Understanding Prejudice and Discrimination:

Heterosexuals' Motivations for Engaging in Homonegativity

Directed Toward Gay Men

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ABSTRACT

To date, little research has documented the prevalence of anti-gay behaviours on Canadian university campuses or directly explored heterosexual men's and women's self-reported reasons for holding negative attitudes toward gay men and engaging in anti-gay behaviours. Consequently, the purpose of the current study was to: (1) assess the prevalence of anti-gay attitudes and behaviours on a Canadian university campus using the Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale (ATG) and the Self-Report Behaviour Scale – Revised (SBS-R); (2) describe heterosexual men's and women's lived experiences as perpetrators of homonegativity; and (3) explore how heterosexuals find meaning in their homonegativity within personal and social contexts. A mixed-methods approach was used wherein a quantitative questionnaire was administered to 286 university students in the first phase of the study. The majority of the participants scored below the midpoint of the ATG and they most often reported engaging in subtle behaviours directed toward gay men. In the second, qualitative phase of the study, open-ended interviews were conducted with eight individuals (four men and four women) who held negative attitudes toward gay men and had engaged in anti-gay behaviours. The interviews were analyzed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. The participants' lived experiences of homonegativity were primarily characterized by their feelings of discomfort upon observing gay men display affection and their perceptions that gay men are feminine. For the most part, participants used their religious beliefs, negative affective reactions toward homosexuality, and their beliefs that homosexuality is wrong and unnatural to understand their homonegativity. Further, the participants indicated that they had only engaged in subtle anti-gay behaviours, such as joke-telling, social distancing, or avoidance. Many of the participants were concerned about being perceived as prejudiced and, consequently, monitored the behaviours they directed toward gay men. Limitations of the study and directions for future research concerning anti-gay behaviours are also presented.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATG	Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale
ATHS	Attitudes Toward Homosexuals Scale
ATLG	Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale
IAH	Index of Attitudes Toward Homophobia
RWA	Right-wing authoritarianism
SBS-R	Self-Report of Behaviour Scale-Revised
SDO	Social dominance orientation

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION

Discrimination and prejudice toward gay men and lesbian women is a contentious social issue within Canada. Although there have been recent advances in Canadian society to support basic human rights for gay men and lesbian women, an underlying atmosphere of intolerance toward homosexuality and sexual minority individuals remains. Little research, however, has explored the self-reported motivations of perpetrators who hold negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women and engage in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours. Thus, it is critical to understand the psychosocial meanings underlying the perpetuation of anti-gay/lesbian attitudes and behaviours to combat the existence of prejudice and discrimination directed toward sexual minorities. This thesis is designed to explore heterosexual men's and women's lived experiences of holding negative attitudes toward gay men and engaging in anti-gay behaviours.

1.1 Defining Homonegativity

The negative attitudes and behaviours that individuals may direct toward gay men and lesbian women are often referred to as homophobia or homonegativity. Homophobia is the term that is most often used by researchers to refer to negative attitudes toward sexual minorities and has traditionally been defined as an irrational fear or intolerance of people who are homosexual (Weinberg, 1972). However, homophobia is a misnomer, as it does not accurately reflects the breadth of some individuals' attitudes and responses toward gay men and lesbian women. For instance, instead of being reserved to describe irrational, fearful reactions to gay men and lesbian women as the definition suggests it should, homophobia has been used to describe any type of negative cognitive, affective or behavioural response to homosexuality or sexual minorities (Devlin & Cowan, 1985; Herek, 2004; MacDonald, 1976; Niesen, 1990). It is inappropriate to use homophobia to refer to all negative reactions toward gay men and lesbian women for a number of reasons. First, the term homophobia suggests that the study of negative responses toward persons who are gay or lesbian should be limited to negative affective reactions. More specifically, the suffix "phobia" suggests that research should focus on the emotion of fear, even though individuals may experience other emotions such as anxiety, anger, or disgust when they encounter people who are

gay or lesbian (Herek, 2004; MacDonald, 1976). Second, most individuals who are "homophobic" rarely have the same affective and physiological reactions when encountering homosexuality that people with other phobias exhibit (Herek, 2004). In a study conducted by Shields and Harriman (1984), only some highly homonegative men experienced accelerated heart rates while viewing images of male homosexual sexual activity, when all highly homonegative men should have had accelerated heart rates. Moreover, other studies have demonstrated that participants often endorse prejudice-related statements about gay men, but rarely endorse phobia-related statements about gay men (Logan, 1996). Third, the term homophobia insinuates individual psychopathology in the perpetrator and ignores the social factors that contribute to negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women, such as cultural ideologies and intergroup relations (Adam, 1998; MacDonald, 1976; Niesen, 1990). Finally, the term implies that homophobia is a dysfunctional attribute when, in fact, it may be perceived to be quite functional in numerous societies; namely, it proscribes how men and women are to behave (Herek, 2000a).

In order to avoid the connotations associated with homophobia, the term homonegativity will be used in this thesis to refer to negative responses toward gay men and lesbian women. Homonegativity is a multidimensional construct that consists of negative affective, cognitive and behavioural responses directed toward individuals who self-identify as gay or lesbian (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980). In contrast to the suffix "phobia," the suffix "negativity" offers a more accurate characterization of the nature of prejudice toward these social groups. "Negativity" does not suggest that negative attitudes are pathological; it does not limit the focus of study to affect; and it does not exclude the influence of social and cultural factors in the manifestation of negative responses toward members of the sexual minority.

1.2 Scientific Literature Review of Homonegativity

The majority of research that has been conducted on homonegativity has studied individuals' endorsement of negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women. Negative attitudes toward sexual minorities have typically been assessed with measures that characterize homonegativity in terms of an individuals' religious beliefs, perceptions of morality, endorsement of myths about gay men and lesbian women, and

adherence to social norms (Morrison, Morrison, & Franklin, in press). In recent years, researchers have documented that attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women are becoming more positive, particularly in university settings. Altemeyer (2001) reported that Canadian university students' scores on the Attitudes Toward Homosexuals Scale (ATHS; Altemeyer, 1988) were substantially more favourable in 1998 than they were in 1984 (when scores hovered around the mid-point of the scale), indicating that feelings of hostility and rejection toward gay men and lesbian women have lessened to the point where most students report that they accept these sexual minority groups. In addition, Schellenberg, Hirt, and Sears (1999) documented that the mean scores of both male and female students from a Canadian university on the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG; Herek, 1988) were well below the midpoint of the scale, again indicating that most students are accepting of gay men and lesbian women. Other Canadian and American researchers who have recently measured university students' attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women also have reported that students' attitudes toward sexual minorities were generally positive (Kilianski, 2003; Mohipp & Morry, 2004; Morrison et al., in press; Simoni & Walters, 2001; Theodore & Basow, 2000); however, whether this change in students' self-reported attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women over time is actually reflective of greater tolerance for sexual minorities among students is arguable since research exploring the occurrence of anti-gay/lesbian behaviours suggests that homonegativity has not disappeared from university and college campuses. Franklin (2000) documented that approximately 10% of a sample (*N*=489) of American college students had physically assaulted or threatened people they believed to be gay or lesbian, 24% had verbally harassed people "perceived" to be sexual minorities, and an additional 23% of the sample who did not engage in discriminatory acts reported that they had witnessed the verbal or physical harassment of gay or lesbian individuals. Thus, there appears to be a discrepancy between students' self-reported attitudes and behaviours toward gay men and lesbian women.

1.3 The Relationship Between Homonegative Attitudes and Anti-Gay/Lesbian Behaviours

A number of possible explanations for the attitudinal-behavioural inconsistencies have emerged vis-à-vis homonegativity on college and university

campuses. First, the accuracy of explicit attitudinal measures (e.g., the ATHS and ATLG) on sensitive topics has been found to be compromised by social desirability, self-monitoring, and other forms of impression management (Blair, 2002; Dovidio, 2001; Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997; Fazio, 1990; Fazio, Jackson, Dunton, & Williams, 1995). That is, participants often consciously attempt to hide their prejudice when responding to explicit attitudinal measures in order to appear to have favourable attitudes about the social group in question (Blair, 2002; Dovidio, 2001; Fazio et al, 1995). Further, the level at which individuals' attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women have been measured may also have contributed to the finding that students' attitudes toward sexual minorities are generally positive. Attitudes can exist in a public form (wherein individuals may maintain non-prejudiced attitudes toward others even though they may privately hold negative attitudes), a private form (in which attitudes are based on individuals' private standards or ideals) and an automatic form (whereby attitudes are unconscious and often different from individuals' public and private attitudes) (Dovidio et al., 1997). Thus, the incongruity between the anti-gay attitudes and behaviours that have been documented in the literature may have resulted from the measurement of individuals' public attitudes, rather than their private or implicit attitudes, which may reveal more negativity toward gay men and lesbian women.

Second, it is possible that a substantial proportion of students still maintain negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women and that these students are responsible for carrying out the anti-gay behaviours that occur on college and university campuses. Few studies have been conducted to determine whether there is a direct link between the maintenance of prejudicial attitudes toward sexual minorities and engagement in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours. However, the handful of studies that have been conducted have consistently demonstrated that individuals who maintain negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women are more likely to engage in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours. Patel, Long, McCammon, and Wuensch (1995) reported that participants' scores on the Index of Attitudes Toward Homophobia (IAH; Serdahely & Ziembai, 1984) were moderately correlated with the frequency at which they had engaged in the behaviours listed on the Self-Report Behavior Scale, a measure of anti-

gay conduct. Participants primarily reported engaging in various forms of verbal harassment or social distancing directed toward someone they believed to be gay. Roderick, McCammon, Long, and Allred (1998) also found that scores on the IAH were moderately correlated with participants' tendency to engage in the anti-gay/lesbian behaviours listed on a revised version of the Self-Report Behavior Scale. Further, a study conducted by Franklin (2000) indicated that individuals who had engaged in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours held significantly more negative attitudes toward sexual minorities than non-assailants. The author also compared the anti-gay/lesbian attitudes of individuals who had only verbally harassed gay men or lesbian women to individuals who had physically assaulted gay men or lesbian women and found that there were no significant differences in the extent to which these two types of perpetrators endorsed negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women. Thus, these results suggest that the severity of the type of behaviour that a perpetrator chooses to engage in is not necessarily proportional to the degree to which they endorse anti-gay/lesbian attitudes. Finally, a study conducted by Morrison and Morrison (2002) investigated the relationship between the occurrence of anti-gay/lesbian behaviours and modern homonegativity, which is a covert form of homonegativity based on abstract concerns about homosexuality (e.g., discrimination toward sexual minorities is a thing of the past, gay men and lesbian women are making illegitimate demands for rights, and sexual minorities should stop exaggerating the importance of their sexual orientation). The male and female students who endorsed modern homonegativity were more likely to avoid sitting by a person wearing a t-shirt with a pro-gay or pro-lesbian slogan when they could do so on non-prejudicial grounds than students who did not endorse this form of homonegativity.

Third, the conflicting attitudinal and behaviour evidence may indicate that there is not necessarily a direct association between individuals' attitudes and behaviours. In order to explain a similar incongruity between individuals' racial attitudes and anti-Black behaviours, Fazio (1990) developed the Motivation and Opportunity as Determinants (MODE) model to specify a set of conditions in which attitudes may influence individuals' behaviours. The MODE model posits that upon encountering a member of a minority group, the shared, cultural stereotypes that exist about that social

group become accessible and automatically activated for an individual and, thus, the individual will either: (1) engage in deliberative processing of these stereotypes if he/she is motivated to engage in this cognitive activity and has the opportunity to do so; or (2) spontaneously process these stereotypes. If individuals choose to engage in deliberative processing, they are able to consider their conscious attitudes toward the social group and behaviour in question and choose a behavioural response on the basis of their construal of the situation and the consequences of the behaviour they are contemplating (including whether they may be perceived to be prejudiced). Alternatively, if individuals spontaneously process the cultural stereotypes, any strong attitudinal associations that they have about the social group will be activated and they will automatically behave in a manner that is congruent with their attitudes. However, if individuals only have weak attitudinal associations, their attitudes toward the social group will not be activated and they will act in a way that is not influenced by their attitudes. As such, it is expected that explicit attitudes will shape deliberate behaviours for which individuals have the motivation and opportunity to contemplate various courses of action, while implicit attitudes will influence spontaneous responses that are more difficult to monitor and control or responses that individuals do not view as indicative of their attitudes (Dovidio, 2001). Figure 1 provides an overview of the MODE model.
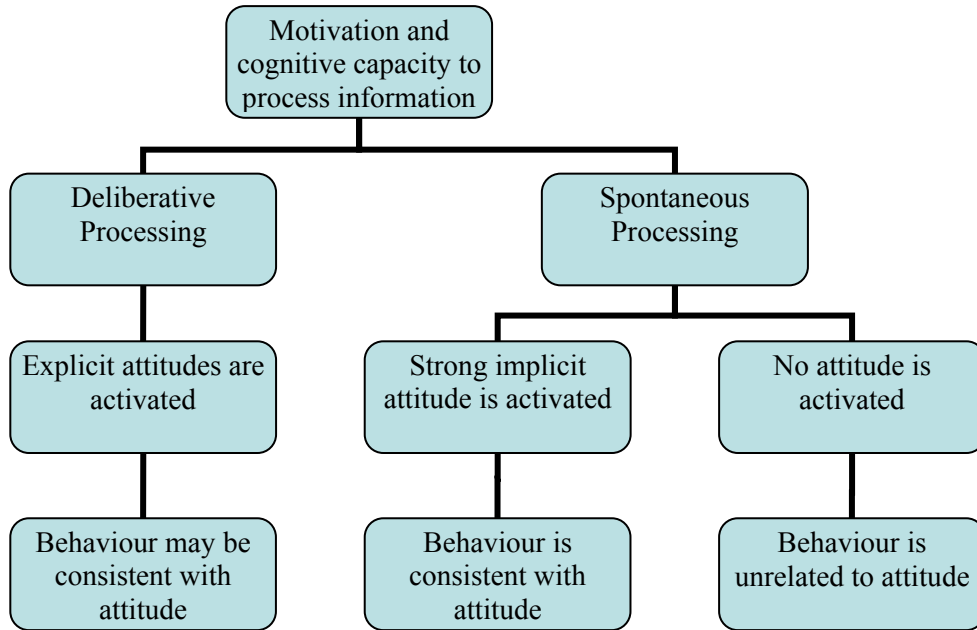
Figure 1. Overview of the MODE Model (Fazio, 1990; Azjen & Fishbein, 2005).

The MODE model suggests that in some situations people will act in accordance with their attitudes toward a social group and some situations where they will not. Consequently, with respect to anti-gay behaviours, it may be the case that, when individuals have the motivation and opportunity to deliberate about their decision to engage in anti-gay or lesbian behaviours, they act in a way that is consistent with positive, public attitudes about gay men or lesbian women. However, when they are in situations that do not permit deliberation, they may act in a way that is congruent with negative, implicit attitudes—thereby explaining the conflicting results that the majority of students have positive, public attitudes toward gay men, even though anti-gay behaviours are still prevalent. Consistent with the MODE model, Dasgupta and Rivera (2006) conducted an experiment in which individuals participated in a series of interviews where they were interviewed separately by a heterosexual interviewer and a gay confederate interviewer. They found that individuals who were not motivated to consider their egalitarian beliefs or to exert control over their behaviours while interacting with the gay confederate were more likely to act on the basis of their automatic prejudice in a discriminatory fashion against the gay man.

In trying to explain the discrepant findings that students' attitudes toward sexual minorities are becoming more positive even though anti-gay/lesbian behaviours are prevalent on university and college campuses, it is likely that social desirability bias, a tendency to measure public attitudes, a small, but significant, proportion of college and university students who still endorse blatantly negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women, and/or the differential occurrence of either deliberative or spontaneous processing in interactions with sexual minorities all account for the conflicting findings. Unfortunately, for the situations in which individuals do choose to deliberately engage in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours, little is known about their reasons for engaging in these behaviours. Before a discussion regarding individuals' known motivations for engaging in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours ensues, however, further evidence exemplifying the nature of discriminatory behaviours directed toward gay men and lesbian women will be presented.

1.4 Discrimination and Its Impact on Sexual Minorities

  1.4.1 Interpersonal discrimination directed toward gay men and lesbian women. In this section, the behavioural aspect of homonegativity will be discussed. Generally, the term discrimination is used to refer to behaviours that occur in either institutional or interpersonal contexts which are intended to harm a particular social group (Pincus, 1996). More specifically, interpersonal discrimination consists of harmful behaviours that individuals or small groups of individuals engage in to hurt or disparage members of a minority group (Pincus, 1996). One of the most severe forms of interpersonal discrimination that sexual minorities may encounter are hate crimes.

