted. This is also the case when measuring homophobia through a scale—there is no evidence that persons trusting zero officers are likely to be more homophobic than those trusting six or more. This unfavorable finding is also true when assessing distrust of government in Washington D.C. from the ANES (2012)—weighted bivariate tabulations (not displayed) do not reveal substantive differences towards affirming government distrust. Frequencies of those with higher measures of homophobia reveal no evidence that persons who “never” trust the federal government are more homophobic than those who “always” trust the federal government. Thus, this dissertation study concludes that distrust in government cannot be used an explanation that links racial discrimination to homophobia, even in light of findings that demonstrated racial minorities who had experienced racial discrimination where more trusting of government.

Investigations of emotional detachment to America reveal findings that also demonstrate an inability to use this particular cognition as an explanation of why racial discrimination is significant in explaining homophobia for the racial minority. The tabulations (not displayed) reveal that no matter how detached a racial minority may be, there is no inclination towards exhibiting higher homophobia.

Dissatisfaction with life or unhappiness about social conditions, however, does seem to provide evidence meriting a connection between the minority experience of racial discrimination and their propensity towards homophobia. When assessing homophobia in

regards to an admission of same-sex relationships as “always wrong,” it is discovered that in 2002 and 2006 minorities who were “not too happy” had a larger percentage of respondents admitting to homophobia than respondents selecting “pretty happy” or “very happy.” And, in 2010 and 2014, minority respondents who were “not too happy” had a larger percentage of respondents admitting to homophobia than respondents electing “pretty happy.” When assessing homophobia through a scale, it is discovered that in three of five years assessed—2006, 2012, and 2014—the more dissatisfied minorities were with life the greater likelihood they would possess above-average measures of homophobia for the respective year. There is an observed association for racial minorities between having admitted or measured homophobia and the attitudes of unhappiness that were associated with the discrimination experienced analyzed in Hypothesis Four. As a result, this dissertation makes the claim of revealing, at least, one plausible set of cognitions that link the minority experience of racial discrimination to their salient homophobia; and that is social unhappiness.

Summary of Quantitative Findings

Racial minorities are more homophobic than Whites; and, it is inconsequential how that homophobia is measured. Racial minorities, particularly African-Americans are more opposed to same-sex relationship; and Blacks and Hispanics seemed to have a strong aversion to policy positions that by many are seen as issues of equality and justice. And, based on the statistical outputs, there is some sense of probable reasons that this homophobia exists. Perhaps the high influence from older populations—with showing a positive and statistically significant relationship to homophobia, it is likely that there is a generational component, perhaps an indoctrination, that has a generational origin that is perpetuating these

attitudes within communities of color. Additionally, evidence from the statistical outputs shows that education, or lack thereof, contributes to homophobia. Racial minorities have lagged behind Whites in the ascertaining of higher levels of education and the resources to achieve such. As a result, there may be some effect on the attitudes towards gays and lesbians. Perhaps institutions in communities of color have justified the staunch homophobia. However, the finding that is likely to reveal the greatest shock to some is that the fact that racial discrimination for them influences their proclivity towards homophobia.

The impact of racial discrimination in predicting homophobia is particularly salient in assessing admitted homophobia. This is arguably the strongest measure of homophobia, because the framing of the question asks about feelings towards persons, rather than policies. The measure of admitted homophobia addressed attitudes towards a group—gays and lesbians. This differs from the measures that measure homophobia through a policy scale, such as the ANES measure of national policies, where they may be arguably other reasons for supporting or opposing the respective policy position not rooted in disdain for LGBTI persons. For example, age and education demonstrated high statistical significance in both policy scales of homophobia; and, this may account more for respondent's policy position.

Overall, the theory of repercussive discrimination receives some support in demonstrating a connection of racial discrimination to homophobia, through salient life dissatisfaction attitudes possessed by minorities. By merit of the quantitative analysis, this dissertation rejects governmental distrust and emotional detachment as the intervening cognitions in repercussive discrimination. Though these emotions are exhibited higher by racial minorities and, to some degree, are linked to an experience of racial discrimination, they fail connect to admitted homophobia or higher measures of homophobia when measured

through a scale. However, there is evidence connecting dissatisfaction of life/unhappiness to homophobia for racial minorities; and this evidence is consistent in the context of admitted homophobia and homophobia measured through a scale. These findings now allow for specification of the psychological construct referenced in the visual framework presented earlier in this dissertation in Figure 4.2 as social unhappiness/life dissatisfaction.

Thus far, the findings of the study affirm the respective objectives, establishing: (1) that different approaches are needed in understanding homophobia for racial minorities; (2) among hypothesized variables in discussions of minority homophobia racial discrimination has a statistically significant association; and, (3) this association between minority homophobia and racial discrimination in the context of minorities is as strong as commonly accepted explanations, likely stronger than gender or religiosity. Now, this assertion doesn't conclude that all homophobia for minorities is explained by racial discrimination; neither do these findings exclude certain explanations. If anything, these findings remove the practice of trying to explain homophobia by focusing on one variable. The next chapter takes a qualitative approach in efforts to strengthen the internal validity of the findings of this dissertation by conducting interviews of LGBTI scholars and policy experts, as well as elites and policy experts of minority communities, and triangulating the information from those interviews with selected documents and audiovisuals records.

CHAPTER SIX: QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

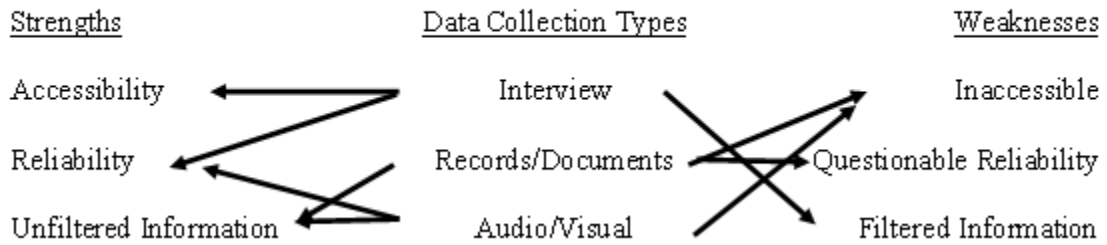
Findings in the preceding chapter demonstrated that when assessing homophobia there is a need for considering different causal variables for racial minorities compared to Whites, including racial discrimination. But, the quantitative analysis presented in Chapter Five may be somewhat limited; whereas, the subsequent qualitative analysis uses an inductive approach. As such, it allows further investigation into “themes [that] emerge through data analysis” or repetitively pushed in literature (Creswell, 2003, p. 144). Therefore, as outlined in Chapter One, the qualitative analysis in this chapter will address the probable causes of homophobia among racial minorities, particularly the probable nature of racial discrimination. Essentially, this research design is constructed to investigate “why” as opposed to “what.”