  Hate crimes refer to crimes that are intended to harm an individual on the basis of his or her minority group status, which may be determined by his or her sexual orientation, religion, ethnicity, or race (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999). A media analysis conducted by Janoff (2005) revealed that over 100 gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender individuals have been murdered in Canada since 1990 because of their sexual orientation. Approximately 54% of the homicides were carried out by a single male assailant, while 43% of the homicides were perpetrated by groups of two or more men and 3% of the crimes involved one or more female assailants. Statistics Canada (2005) also reported that gay men and lesbian women are 2.5 times more likely to be the victims of violent crimes than heterosexual men and women. Further, D'Augelli and Grossman (2001) found that approximately 65% of older Canadian and American gay men and lesbian women have been victimized on the basis of their sexual orientation at some point in their lives. Approximately 63% of this sample had been verbally abused and 29% had been physically attacked. Moreover, Herek, Gillis, Cogan, and Glunt (1997) found that 45% of their sample of gay, lesbian, and bisexual adults had experienced some form of victimization on the basis of their sexual orientation since the age of 16, with approximately 18% of the sample experiencing sexual assault, 18% experiencing vandalism, 14% experiencing some other form of assault, and 8% witnessing the murder of a loved one. Using a different sample and survey method, Herek, Gillis, and Cogan (1999) revealed that 25% of gay men and 20% of lesbian women had experienced some form of criminal victimization (e.g., sexual assault, physical assault, or robbery) because of their sexual orientation, with 56% of

respondents indicating they had been verbally harassed during the last year, 19% had been threatened with violence, and 17% had been chased or followed. Finally, Balsam, Rothblum, and Beauchaine (2005) found that gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals were more likely to be physically injured and psychologically abused as children by their parents, physically assaulted by their romantic partners in adulthood, and sexually assaulted over the course of their lifetime than their heterosexual siblings.

Regardless of the differences in the prevalence rates of hate crimes directed toward gay men and lesbian women, all of the studies consistently demonstrate that interpersonal discrimination toward these social groups is a significant concern. Specifically, hate crimes based on sexual orientation occur most frequently in public locations, rather than in private settings like most non-bias crimes, they are most likely to be committed by males between the ages of 13 to 25 years, and often involve multiple assailants. Further, assailants are more likely to attack a stranger who they perceive to be a sexual minority than someone with whom they are acquainted and are more likely to target individuals, rather than groups of homosexuals (Franklin, 2000; Herek, Cogan, & Gillis, 2002).

In addition to hate crimes, sexual minorities also experience subtle forms of interpersonal discrimination. In an experimental setting, Swim, Ferguson, and Hyers (1999) found that heterosexual women tended to socially distance themselves from lesbian women who shared their opinions about a specific topic to avoid being associated with a stigmatized social group by expressing opinions that differed from those expressed by lesbian women. In addition, Aberson, Swan, and Emerson (1999) found that heterosexual men who watched a videotape of an interview with a gay or heterosexual male job candidate tended to rate the gay man favourably, but elevated their evaluations of the heterosexual man to be even higher. Consequently, the heterosexual job candidate was given the advantage in the situation, even though the gay candidate was rated positively.

The findings regarding interpersonal discrimination directed toward sexual minorities are not limited to adults. Adolescents are targets of extreme forms of behavioural homonegativity as well. For instance, Canadian sexual minority youth (including those who are questioning their sexual orientation) are more likely to be

bullied, sexually harassed, and physically abused than their heterosexual peers (Williams, Connolly, Pepler, & Craig, 2003). Sexual minority high school students also have been found to be more emotionally distant from their mothers than heterosexual students and to experience lower levels of companionship with their best friends (Williams, Connolly, Pepler & Craig, 2005). The decreased levels of intimacy that sexual minority individuals experience with their family and friends is likely a result of the latter's rejection of non-heterosexual orientations. The disclosure of a non-heterosexual sexual orientation to one's family also may lead to more severe consequences such as familial abuse and homelessness (Savin-Williams, 1994). In fact, Mallon (2001) indicated that physical and verbal abuse within the home precipitated some gay and lesbian adolescents' decisions to enter the child welfare system or to live on the streets.

　　　　1.4.2 Institutional discrimination directed toward gay men and lesbian women. In addition to experiencing interpersonal discrimination, gay men and lesbian women also may experience institutional discrimination. Institutional discrimination reflects structural biases that are entrenched in a particular society's policies and institutions that have a harmful effect on minority groups (Pincus, 1996). With respect to sexual minorities, institutional discrimination often occurs as a result of policies and institutions that make heterosexist assumptions which typically benefit heterosexuals, but disadvantage gay men and lesbian women (Herek, 1990). Heterosexism, which refers to an "ideological assumption that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behaviour, identity, relationship, or community" (Herek, 1990, p. 316), has been identified in a variety of settings, including the Canadian education system. For instance, heterosexism is pervasive in many university courses in terms of the content that is included in curricula, the resources that are used, and the class discussions that occur (Eyre, 1993). Gay and lesbian families are rarely discussed in family life classes; gay and lesbian civil rights movements are generally not included in the curricula of history classes; and discrimination toward gay men and lesbian women is often overlooked in law classes (Lipkin, 1995 as cited in Shortall, 1998). Further, a survey of student affiliates of the American Psychological Association's Division 44 (Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Issues) revealed

that heterosexual bias and discrimination exists in graduate psychology programs (Pilkington & Cantor, 1996). Approximately 75% of the graduate students' courses did not address sexual orientation-related issues. Of those courses that did address sexual orientation, 53% of the graduate students reported heterosexist textbook passages, 58% indicated that their instructors made offensive comments about sexual minorities, and 21% were actively discouraged from studying sexual orientation-related topics.

Institutional discrimination also is evident in numerous other settings, including Canadian social service agencies, the Canadian health care system, the justice system, and the workforce. Heterosexism in social service settings (e.g., addictions counselling programs, the child welfare system, and women's shelters), as well as in the health care system often results in sexual minorities' specific needs going unrecognized and remaining unmet (Mallon, 2001; Moran, 1996; Ristock, 1997; Sinding, Barnoff & Grassau, 2004; Travers & Schneider, 1996). Gay men and lesbian women also often have inadequate or inequitable access to the services offered by the agencies operating within these institutional settings (Moran, 1996; Sinding et al., 2004; Travers & Schneider, 1996). Institutional discrimination in the justice system has made sexual minorities more susceptible to being judged more harshly for crimes they have committed in comparison to heterosexuals (Hill, 2000). In addition, the police force has been found to treat sexual minorities more negatively than heterosexuals and to treat their calls for assistance less seriously than calls from heterosexuals (Bernstein & Kotelac, 2002). Finally, discrimination in the workforce has manifested itself in wage discrepancies between heterosexual and non-heterosexual employees, unwelcoming organizational climates, and the exclusion of sexual minorities from mentoring and networking opportunities (Badgett, 2001; Griffith & Hebl, 2002).

1.4.3 Impact of discrimination and victimization on the mental health of sexual minorities. Gay men and lesbian women are at greater risk than heterosexual men and women for experiencing a variety of physical, social, and emotional problems. Sexual minorities are more likely to experience mental health problems because: (1) they are more likely to have been victimized; and (2) they may internalize the negative messages about homosexuality that are pervasive in contemporary society. Studies which have focused on the impact of victimization on gay men and lesbian women have

repeatedly demonstrated that numerous indicators of psychological distress are correlated with victimization experiences. Victimization has been associated with feelings of depression, anxiety, anger, loneliness and post-traumatic stress, as well as with physical symptoms such as headaches, sleep disturbances, and hypertension (D'Augelli & Grossman, 2001; Diaz, Ayala, Bein, Henne, & Marin, 2001; Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999; Herek, Gillis, Cogan, & Glunt, 1997; Moran, 1996; Otis & Skinner, 1996). Low self-esteem also has been identified as a potential consequence of victimization, and some studies have suggested that sexual minorities' feelings of depression are actually mediated by self-esteem (Otis & Skinner,1996; Waldo, Hesson-McInnis, & D'Augelli, 1998). In addition, victimization has been correlated with viewing the world as an unsafe place, considering people to be malevolent, and experiencing a lowered sense of personal-mastery (Herek et al.,1997). Finally, sexual minorities have been found to be at greater risk for engaging in substance abuse and likely use drugs and alcohol as a means for coping with negative experiences (Lampinen, McGhee, & Martin, 2006; Little, 2001). Fortunately, social support from partners (but not from friends), as well as from the gay, lesbian, and bisexual community has been found to ameliorate psychological distress following victimization (Otis & Skinner,1996; Waldo et al., 1998).

Internalized homonegativity, which refers to sexual minorities' feelings of guilt or shame about themselves and their sexual orientation, also has been correlated with multiple indicators of psychological distress (Igartua, Gill, & Montoro, 2003). Dupras (1994) found that a sample of Quebecois gay men who had internalized homophobia were more likely to express increased anxiety, dissatisfaction, and loss of confidence in their sexual relationships. Further, Igartua et al. (2003) found that a sample of Canadian gay men and lesbian women drawn from the community and high in internalized homonegativity were more likely to experience depression, anxiety, and suicidal impulses. In fact, the prevalence of suicidal ideation within this sample was six times greater than suicidal ideation among the general population, and the prevalence of suicide attempts was four times greater than in the general population. Bagley and Tremblay (1997) also documented suicidal behaviours in a community sample of gay and bisexual men living in Calgary, Alberta, and determined that gay men were 13.9

times more at risk for a serious suicide attempt than heterosexual men. Sexual minorities are, therefore, at considerable risk for experiencing psychological distress as a result of the negativity directed toward gay men and lesbian women in contemporary society.

1.5 Existing Theoretical Explanations of Homonegativity

1.5.1 Functions of prejudice. Herek (1988, 1990) suggests that prejudice toward gay men and lesbian women can serve three functions. First, homonegativity is thought to serve a value-expressive function by enabling individuals to express personal values which are important to them. For example, religious fundamentalists who are opposed to homosexuality because they believe it violates their religious beliefs may be hostile toward gay men and lesbian women in order to assert their religious convictions. Empirical support for the value-expressive function of prejudice toward sexual minorities is offered by numerous studies exploring the relationship between homonegativity and the endorsement of religious and gender role ideologies. Various aspects of religiosity such as religious orientation (Herek, 1987; Agnew, Thompson, Smith, Gramzow, & Currey, 1993; Wilkinson, 2004b), orthodoxy (Herek, 1988; Agnew et al., 1993), conviction (Cotten-Huston & Waite, 2000; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001), and fundamentalism (Herek, 1988; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) have been correlated with negative attitudes toward sexual minorities. In addition, the maintenance of negative attitudes toward women and adherence to traditional male role norms have been associated with homonegativity (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Cullen, Wright, & Allesandri, 2002; Kilianski, 2003; Morrison & Morrison, 2002; Whitley, 2001).

Homonegativity also may serve a social-expressive function by allowing individuals to gain approval from their families and friends for derogating gay men and lesbian women. Since negative attitudes toward sexual minorities are not a requisite for engaging in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours, the occurrence of anti-gay/lesbian behaviours may not reflect individuals' beliefs about sexual minorities. Instead, individuals may use homonegativity to fulfill their own social needs. Other researchers have offered additional evidence regarding the preclusion of an individual's need to maintain negative attitudes before he or she will engage in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours. This research indicates that some individuals engage in homonegativity for its thrill-seeking

properties, while others simply find it enjoyable to engage in violence and choose to engage in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours because violence against sexual minorities is not condemned as strongly as violence toward other groups (Comstock, 1991; Franklin, 2000; Van Der Meer, 2003).

Finally, homonegativity may serve a defensive function in which individuals act in ways that denigrate gay men and lesbian women to ease their own anxieties and psychical conflicts. People who engage in homonegativity as a defensive function may be trying to symbolically attack aspects of themselves that they deem to be unacceptable. For instance, folk psychology dictates that males may express hostility toward gay men to deny their own homosexual impulses (Franklin, 1998, Herek, 1990). Alternatively, Herek (1988) suggests that men may engage in homonegativity to affirm their own masculinity. In support of the defensiveness function of homonegativity, Herek (1988) used a self-report measure to identify defense mechanisms typically used by participants to ward off threat and found that men who held homonegative attitudes tended to externalize their aggressive impulses outwards toward real or perceived frustrators (such as gay men), while women who maintained homonegative attitudes tended to engage in projection. It was thought that men and women used these defense mechanisms to accentuate their differences from gay men and lesbian women in order to reduce their own feelings of insecurity. Further, Johnson, Brehms, and Alford-Keating (1997) reported that individuals who engaged in denial were more likely to be homonegative because they often turned away from others. That is, these individuals tended to observe negative traits in others, but not in themselves, and typically directed their negativity outwards. In addition, Franklin (2000) found that individuals who had engaged in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours were significantly more likely to endorse the defensiveness function of prejudice than individuals who had not engaged in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours. Thus, it seems that some individuals do use homonegativity as a means to avoid aspects of themselves with which they are uncomfortable. Regardless of the specific function that homonegativity serves for a particular person, all three functions of homonegativity allow the individual "to define who one *is* by identifying gay people as a symbol of what one is *not* and directing hostility toward them" (Herek, 1990, p. 324).

1.5.2 Gender belief system and self-discrepancy theory. One of the most popular theories that has been developed to explain homonegativity is the gender belief system (Kite & Deaux, 1987; Whitley, 2001). This theory is based on the premise that there are specific stereotypes, social norms, roles, and physical characteristics that society deems appropriate for men and women. Anti-gay/lesbian attitudes are thought to originate from the endorsement of traditional gender roles, because gay men and lesbian women are perceived to be more similar to the opposite sex and are, consequently, in violation of the appropriate gender roles dictated by society, including expectations of masculinity and femininity (Kite & Deaux, 1987). In this gender belief system, men and women are expected to be: (1) masculine and feminine, respectively; and (2) heterosexual. In fact, masculinity and femininity are polarized and masculinity is essentially defined as any attribute or role that is not feminine (Wilkinson, 2004a). Further, heterosexual men are required to affirm their masculinity in order to assert their heterosexuality. In contrast, heterosexuality is an assumed component of femininity and women are not required to prove their heterosexuality in order to assert their femininity (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Herek, 1990). Consequently, heterosexual men are thought to maintain more negative attitudes toward sexual minorities than women and to be more prejudiced specifically toward gay men, because men's gender roles are more rigid than women's and men must "prove" their heterosexuality by actively demonstrating that they are masculine (Herek, 1990). Thus, the gender belief system characterizes homonegativity as serving a social-expressive function in which heterosexuals are able to gain the acceptance of their peers by derogating sexual minorities (Basow & Johnson, 2000). Homonegativity also may be seen to serve a value-expressive function in terms of the gender belief system because individuals can use homonegativity to express their ideological beliefs about appropriate gender roles for men and women (Herek, 1988).

Past research has been able to offer empirical support for the gender belief system. Both Kite and Deaux (1987) and Madon (1997) reported that heterosexuals tended to believe that gay men possess stereotypically female characteristics and violate traditional male roles. Kite and Deaux (1987) also found that heterosexuals perceived lesbian women to be more similar to heterosexual males than to heterosexual females. In addition, a meta-analysis conducted by Kite and Whitley (2003) revealed that

heterosexual men do typically hold more negative attitudes toward sexual minorities than women. Further, heterosexual men were found to hold more negative attitudes toward gay men than toward lesbian women, while heterosexual women, when expressing their negativity, apportioned it equally toward gay men and lesbian women (Herek, 2000b; Kite & Whitley, 2003). Finally, the endorsement of hypermasculinity has been correlated with homonegativity (Whitley, 2001). Hypermasculinity is an aspect of gender role self-concept that is conceptualized as "an unusually strong psychological investment in the traditional male role" (Whitley, 2001, p. 703).

An extension of the gender belief system has incorporated aspects of self-discrepancy theory developed by Higgins (1987) and Ogilvie (1987) to further explain why heterosexual men engage in homonegativity. Specifically, this extension of the gender belief system focuses on the impact of societal demands for heterosexual men to be masculine on men's concept of self. Theodore and Basow (2000) suggest that poorly defined self-concepts based on traditional notions of masculinity will result in discrepancies between men's actual and ought gender-identities, which the men may attempt to resolve by engaging in homonegativity toward gay men. In congruence with this proposition, Theodore and Basow found that males whose "actual" masculine qualities were highly discrepant from their "ought" masculine selves were more likely to engage in homonegative behaviours and to fear homosexuality. Furthermore, men who considered stereotypically masculine traits to be important to their identity were more homonegative when they thought that they were not able to meet others' expectations of appropriate masculine behaviour. Thus, men who feel that their own selves do not measure up to the standards of masculinity they expect themselves to meet are more likely to derogate other men (e.g., gay men) who they also perceive to be in violation of traditional conceptualizations of masculinity in an attempt to demonstrate and assert their own masculinity.