Research Design – Data Sources

The qualitative data analysis in this dissertation will use three data sources: expert interviews, public and private documents of attitudes of gays and lesbians in pivotal institutions of racial minorities, such as the Black Church, and audiovisual materials, such as interviews of elites on attitudes towards LGBTI persons. According to Creswell (2003) the various data collection types have advantages and limitations. Interviews generally provide greater access to information in that the information is first-hand from a source linked in some way to the respective subject matter; additionally, self-performed interviews are typically reliable in that there is no question of bias on the part of interviewer. However, they are weak in that the interviewee may filter information—an occurrence that is diminished when subjects are observed in a natural environment. Records and documented occurrences

tend to eliminate this weakness of filtered information, especially when records are of a private nature or privy to a specific audience. Although this must be taken into a context of accessibility, often complete or unaltered records are difficult to ascertain. Audiovisual materials also suffer from the weakness of accessibility, but, because of technological advances, are more easily identified if altered or manipulated. This allows for researchers to differentiate fraudulent sources from real ones. Understanding that different data collection types have limitations, the use of multiple data sources increases the validity of this qualitative section, under the auspice that one data source's strength will cancel out another source's weakness. Figure 6.1 gives a graphical representation of the strengths and weaknesses of each data collection type.⁴⁹

Figure 6.1 - Strengths and Weakness of Data Collection Types



In this study the expert interviews were semi-structured, based on a set of seven open-ended questions design to engage the interviewees on possible causes of homophobia, racial discrimination, and a plausible connection to the two (*see Appendix for semi-structured interview questions*).⁵⁰ According to Political Science scholar Joyce Mushaben, an individual can be deemed an expert and qualified for an expert interview if the persons possesses comprehensive and authoritative knowledge about particular subject matter, obtained through

⁴⁹ For full description advantages and disadvantages of qualitative data collection types, see Creswell, 2003, p. 186-187.

⁵⁰ Semi-structured expert interviews allow me, as the interviewer, greater control over the line of questioning and allows for interviewees more freedom in their response to queries posed in the interview.

either education or processes usually associated with work in an organization.⁵¹ Therefore, all interviewees possessed at least a Master's Degree or higher in their respective fields and a minimum of three years of work experience to hone application of academic knowledge through routines and organizational processes. This stringent criterion severely limits the number of interviews that can be performed; but it also gives credibility to the responses received from experts interviewed. As a result, ten interviews were requested of either: policy experts on issues pertinent to racial minorities, policy experts on LGBTI issues, or persons who were clinical psychologists and who specialized in the psychological effects of discrimination on the human mind. All interviews were conducted face-to-face in the St. Louis metropolitan area in 2017.

The identity of interviewees remains confidential. There is no identifying information (name, race, gender, etc.) referenced in the findings; only their credentials in the form of professional expertise are referenced in this study. This guarantee of confidentiality is to garner more candor in the interviewing process. During all interviews descriptive and reflective notation were taken during the interviews recording noteworthy data obtained from these interviews, including the repetition of phrases, voice inflections, elongated pauses in responding to questions, body language and words or phrases that reinforced or contradicted quantitative data findings. And, all interviewees were asked to audio records interviews for accuracy and validity.

In this study the records, documented occurrences, and audiovisual materials were from 2010-2016 in order to ascertain a current perspective on LGBTI attitudes and were all accessed electronically through a combination of databases and resources, ranging from news

⁵¹ Explanations for expert interviews were given at a talk, "Interviewing Public Officials" at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, April 19, 2017.

profiles on social media outlets to government databases. Records consist of letters, speech transcripts, journal entries, government documents, blogs and other notations that address gay and lesbian attitudes in the Black community. Audiovisual materials include authenticated speeches, lectures, sermons, interviews, and other orations that speak to the context of gay and lesbian attitudes within populations of racial minorities. All records were taken from the primary source and all audiovisual materials were authenticated. The sources were selected based upon a probable impact of the participant(s). This means materials were chosen because the participant(s) were known to shape or sustain ideologies, particularly in the African-American community. These persons include nationally renowned ministers, prominent elected officials, and social elites, such as bloggers or television personalities.

Research Design – Hypotheses and Methodology

Methodology in research usually refers to techniques or procedures in investigating variables; however, in this qualitative section of the dissertation, methodology refers to what J. K. Smith and L. Heshusius (1986) call the “logic-of-justification.” The focus [in this characterization of methodology] is not on a specific technique but on the elaboration of logical issues and ultimately, on the justification that informs practice.”⁵² Simply, and as Judith Meloy puts it, the quantitative approach is about a narrative of relationships (Meloy, 2002, p. 146). Chapter Five provided strong and reliable statistics that demonstrate a relationship between homophobia and certain variables. It is the intent of the current chapter to develop a narrative to further elucidate why these relationships exists and perhaps why

⁵² Smith and Heshusius “logic-of-justification” excerpt was taken from Maria Piantanida and Noreen B. Garman’s (2009) book, *The Qualitative Dissertation: A Guide for Students and Faculty*.

some are declining in strength. Therefore, this dissertation's qualitative analysis is to triangulate the data sources to create the narrative that further investigates four hypotheses.

Hypothesis One: In comparison to Whites, explanations for homophobia are different for racial minorities

This is the same initial hypothesis in Chapter Five. It is important to investigate this hypothesis qualitatively, because the first objective of this study was to demonstrate a need for approaches that attempt to explain minority homophobia differently than approaches for explaining White homophobia. If a qualitative approach to the same hypothesis shows evidence towards accepting this hypothesis, then the validity of the hypothesis is only enhanced. Furthermore, the national survey used in the previous chapter have fixed answer choices to choose from; but, repeating this hypothesis in this portion allows for variables to be added that may not have been included as choices in the national surveys used analyzed in the previous chapter.

The quantitative analysis in Chapter Five showed an association primarily among three variables: age, education, religion, and the interaction of racial discrimination's effect on racial minorities. Therefore, the remaining three hypotheses of this dissertation will look to further investigate these relationships.

Hypothesis Two: In comparison to other associated variables, age and generational changes have a greater tempering effect on homophobia, even within communities of racial minorities.

This hypothesis's basis is derived from the quantitative findings in Chapter Five. Recalling Table 5.2, age was the most consistent variable in terms of statistical significance and similarity in the regression coefficient for Whites and racial minorities. As the regression coefficients suggested in the previous chapter; there is little difference in homophobic attitudes across race when controlling for age differences. Therefore, investigating a narrative

of age in regards to homophobia is merited. To test this hypothesis interview notations and audio recordings will be screened to see if experts assert differences in homophobia sentiments when questioned about the contributions of homophobia among racial minorities. Additionally, public documents discussing data on LGBTI attitudes will be assessed to see if there is corroborating evidence that generational changes are tempering homophobic sentiments.

The importance of religion has been a repetitive theme in literature. And, though it did not show the strength of other variables in the quantitative assessment, there was some evidence that provide evidence that a total dismissal of religion may be premature. Therefore, based on its domination of the narrative, particularly the assertion of Black Church as the preeminent institution within the African-American community, and some inconsistencies in its significance from the previous chapter this, Hypothesis Three examines the impact of religion among on attitudes towards gays and lesbians.

Hypothesis Three: Religion, particularly the indoctrination of the Black Church, as a legitimate basis for homophobia with in the African-American community is a growingly antiquated rationale for Black homophobia.

To test this hypothesis religion is assessed in the expert interviews. Essentially, recalling if religion was willingly offered as a casual mechanism in discussions of minority homophobia and is its discussion as prevalent as other suggested causes? Then the analysis will further critically examine the religion argument by examining audiovisuals of well-documented sermons among prominent African-American preachers on the morality of homosexuality and public records of a plausible changing narrative, including Black confidence in organized religion and the impact of religion for Blacks. This is intended to chronicle the salience of the

institution of the Black Church, and examine if it is as strong a cause currently for homophobia as in the past.

Lastly, this dissertation asserts a hypothesis that examines the theory of repercussive discrimination. The fourth objective of this dissertation, which looks at the probable linkage between racial discrimination and homophobia, was addressed in the latter part of Chapter Five. From that analysis, it is understood that racial discrimination creates cognitions that in turn affect minority attitudes towards gays and lesbians. But to substantiate that claim this dissertation affords another hypothesis which looks at how impactful racial discrimination is for racial minorities and if really does have the ability to shape their attitudes towards gays and lesbians. This hypothesis investigates the question: does racial discrimination really lead to cognitions that determine attitudes towards gays and lesbians for racial minorities?

Hypothesis Four: In comparison to other realities faced by racial minorities, racial discrimination is one of the most influential factors on racial attitudes and even impacts attitudes towards gays and lesbians.

Findings

In every expert interview conducted, interviewees asserted notions that there were probable or likely causes of homophobia within minority groups, which may not be applicable to White Americans. These considerations ranged from the importance of religion to insufficient education to prevailing cultural norms of gender identity and acceptability. Additionally, the interviewees argued that they believed that no one singular issue could explain the prevailing homophobia among racial minorities. Thus, there were two general conclusions drawn from the interview process: (1) minority homophobia, and perhaps homophobia in general, cannot be pigeonholed as stemming from one cause, as often seems

to be the approach in literature; and, (2) the question of why homophobia prevails among racial minorities must consider, for the most part, than White homophobia.

Documents, records, transcripts, etc. seemingly revealed a shift in explaining homophobia, particularly among Blacks. Earlier studies studied seem to reference organized religion, with some special mentioning of the Black Church. However, recent documents that seemed to reference some concept of religiosity spoke more in terms of morality and equality. More importantly, these concepts of morality and ethics were used to combat homophobia and not reinforce it. Audiovisual data types seemed to focus on two primary reoccurring themes: interpretations of religion and whether a homosexual lifestyle furthered the causes of racial minorities. The audiovisual information attained, primarily recordings of contemporary Black leaders, such as Dr. Umar Johnson, referred to gay and lesbian life in the context of questioning if it furthered the Black agenda; essentially, attempting to retort if the two were in conflict.

Findings – Hypothesis One

Peer-reviewed literature often begins with abstracts that conclusively end with a single causality to the homophobia question; however, the expert interviews conducted in this study may find such promulgations as incomplete in looking at causes of homophobia. Every expert interview offered multiple plausible reasons for the prevalence of homophobia among minorities. No interviewee pinpointed one singular reason. Recalling one of the first interviews conducted with a collegiate Instructor of African-American politics who when

asked immediately offered as many as six reasons, some that were linked to each other.⁵³ The reasons were:

- (1) Generational salience or the impact of older persons and the preeminence given to their ideologies;
- (2) The “inculcation” of the Black Church;
- (3) Perceptions of sexual identity as a choice;
- (4) A lack exposure to homosexual identity and a culture than forced homosexual behavior into the shadows;
- (5) Patriarchal importance and “notions of Black masculinity;” and,
- (6) Discrimination effects—“blacks wanted to be the minority group.”

Another interviewee is a Clinical Psycho-analyst who showed extreme reluctance to use the term “minority.” To this expert the term minority implied that a group was “less than” a dangerous frame in their respective opinion. Still, this expert asserted five recorded reasons as to why homophobia was perceivably higher among racial minorities:

- (1) Definitions of masculinity rooted in culture;
- (2) “Gendered norms of heterosexism” and acceptable behavior;
- (3) Religious reasons
- (4) Lack of power—“deprivation” and an effect of racial discrimination;
- (5) Family influence and structural dynamics that sustain exclusion.

Elaborating on the structural dynamics of the minority family, this expert discussed the socialization within Black, and some Hispanic, homes. In the expert’s experience as a clinical professional, working with a considerable number of young adults from various racial

⁵³ This interviewee was the only interviewee who requested not to be recorded so that they may speak frankly. This required a substantial effort to transcribe verbatim the words of interviewee while the interview took place.

demographics, in these homes “there was no equivalent of the ‘The Talk’ in order to help young adults think more inclusively and take into account that the racial minority existence was not the only existence.”⁵⁴ However, this expert was not the only interviewee to afford one of the plausible reasons for homophobia among racial minorities to an inadequate family environment that inculcated persons towards tolerance, acceptance, and inclusiveness.