Kilianski (2003) also has suggested that an undesired self, consisting primarily of stereotypically feminine traits, and an ideal self, consisting primarily of masculine traits, results in an exclusively masculine identity that lends itself to homonegativity. Men with an exclusively masculine identity have an aversion to femininity, disavow the feminine aspects of themselves and derogate the feminine characteristics of others.

Consequently, men with an exclusively masculine identity are more likely to maintain negative attitudes toward gay men because gay men are believed to possess feminine characteristics. Findings from Kilianski's (2003) study confirm that men who had an exclusively masculine identity were more likely to hold negative attitudes toward gay men. Further, Parrott, Adams, and Zeichner (2002) found a positive correlation between a measure of homonegativity and hostility toward women, also suggesting that homonegative attitudes are not just characterized by a dislike of gay men, but by a general dislike of femininity. Thus, the integration of the gender belief system with self-discrepancy theory also allows homonegativity to be characterized as a defensive function in which some heterosexuals are able to symbolically attack the aspects of themselves that they deem to be discordant with society's conceptualizations of masculinity by engaging in homonegativity.

1.5.3 Hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity also has been used as a theoretical framework to explain homonegativity (Connell, 1995; Gough, 2002; Korobov, 2004; Wilkinson, 2004a). Heterosexual masculinities have been defined as "currently dominant forms of masculinity which derive from and serve to reinforce divisions between men and between men and women to the benefit of privileged groups, usually, white, heterosexual, middle-class males and to the detriment of 'legitimate' others, such as women and gay men" (Gough, 2002, p.222). Implicit in this definition is the notion that there are multiple types of masculinities, and that some masculinities, such as heterosexual masculinities, have more status and power than other masculinities, such as homosexual masculinities. Homosexual masculinities are considered to be subordinate, counter-hegemonic forms of masculinity because they are associated with femininity and a requisite for being masculine is the disavowal of femininity (Donaldson, 1993). After all, from the perspective of hegemonic masculinity, "it is not 'gayness' that is attractive to homosexual men, but 'maleness.' A man is lusted after not because he is homosexual but because he's a man" (Donaldson, 1993, p. 649). Therefore, by engaging in homonegativity, heterosexual males are able to maintain the current social order and their own personal security by subordinating and marginalizing homosexual men. In addition, hegemonic masculinity is able to perpetuate

homonegativity because it is a goal or a set of social norms that men must aspire to achieve, but can never completely attain (Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

Hegemonic masculinity shares some similarities with the gender belief system in that both perspectives focus on the importance of demonstrating masculinity. However, there is evidence that gender role endorsement and hegemonic masculinity are distinct causes of homonegativity. Wilkinson (2004a) found that hegemonic thinking (which was measured as right-wing authoritarianism) and masculine gender role beliefs were unique predictors of homonegativity. Individuals who endorse right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) generally support traditional values and norms that are promoted by authorities, submit to established authorities, and are hostile toward groups who violate the traditional values and norms to which they subscribe (Altemeyer, 1981). RWA has been demonstrated to repeatedly be correlated with negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women (Altemeyer, 1988; Basow & Johnson, 2000; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993; Herek, 1988; Kilianski, 2003; Wilkinson, 2004a, 2004b). Another indicator of hegemonic thinking, social dominance orientation (SDO), also has been correlated with homonegativity (Kilianski, 2003; Morrison, Kenny, & Harrington, 2005; Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). SDO refers to "the extent to which one desires that one's in-group dominate and be superior to outgroups" (Pratto et al., 1994, p. 742) and is a related construct to RWA. However, SDO is not as good of a predictor of homonegativity as RWA. Regardless, the fact that both RWA and SDO are predictors of homonegativity suggests that the simple need to organize one's world into hierarchical groups may be the driving force for some people to engage in homonegativity (Wilkinson, 2004a).

Most studies exploring hegemonic masculinity and homonegativity have taken a qualitative, discursive psychological approach (Gough, 2002; Korobov, 2004; Speer & Potter, 2000; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). That is, the studies have focused on exploring the mundane talk that men use to rhetorically negotiate their positions on masculinity and homonegativity (Korobov, 2004). These studies have revealed that men's heterosexist and homonegative discourse is often entrenched in various rhetorical strategies that help them assert their own masculinity and disguise that what they are saying may be considered prejudiced (Gough, 2002; Korobov, 2004; Speer & Potter,

2000; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). For instance, men may use positioning strategies (i.e., rhetorical techniques in which language is used to situate oneself and others in talk) to suggest that they are tolerant of or indifferent to homosexuality (Korobov, 2004). However, upon careful analysis of their words, it is apparent that the men are actually implying that they are prejudiced. Korobov (2004) suggests that as society becomes more intolerant of overt expressions of prejudice toward homosexuals, men will become more adept at disguising their prejudicial expressions in claims of liberalness and egalitarianism.

1.6 Heterosexuals' Motivations for Engaging in Anti-Gay Behaviours

Little research has been carried out to identify heterosexual men's and women's self-perceived motivations and justifications for engaging in homonegativity. To date, only three studies have directly explored the motivations of individuals who hold anti-gay attitudes and engage in anti-gay behaviours (Franklin, 1998, 2000; Van Der Meer, 2003). Franklin (1998, 2000) carried out a mixed-methods study in which she used a scale to measure anti-gay/lesbian behaviours in a non-criminal, college population (N=489) and conducted interviews with three young adult male members of the local community who had engaged in discriminatory behaviours toward gay men. The factor analytic results from Franklin's (2000) survey indicated that individuals' motivations for engaging in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours could be classified in terms of four factors: peer dynamics (i.e., the desire to prove one's heterosexuality to friends and to meet friends' expectations), anti-gay ideology (i.e., the endorsement of beliefs that reject homosexuality on the basis of religious and moral values), thrill-seeking (i.e., a desire to alleviate boredom and to feel excitement), and self-defense (i.e., a desire to protect oneself from a gay or lesbian individual). Franklin also compared the motivations of individuals who had only verbally harassed gay men or lesbian women to those who had physically assaulted gay or lesbian individuals and found that the perpetrators of both types of behaviours essentially shared the same motivational patterns for engaging in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours. Two additional factors, however, did emerge to characterize the motivations of individuals who had physically assaulted gay or lesbian individuals: sexual identity display (i.e., an attempt to prove one's heterosexuality) and previous "bad experiences" with sexual minorities.

Similar themes regarding individuals' motivations for engaging in anti-gay behaviours emerged in the interviews that Franklin (1998) conducted with the three male assailants. Peer dynamics were again found to play an important role in the individuals' motivations for engaging in discriminatory behaviours toward gay men. The assailants indicated that they only engaged in anti-gay behaviours in front of their friends and that their participation in anti-gay behaviours was fueled by a desire to feel closer to their friends, to live up to their friends' expectations, and to prove their heterosexuality. The need to enforce gender norms also became apparent in the interviews. Assailants indicated that their assaults of gay men were motivated by their desire to control and punish gay men because they were deviant members of society that did not abide by societal expectations of appropriate male behaviours. Social powerlessness also emerged as a factor that motivated individuals to engage in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours. Two of the assailants had themselves been victimized throughout their childhoods and it seemed that they engaged in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours as a means for acquiring hegemonic masculine power, since they were not able to establish power in any other way. Finally, the assailants indicated that they engaged in anti-gay behaviours because they considered them to be fun and exhilarating.

Van Der Meer (2003) also conducted a qualitative study in which he interviewed 30 men who either had been convicted of anti-gay hate crimes (i.e., gay bashing) or were awaiting sentencing. As in Franklin's (2000) study, a number of the assailants interviewed in this study indicated that they often felt that they were acting on behalf of society by derogating and punishing gay men for being deviant. However, Van Der Meer suggests that it is the cultural influence of living in a shame culture that plays a key role in the occurrence of anti-gay behaviours. In a shame culture, the inequitable distribution of honour results in the existence of social hierarchies and an individual's public status is a key indicator of his/her worth. Thus, Van Der Meer posits that anti-gay behaviours are motivated by an individual's desire to distance oneself from members of society who are deemed to be dishonourable, such as gay men, and to assert one's own status. In support of this idea, some assailants indicated that they engaged in anti-gay behaviours because they feared being perceived as gay or being a gay man's

object of desire. Van Der Meer also characterized gay bashing as a rite of passage, (i.e., a process that heterosexual males engage in to establish their position in society). In accordance with this proposition, the perpetrators in Van Der Meer's studies, as in Franklin's studies, indicated that their anti-gay behaviours were sometimes motivated by their desire to be accepted by their peers and to achieve a sense of belonging. In fact, for some perpetrators, engaging in anti-gay behaviours enabled them to find personal meaning in their lives. Finally, many of the assailants who were interviewed demonstrated poor individuation, lacked autonomy, and were resentful of authority figures and minority groups. Figure 2 offers a conceptual model which is based on the review of the literature that depicts the various influences on heterosexuals' motivations for both engaging in and refraining from participating in anti-gay behaviours, as well as the various factors that have been found to be associated with the maintenance of negative attitudes toward gay men.

HOMONEGATIVITY DIRECTED TOWARD GAY MEN
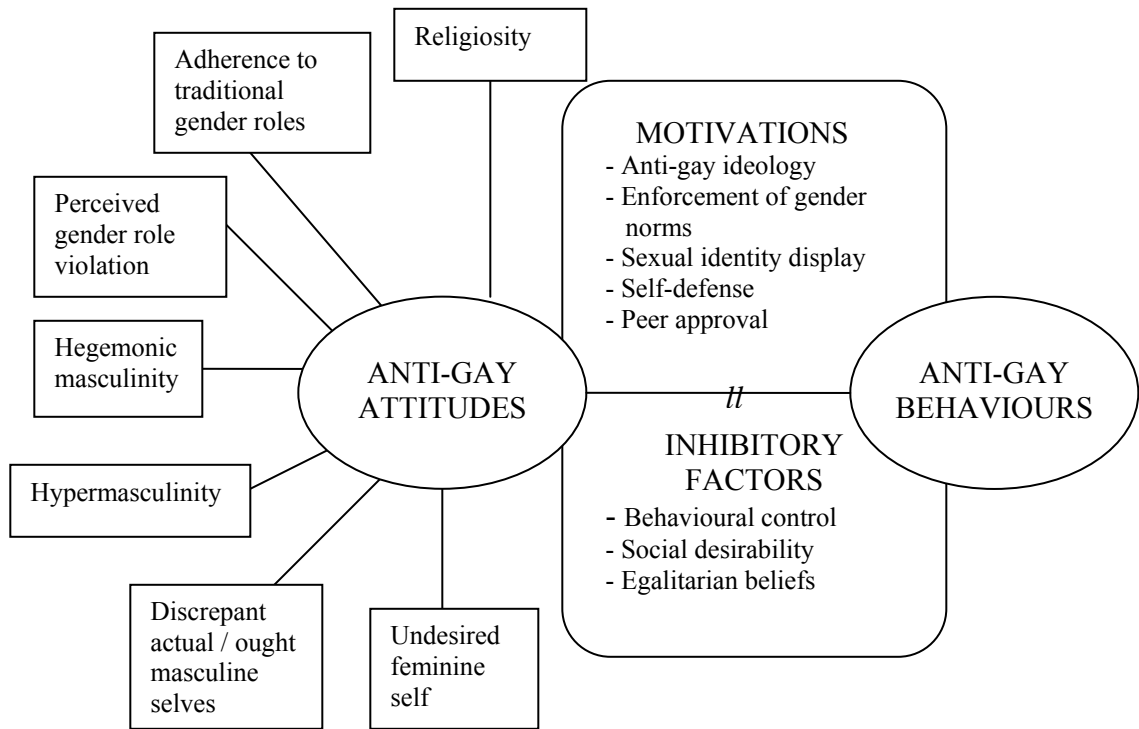
Figure 2. Conceptual model of the factors which contribute to anti-gay attitudes and the occurrence of anti-gay behaviours.

1.7 Statement of the Problem

While both Franklin's (1998; 2000) and Van Der Meer's (2003) research illuminate individuals' motivations for engaging in homonegativity, both studies suffer from several limitations. First, the studies used samples drawn from deviant populations; Van Der Meer's (2003) sample consisted of violent offenders, while the participants Franklin (1998) interviewed had unusually traumatic childhoods. Therefore, the extent to which less deviant perpetrators of anti-gay behaviours share the same motivations as more deviant perpetrators of anti-gay/lesbian behaviours remains unknown. Second, neither Franklin (1998) nor Van Der Meer (2003) indicated the methodological approach that they used to frame their study or to analyze their data. Consequently, it is not possible to ascertain the trustworthiness of the results that were obtained, since the credibility of a qualitative study is assessed by how well the interpretation of the text remains within the realm of the epistemological stance the researcher claims to have used (Creswell, 1998; Tobin & Begley, 2004). Third, Franklin (2000) did not distinguish between heterosexuals' self-reported motivations to engage in anti-gay or anti-lesbian behaviours. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the prevalence of anti-gay versus anti-lesbian behaviours on college campuses, as well as whether individuals are motivated to engage in homonegativity toward gay men and lesbian women for the same reasons. Finally, females who had engaged in anti-gay behaviours were not included in either Franklin's (1998) or Van Der Meer's (2003) studies.

Looking more broadly at the research that has been conducted on homonegativity, other limitations of the literature are also evident. Most of the research that has been carried out thus far about the perpetration of homonegativity has focused primarily on identifying attitudinal correlates of homonegativity, with few studies directly exploring individuals' self-reported motivations for engaging in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours (see Franklin, 1998; 2000; Van Der Meer, 2003 for notable exceptions). Further, the majority of the attitudinal correlational research that has been conducted, as well as many of the theoretical explanations that have been put forth to explain homonegativity, such as the gender belief system, discrepant actual-ought gender identities, exclusively masculine identities, and hegemonic masculinity, have

been largely androcentric. That is, most research has either used samples consisting solely of heterosexual men or has focused explicitly on the role of masculinity in the perpetration of homonegativity by heterosexual men, without paying any attention to women (Gough, 2002; Kilianski, 2003; Kite & Deaux, 1987; Theodore & Basow, 2000). This gap in the literature is disconcerting, as women do possess homonegative attitudes and engage in anti-gay/lesbian behaviours (Roderick, McCammon, Long, & Allred, 1998). Thus, the current study served to address the limitations that are apparent in the extant literature and, specifically, those limitations that have been identified in Franklin's (1998, 2000) and Van Der Meer's (2003) studies, with one exception: heterosexuals' self-reported motivations for engaging in *anti-lesbian* behaviours were not explored in the current study, but will be addressed in future research.

1.8 Purpose and Specific Aims of the Current Study

The purpose of the current study was to use a mixed-methods approach to determine the prevalence of anti-gay attitudes and behaviours among students at the University of Saskatchewan and to explore the lived experiences of heterosexual male and female university students who are perpetrators of homonegativity directed toward gay men. Specifically, this study: (1) used the Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale (ATG; Herek, 1988) and the Self-Report Behaviors Scale-Revised (SBS-R; Roderick, McCammon, Long, & Allred, 1998) to explore the prevalence of negative attitudes and behaviours directed toward gay men by students at the University of Saskatchewan; (2) described the lived experiences of heterosexual men and women who have engaged in homonegativity directed toward gay men; and (3) explored how heterosexual men and women find meaning in their homonegativity directed toward gay men within personal and social contexts.

The current study was specifically designed to add to the literature in a number of ways. First, this study served to expand upon the limited number of qualitative studies currently available about heterosexuals' motivations for holding negative attitudes toward gay men and engaging in anti-gay behaviours by exploring men's and women's lived experiences of homonegativity in a Canadian context. Second, this study explicitly used a methodological approach as a framework to ensure the rigour and validity of the results, since other published qualitative studies do not appear to have

been guided by a particular methodological approach. Third, a non-deviant population consisting of university students who have engaged in less severe forms of anti-gay behaviours such as social distancing or joke-telling was used in this study to explore heterosexuals' motivations for engaging in these less severe forms of anti-gay behaviours. Fourth, heterosexuals' motivations for engaging in homonegativity directed toward gay men were explored in-depth to offer insight into heterosexuals' reasons for acting negatively toward gay men. Finally, both men and women were included in the sample in an effort to begin exploring heterosexual women's perpetration of homonegativity.

CHAPTER TWO – METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

2.1 Methodological Framework

Given that the prominent focus for this study was qualitative and the purpose was to understand heterosexuals' motivations for engaging in homonegativity, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) served as the study's methodological framework. The purpose of IPA is to explore participants' lived experiences to understand how they make sense of their personal and social worlds by focusing on the meanings that particular experiences, events, or states have for them (Smith, 1996; Smith, 2004; Smith & Osborn, 2003). IPA enables the researcher to obtain an "insider's perspective" of a certain phenomenon by getting as close as possible to the participants' life world (Conrad, 1987; Smith & Osborn, 2003). Therefore, by engaging in IPA, it is possible to explore the content of participants' particular beliefs and responses and to achieve a better understanding of the subjective processes that individuals engage in to interpret their own behaviours (Smith, 1996).