The last interview was with the Public Policy Manager of arguably the largest statewide organization for LGBTI equality and advocacy afforded four causes of this minority homophobia, also promulgating family dynamics. The interviewee referred to the “aunt/uncle story”—minorities, particularly African-Americans, exhibiting homophobia, even if they personally engaged in same-sex relationships, because of family-oriented fear. The families in these communities when compared to Whites seemingly centered more on influential figures, repressing individuality, and these family figures and not the individual determined acceptable lifestyles. These multiple, and often overlapping assertions, offer a more complex and highly-complex picture for explaining minority homophobia—one that includes variables often asserted in academic literature, such as religion or political ideology, but additional institutional, contextual, and psychological factors.

Additionally, these assertions from the expert interviews were notions that the probable or likely causes of homophobia within minority groups consisted of variables not applicable to Whites. These considerations ranged from the importance of religion to insufficient education conditions among minority populations to prevailing cultural norms of gender identity and acceptableness. A scholar who had previously done grassroots work towards LGBTI education and policy lobbying stated that there was a prevailing ignorance

⁵⁴ ‘The Talk’ refer to a common institutionalized occurrence between parents and children of racial minorities on behaviors and action when faced with racism, especially from law enforcement.

about homosexual lifestyles and culture among racial minorities. This expert's previous work experience led to this promulgation and to the notion that there was an ignorance among racial minorities and that this ignorance was somewhat perpetuated by the bias of pro-gay advocacy groups. This interviewee, again from first-hand professional experience, candidly spoke from their respective experience in community-level education efforts for LGBTI efforts and stated that target areas were largely suburban areas with primarily White populations.

“It might be worth looking at organizations like the Gay and Lesbian Taskforce... like the Human Rights Campaigns; organizations that are funding the state-wide ballot measures, for instances that were pro-LGBT... how much working with and talking to and engaging in communities of color. This was especially true in the 2000s, people running these organizations were not people of color; people funding these agencies were not people of color... and for a long time, and even to this day, LGBTI organizations didn't work in [certain] communities... There's a bias that [the organizations] cannot work in these communities... or that [they] shouldn't be there! There is a bias among organizations... among the organization's leaders. It may be an assumption that people of color will be with us, because they understand discrimination.”⁵⁵

These minority-specific explanations revealed associations not commonly found in literature, again perhaps because of the difficulty to measure quantitatively. One such reoccurring theme mentioned by almost every expert was a fear of homosexuality rooted in what several interviewees referred to as a “misunderstanding of homosexuals.” Again referencing the interview from the Instructor of African-American politics, who went into considerable detail to discuss this “fear of homosexuals” that was seemingly prevalent within African-American communities. This expert stated that there was a “social stigma” of minorities, who viewed homosexuality as a choice to engage in deviant behaviors. Thus,

⁵⁵ Excerpt from interview with an LGBTI policy expert, conducted at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, 2017.

Blacks shied away from its presence or even discussion; and when it was discussed it was done so in a manner that perpetuated the fear of anything resembling homosexuality. Another interviewee said that this fear was real and exceptionally heightening for persons that are transgender and ascribe to non-conforming gender identities. The information attained in these expert interviews demonstrates legitimacy for approaches of minority homophobia differently than that of discussing homophobia generally, or for White persons. Therefore, this dissertation accepts Hypothesis One.

Findings – Hypothesis Two

The quantitative analysis of Hypothesis One and Two in Chapter Five indicates that age is likely one of the strongest influencers of homophobia for Whites and racial minorities. Yet in regards to minorities, age was perhaps an even stronger indicator than the interaction assessing racial discrimination and its effect(s) on minorities. And, the findings from this qualitative chapter give evidence that age is important in understanding homophobia and its salience for minorities. When asked to provide plausible explanations for the salient homophobia among racial minorities, one interviewee prefaced their answer with this iteration:

“generational effects must be taken into consideration, especially for African-Americans... the dominant ideologies about homosexuality are passed down from older generations (aunts, uncles, and madeas) who matured in times where it was a necessity for the African-American male to be a strong masculine leader of the household, combating a system of racism. Thus, the perceived ‘effeminate’ homosexual male or ‘butch’ lesbians threatened the black identity, at least according to this older indoctrination.”⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Excerpt from interview with policy expert of African-American politics at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, 2017.

This expert's assertion of age and the influence of older people of color indoctrinating homophobia is something consistent across information sources. There were notable audiovisual files from minority experts but there was one public document that substantiated the findings from interviews—an opinion editorial piece written by Alexandria Chill in June of 2015. Chill is a prominent blogger on issues facing the integrity of African-American fraternities and sororities and a member of one the oldest African-American sororities, Zeta Phi Beta. She discusses how previous generations in African-American homes have created atmospheres that incubate homophobia, even against the current generation's desires of inclusion and acceptance. She says:

“... grandparents try to pray ‘it’ off. Our parents ignore the signs and discount them as a ‘phases.’ Siblings and cousins are left yearning to offer hugs of comfort, but afraid that if they do, the hovering adults will shame them for advocating ‘such a sin.’”⁵⁷

Chill's words not only demonstrate an indoctrination, but more importantly show a generational difference in LGBTI attitudes commonly within Black homes where younger Blacks are torn on accepting LGBTI culture.

Again, generational differences are not solely applicable to minorities, but similarly to the assessment of admitted homophobia in Chapter Five (referencing Table 5.2), there is a stronger effect for minorities. Therefore, in regards to the generational effects, especially among the African-American demographic, this dissertation accepts Hypothesis Two.

⁵⁷ Excerpt taken from Chill's open editorial “NPHC PRIDE: The Discussion We've Never Had About Black Greekdom and Homophobia.”