IPA is both an epistemological position or framework and a method of analysis that combines elements of phenomenology, hermeneutics, symbolic interactionism, and social cognition (Smith, 1996; Smith, 2004). It is phenomenological in the sense that individuals' life worlds, personal experiences, and personal perceptions or accounts of an object or event are explored in detail; an attempt is made to understand the meaning that individuals ascribe to their experiences; and the underlying commonalities of individuals' experiences are sought. IPA is hermeneutic because it recognizes that the researcher plays an active role in the research process. In fact, it is a double hermeneutic because the participant is trying to make sense of his or her personal and social world and the researcher is trying to make sense of the participant's attempts to make sense of his or her world. IPA also shares with symbolic interactionism the assumption that meaning is constructed within individuals' social and personal worlds. Finally, IPA includes elements of social cognition because it assumes that people are cognitive, linguistic, affective, and physical beings, and that there is a chain of account between one's emotions, thoughts, and actions. Both IPA and social cognition are concerned with individuals' mental processes.

IPA was chosen as the methodological framework for this study because it

focuses on the psychological processes that occur within the individual, while recognizing that social and personal contexts affect how individuals make sense of a particular phenomenon. Since homonegativity is both a social and personal phenomenon, it was important to use a methodological approach that recognized the importance of exploring individuals' social and personal worlds. In addition, IPA offered a means to obtain detailed descriptions of individuals' experiences of homonegativity, which were valuable in understanding how they make sense of their homonegativity, as well as their reasons for engaging in homonegativity. Finally, the focus that IPA places on exploring overarching themes across participants' experiences was conducive to theorizing about heterosexuals' motivations for engaging in homonegativity toward gay men.

2.2 Methodological Approach

A sequential exploratory mixed-methods approach was employed in this study (Creswell, 1998). Mixed-method approaches are used when the researcher wants to use one method to elaborate upon the findings obtained with another method (Creswell, 1998). Therefore, this study consisted of a quantitative component that was followed by a qualitative component designed to offer an in-depth exploration of the set of quantitative findings. The quantitative data were collected and analyzed before the qualitative data were collected or analyzed, and the data from both components of this study were integrated during the interpretation of the entire analysis (see Figure 3). The qualitative component constituted this study's primary focus.

quan	$\rightarrow$	QUAL

quan *Data Collection*	$\rightarrow$	quan *Data Analysis*	$\rightarrow$	QUAL *Data Collection*	$\rightarrow$	QUAL *Data Analysis*	$\rightarrow$	*Interpretation of Entire Analysis*
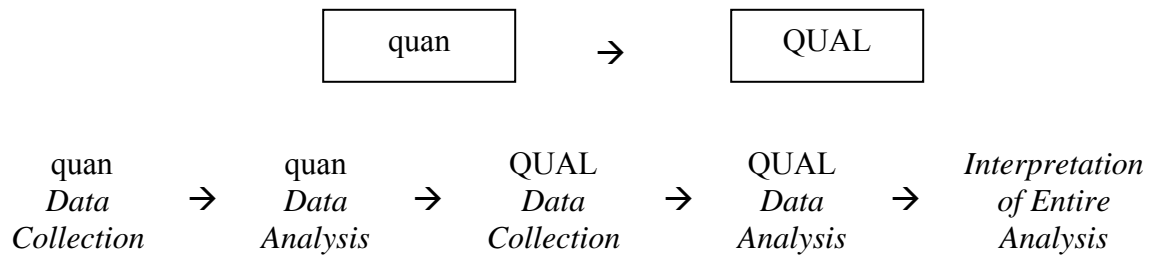
Figure 3. Sequential exploratory design. Adapted from Creswell (2003).

A mixed-methods approach was selected for this study because the quantitative component was necessary to provide context for the extent to which homonegativity is a problem among students at the University of Saskatchewan and to identify homonegative individuals who would be appropriate participants for the qualitative component of the study. Consequently, the quantitative phase of this study consisted of self-report attitudinal and behavioural measures, while the qualitative phase consisted of open-ended, audio-recorded interviews with homonegative individuals designed to explore their lived experiences of homonegativity. Interviews were selected as the method for data collection for the second phase of this study, since they provided the researcher with the flexibility to explore any interesting or important issues that arose during the course of the interview (Smith, 2004). In addition, interviews allowed the researcher to explore the individuals' experiences at the level of detail that was required by IPA for data analysis.

CHAPTER THREE - PHASE 1: QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT
ANTI-GAY ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOURS

3.1 Method

In order to assess the extent to which students at the University of Saskatchewan endorse negative attitudes toward gay men and have engaged in anti-gay behaviours, a questionnaire was administered to students during the first phase of this study. It should be noted that the results of this questionnaire were also used in the second phase of this study to identify participants who were perpetrators of homonegativity.

3.2 Participants

The first phase of the study employed various inclusion criteria: participants had to be 18 years of age or older, fluent in English, and enrolled at the University of Saskatchewan. In total, 286 students (96 male; 190 female) were recruited for the study via the Psychology Participant Pool, as well as from courses offered by various departments across campus. Students in the Psychology Participant Pool were given course credit and those who were not in the pool were given the opportunity to enter their names into two draws for $100.00.

The majority of the participants who completed the questionnaire were Caucasian, exclusively or primarily heterosexual, and single. The participants' ages ranged from 18 to 48 years (M=20.55; SD=4.06), and approximately one-third of the participants had majored in the humanities or social sciences, while another third had not yet declared their majors. Further, one-fifth of the sample described themselves as very or quite religious and just over half of the sample was very liberal, somewhat liberal or liberal. Approximately 70% (n= 201) of the participants had at least one gay acquaintance, 30% (n=87) had at least one close gay friend, and 13% (n=38) had at least one family member who was a gay man, while 46% (n=131) of the participants had at least one lesbian acquaintance, 14% (n=40) had at least one close lesbian friend and 10% (n=28) had at least one family member who was a lesbian woman. Additional demographic information about the participants who completed the questionnaire can be found in Table 1.

Table 1

Demographics of Male and Female Participants Who Completed the Questionnaire

	Overall (*N*=286) *n* (%)	Male (*n*=96) *n* (%)	Female (*n*=190) *n* (%)
Academic Major			
Humanities or social sciences	88 (30.8)	29 (30.2)	59 (31.1)
Natural or health sciences	70 (24.5)	28 (29.2)	42 (22.1)
Business	30 (10.5)	12 (12.5)	18 (9.5)
Undeclared	86 (30.1)	23 (24.0)	63 (33.2)
Ethnicity			
My ethnic background is:			
Aboriginal	12 (4.2)	2 (2.1)	10 (5.3)
African Canadian	4 (1.4)	2 (2.1)	2 (1.1)
Asian Canadian	11 (3.8)	5 (5.3)	6 (3.2)
Hispanic Canadian	1 (0.3)	1 (1.1)	0 (0.0)
Caucasian	242 (84.6)	79 (83.2)	163 (86.2)
Other	14 (4.9)	6 (6.3)	8 (4.2)
Political Conservatism			
By my own definition, I would consider myself to be:			
Very liberal	17 (5.9)	6 (6.3)	11 (5.9)
Liberal	63 (22.0)	22 (22.9)	41 (22.2)
Somewhat liberal	90 (31.5)	35 (36.5)	55 (29.7)
Somewhat conservative	79 (27.6)	17 (17.7)	62 (33.5)
Conservative	30 (10.5)	15 (15.6)	15 (8.1)
Very conservative	2 (0.7)	1 (1.0)	1 (0.5)
Religious Services Attendance			
I attend religious services:			
Regularly	49 (17.1)	17 (17.7)	32 (16.8)
Now and then	65 (22.7)	19 (19.8)	46 (24.2)
On special occasions	98 (34.3)	33 (34.4)	65 (34.2)
Never	74 (25.9)	27 (28.1)	47 (24.7)
Religious Self-Schema			
By my own definition, I am:			
Very religious	12 (4.2)	5 (5.2)	7 (3.7)
Quite religious	51 (17.8)	15 (15.6)	36 (19.0)
Somewhat religious	127 (44.4)	38 (39.6)	89 (47.1)
Not at all religious	95 (33.2)	38 (39.6)	57 (30.2)

	Overall (*N*=286) *n* (%)	Male (*n*=96) *n* (%)	Female (*n*=190) *n* (%)
Sexual Orientation			
By my own definition, I would consider myself to be:			
Exclusively heterosexual	234(81.8)	85 (88.5)	149(78.4)
Primarily heterosexual	36 (12.6)	8 (8.3)	28 (14.7)
More heterosexual than homosexual	8 (2.8)	1 (1.0)	7 (3.7)
Bisexual	4 (1.4)	0 (0)	4 (2.1)
More, primarily or exclusively homosexual	1 (0.3)	1 (1.0)	0 (0.0)
Marital Status			
I am currently:			
Single/Dating	253(88.5)	87 (90.6)	166(87.4)
Common-law	15 (5.2)	4 (4.2)	11 (5.8)
Married	8 (2.8)	5 (5.2)	3 (1.6)
Separated	1 (0.3)	0 (0)	1 (0.5)
Divorced	4 (1.4)	0 (0)	4 (2.1)
Other	5 (1.7)	0 (0)	5 (2.6)
Average Income			
The average income in my (parent's) household before taxes is:			
Less than $10,000	16 (5.6)	4 (4.3)	12 (6.6)
$10,001 - $19, 999	24 (8.4)	11 (11.7)	13 (7.2)
$20,000 - $29, 999	22 (7.7)	5 (5.3)	17 (9.4)
$30,000 - $39, 999	33 (11.5)	8 (8.5)	25 (13.8)
$40,000 - $49, 999	27 (9.4)	7 (7.4)	20 (11.0)
$50,000 - $59, 999	31 (10.8)	11 (11.7)	20 (11.0)
$60,000 or more	122(42.7)	48 (51.1)	74 (40.9)

3.3 Setting

This study was conducted in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, which is a mid-sized city located on the Canadian Prairies. The majority of the respondents who participated in the first phase of this study completed their questionnaires in a classroom in the Department of Psychology at the University of Saskatchewan. A smaller proportion of the participants completed online versions of the questionnaires at other convenient physical locations.

3.4 Measures

3.4.1 Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale (ATG). The ATG (Herek, 1988) consists of 10 items which measure negative attitudes toward gay men. Samples items of the ATG include "Homosexual behaviour between two men is just plain wrong" and "Male homosexuality is a perversion." Each item was rated using a five-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5 = strongly agree). Total subscale scores could range from 10 to 50, and higher scores indicate that individuals are more prejudiced toward gay men. In the present study, the alpha coefficient for the ATG was .95 (*CI*=.95–.96). The ATG has been demonstrated to possess adequate psychometric properties (Herek, 1988; Herek, 1994). Appendix A contains a copy of the ATG.

3.4.2 Self-Report of Behavior Scale-Revised (SBS-R). The SBS-R (Roderick et al., 1998) consists of 20 items which measure self-reported negative behaviours toward gay men. Sample items include "I have spread negative talk about someone because I suspected that he was a gay man" and "Within the past few months, I have told a joke that made fun of a gay man." A five-point Likert scale (1 = never; 5 = always) was used to rate each item; thus, total scores on the scale could range from 20 to 100. Higher scores indicate that individuals have engaged in more anti-gay behaviours. The alpha coefficient for the SBS-R in the current study was .88 (*CI*=.86–.90). Roderick et al. (1998) indicate that the SBS-R has adequate psychometric properties. See Appendix B for a copy of the SBS-R.

3.4.3 Demographics Questionnaire. A 16-item demographics questionnaire was also administered to the participants. Information such as age, sex, academic major, ethnic background, sexual orientation, marital status, average household income, and number of family members, friends and acquaintances who are gay or lesbian was

collected. In addition, single item measures were used to assess political conservatism (i.e., participants were asked to indicate whether they were very liberal, liberal, somewhat liberal, somewhat conservative, conservative or very conservative), as well as the frequency with which they attend religious services (i.e., regularly, now and then, on special occasions, or not at all) and their religious self-schema (i.e., if they are very, quite, somewhat, or not at all religious). Research suggests that single item measures of political conservatism (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994; Wagstaff & Quirk, 1983) and religious behaviour and self-schema (Gorsuch & McFarland, 1972) are psychometrically sound. See Appendix C for a copy of the demographics questionnaire.

3.5 Procedure

Following ethical approval, paper-and-pencil questionnaires which consisted of the ATG, SBS-R, and demographic questions were administered to a majority of participants ($n \approx 220$) in a series of testing sessions in a classroom at the University of Saskatchewan. Participants signed up for the testing sessions through the Psychology Participant Pool website and approximately 30 individuals could participate in any given testing session (see Appendix D for verbal instructions for the mass testing sessions). At the beginning of each testing session, the researcher explained to the participants that the purpose of the study was to explore what people think about various social groups, such as gay men, and told them that it was important for them to answer the survey questions as honestly as possible. The researcher also informed the participants of their rights by highlighting that their involvement in the study was completely voluntary and that participants would receive their bonus course credits even if they did not complete the questionnaire. Finally, the participants were told that the researcher would like to conduct interviews with some of the participants who completed the questionnaires, and any individuals who were interested in participating in an interview were encouraged to provide the researcher with their contact information. The participants were asked to use a self-generated identification code to link their questionnaire data to their contact information (to ensure that the researcher would be able to identify and contact participants who fit the inclusion criteria for an interview). The use of the code ensured that no personally identifying information was

placed directly on the questionnaire, thereby enhancing the confidentiality and privacy of the participants' responses. In accordance with DiIorio, Soet, Van Marter, Woodring, and Dudley's (2000) recommendation, the self-generated code consisted of the answers to a series of questions located on the last page of the questionnaire including "what is the first letter of your mother's name?" and "how many older brothers do you have?" Participants were asked to transfer this code onto a separate sheet of paper where they were asked for their current and permanent phone numbers, as well as their email addresses (see Appendix E and F for the self-generated coding procedure). After the participants completed the questionnaire, they deposited the questionnaire and contact information sheet into two different boxes.

Once it was no longer possible to recruit participants from the Participant Pool (due to the time of year), the questionnaire was placed online and additional participants were recruited from classes offered by various departments across campus. Participants who provided the researcher with their contact information were emailed a link to a website on which the questionnaire was posted. The participants' contact information continued to be collected using the self-generated identification code and participants who completed the online questionnaire were entered into two draws for $100.00. Approximately 60 students completed the online version of the questionnaire. Taking those participants who participated in the hard copy group testing sessions and those who exercised the online option, a total of 286 participants completed the study. All data were entered, checked, and analyzed using SPSS 15.0.

3.6 Results and Discussion of Phase 1

It should be noted that the primary purpose of Phase 1 was to recruit students who would be suitable participants for the second phase of this study. However, by engaging in this initial screening process, it was possible to use the questionnaire data to contextualize the prevalence of homonegativity at the University of Saskatchewan. Thus, the following sections offer a brief overview of the extent to which students at the University of Saskatchewan hold negative attitudes toward gay men and have engaged in anti-gay behaviours.

3.6.1 Prevalence of anti-gay attitudes. The participants' mean score on the ATG was below the midpoint of 30 (M=21.83; SD=9.29; N=267), indicating that many of the

participants held relatively positive attitudes toward gay men. Further, the participants' scores ranged from 10 to 50 and were positively skewed, which means that the majority of the scores fell below the midpoint of the scale. However, this result should be contextualized, since even though the scores were positively skewed, approximately one-fifth (n=50) of the participants scored above the midpoint of the scale revealing that 20% of the students held negative attitudes toward gay men, as measured by the ATG.

Of the demographic variables that were collected, the relationship of the participants' ATG scores to their religious attendance, religious self-schema, political conservatism, and sex were of primary interest. The participants' ATG scores were positively correlated to religious attendance, r=.47, p=.01, religious self-schema, r=.37, p=.01, and political conservatism, r=.43, p=.01. Thus, participants who held more negative attitudes toward gay men were also more likely to attend religious services regularly, to think of themselves as being religious, and to be politically conservative. Other studies have documented similar relationships between homonegative attitudes, religiosity, and political conservatism (Cotten-Huston & Waite, 2000; Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Herek, 1988). In addition, men (M=25.23; SD=9.59) tended to have significantly more negative attitudes toward gay men than women (M=20.18; SD=8.71), t(265)=4.29, p<.001, d=.55. The finding that men hold more negative attitudes toward gay men than women is also consistent with other research (e.g., Herek, 2000b; Kite & Whitley, 2003). Finally, the ATG scores of the participants who completed the paper-and-pencil version of the questionnaire were not significantly different from the scores of the participants who completed the online version. Table 2 outlines the participants' endorsement of each item on the ATG.