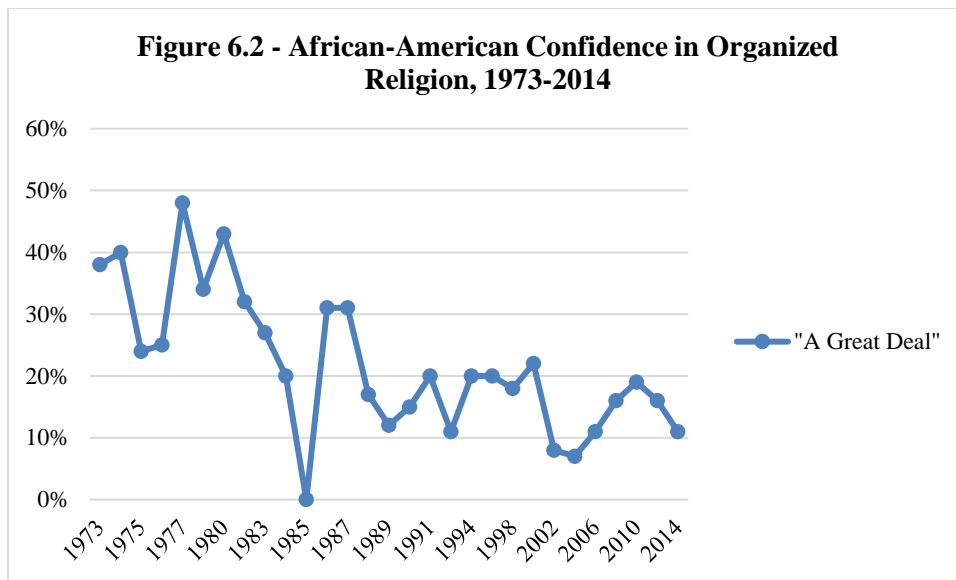
Findings – Hypothesis Three

The quantitative findings in the preceding chapter revealed a weaker relationship between homophobia and religiosity than often asserted in academic literature. Referencing Table 5.2, religion was seemingly only significant when homophobia was measured by a scale of policy items that are national in scope. However, every interviewee asserted religion when asked to explain causes of homophobia among racial minorities, specifically noting the indoctrination of the Black Church. How is religion largely insignificant in the quantitative analysis, yet afforded as casual towards homophobic attitudes in expert interviews? First, it is noted that no expert spent considerable time detailing an assertion of religion. In most cases it was only mentioned briefly and there were no explicit stories or accounts about religion from experts. There may be two plausible reasons for this. First is a decline in religious confidence for racial minorities; and the second is a slow but noticeable change in some denominations of the Black church towards inclusiveness.⁵⁸

Religious confidence is declining, likely in most communities. As some scholars assert, religion may not have the impact on social and political decisions for minorities as it once did (Jenkins, et al., 2009). This is not to say that people have become less religious; but, their understanding of moral acceptability is not solely determined by a “church experience” (Kozloski, 2004). Therefore, even if a person could demonstrate that minorities possess higher religious measures, they would be compelled to prove that the respective religious measure is the one factor contributing to attitudes towards gays and lesbians. Kozloski (2004) says that “moral acceptance of homosexual sex relations has becoming increasingly associated with one’s political beliefs,” and is less determined by mores of organized religion

⁵⁸ Religious confidence is the notion that institutions, such as the Christian Church, can legitimately be seen as pillars of “moral leadership” (Grossman, 20145, para. 1).

(p. 1379). This probable decline of religious impact is probable across all racial groups, but is affirmed for African-Americans when looking at GSS data. Blacks have considerably less confidence in organized religion—shifting from a high of 48% in 1977 to only 11% in 2014 (see Figure 6.2).⁵⁹ Therefore, this interpretation does not dismiss the assertion of expert interviews, but provided context as to their brief mentioning of religion. Homophobia is likely only linked to religion for segments of minority populations that still have a high confidence in organized religion. This interpretation is corroborated when most interviewees voluntarily ranked their assertions for minority homophobia, where none place religion as the principal reason. Simply religion’s impact on social attitudes, including homosexuality, is becoming an antiquated argument among minorities.



Source: General Social Survey (GSS)

⁵⁹ From the highest percentage to the latest percentage, there is a drop of 37%. The highest percentage of Whites with “a great deal” of confidence in organized religion was lower than that of Blacks, at 45% in 1974. And, currently is higher than that of Black at 13% in 2014—a drop of 32%.

Additionally, there is shift in many Christian denominations towards a more inclusive doctrine, most notably the Episcopal Church.⁶⁰ When these assertions are assessed in light of the most recent incident involving homosexual doctrine and the Black Church, this shift towards inclusion is made even more salient. On December 30, 2016 a sermon by Minister Kimberly Burrell, arguably the most prominent female African-American pastor, instantly went viral, largely because of her explicit and graphic condemnation of homosexuality.⁶¹ The following excerpt from the video recording gives a synopsis of Minister Burrell's comments and what some in the church view as an antiquated ideology about homosexuality:

“I came to tell you about sin. That sin nature... that perverted homosexual spirit, and the spirit of delusion and confusion. It has deceived many men and women... You as a man open your mouth and take a man's penis in your face, you are perverted! You are a woman and will shake your face in another woman's breasts, you are perverted!”⁶²

Though Burrell's sermon rhetoric reflects decades of ideology embedded in the Black Church, the social and religious backlash demonstrates the shift within the Black Church and perhaps a change in concepts of morality within the church. Prominent African-American ministers, such as Pastor E. Dewey Smith, and gospel icons, such as Yolanda Adams, rebutted Minister Burrell's use of religion to substantiate what many saw as homophobia. The following excerpt is from an open letter Pastor Smith penned to Minister Burrell in the aftermath of her oration:

“Religion and Biblical interpretation will always be laden with challenges because it involves humanity's attempt to understand the mind and methods of the Divine. As Kim Burrell has long represented her Christian faith, it's important to know that Christianity is not monolithic. There are many people

⁶⁰ See the efforts for gays and lesbian inclusion in the Episcopal Church at <http://www.episcopalchurch.org/page/lgbt-church>.

⁶¹ Kim Burrell is the Founder and Minister of Love & Liberty Fellowship Church International and arguably the most widely respected female minister in the Black Pentecostal Christian Church.

⁶² The video of Minister Burrell's sermon was accessed from <http://www.bet.com/music/2016/12/31kim-burrell-disrespectfully-slam--perverted--homosexuals-insermon.html>.

who share Kim's views and the tone that she delivered in her sermon clip, yet they are not representative of all Christians. In the same way that churches differ over doctrine and denomination, "Christians" are not unanimous or unified in their beliefs about homosexuality."⁶³

By interpreting the brief mentioning of religion in expert interviews and the data inclusive data from documents and audiovisuals, this dissertation accepts that religion does shape attitudes on LGBTI persons for some, but the impact of organized religion is declining and there is a shift in Black Christian doctrine; thus, this dissertation accepts Hypothesis Three.