3.6.2 Prevalence of anti-gay behaviours. The participants' mean score on the SBS-R indicated that they had engaged in few anti-gay behaviours (M=23.03; SD=5.03; N=277), since the mean score was just above the minimum total scale score. The distribution of the participants' scores ranged from 20 to 58 and were positively skewed, with the majority of the scores falling toward the lower the end of the scale. Both religious attendance and political conservatism were positively correlated with the participants' SBS-R scores, and these correlations, respectively, were: r=.14, p=.05, and r=.12, p=.05. Thus, there was a slight tendency for individuals who regularly attended

Table 2

Participants' Endorsement of Items on the ATG

	Overall (*N*=286)		Males (*n*=96)		Females (*n*=190)	
	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree *n* (%)	Strongly Agree / Agree *n* (%)	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree *n* (%)	Strongly Agree / Agree *n* (%)	Strongly Disagree/ Disagree *n* (%)	Strongly Agree / Agree *n* (%)
Male homosexuality is a perversion	163 (57.0)	33 (11.5)	48 (50.0)	19 (19.8)	115 (60.5)	14 (7.3)
Male homosexual couples should be allowed to adopt children the same as heterosexual couples	54 (18.8)	175 (61.2)	23 (24.0)	47 (48.9)	31 (16.3)	128 (67.4)
Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach school	244 (85.3)	9 (3.1)	76 (79.2)	4 (4.1)	168 (88.4)	5 (2.7)
Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men	49 (17.1)	167 (58.4)	30 (31.3)	42 (43.7)	19 (10.0)	125 (65.8)
I think male homosexuals are disgusting	212 (74.1)	32 (11.2)	59 (61.3)	17 (17.8)	153 (80.5)	15 (7.9)
Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned	37 (12.9)	191 (66.8)	11 (11.5)	60 (62.5)	26 (13.7)	131 (69.0)
The idea of male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me	189 (66.1)	56 (19.5)	48 (50.0)	25 (26.0)	141 (74.2)	31 (16.3)
If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them	198 (69.3)	29 (10.1)	53 (55.2)	14 (14.6)	145 (76.3)	15 (7.9)
I would not be too upset if I learned that my son were homosexual	79 (27.6)	131 (45.8)	37 (38.5)	30 (31.3	42 (22.1)	101 (53.1)
Homosexual behaviour between two men is just plain wrong	188 (65.7)	45 (15.7)	49 (51.1)	22 (22.9)	139 (73.1)	23 (12.1)

religious services and who were politically conservative to direct more negative behaviours toward gay men. When comparing genders, men (M=23.24; SD=5.34) participated in significantly more anti-gay behaviours than women (M=22.43; SD=4.77), $t(275)$=1.81, p=.01, d=.16. Further, there was a small to moderate, positive correlation between the participants' total scale scores on the SBS-R and the ATG, indicating that the participants who behaved discriminatorily toward gay men also tended to hold more negative attitudes toward them, r=.30, p=.01. Other studies have also documented moderate, positive correlations between participants' endorsement of anti-gay attitudes and behaviours (Patel et al., 1995; Roderick et al., 1998). There were no significant differences between participants' scores on the SBS-R with respect to those who completed the paper-and-pencil version of the questionnaire and those who completed the online version.

In terms of the SBS-R item endorsement, it seems that the participants primarily engaged in more covert anti-gay behaviours. Very few participants (n=6) indicated that they have directed physical violence toward gay men; however, some of the participants have been in a group of people who have yelled insulting comments toward gay men (n=123), have played a joke on a gay man (n=40), or have told a person of the sexual minority to stay away from them (n=32). Some of the more subtle behaviours that the participants indicated they have participated in included spreading negative gossip about gay men, making anti-gay jokes, and distancing themselves from sexual minorities. For a detailed review of the participants' endorsement of the items on the SBS-R, see Table 3.

Table 3

Participants' Endorsement of Items on the SBS-R

	Overall (N=286)		Males (n=96)		Females (n=190)	
	Rarely n (%)	Occasionally/ Frequently / Always n (%)	Rarely n (%)	Occasionally / Frequently / Always n (%)	Rarely n (%)	Occasionally/ Frequently / Always n (%)
Been in a group that yelled insulting comments to a gay man	84 (29.4)	39 (13.6)	38 (39.6)	14 (14.5)	46 (24.2)	25 (13.2)
Spread negative talk about a man suspected to be gay	74 (25.9)	17 (5.9)	30 (31.3)	3 (3.1)	44 (23.2)	14 (7.3)
Told a joke that made fun of gay men	70 (24.5)	53 (18.5)	30 (31.3)	33 (34.3)	40 (21.1)	20 (10.5)
Played a joke on a man suspected to be gay	30 (10.5)	10 (3.4)	16 (16.7)	4 (4.2)	14 (7.4)	6 (3.1)
Warned a gay man to stay away	24 (8.4)	8 (2.7)	14 (14.6)	3 (3.1)	10 (5.3)	5 (2.6)
Stared at a gay man disapprovingly	23 (8.0)	5 (1.7)	7 (7.3)	1 (1.0)	16 (8.4)	4 (2.1)
Distanced oneself from a gay man who was near	20 (7.0)	6 (2.0)	14 (14.6)	4 (4.1)	6 (3.2)	2 (1.1)
Changed normal behaviour in a restroom because a gay man was in there	17 (5.9)	8 (2.7)	12 (12.5)	4 (4.1)	5 (2.7)	4 (2.1)
Deliberately walked away from a gay man who wanted to initiate a conversation	16 (5.6)	6 (2.0)	8 (8.3)	4 (4.1)	8 (4.2)	2 (1.0)
Been rude to a gay man	16 (5.6)	5 (1.6)	11 (11.5)	2 (2.0)	5 (2.6)	3 (1.6)
Changed seat locations to avoid sitting by a gay man	10 (3.5)	4 (1.4)	6 (6.3)	1 (1.0)	4 (2.1)	3 (1.6)
Verbally threatened a gay man who has "checked" them out	9 (3.1)	4 (1.3)	6 (6.3)	2 (2.0)	3 (1.6)	2 (1.1)
Attended an anti-gay protest	5 (1.8)	5 (1.8)	1 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	4 (2.1)	4 (2.2)
Changed roommates and/or rooms because of a man's suspected sexual orientation	4 (1.4)	5 (1.6)	1 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	3 (1.6)	4 (2.1)

	Overall (N=286)		Males (n=96)		Females (n=190)	
	Rarely *n* (%)	Occasionally/ Frequently / Always *n* (%)	Rarely *n* (%)	Occasionally/ Frequently / Always *n* (%)	Rarely *n* (%)	Occasionally/ Frequently / Always *n* (%)
Forced self to stop from hitting a gay man who was nearby	4 (1.4)	3 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	3 (1.6)	2 (1.1)
Wrote graffiti about gay men or homosexuality	3 (1.0)	4 (1.4)	1 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	2 (1.1)	2 (1.0)
Physically hit or pushed a gay man who brushed body against theirs	3 (1.0)	3 (1.0)	2 (2.1)	1 (1.0)	1 (0.5)	2 (1.0)
Got into a physical fight with a gay man because they "made moves" on them	3 (1.0)	3 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	2 (1.1)	2 (1.0)
Damaged a gay man's property	2 (0.7)	3 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	1 (1.0)	1 (0.5)	2 (1.1)
Refused to work on school and/or work projects with a gay man	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)	0 (0.0)

CHAPTER FOUR –PHASE 2: METHOD FOR INTERVIEWS WITH HOMONEGATIVE INDIVIDUALS

4.1 Participants

Following the completion of the quantitative measures, participants for the second phase of this study were selected on the basis of their scores on the attitudinal and behavioural measures they completed in the questionnaire. A criterion sampling approach was used to screen individuals for their endorsement of homonegativity in order to obtain a purposeful sample of heterosexual men and women who were not only prejudiced toward gay men, but also had engaged in anti-gay behaviours. The participants who were selected to participate in an interview during the second phase of the study met the following inclusion criteria: scored above the midpoint of the attitudinal measure (ATG); reported participating rarely, occasionally, frequently, or always in at least one anti-gay behaviour; were heterosexual; were 18 years of age or older; and were fluent in English. Each of the participants who participated in an interview belonged to the Psychology Participant Pool and received either course credit for participating in the interview or a $20.00 gift certificate.

Eight individuals (four men and four women) were selected to participate in semi-structured interviews. The participants ranged in age from 18 to 25 years (*M*=21.00; *SD*=2.12) and all were Caucasian and reported their sexual orientation to be "exclusively heterosexual." In addition, all but one of the participants were single (i.e., not married, but may or may not have been in a relationship); the remaining participant was married. Additional characteristics and more specific details about the participants are listed in Table 4.

Table 4

Demographic Characteristics of the Interview Participants

Participant	Age	Year of University / Major	Religious Self-Schema	Frequency of Attending Religious Services	Political Orientation
Connor	21	1st year / Undeclared (intends to enter Medicine)	Not at all religious	On special occasions	Somewhat conservative
Jason	20	1st year / Undeclared (intends to enter Education or Medicine)	Religious (Christian)	Regularly	Conservative
Kurt	20	1st year / Psychology	Quite religious (Christian)	Regularly	Conservative
Elizabeth	18	1st year / Biochemistry	Somewhat religious (Christian)	On special occasions	Liberal
Blaine	22	3rd year / Engineering	Somewhat religious (Christian)	On special occasions	Somewhat liberal
Olivia	23	3rd year / Commerce	Quite religious (Christian)	Regularly	Somewhat conservative
Tiffany	25	2nd year / Undeclared	Quite religious (Christian)	Regularly	Somewhat conservative
Sarah	19	1st year / Biology	Quite religious (Christian)	Regularly	Conservative

The first two individuals (Connor and Jason) who were interviewed served as pilot participants to ensure that the interview guide was adequately designed to explore participants' lived experiences of homonegativity. No significant changes to the interview schedule were required. Further, the pilot interviews were of equal quality to the subsequent interviews that were carried out and the interview data for these two participants was consequently included in the data analysis.

It should also be noted that even though the sample size of eight may be considered "small" in some research contexts, it was an adequate size for this particular study. Smith and Osborn (2003) suggest that a sample size as small as six participants is adequate when conducting IPA because IPA is an idiographic approach that values the in-depth exploration of a few individuals' experiences over a more superficial exploration of many individuals' experiences. In addition, it was possible to achieve saturation with the eight participants, which further supports that the sample size was sufficient (Patton, 2002). Saturation occurs when the information arising from the interviews becomes redundant.

4.2 Setting

The second phase of this study in which individuals participated in interviews took place in a meeting room at the University of Saskatchewan.

4.3 Measures

4.3.1 Interview guide. During the interview, the participants were asked questions from the interview guide. The questions for the interviews were developed on the basis of past research about homonegativity, the purpose of the study, and the questions that were asked on the ATG and SBS-R. Specifically, the questions were designed to explore factors that are often associated with homonegativity, such as issues related to gay men's perceived masculinity and femininity; religious, familial and peer influences on the participants' opinions of gay men; essentialist beliefs about the basis of sexual orientation; and participants' past experiences with gay men. In addition, the participants were asked to explain how they make sense of their own homonegativity. Sample questions were "What are your thoughts on homosexuality?" "What do you think of gay men?" "What negative interactions have you had with gay men?" and "What motivated you to act as you did?" The participants also were asked additional

questions that were not listed on the interview guide, but were necessary to further explore their experiences of homonegativity. See Appendix G for a copy of the complete interview guide.

4.4 Procedure

Once all of the questionnaires administered in Phase 1 of the study were collected, the data were entered into SPSS and descriptive statistics were obtained to identify participants who scored above the mid-point on the ATG and had engaged rarely, occasionally, frequently, or always in at least one of the anti-gay behaviours listed on the SBS-R. Participants who fit the inclusion criteria and had provided the researcher with their contact information were then contacted for an interview. Participants who demonstrated the strongest endorsement of anti-gay attitudes and behaviours were contacted first, and the researcher contacted 12 women and 5 men in order to find eight individuals (four men and four women) who were able to participate in an interview. The researcher initially sent an invitation letter to the participants by email and followed up on the invitation with a telephone call if it was not possible to make contact with the participants over email (see Appendix H for a copy of the invitation letter). If a participant did not reply to the researcher after three contact attempts, it was assumed that he or she did not want to participate in the study.

Before any interviews were conducted, the interview guide was reviewed by three undergraduate university students to ensure that the language that was used in the interview guide was appropriate for the target population. All modifications suggested by the students were incorporated into the interview guide. It took approximately four weeks to complete all of the interviews proper. The researcher conducted all of the interviews herself as she was the person who was most knowledgeable about the data collected during the study and was most aware of the information that had been obtained and still needed to be obtained to ensure that the depth of the data collected was adequate.

Interviews lasted for approximately 30 to 70 minutes and were scheduled at a time and location that was convenient for the participant. Before the interviews began, the participants were again asked for their written informed consent (see Appendix I) and were told explicitly that the researcher abided by the Canadian Code of Ethics for

Psychologists and would be obligated to report any intent to harm one's self or another person to the authorities (Canadian Psychological Association, 2000). All interviews were digitally audio-recorded and the researcher also took field notes. The participants were asked the questions that are listed on the interview guide (see Appendix G), as well as related questions that were not listed. At the conclusion of the interview, the participants were asked for their consent for the interview to be transcribed and were asked whether they wished to review the transcript of the interview at a later date (see Appendix J). Two participants chose to review their transcripts and later gave the researcher permission to use their data. The participants were also debriefed, provided with a list of resources that they were free to contact if they felt distressed about anything that was discussed during the interview (see Appendix K), and asked if they would be willing to participate in a second interview with the researcher. The purpose of this second interview was to allow the researcher to bring back to the participant any questions that were remaining about his/her experiences of homonegativity and to allow the participant to reflect on the researcher's findings. Unfortunately, it was not possible to conduct the second interviews with the participants because none of the participants were available for another interview (due to it being summer). During the data collection period, the researcher also engaged in memoing in order to make note of any memorable events or environmental factors that may have influenced what was said during each interview, as well as to document her own thoughts and emotions to understand how they may have influenced the interviews or her perception of the data.

4.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis occurred simultaneously with data collection. The quantitative data were analyzed before any interviews were conducted. With respect to the qualitative data, the researcher transcribed each interview verbatim as soon as possible after the interview had been conducted. Each transcript was checked against the audio-recording to ensure that the transcription of the participants' words was correct. Once the transcripts had been checked, the researcher incorporated any important pieces of information that were documented in her memos into the transcripts to ensure that these nuances were taken into consideration when interpreting the data.

Once all of the initial interviews had been completed and transcribed, the data

were analyzed using IPA. The protocol for conducting IPA that is outlined by Smith and Osborn (2003) was followed. First, a single transcript was read and notes about any passages that were initially interesting or significant were written in the left-hand side of the page margin. After the transcript had been read once, the researcher read the transcript a second time and wrote down any emerging themes in the right-hand side of the margin. Emerging themes were identified by the participants' use of common words and/or expression of similar sentiments. After all emerging themes had been identified in the transcript, they were documented on a single piece of paper to help the researcher recognize any overarching themes or thematic clusters. Once the overarching themes or thematic clusters in the first interview had been acknowledged, the researcher coded the second transcript using the themes that emerged in the first interview and documented any additional convergent or divergent themes that arose. Again, these themes were written on a single piece of paper and thematic clusters were identified. This process of identifying convergent and divergent themes was repeated for the remaining transcripts. When all of the transcripts had been analyzed, the superordinate themes that emerged across interviews were identified and the researcher selected particular themes to explore in detail. Criteria such as the prevalence of a given theme within the data, the richness of extracts that exemplify particular themes, and the ability of a theme to add to our understanding of individuals' experiences of homonegativity were used to select themes that warranted further in-depth exploration. At this time, the researcher also turned to the existing literature to help make sense of the superordinate themes that had emerged from the interviews.

It also should be noted that throughout the data analysis process, the researcher continued to engage in memoing to document her thoughts and decisions about the data to create an audit trail and to enhance her reflexivity with the data. In addition, the researcher engaged in peer review with her research supervisor throughout data analysis to ensure the credibility of her interpretations.

4.6 Data Trustworthiness

Like quantitative research, qualitative research also is concerned with the trustworthiness and rigour of its results. Qualitative research has its own set of criteria that is used to judge the credibility of a study, which in some ways parallels the criteria

used to judge quantitative research. Therefore, to enhance the meaningfulness of the terms used by qualitative researchers to quantitative researchers, the quantitative parallel to each qualitative criterion will be provided in parentheses.

A number of steps were taken in this study to ensure that the data were interpreted and presented in a manner that was an authentic and credible representation of the participants' experiences. The confirmability (i.e., objectivity) of the data was addressed by the researcher's engagement in peer review or debriefing in which her supervisor, committee members, and peers critiqued the methods the researcher used and the interpretations she made to ensure that the findings were accurate (Creswell, 1998). Raw data also were maintained and periodically consulted to further ensure that the researcher's interpretations were credible. The dependability (i.e., reliability) of the data was achieved by creating an audit trail that others can examine to review the credibility of the research process (Tobin & Begley, 2004). The audit trail consists of the memos that the researcher made throughout the study documenting her thoughts and decisions about data collection methods, data analysis, peer review sessions, and conclusions. The researcher also maintained a journal throughout the research project as a means of offering a self-critical account of the research process to increase her reflexivity (Tobin & Begley, 2004). In addition, thick, rich descriptions of the context in which this study took place were included in the analysis to enhance the transferability (i.e., external validity) of the data. By providing rich detail, it is possible for others to determine the extent to which a set of findings can be transferred to another setting (Creswell, 1998). Further, authenticity was accomplished by using the participants' own words to illustrate that a range of realities concerning homonegativity exist (Tobin & Begley, 2004). Finally, the researcher reviewed her interviewing technique throughout the data collection process in order to improve her technique and, consequently, the quality of data that was obtained.

4.7 Ethical Issues

Ethical approval for the procedures outlined in this study was obtained before data collection commenced. Prior to completing the questionnaire and to participating in each interview, participants were asked for their written, informed consent (see Appendix I). Specifically, participants were told both verbally and in writing that their

participation in the study was completely voluntary, they could stop filling out the questionnaire or terminate the interview at any time without penalty, their responses would be kept confidential, identifying information would be removed from the transcripts, and their data would be stored in a locked filing cabinet. Further, the confidentiality and privacy of the participants' questionnaire data and contact information was maintained by using a self-generated identification code to match participants' questionnaire data to their contact information and by storing the participants' questionnaire data and contact information in separate locations. Participants were also told upfront about the limits of confidentiality to the interviews, as dictated by the Canadian Code of Ethics for Psychologists (Canadian Psychological Association, 2000).

It was of some concern that participants might become upset during the interviews as a result of recalling their prior interactions with gay men. Alternatively, participants may have begun to think critically about their attitudes and behaviors toward gay men, and become upset after recognizing that they were prejudiced. Therefore, in the event that participants became distressed during or after the interview, for any reason, a debriefing and resources sheet was provided to the participants at the end of the interview and they were encouraged to contact one of the agencies that was listed on the sheet (see Appendix K). Finally, the participants maintained opinions that the researcher occasionally found to be offensive. Therefore, the researcher consulted with her research supervisor after each interview in order to maintain her own well-being and to help her remain non-judgmental during the interviews.

CHAPTER FIVE – PHASE 2: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Individuals who endorse blatantly negative attitudes toward gay men are often assumed to reject homosexuality and gay men in a simplistic, straightforward manner. However, the interviews conducted with the eight male and female participants in this study revealed the complexity of their understandings about homosexuality and gay men. While the participants' accounts of homonegativity were straightforward at times, they were more often contradictory and dilemmatic. A number of themes emerged from the interviews expounding upon the participants' lived experiences as perpetrators of homonegativity and this analysis will discuss the superordinate themes related to the participants' perspectives on: (1) gay men, (2) homosexuality, and (3) anti-gay behaviours.

5.1 The Lived Experience of Homonegativity: Participants' Perspectives on Gay Men

The first set of themes that will be discussed explores the participants' lived experiences of homonegativity, which also happens to coincide with their thoughts about gay men. A number of themes related to the perceived masculine and feminine qualities of gay men emerged in this section. However, before delving into these issues, the participants' emotional responses toward gay men will be discussed.

5.1.1 Emotional responses to gay men. When asked how they felt about gay men, nearly all of the participants answered this question with respect to how they felt about the idea of two men being sexually involved with each other. Three of the male participants indicated that they felt that the idea of two men behaving romantically together was gross, disgusting, or sick.

> C: I don't know, I just, I just don't agree with it. Like, a guy with another guy, [*laughing*] it just kinda, I dunno. For myself, like, I'm, I dunno just [*laughing*]… it kind of grosses me out. But I mean, hey, if that's what they wanna do, that's, that's fine. They can go and do that. Like, I'm not totally against it. Like, I mean if that's what you wanna do, that's what you wanna do, but… for, I don't know. It just kind of creeps me out for whatever reason [*laughing*]
> I: Okay. What kind of emotions kind of come up when you think about two men together?
> C: Ugh, I don't know. I don't really think about it that much, to be honest with you [*laughing*].
> I: Fair enough [*laughing*].

C: Ugh, I don't know. Ummm. I'm not really mad, or frustrated or angry or anything like that. Because I mean, hey, [*laughs*] enjoy life, you only live once…

I: Does it bring up any sort of particular emotions or anything like that, the thought of two men being together?
K: Umm, [*exhales*] confusion, I guess. Just like…I just don't understand, like I just don't get it really.
I: Get that?
K: The idea of them being together, so…uh, a little bit of disgust, just 'cause it's kind of, like I, just personally, find it a little, like, not at a, not in a mean way, but…just a little repulsive. Just kind of like, it doesn't really
I: It doesn't feel right to you.

I: How do you feel when you think about gay men, like emotion wise?
B: Sick.
I: Sick? Can you tell me a bit more about that.
B: Sick to my stomach.
I: Sick to your stomach?
B: Like, I don't know, I guess that's just an expression. It doesn't really give you any explanation, but it's just like, you get like a bad taste in your mouth, right….And then, I don't know, look away….I don't know how else to describe it.

Each of these extracts illustrate that there is a common element of repulsion to these male participants' experiences of their feelings about gay men. In contrast to the male participants, the female participants did not use words such as gross, disgusting, or sick to describe their feelings. Instead, they indicated that seeing a gay couple engaging in public displays of affection made them feel the less extreme emotion of discomfort.

E: It makes me feel a little bit awkward….It's just something that I'm not used to, like…if I see a couple holding hands and I'm, it's just, you look twice. It's just, it's weird 'cause you don't expect it really.…It's not natural for me at all, so to see it, it's just, it's just awkward, it just feels weird.
I: Okay, does it bring up any certain emotions or something like that when you see somebody holding hands or two men?
E: Mmm. Not really. I don't get angry or upset, I just…feel more on edge I guess you can say…just really awkward…is perfect.

I: Okay. Okay. Umm, do you ever feel uncomfortable when like you see a gay man or anything like that or think about?
O: Umm, I would have to say there would be some level of uncomfortability…just maybe. Not that it's ever affected me specifically, so to speak, but I remember being in a restaurant a few weeks ago…and seeing a table of four men and originally you think, well maybe it's just some, some guys hanging out or whatever…having a guy's night, but then it was very obvious that it was two separate gay couples…because they started sitting with their

> arms around each other and that sort of thing. And I think maybe it's more, it's not necessarily I guess the word uncomfortable, but it's more of like a novelty
>
> I: So, umm, you said that it makes you feel uncomfortable. Can you tell me a little bit more about that, when you think about
> S: Public displays of affection?
> I: Yeah, exactly.
> S: Yeah, like, I don't know. I think public displays of affection in general, like even between guy and girl, are still uncomfortable….For me, between gays it's even more uncomfortable so.

It was a common response among the female participants to explain their feelings of discomfort about gay men by assuming that these feelings are a result of not having much exposure to gay couples. It seems that the female participants did not find gay couples to be inherently repulsive; instead, they were uncomfortable with seeing gay men behaving romantically because it was uncommon and unexpected. In addition, both Elizabeth and Sarah attempted to normalize their feelings of discomfort around gay men who engage in public displays of affection by commenting that any sort of public display of affection, even that which occurs between a heterosexual couple, makes them feel uncomfortable. Thus, it seems that the participants were trying to demonstrate that their feelings of discomfort were not unusual for them. It is also interesting to note that both Connor (as reflected in the previous set of extracts) and Elizabeth (as well as Sarah at another point in the interview) tried to explain their feelings about gay men by indicating that they do not become angry when they encounter gay couples. By explicitly stating that they do not become angry, it seems that the participants are trying to relay to the interviewer that even though they may not approve of or feel comfortable around gay couples, they are not hostile toward gay men. That is, it appears that they were trying to set themselves apart from those individuals who do lash out against this social group.

Connor and Kurt also attempted to monitor their images by normalizing their feelings about gay men. Both of these men commented that they would feel more negativity towards anyone who engaged in public displays of affection if they did not know the person beforehand.

> C: To be completely honest, I mean, I think more negatively than, than I would have with people that I would know…which, I don't know why, but that's just the way. Like I mean anytime I see like public displays of affection or anything

> like that, I just kind of, it kind of grosses me out. Or if guys, like gay guys are in a bar or walking down like in a mall and they're sitting there with a hand on each other's ass or something like that… I just can't. I don't know, it just rubs me the wrong way, I guess. I don't really.

Thus, this extract, as well as the previous set of extracts, illustrate that the participants use a number of strategies to justify their feelings toward gay men. Further, the participants' attempts to normalize their negative feelings about gay men suggests that they want to minimize the degree to which the negative feelings they experience are directly associated with gay men or that they want to manage the image of themselves that either they or others perceive. Finally, it appears that the male participants tended to have more severe emotional reactions to observing gay men who are behaving romantically with each other than the female participants.

A number of other studies have also documented that individuals who hold negative attitudes toward gay men tend to have negative affective responses to them. Mahaffey, Bryan, and Hutchison (2005) measured heterosexual men's startle eye-blink response as a proxy for negative affect and found that heterosexual men with anti-gay beliefs tended to experience more negative emotional responses to homoerotic stimuli depicting a gay couple than heterosexual men who did not hold an anti-gay bias. Comparably, Bernat, Calhoun, Adams, and Zeichner (2001) reported that heterosexual men who were homonegative experienced more negative affect, anxiety, and anger after watching a homoerotic videotape than non-homonegative men. Further, Johnson, Brems, and Alford-Keating (1997) found that heterosexual women tended to experience less discomfort when in close proximity to gay men than heterosexual men. Thus, the literature that exists with respect to homonegative individuals' affective reactions to gay men seems to be consistent with the results of the current study.

Another theme that emerged with respect to the participants' emotional reactions to gay men is that some of the participants found it more uncomfortable to be confronted with two men engaging in sexual behaviours than two women.

> C: I don't know, I just like, I just think that's wrong. I don't know. I just... but especially guys. Like especially guys…Because. I don't know. Anywhere I've ever went, like living in the States or living here, they just, when it comes to like displaying your affection, like, outside of their home situation…it seems like guys really do it a lot more than the girls would….like I've known girls who are like lesbians and they'll just like, you know, things will be absolutely normal.

But maybe, like, when they sit on each other's lap or something like that it's more socially acceptable, like it's…it's almost like a double standard. But, ummm, I think guys, especially from my point of view, it just kind of grosses me out a lot more. And I don't know why, but….
I: Just something.
C: It just really [*laughs*]. Yeah. I don't know, but….

E: Umm, it's weird because you kind of give a more negative stereotype to gay men…than to lesbian women…I would find [two] men [holding hands] more awkward just because, I don't know, you think men, you think male, macho, and usually in those relationships you hear, well, he's the female partner…and the male partner. And it's just weird to think of a man being in a woman's position in a relationship and….
I: Oh, okay.
E: Yeah. And then, I don't know, I just, I find it a lot weirder, 'cause women you see like they do it for attention even at bars. You'll see two girls who decide to kiss just to get guys… who are completely straight. So that, it's something people more are publicly used to…So men, once again, it's just still more awkward.
I: And you think part of that's 'cause it's kind of something you don't see very often.
E: Right. It's not very heard of, it's not very spoken of very often, yeah.

Both Connor and Elizabeth commented that it is less awkward to see lesbian women behaving romantically because it is more socially acceptable and, consequently, less shocking to observe. Elizabeth also suggests that it is awkward to think of a man taking on a woman's role in a relationship. Therefore, as would be predicted by Kite and Deaux's (1987) gender belief system, part of her negative reaction toward observing a gay couple behaving romantically may be her discomfort of observing one man's gender role violation. Finally, Elizabeth suggests that the greater eroticism that has been associated with two women behaving sexually together contributes to her feeling more comfortable when observing same-sex acts that occur between two women. The fact that both a male and female participant find it to be more uncomfortable to observe a gay couple than a lesbian couple departs from past research that has demonstrated greater negativity toward same-sex homosexuals (Herek, 2000b). Thus, the current study serves to illustrate the variability that may exist with respect to individuals' attitudes toward gay men and that which may be lost when relying on statistical descriptions of attitudes.

5.1.2 Stereotypes about gay men. In order to obtain a better understanding of how the participants perceive gay men, they were asked to explain what they thought of gay men and to describe how they believed gay men to differ from heterosexual men. The participants primarily perceived gay men to be effeminate and to be in violation of the traditional male role.

> J: …this was kind of something I've noticed…not just in media, but like, one of the guys is generally very femme, you know, like kind of…that to me is, like, gross, you know, being girly. You know, girls should act girly. You know, when a girl acts girly, it's good…but, you know, and I know, I do know guys who are straight and, and they, they're kind of the sensitive and emotional and…that kind of bugs me, but, you know, I know people are different and not everyone's like me …and I can accept that, but I guess that would be kind of what bugs me about the whole, you know, flamboyant and….

> O: Umm, hmm, to be honest with you, when I see, when I see a gay couple, so two gay men…umm, to me it seems, it seems, oh I don't really know what the word is, but if I've noticed that one of them is really acting feminine…it almost seems to me as though, if one of them has to act that way, why wouldn't they be with a female who is feminine?
> I: Oh, okay.
> O: You know what I mean?
> I: Yeah.
> O: Like it would be different if they were attracted to, if both were very masculine in the way that they act…the way they appeared, and that sort of thing, then, to me, that would almost be easier to accept… but if there's a partner and it happens, I think, in some lesbian couples that I've seen too, where one ends up taking on more of the masculine role and one the feminine role...to mean that just seems, like, umm, seems like why should they have to do that if they, if they truly are attracted to the same sex, you know…Like if you're masculine, you should be attracted to someone that's masculine, if you're gay.

Both of these participants indicate that they believe that in most gay relationships, one partner acts masculine and the other acts feminine. Further, the participants seem to be particularly bothered by the partner who acts feminine; Jason thinks it is gross for a man to act feminine and Olivia finds it to be perplexing. Given that Jason also is bothered by heterosexual men who are sensitive and emotional, it seems that he is strongly invested in the traditional male role, as well as in the concept of hypermasculinity (Whitley, 2001). In contrast to Jason, Olivia's comments about how she does not understand why gay men are attracted to feminine gay men and not masculine gay men implies that it is not strictly gay men's perceived gender role violation that bothers her. She also seems

to disapprove of gay men because she doubts the sincerity of a man's attraction to a feminine man. Further, the fact that she seems like she would be more understanding of gay men if they were attracted to masculine men is in direct contrast with Donaldson's (1993) understanding that heterosexual men are homonegative because they believe that gay men are attracted to one's "maleness" or manhood. Thus, this is the first instance which suggests that there is a distinction between heterosexual men's and women's understanding of their negative attitudes toward gay men and that there is a need to explain homonegativity in terms other than hypermasculinity and hegemonic masculinity.

Looking more specifically at the stereotypes the participants drew upon to describe the differences between gay men and heterosexual men, we see that the participants further expanded upon the notion that gay men are not masculine. Some of the common differences that they spoke of were that gay men use different mannerisms (such as hand flailing), have an unusual tone of voice, speak with a lisp, walk and dress differently, wear make-up, are not athletic or interested in sports, like to shop, are liberal, engage in anal sex, and act more like a girlfriend.

> E: Well, umm, I mean, you can't stereotype all gay men to be like women…but you hear like somebody goes like this and goes "oh, fabulous" [*Exaggerated voice, makes hand movement to match comment*]… You're going to think, "Oh, gay guy"
> I: Yeah.
> E: Umm, it's just, it's unnatural…Like you're not used to it. You see a man being that way, like, you think man, you think he makes money for the family, he likes sports and cars. You don't think, "Oh honey, those shoes look excellent on you" [*exaggerated voice*].

> O: Umm, lots of time their voice…sounds somewhat feminine. Umm, and then lots of times, just the way they, I would say the way they interact with females…is, umm….
> I: How do you, what do you mean by?
> O: Basically, I would say, more like a girlfriend

> T: You know, they like fashion and they're…just really, umm, conscious of their appearance, and just the way they talk...mainly. And just their, their whole, their body language, just everything like that.