Findings – Hypothesis Four

The new theoretical contribution of this dissertation is that racial discrimination plays an important role for shaping the thoughts of racial minorities, even affecting their attitudes towards gays and lesbians—a plausible explanation to be added to credible reasons for their perceived homophobia. And, just as in the previous chapter, the findings of this qualitative portion of the dissertation give credible evidence towards accepting such a hypothesis. Two questions asked during the interview process give affirmation towards this: (1) How impactful is the racial discrimination experienced by racial minorities on their political and social attitudes? (2) How would you address a hypothesis that states: “the racial minority experience with racial discrimination has contributed to negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians”?

In regards to the impact of racial discrimination, all interviewees, whether White or a racial minority, asserted that the experience of racial discrimination is likely the singular greatest concern for racial minorities. An interview with one of the Regional Integration

⁶³ Excerpt from Minister Smith's open letter was taken from his Facebook page and can be read in its entirety at <https://www.facebook.com/121232835804/photos/a.404672810804.176394.121232835804/10154402051175805/?type=3&theater>.

Specialists in the AIDS Initiative, stated that it “weighs heavily on racial minorities... every day you wake up in Brown skin, knowing society sees that as something less than.” But, it is the assertion from the clinical psycho-analyst, referenced earlier in this chapter, that paints a picture of the impact of racial discrimination, saying:

“The impact is tremendous! I would say beyond that... I guess coming at this from the kind of work that I do. It has an impact not only on one’s experience in the social sphere, but also how one views one’s self, one’s physiological response... there are health concerns that are manifestations of oppression, discrimination, and marginalization... it is important to recognize these are significant factors in one’s experience.”⁶⁴

Coincidentally, it was also these two experts—the Integration Specialists in the AIDS Initiative and the Clinical Psycho-analyst—that voluntarily asserted theoretical notions mirroring the concept of repercussive discrimination afforded in the dissertation when questioned about the effect of racial minorities’ attitudes towards gays and lesbians, essentially increasing a probability towards homophobia. They both stated that minorities, particularly African-American, have cognitions of “loss of power” and helplessness—which may account for the lack of happiness/life dissatisfaction measured in the previous chapter—as a result of their discrimination experience, which makes them more homophobic. One of those interviewees summed it up in a way that not only explains why some minorities do not transition to a thinking that makes them more empathetic towards LGBTI persons, but even made a connection as to why racial discrimination leads to the targeting of LGBTI persons, as opposed to other political minorities.

“Hurt people, hurt people; marginalized people will marginalize people... Everybody at the end of the day is looking for power and [discrimination] has denied them power, so they come down against gays because they’ve been oppressed... [but in regards to why gays] it’s a protection of black masculinity, that stems from slavery. Throughout slavery, the goals of White men were to break down Black men and make them feel less, making them

⁶⁴ Excerpt from interview with clinical psycho-analyst conducted at the University of Missouri-St. Louis, 2017.

more docile; emasculating black men. Thus, [exiting slavery] there has always been this concept and mindset to defend this masculinity that has been taken away from us.”⁶⁵

This notion that racial discrimination created inequitable conditions, that is conditions without power, and certain cognitions came forth as a result, affecting attitudes towards LGBTI persons is the basis of the repercussive discrimination theory.

Furthermore, it would be difficult not to surmise that the notions of Black masculinity, which was a reoccurring themes in the interviews, is not in some way a result of the racial discrimination experienced by African-Americans. From the practice of “breaking the buck” in slavery to the “stop and frisk” laws in the 1970s and 1980s, it seems that institutional racism targeted African-American males. As one interviewee stated, “homosexuality encroached upon the identity of the Black man”—an identity constantly under attack in the racial treatment of African-Americans. Therefore, individual experiences of racial discrimination may prime this institutional effect.

Not only do these interviews reveal such, but when the information from the interviews is triangulated with the actions of arguably the most visible social movement to address the discriminatory treatment of African-Americans of the past decade—Black Lives Matter (BLM)—the culture of negative attitudes by racial minorities towards LGBTI persons is revealed.⁶⁶ Black Lives Matter has protested, marched, engaged in civil disobedience and public demonstrations to bring attention to the mistreatment of Black people, especially unarmed persons killed by law enforcement or mysteriously dying under the care of law enforcement, since 2012 when the ruling of George Zimmerman was rendered as not guilty

⁶⁵ Interview done with LGBTI expert conducted at a HIV/AIDS & LGBTI Outreach facility in St. Louis, MO, 2017.

⁶⁶ Black Lives Matter is a social movement “rooted in the experience of Black people in [America] who [are] actively resisting [their] dehumanization. <http://blacklivesmatter.com/about/>.

in the case of Trayvon Martin. Their efforts have made the names of Michael Brown, Freddie Gray, Eric Garner, Sandra Bland and others martyrs in an effort to bring about restorative justice. However, when African-American LGBTI persons are mistreated, discriminated against by law enforcement officers, or mysteriously killed, there fails to be the response from the movement, even in light of similar evidence of mistreatment. The *Seattle Times* details the deaths of Dwone Anderson-Young, killed leaving a gay nightclub in New Jersey; but no protests followed his death.⁶⁷ *The Tennessean* wrote of 2016 homicide of Deon Brown—a transgender Black male—whose killing was followed by no BLM protests.⁶⁸

According to Elephrame, an online archival database of social issues, there have been 1,889 BLM protests as of February 2017 because of perceived discrimination against individual persons or a perception that the “system” disproportionately marginalizes people of color. However, all of those protests have been for persons perceived or believed to be heterosexual. There has yet to be a single documented protest for a Black person who was open about being a part of the LGBTI community, as of January 31, 2017. Perhaps, it is the social unhappiness that African-American feel, as tested in the previous chapter; or, perhaps it is as one interviewee said, “Blacks want to maintain a monopoly on discrimination,” and are resentful towards gays and lesbians.

Perhaps as one interviewee stated “minorities don’t see the similarity in their experience with racial discrimination and the LGBTI fight for equality.” What is evident is that for minorities, especially the African-American community, discrimination has created

⁶⁷ More details are available in the online article “Waiting for Justice; Mom Yarns for Swift Return of Alleged Killer: in the *Seattle Times*. URL: <http://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/crime/waiting-for-justice-mom-years-for-swift-return-of-alleged-killer/>.

⁶⁸ Deon Brown’s death was eventually ruled a hate crime, with no protests from the BLM Movement. *The Tennessean*, URL: <http://www.tennessean.com/story/news/crime/2016/11/16/family-friends-including-lgbt-community-mourn-man-brutally-killed-trucking-business/93955096/>.

apprehensions causing them to possess higher levels of homophobia than Whites. And, this homophobia is not only against Black gays as Cohen (2006) asserts, but against homosexuality inclusively despite race. Thus, this study accepts Hypothesis Four and the notion that racial discrimination impacts attitudes towards gays and lesbians for racial minorities.

Summary of Qualitative Findings

As the previous chapter demonstrated, there is evidence that minorities are more homophobic than Whites. Contemporary African-American activists, such as Umar Johnson, have even defended the entrenched homophobia within communities of color under the auspice that homosexuality is a euro-centric practice and is a “total rejection” of the Black community, and LGBTI movements are orchestrated to diminish the effectiveness of Black civil rights movements in America.⁶⁹ Johnson’s views are somewhat extreme, but they demonstrate: (1) the existence of negative attitudes in these communities, and a justification, which perpetuates them, and; (2) how there is an under-studied connection between minority condition, which is a direct result of discrimination, and feelings about gays and lesbians.

However, these qualitative findings reveal there is more than just asserting the differences in attitudes by race, but attempting to discover, to some degree, why these attitudes exist. This chapter presumes that generational contexts sustain homophobia among minorities; family context perpetuates suppression of individual sexual expression; and, to some degree, religion continues to play a role. But, in addition, these interviews, documents, and recording show that there are cognitions as a result of racial discrimination that also

⁶⁹ See recorded speeches of Dr. Umar Johnson as URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=B_bjuyMtc5Q and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ogyS3DJXoA>.

perpetuate the homophobia. In addition to the life dissatisfaction discovered in Chapter Five, this chapter reveals that the loss of control in being the premier discriminated group fuels some homophobia. Also, there is a fear of eroding important constructs to the minority existence, such as black masculinity, which is a direct result of perceptions from years of discrimination that sought to target the Black male—a sentiment shared by both Black males and females.

Whether dissatisfaction, or loss of control, or lack of education, or misdirected fears, all these cognitions are linked to the historical and current experience of racial discrimination faced by racial minorities. And, these are instrumental in adding to scholarly conversations as to why some minorities appear to oppose LGBTI policy and culture. All in all, an experience with racial discrimination is not only pertinent in understanding the minority situation, but is also key in understanding minority homophobia.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS, AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This dissertation offers a novel addition to the discussion of public attitudes towards gays and lesbians among racial minorities, particularly African-Americans. It presents an explanation related to the high levels of negativity directed at LGBTI groups that stems from the African-American experience with racial discrimination. Quantitatively, the study used data from the American National Election Study (ANES) and General Social Survey (GSS) between the years 2000-2014 that asked questions regarding homophobia and an experience with racial discrimination. Qualitatively, the study used information from public documents and audio-visuals, but primarily expert interviews performed in the St. Louis Metro area in 2017. The evidence reinforces the theory of repercussive discrimination.

Conclusions

Public attitudes are pertinent in substantive understandings of political issues; because, they provide real world context by which existing political theory can be tested and even add perspectives to develop new theories. Additionally, the public attitudes towards political minorities, reveal strategies and techniques by which political minorities induce the majority in addressing their issues and interests. For, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and intersex (LGBTI) persons this assessment of public attitudes is peculiar because the greatest oppositions and most negative attitudes are from another political minority—racial minorities. Understanding that racial minorities seemingly were more opposed to pro-LGBTI policy, this study asserted that racial discrimination—a common experience across racial minorities, contributed to a staunch negative disposition that could be seen as homophobic. With a central aim to demonstrate that conditions explaining minority homophobia differ

from those explaining homophobia among Whites, this study applied the theory of repercussive discrimination.

Repercussive discrimination does not attempt to de-legitimize past assertions of homophobia; neither does it attempt to replace them. However, it does offer a valid contribution that takes into account: (1) the general trend of more favorable LGBTI attitudes; (2) the seemingly cognitive resistance of racial minorities to follow national trends; and (3) the commonality of experiencing racial discrimination that produces cognitions about life and/or social circumstances that result in negative attitudes towards LGBTI persons. It contradicts the accepted notions that discrimination trauma causes increased empathy and largely rests upon principles of transference.

Analysis of attitudes towards gays and lesbians employed a mixed-methods approach. This approach was selected primarily because this study sought to do more than provide evidence of an association, but as the theory of repercussive discrimination implies, explain why the relationship between variables existed. The dissertation assessed quantitative data from 2000-2014 from two national data sets: the American National Election Study (ANES) and the General Social Survey (GSS); and pulled qualitative interpretation from expert interviews, public documents, and relevant audio-visual files. The quantitative analysis reaffirmed some commonly accepted associations for homophobia, such as age and education—older and less educated persons tending to exhibit higher homophobia. However, it surprisingly provided inconsistent findings as to other commonly accepted associations, particularly religiosity. Central to the theoretical assertion of this dissertation the quantitative analysis found that an experience with racial discrimination is a statistically significant predictor of minority homophobia. Furthermore, it revealed that one of the cognitions linking

racial discrimination and homophobia was a prevailing mental construct that minorities were socially unhappy and experienced life dissatisfaction.

The qualitative analysis further validated these findings. Expert interviews, public documents, and select audio-visual files all seem to reiterate the need for different approaches in understanding minority homophobia. Likely, the most conflicting finding of the qualitative analysis conflicted with the dominant narrative in literature—a decline in the impact of religion and institutions like the Black Church. There is a decline in religious confidence, particularly in the denominations of Christianity, as a rationale or justification for homophobia. Moreover, there is a doctrinal change that argues against hateful homophobia sentiments and instead argues that the common narratives of demonizing gay life and culture is more immoral. Lastly, this information further provides explanations as to why racial discrimination is statistically significant in explaining minority homophobia. It elucidated further cognitions, such as a loss of power and a sense of helplessness, that are probable in linking minority homophobia to the frequent experience of racial discrimination.

Implications

With almost seven in every ten Americans having favorable views of same-sex relationships, assessments of homophobia exist within a particular shrinking population. The first implication is that studies of homophobia going forward will need to focus on certain demographics in which homophobia is still prominent, such as African-Americans. Studying homophobia generally in a nation that has a majority more favorable to LGBTI lifestyle will likely lead to skewed findings. One such area is that of race, especially for the African-American population. Therefore, assessing homophobia absent race would arguably lead to

incomplete conclusions. Therein lies the second implication—an omission of race and race context maybe the linkage in new theoretical discoveries.