These extracts offer a sampling of the various stereotypical images that the participants drew upon to characterize gay men. As is apparent in the extracts, the participants often implicitly compared gay men to heterosexual women and considered most of the

characteristics gay men were thought to embody to be negative for men. However, a few of the participants pointed out that, in some respects, the fact that gay men do not act masculine is not necessarily negative.

> K: I think a lot of the time and, just from, listening to my girlfriend, they're, they're a lot more, umm, like girls. Not in a bad way. Or…you know, they have feminine qualities, not necessarily outwardly, but inwardly. So they're good listeners or, umm, quite sociable…or, umm, whereas a lot of the times straight men are maybe not, umm, okay with talking about feelings and stuff so, which, like, it's, I, I would say good on, good on you for wanting to talk about that because that's important, so….

> E: And then like heterosexual men usually for the most part…have a very negative attitude towards gay men.
> I: Right, right.
> E: They're like big, manly macho, I like women, I'm gonna go to the bar and get me some and that's going to be that [*exaggerated voice*]…Gay men just, they seem to be a lot more respectful.
> I: Okay, of?
> E: Of just everyone, really.

Consequently, gay men's perceived willingness to speak about their emotions, be social, and be respectful of others were viewed as positive attributes. Further, the participants implied that these attributes are an improvement over heterosexual men's typical characteristics. Finally, both the negative and positive stereotypes of gay men that the participants commented on were consistent with the stereotypes that Madon (1997) documented about gay men.

  5.1.3 Gay men put on an act. While all of the participants indicated that they thought that gay men act differently than heterosexual men, Connor and Jason went so far as to suggest that gay men are putting on an act when they engage in the stereotypical "gay" behaviours that were described above. That is, they believe that gay men do not naturally have exaggerated hand gestures or speak with a different tone in their voice, but instead fabricate these behaviours in order to appear gay.

> C: I don't know if it's like an act or what it is…because you'll never see like a straight guy who does the hand flailing and stuff like that and the…there's almost like a different tone to their voice, where it's…. I can't describe it. But that it's almost like they talk differently too…like they're trying to talk like, kind of in between like a female and a male type thing. And it's almost like an act sometimes that I see people portray and I don't really agree with that. But maybe, hey maybe, I'm totally wrong…maybe that's the way that they talk and

act. Maybe that is natural for them. But I've just, I've never seen a straight person, a straight, guy, girl, whatever, like actually…act like that, but….

C: Like I was out the other night where there was, umm, two girls that I used to go to school with…umm, a girl that I'd never met and this guy that they were with….and he was, he was gay. Umm, and he was really quiet off the start. I never really like you know, I introduced myself to him and he seemed kind of…kind of normal, but I could tell that…you know, he, he kind of did. When he was talking a little bit he did the hand gestures and that sort of stuff…and he was just like, after a while like we sat and had a few drinks, and then it….The act that he was putting on before…seemed to leave.
I: Oh really.
C: It was totally weird.

J: I was told he was gay and he, he was acting gay and just like, you know, the ways they walk and they, they kind of have the lisp thing going [*speaks with a lisp*]…and sometimes it seems like really superficial, like they're trying to act, you know, put it on cause…and I don't know that for sure, but, umm….
I: That's interesting.
J: It's just like, you know like, it's like they're, they're putting on. And I don't. Like some gay people, like my friend…he doesn't really act that way, you know, you wouldn't…He wasn't someone that I would meet and be like, oh, he, he, he must be gay, you know. Like, cause there are some people who, some guys who, who wanna show off, you know, the gay pride people who wanna show off…and the way they do that is by acting, you know, a certain way.

J: I'm sure, like, I'm sure some of them used to act like a regular guy…and that's kind of a, a really loosely defined term, regular guy, but…but, and then, I'm sure, they'd, some of them, I don't know if this is true for everyone but… I'm sure they put on the one, you know, the kind of façade that they have, if it is, you know… To me, it seems that way cause I would never imagine being born like that.

I: Where do you think that act comes, comes from, or?
J: I think it's because uh. And this might just be me being biased but, because they do like, it is natural to like girls…So one of them wants to act kind of like a girl…some of them try to act feminine because that's what guys find attractive in girls…so they want to be attractive to guys. That's, that's what I think.

Connor and Jason believe that "the act" gay men put on is superficial because it is unfathomable to them that a man would naturally feel compelled to act in the way they perceive gay men to act. In addition, Connor used an experience he had with a gay acquaintance to confirm his belief that gay men are "acting" when, over the course of a few drinks, he felt that his acquaintance was no longer putting on an act. Further, Jason's extracts offer insight into why he believes gay men to be acting since he suggests that by doing so, gay men are better able to flaunt their sexuality, either to

attract a partner or to demonstrate to others that they are gay. In addition, the

participants' beliefs that gay men are acting implies that they believe that gay men

could choose to change their behaviours. Therefore, gay men's decision to uphold "the

act" likely intensifies the feelings of negativity the participants hold toward gay men.

Finally, in their discourse about how gay men put on an act, the participants emphasize

that gay men are not normal for acting "gay." This idea that gay men are abnormal is

not limited to Connor and Jason, but is a common theme among all of the participants.

> E: I would say that I consider myself to be, I guess, normal as opposed, but I
> know that's not really a fair statement because they're normal too, they're just
> different…kind of thing, but that is what I would think...even though I would
> know better if I thought about it more, but.

> I: Yeah, just what kind of comes to mind when you think about gay men.
> General thoughts and feelings, opinions.
> S: Mmm, I'm not totally sure, like, they seem normal to me…it's just the actions
> that they do that seem abnormal to me.

The fact that the participants believe that gay men are abnormal helps us to further

understand why they maintain negative attitudes toward gay men. By focusing on the

ways in which gay men differ from either themselves or heterosexual men, the

participants are able to conceptualize gay men as a group of individuals who are distinct

from themselves. It is much easier for people to think and act negatively toward a group

of people who are considered to be different from themselves, especially when the

group is negatively characterized as "abnormal." For instance, by assuming that gay

men constitute an inferior social group, heterosexuals are able to use homonegativity to

assert their superior, in-group status (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994). Thus,

this classification of gay men as abnormal leads the way for various social processes to

occur such as the social dominance (Pratto et al., 1994) and dehumanization (Haslam,

2006) of gay men, as well as the use of "them" to describe gay and lesbian persons.

 5.1.4 Participant perspectives on stereotypes. Even though the participants

thought that the majority of gay men do act in a way that is incongruent with the

traditional male role and were able to speak extensively about how they perceived gay

men to be feminine, it should also be noted that they acknowledged that much of what

they said about gay men was stereotypical and that not all gay men act the same way.

When asked specifically about gay men's masculinity or femininity, participants were

hesitant to state that gay men were: (1) strictly feminine; (2) strictly masculine; and (3) fundamentally different from heterosexual men. Connor and Tiffany were particularly wary of assuming that all gay men act in accordance with the stereotypes that exist about them because they have been victims of stereotypes themselves.

> C: I think its more, like, stereotypical like. For myself, I was a hockey player too and most people say "well, hockey players are dumb."
> I: Right.
> C: Or "hockey players are players like…
> I: Yeah.
> C: You know, they go sleep with a whole bunch of girls or something like that. Well myself, I always, I hated that when girls would say that because I mean when I was playing hockey I had two girlfriends at the time. One I dated for two and a half years and the other one I'm still dating now.
> I: Okay, so obviously not a player then [*laughs*]
> C: [*Laughs*] No. Not at all. So I mean like, I was in both long term relationships the entire time, and so. I don't know. Just stereotypes get put out there. It's just more the, the bad seeds…so to speak and I think maybe some people get stereotypical ideas about gay men or lesbians or something like that.

> I: What do you think are some of the stereotypes that exist about religious people, like with respect to gay men in that context ?
> T: Ummm, that they think that they're better than you 'cause you believe what the bible says…or whatever and. But that's not true. Like I guess, that's why I try not to have stereotypes toward gay people
> I: Oh, okay.
> T: 'Cause I don't want people to have stereotypes towards religious people because it's not. It doesn't apply to everybody...so, that's really important I think.

These extracts illustrate that both Connor and Tiffany suggest that they are willing to consider that not all gay men act feminine and that not all men who act feminine are gay. It is interesting that Connor assumes that the stereotypes that exist about gay men originated from the "bad seeds." With this statement, he implies that even though he tries to be open-minded about gay men, he still looks down upon those gay men who do act like the stereotype suggests. Thus, his wariness of using stereotypes to understand a person does not actually appear to increase his tolerance for gay men. In contrast, Tiffany appears to be more genuine in her attempts to be open-minded about the way in which gay men act because she, at times, feels stigmatized for her own religious beliefs. The participants' perspectives about gay men are summarized in Figure 4.
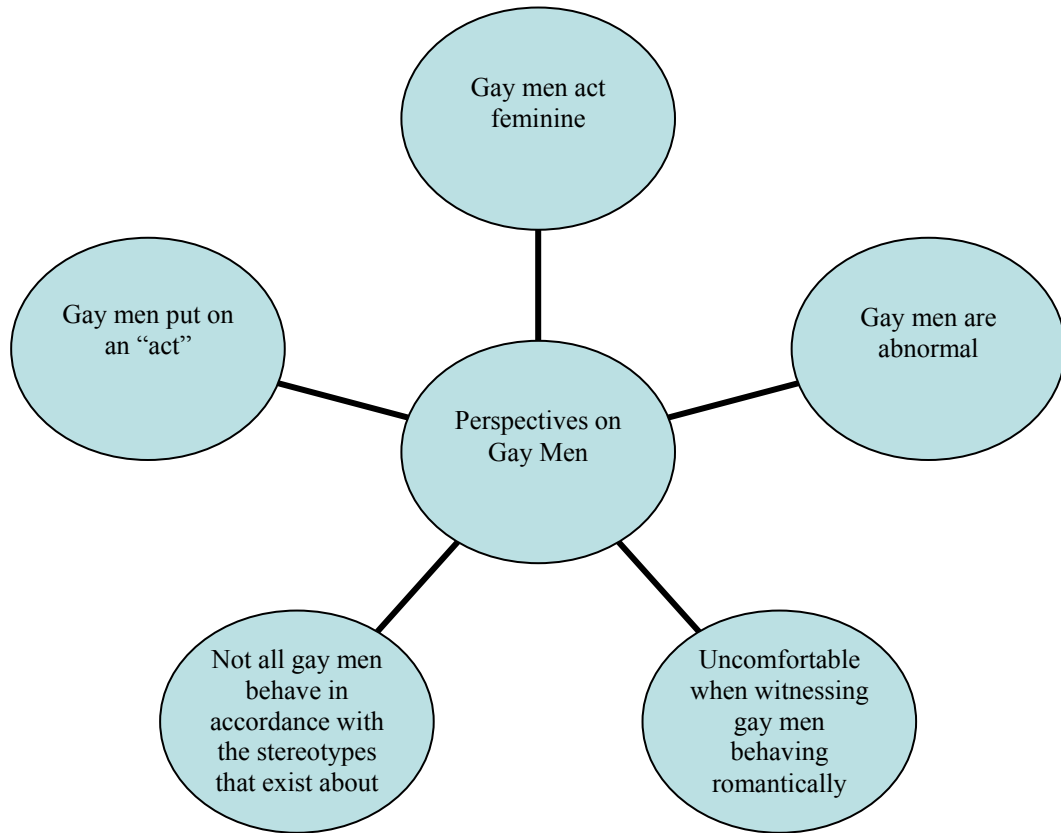
Figure 4. Overview of the participants' perspectives of gay men.

5.2 Finding Meaning in Homonegativity: Participants' Perspectives on Homosexuality

The second set of overarching themes that will be discussed is the participants' endorsement of the belief that homosexuality is wrong. All of the participants were forthright in commenting that they believe homosexuality to be wrong (e.g., Tiffany states "I am against homosexuality" and Blaine remarks "it's totally wrong"). However, it is the participants' reasons for deeming homosexuality to be unacceptable that enables us to appreciate, in part, how heterosexuals' find meaning in their homonegativity. The participants mentioned a number of factors which influenced their negative opinions about homosexuality including their religious beliefs, internal emotional reactions to homosexuality, and perceptions that homosexuality is a choice.

5.2.1 Influence of religious beliefs. All but one participant (Connor) indicated that they were religious and that their religious beliefs in Christianity influenced their opinions about homosexuality. The extent to which the participants' religious beliefs influenced their opinions varied, but several of the participants (Jason, Kurt, Olivia, Tiffany, and Sarah) indicated that their religious beliefs strongly influenced their negative attitudes toward homosexuality. More specifically, the participants indicated that they were explicitly taught by the church and the bible that homosexuality is wrong.

> J: I believe the bible is what we should base our lives on and live by it…And the bible does say things against homosexuality

> O: Umm, basically I would say that, umm, any person that strongly believes in and follows the Christian bible….There are definite things set out in the bible that speak of it being wrong.

> S: Well, being brought up in the church once again…like we're basically taught that it's wrong….Homosexuality is wrong for us.

It is apparent in the participants' articulation of the role that their religious beliefs play in their opinions about homosexuality that they believe that the bible and church clearly demarcate that homosexuality should not be condoned. In addition, most of the female participants (Olivia, Tiffany, and Sarah) repeated numerous times throughout their interviews that God specifically intended a union to be something that occurs between a man and a woman. For instance, Olivia comments that "a union was meant to be a

husband and wife" and Sarah recalls that her pastor told her that "God created Adam and Eve not Adam and Steve." Consequently, the particular Christian ideal that a union should consist of a man and woman seems to play a key role in their beliefs that homosexuality is wrong. Perhaps the women felt that this was a particularly important point to stress because Christianity typically values traditional families composed of a husband and wife and women are often responsible for ensuring the quality of this family configuration (Herek, 1990).

The fact that nearly every participant cited religious beliefs to make sense of their homonegativity is not surprising given that the ATG was designed to identify participants who maintain religious and moral objections against homosexuality (Morrison, Morrison, & Franklin, in press). Moreover, the participants' explicit endorsement of Christian values and the use of these values to explain their disapproval of homosexuality is congruent with the findings in the literature that indicate that people who endorse Christian orthodoxy (i.e., Christian beliefs) are more likely to maintain negative attitudes toward gay men (Herek, 1988; Agnew, Thompson, Smith, Gramzow, & Currey, 1993). Researchers have also explored the relationship between an individual's religious orientation and his/her attitudes toward gay men. Two of the most prominent types of religious orientation that are discussed in the literature are intrinsic religious orientation, wherein participants use religion as a meaningful framework for understanding their lives, and extrinsic religious orientation, whereby participants use religion to achieve social acceptance and conformity (Herek, 1987). Traditionally, it has been found that individuals who have an intrinsic religious orientation are less likely to be prejudiced toward marginalized social groups, with the exception of those social groups who are explicitly condemned in religious teachings, such as gay men (Herek, 1987, Wilkinson, 2004b). While participants in this study were not explicitly asked about their religious orientation as being either intrinsic, extrinsic, or both, they were asked about their religious behaviour (a proxy for adherence to orthodoxy or fundamentalism) and their religious self-schema (how religious they perceive themselves to be), which were both positively correlated with their negative attitudes toward gay men. It seems, however, that many of the participants may have possessed an intrinsic religious orientation because they often drew upon their Christian beliefs to

validate their opinions about homosexuality. For instance, Olivia argues that she has a right to believe that homosexuality is wrong because she allows her beliefs in Christianity to guide all aspects of her life: "I think it's my values and, and religious beliefs that I would say…I feel that I can have that opinion because I, I do strongly believe in that." Similarly, Jason uses his beliefs in Christianity to guide his decision to end his friendship with one of his friends who came out as a gay man. In the following extract, Jason recalls how he felt about the friendship after confronting his friend about his decision to come out as a gay man.

> J: That was kind of my motivation for that meeting and, you know, I just kind of let him know that, you know, that even though you're my friend and you decided to do this, that doesn't change to me whether it's right or wrong. I still think it's wrong.... And, you know, as much as we could be friends, I'd like to still be friends, but, I'm sure, you know, he agreed that that just wasn't really an option…for either of us, so.

This extract illustrates how Jason decided to place a greater value on his beliefs that homosexuality is wrong than on his friendship and personal feelings toward his friend. Although Jason does not explicitly state that his religious beliefs led him to end the friendship, his religious beliefs played an integral role in his opinion that homosexuality is wrong and, consequently, served as an indirect framework on which he based his decision to end the relationship with his friend.

Finally, the religious participants tended to articulate their beliefs about homosexuality in a similar manner. Upon stating that they were against homosexuality, each of the religious participants in the sample qualified their statements by commenting that even though they disapproved of homosexuality, they did not dislike or think less of gay men. This consistency across participant accounts suggests that they have been similarly taught about homosexuality in the context of their respective churches.

> J: I think it's wrong, but I don't think less of homosexual people.