Unfortunately, this omission of race and constructs associated with race are often neglected in Political Science scholarship. Political studies “traditionally [have] ignored the role of race and ethnicity in American politics, even as it was [and still is] a stark and crucial feature of American government” (Garcia & Tate, 2013, p. 275). This infers that perhaps Political Science, and the larger social sciences, have missed important understandings of cognition and behavior. This practice of often ignoring race and race constructs have created disciplines that sometime possess more questions than answers; because they can cite what differences exist, but falter at why the differences exist.

Yet, because racial discrimination is largely, though not exclusively, an experience of minorities, omitting racial discrimination’s plausible effect would be another catalyst for incomplete conclusions. Because, this dissertation investigates racial discrimination, even against arguments of empathy, it discovers that racial difference are important in understanding what attitudinal differences. In addition, the common experiences across minority groups shapes their thinking, and can explain certain attitudes. Thus, a final, and somewhat obvious implication, is that racial discrimination shapes political and social thought.

This may seem to be conspicuous, but the studies that examine the effects of racial discrimination beyond those that experience the initial trauma are evidence of an oversight into the effects of racial discrimination. The effects of racial discrimination are more far-reaching than most consider. This dissertation demonstrates how LGBTI persons, who may or may not have direct experiences with racial discrimination, are affected by it; because,

those who have experienced such treatment are seemingly less supportive of pro-LGBTI policies. Most would consider how racism and manifestations of racial discrimination lead to inequitable treatment and unfair social circumstances for the persons that experience the initial discrimination; but, many fail to investigate how that experience may perpetuate thoughts and attitudes that can be deemed unfair, even affecting individuals and groups not a part of the original experience. There are arguably many similarities in the fight for LGBTI equality that mirror the fight for racial equality: the use of religion to justify the inequitable conditions, legal and extra legal tactics, and employing some segment of the majority to align with the cause. However, these similarities do not produce empathy, as some may speculate. One group's oppression has led to attitudes and policy positions that perpetuate another group's subjugation.

Future Research

The prospects of future research are vast. First, there is ground for continually investigating some of the cognitions that are surmised because of racial discrimination and its impact on LGBTI attitudes. This dissertation provided evidence for life dissatisfaction/social unhappiness, loss of control of the narrative of discrimination, and fear. However, the reoccurring themes from expert interviews of a fragile notion of Black masculinity may also demonstrate evidence in linking racial discrimination to homophobia, as well as revisiting the loss of control premise.

However, this study will likely receive some criticism, because its quantitative data was:

(1) from two cross-sectional data sets. Cross-sectional data is often critiqued because findings from such cannot definitively prove causality, only associations among variables; and, more importantly,

(2) from data sets that address a broad range of political issues and perhaps provide weak characterizations of homophobia or heterosexism and fail to address the severity of racial discrimination and its impact on political issues. Though the data sets in this study, particularly the GSS, are used in premier studies of attitudes towards LGBTI persons (Herek, 2002; Lewis, 2003; Brewer, 2003; Kozloski, etc.). The surveys used in this analysis are not constructed to measure attitudes in-depth. This is not an immediate goal, but the creation of a unique national survey instrument can: (i) provide a stronger measure of homophobia that addresses attitudes, comfort-level and policy position; (ii) assess the severity of racial discrimination and its impact on social and political issues; and, (iii) allow assessments of the cognitions commonly referred to in the process of transference.

Additionally, in regards to data, restrictions of time and funding limited the use of qualitative data, which largely rested upon expert interviews to the St. Louis Metropolitan area. Though these were experts with national experiences, some may argue that St. Louis and the state of Missouri are hardly representative of the median attitudes of this nation. Therefore, future research would prompt for a greater selection of experts that are from differing regions, races, sexual identities, etc. in order to procure a more inclusive and national understanding of the topics of homophobia and racial discrimination in attempts of understanding how they are related.

Thirdly, future research may expand beyond looking at racial discrimination in the context of racial minorities to understanding prevailing positions, but also looks at sexism,

ageism or other ideologies of exclusion to investigate how they shape the cognitions of persons and prime them to have certain policy positions. If racial discrimination makes minorities, particularly African-Americans, more likely to be homophobic, perhaps these experiences provide some insight as to why certain groups are supportive or opposed to certain contemporary policy positions.

All in all, this dissertation has revealed a fertile ground that perhaps borders on the cusp of political psychology and public opinion studies. However, it shows that the continued rights of both racial minorities and LGBTI persons continue to be advocated for legally and socially, that the two are not mutually exclusive.

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APPENDIX

Listing of Questions Asked in Expert Interviews

Note: All numbered questions were asked in interviews. Lettered questions represent possible follow-up and addendum questions, depending on responsiveness or hesitation of interviewee.

Preface to Each Interview: These interviews are design to collect expert first-hand information to add to my doctoral dissertation, which investigates perceivable higher homophobia among racial minorities, when compared to Whites. This interview is completely confidential. No identifying information (name, gender, race, etc.) will be included in the dissertation. Only your occupation, and/or education, will be referenced in the text of the dissertation in efforts to substantiate your inclusion in the study.

So that I may have accuracy in your responses to these questions may I audio record this interview?

1. What is the most pressing issue for racial minorities presently?
2. What is the most pressing issue for members of LGBTI community presently?
3. How would you define homophobia?
4. Most national datasets reveal that racial minorities are more homophobic than Whites, how would you explain that?
 - a. Do you believe that racial minorities are more homophobic?
5. How does this perceived homophobia from racial minorities impact their claims of racial discrimination and inequitable treatment in America?
 - a. Does being more homophobia make racial minorities claim to being marginalized any less legitimate?
6. How impactful is the racial discrimination experienced by racial minorities on their political and social attitudes?
 - a. Is there anything for racial minorities more impactful on how they view the world and society?
7. How would you explain a hypothesis that states that the racial minority experience with racial discrimination has contributed to negative attitudes towards gays and lesbians?
 - a. Is it plausible that racial discrimination is linked to the homophobia minorities seemingly exhibit?
 - b. Would not racial discrimination make racial minorities more empathetic and likely to support gay rights and policies?