> J: So, I mean, you could say I'm a little bit prejudiced against, not gay people, but homosexuality in… general. I don't. You know, like I said, I think it's wrong and if someone's homosexual, you know, I wouldn't mind telling them that, you know, I think you're wrong. I wouldn't say anything you know, I don't have anything against them.
> I: As a person.

> T: Umm, personally I don't agree with [homosexuality], but I don't have a problem with a homosexual person.

> S: I don't think that a gay person is lesser, I just think that, that's the decision they've made and I'm against it, you know, so.

These extracts indicate that the participants accept the folk Christian ideology that one should hate the sin of homosexuality, but love the sinner (Dowler, 1998). Participants likely engage in this paradoxical, rhetorical argument in which they condemn homosexuality, but condone gay men because the existence of homosexuality and gay men places two fundamental religious principles at odds with each other. As part of their Christian teachings, the participants have been taught to "love thy neighbour" and to be accepting of others; however, they have also been told that homosexuality is inappropriate (Herek, 1987). Thus, the participants have likely attempted to reconcile these two beliefs by claiming that it is homosexuality to which they are opposed and not the actual men who are gay. In practice, however, it is difficult to divorce one's disapproval of a major aspect of a person's identity from the way in which they treat that person. Jason was directly confronted with this dilemma when his friend came out as a gay man. Even though Jason insists that he does not think poorly or less of gay men, he is unable to maintain his friendship with a gay friend. Comments such as "[homosexuality] kind of took a friend away from me" illustrate that it was the fact that his friend was gay that led to the demise of the relationship. If Jason truly did not think less of gay men, he likely would have been able to maintain his relationship with his friend because the friend would have remained someone who was worthy of friendship. Therefore, even though some religious individuals believe that they do not think less favourably of gay men, it seems that an individual's disapproval of homosexuality may influence his/her actions toward, relationships with, and opinions of gay men.

   5.2.2 Beliefs that homosexuality is unnatural. Many of the participants (with the exception of Connor, Olivia, and Sarah) also indicated that they thought that homosexuality was wrong because they perceived it to be unnatural. They felt that homosexuality served no natural purpose because sexual intercourse between two gay men does not lead to reproduction.

> J: Well, like I said, like, you know, the only way you can reproduce as a human is heterosexually….You know, even, you know, there's nothing they can do scientifically to change that either...So, to me it just, well, that's the way it's meant to be, you know, and that's, the biggest biological reason for sex is reproduction, you know….Obviously it's enjoyable and everything, but …that's the biggest reason for it I think…and that doesn't happen with homosexuality, so. That would be my, you know, sub, you know, completely objective way of looking at it. "Okay…let's just look at the facts". The reason for, you know, sex is reproduction and it doesn't work with homosexuality, so, therefore homosexuality isn't natural.

In this extract, Jason calls upon science to further reinforce his beliefs that homosexuality is wrong. Given the prestige that is given to science and objective facts in our society, he likely uses a "scientific explanation" to add credibility to his arguments that homosexuality is wrong. Similarly, Kurt uses the argument that heterosexuality is a natural law to further explain why he disapproves of homosexuality.

> K: I just think that, umm, men, women are made for each other…so, and it's, um, kind of like a natural law, umm, reproduce offspring, so…Umm, you know, this is maybe, like I don't know if homosexuals, they probably don't believe that, umm, being heterosexual is wrong because obviously you need to procreate, so. Whereas, like, heterosexuals believe homosexuality is wrong just because there is no real natural purpose to it, like… you can't, you can't procreate it. There's no, not that there's no point to it, but there really is no point to it, so.
> I: Okay. So, if there was a point to it, what do you think the point might be?
> K: Umm, well, it would be, not to sound ignorant or anything… but like, it would. I, I see it as just being selfish I guess… just because, umm, and not in like a negative way but…you're not furthering, like, naturally… you're not, you're not
> I: contributing to our
> K: you're not, yeah, you're not creating anything.

By reducing the purpose of any union between two people to be sexual reproduction, Kurt is able to conclude that homosexuality is wrong because it does not serve a natural purpose. Further, he goes on to comment that gay men are selfish for choosing to engage in homosexual sexual activity because they are not furthering the species. This is a reductionistic perspective that suggests that the only way in which humans can contribute to the species is through sexual reproduction and is reminiscent of the research findings that gay men are often defined in terms of their socioerotic identities (Herek, 1990). Often minorities are defined on the basis of the characteristic that makes them distinct from the majority (which in the case of gay men is their sexual

orientation) and this characteristic typically acquires a master status to which all other characteristics of the person are subordinated (Herek, 1990). Thus, it seems that Kurt, as well as the other participants who claim that homosexuality is unnatural, primarily think of gay men in terms of their sexual activities and do not consider the possibility that homosexuality (or gay men) may serve a natural purpose beyond sexual reproduction.

Finally, the last extract reflects how Blaine considers homosexuality to be unnatural.

> B: Well, like, I don't know like, things are made in a certain way for a reason, right…so, why, it's just like misuse, right. Like if you…if you buy a truck and drive it backwards all the time, eventually you're gonna run into something 'cause you can't turn around all the time, right, or if you, I don't know like, like anything's that made has a reason…So you don't, like, I don't know, I just think it's a total disrespect and I don't know like, I have, I don't think anything positive about it.
> I: Okay, who do you think it's disrespectful towards?
> B: Yourself…like it's just. I don't think there's any logical benefit from it like…I don't think anything good about it at all.

Again, Blaine focuses primarily on the sexual act between two gay men and considers it to be "misuse" and disrespectful. His analogy comparing gay men to driving a truck backwards suggests that there is something fundamentally wrong with gay men's desire to be involved with other men and that their decision to engage in homosexuality will eventually lead to their demise. Further, by claiming that there is no "logical benefit" from homosexuality, he is attempting to develop his argument in such a way that his beliefs about homosexuality are rational and irrefutable, which is akin to the ways in which Jason and Kurt developed their arguments.

Little empirical research has been conducted to investigate the reasons why individuals may believe homosexuality to be unnatural. However, research published within the realm of evolutionary psychology may be helpful in understanding the participants' beliefs. Gallup (1995) suggests that because gay men are less likely to reproduce, parents of gay offspring tend to devote less attention and resources to them because they are deemed to be of "poor reproductive quality." Thus, Gallup posits that negative attitudes toward gay men have developed as a result of natural selection to ensure that energy is primarily expended on offspring likely to reproduce and, consequently, to dissuade individuals from engaging in sexual behaviours that will not

lead to reproduction. Thus, some individuals may perceive homosexuality to be unnatural because they perceive that natural selection has led to the development of negative attitudes toward gay men to select against homosexuality, since it does not result in sexual reproduction. However, it should be noted that this is not a view maintained by all evolutionary psychologists and that many believe that historically homosexuality has served an adaptive function (Kirkpatrick, 2000; Muscarella, 2007).

5.2.3 Internal reactions. A third way in which two participants (Connor and Kurt) knew that homosexuality was wrong was through their experience of their own inner thoughts and emotions.

> C: I don't know. It's more like an internal clock or an internal reaction….It's something that's almost like. It's just something goes off in my head and I'm just like "oh that's gross" or "I don't like that" like….Something inside of me says that I don't like that…..I don't know what it is or how it happens but its just
> I: Where does that happen, like or where does that kind of originate?
> C: I don't know it's all, it's all emotions, it's all thoughts, uh, feelings, I guess, everything wrapped up in that…because it's all, I don't know, something's just telling me that that's not right. That's, that's wrong…that's, that's what it tells me, but.
> I: So it's just kind of like gut reaction sort of thing
> C: Pretty much, yeah, yeah….exactly, I guess that's the best way of putting it. It's like a gut reaction or a feeling.
>
> K: Yeah, and it's, it is, it's just one of those things that umm I think, I think everyone's born with a conscience and that your conscience is, umm, quite often kind of like a, uh, a, a way that God communicates with you, so,…umm, if I get an in, like a feeling kind of in your gut…a lot, or like a conscience, same idea. A lot of the time I feel that that's kind of like a higher thing, so usually….It's just homosexuality doesn't sit well. Like it's not okay…with my gut feeling, so.
> I: Feel a little like there's something a little off inside of you
> K: Yeah.

Both of these men seem to experience an internal or gut reaction towards the thought of homosexuality which they interpret to mean that homosexuality is wrong. Both men struggled to describe those inner reactions, but Kurt likened it to a moral thermometer or clock that seemed to sit in his chest. He also considered the set of feelings as being a message from God, which is indicative of an intrinsic religious orientation, since he even explains his own feelings in terms of his religious beliefs. While Connor does not subscribe to religious beliefs, he also "feels" in his body that homosexuality is wrong. Often in questionnaire research, the participants' subjective experience of a phenomena

is overlooked or not captured. Thus, hearing the ways in which participants experience a subjective reaction to homosexuality is helpful in allowing us to understand what it feels like to be homonegative and how people make sense of their feelings of homonegativity.

 5.2.4 Homosexuality is a choice. The belief that homosexuality is a choice also seemed to factor prominently in the participants' understandings of why homosexuality is wrong. Five of the participants believed that homosexuality was strictly a choice (Jason, Kurt, Blaine, Olivia, Sarah), two participants thought it was more likely that homosexuality was a result of genetics (Connor, Elizabeth), while one participant was undecided (Tiffany). Blaine, Sarah, and Jason had the most extreme attitudes with respect to their beliefs that homosexuality is a choice and they appear to dismiss the idea that a person may be born gay.

> B: So if somebody turns out to be gay like, the only reason is because they're fucking stupid, you know, because, like, there's nothing that happens that means that you have to be screwed up, so uh just, I don't know.
> I: Okay. So do you think it's a choice to be gay then?
> B: Yeah…I don't think you can naturally be gay…because like no one's made to, like, screw guys in the ass [*laughs*]….Like it doesn't make any sense, so...like you're not born gay, like, you just, you turn gay 'cause you're stupid like…like there's. I don't know. Or, whatever, if you're screwed up or like whatever it is, but I don't
> I: Okay. It's not something somebody has to do?
> B: No.

> S: Well, you have the choice either to be straight or homosexual. Like I know some people say, like, they think they were born to be homosexual, like...I can't understand why they would say something like that. Like maybe it's the way they were brought up or something, but you always have the choice.

> J: I do. I don't think people are born with it...you know, I don't have any scientific evidence of it, but that's just what I think, so….Yeah, I do think it's a choice and especially, I mean, seeing my friend, you know, and he even told me he was choosing to do it…and to me that was, that was weird, 'cause he's like this is the way I've always been, but I'm choosing, I, I don't, I, I told him I didn't get it and he's like "Oh, you wouldn't understand" so I didn't really press him and he couldn't. Obviously it's his decision
> I: Just a difference of opinion or….
> J: Yeah, so. I do think, think it's a choice though, yeah.

Blaine's belief that a person cannot be born gay is one of the ways in which he understands homosexuality to be wrong and unnatural. He strongly believes that there is

no reason why someone would choose to be gay and that there is nothing that could occur in a person's life that would make them gay. He even goes so far as to explain how he experienced a traumatic event in his life (i.e., his father's death) and that he did not become gay. Thus, he posits that the only reason why gay men choose to be gay is because they are "fuckin' stupid" or "screwed up." Similarly, Sarah stated that she could not fathom the idea that gay men may be born gay. She is adamant that a person always has the choice to be straight and even implies that gay men who say that they are born gay are not speaking the truth. Instead of contemplating the possibility that someone may believe that he was born gay, she suggests that gay men only think they were born gay as a result of their upbringing. Finally, Jason uses his own personal experience with a gay friend to support his belief that gay men are not born gay. He feels that his friend contradicted himself in stating he has always been gay, but that he also "chose" to be gay. Ultimately, Jason decides that his friend made a conscious decision to be gay. This is further supported elsewhere in his interview when he states "I know for a fact he wasn't…he's had girlfriends and…I know he liked girls." Based on the extracts, it appears that Jason (as well as Blaine and Sarah) are not readily able to consider perspectives other than their own with respect to the origins of sexual orientation. The participants do not seem to be able to think critically about their own assumptions and, consequently, they seem to perceive only their interpretations about the origins of homosexuality as being correct.

Like Blaine, Sarah, and Jason, Olivia also thought that homosexuality is a choice, but she explicitly draws upon her Christian beliefs to explain why she maintains this belief about homosexuality.

> O: Umm, I think it's a choice because of the, again, probably relating back to the religious beliefs…that, umm, when a person believes in the, the Christian idea of creation from God, making man and woman to be together…umm, then a person wouldn't really believe that it would actually be physiologically possible for someone to have something within them to make them that way….If God's creation was intended that way, then there wouldn't just be certain individuals that would have something within them that would make them gay…so I think that's why I think it's a choice.

This extract illustrates that Olivia believes that homosexuality is a choice because it is not congruent with her religious beliefs. She concludes that homosexuality is a choice

because it is not common across all people and, if God had intended people to be gay, he would not just "make certain individuals" gay, but would make all humans gay. Thus, it appears that in addition to claiming that homosexuality is wrong and unnatural, Christian teachings also imply that homosexuality is a choice. While only Olivia explicitly stated that her Christian beliefs helped inform her opinions about the origins of homosexuality, it may be that the other religious participants in the sample (Jason, Kurt, Olivia, Tiffany, Sarah) were also influenced by a similar religious doctrine given the similarities in their conclusions about homosexuality. A study conducted by Johnson, Brems, and Alford-Keating (1997), which found that people who were high in religiosity were less likely to support the belief that homosexuality has a genetic origins, supports the idea that Christian teachings may imply that homosexuality is a choice.

In order to better understand the participants' beliefs about the origins of homosexuality, they also were asked why they thought gay men may choose to be gay. The majority of the participants indicated that they thought that the men must have experienced some sort of psychological trauma in their childhood such as abuse that caused them to become disturbed. For instance, Kurt makes the following comment.

> K: Ummm, well, I, if you're like maybe if you're disturbed or you have, you get molested or something as a child…so, maybe, something in your childhood, uh, or early in life, and then, umm, you're forever turned off from…something and, um, so then it's, I can see it may be them choosing it because it maybe it feels safer or…you know, like they've been damaged someway.

Other reasons that were offered by the participants were that gay men lacked the ability to attract a partner from the opposite sex (because they were ugly), they were more comfortable with and felt more accepted by members of the same-sex, and because they wanted attention from others. Essentially, the participants thought that there had to be something fundamentally wrong with gay men to make them choose this style of living.

Only two participants, one who was not at all religious and the other who was only somewhat religious, believed that homosexuality was more a function of genetics than choice.

> C: Ummm. I don't know. I've heard recent studies, like I've heard a whole bunch of different things that sometimes its, uh, like innate behaviour, like you can't help it. Then other times I've heard that, oh, it's just, uh, an attitude and they're going through something and I don't know. I think most people are made to be, you know, a man and a woman, otherwise we probably wouldn't be here

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today so. But, umm I wouldn't doubt that there's something in genetics that would probably…make them that way too. I, I wouldn't doubt that…because I mean there's all kinds of genetic dysfunctions. I don't know if you wanna call it a dysfunction, because it's really, like I mean, you can walk down the street, and the way that I'm dressed, somebody could think "Oh, man, that guy looks like he's gay". So I mean it's really, a lot of it's stereotypical.

I: Okay. Umm, do you think homosexuality is a choice?
E: No.
I: Okay. Can you tell me a bit about that?
E: That's all the learning that I've done this year.
I: [*Laughs*].
E: Umm, I think, it may be, like if you had severe psychological trauma and you've got no, that's your outlet…that's your defense, then maybe that's a choice, but otherwise, I think you're born with it…if you are born gay, you are gay.
I: Okay, so what did you think before this year then?
E: I just thought those people are really weird and I don't see why they'd want to do that…but I did think it was a choice, definitely.

While both Connor and Elizabeth believe that homosexuality is likely a result of genetics, they frame their opinions about the biological origins of homosexuality in different ways. Connor views the biological origins of homosexuality quite negatively in that he considers homosexuality to be a result of a "genetic dysfunction." However, he does not seem to be completely comfortable with labeling it as a genetic dysfunction because he recognizes that the set of characteristics which are typically associated with the "dysfunction" of homosexuality are stereotypical and may also be manifested among heterosexuals. In contrast, Elizabeth has only recently begun to conceptualize homosexuality as being biologically based and attributes this change in her understanding of the origins of homosexuality to her having more positive attitudes about homosexuality and gay men. This positive change in her opinions about gay men raises an interesting issue with regards to the amount of stigma that is associated with conditions that are perceived to be controllable. Stigma has been defined as "some attribute, or characteristic, that conveys a social identity that is devalued in a particular social context" and the extent to which a particular characteristic, such as homosexuality, is stigmatized is influenced by whether it is concealable, immutable, disruptive of social interactions, aesthetically displeasing, acquired beyond one's control, and perilous to others (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998, p. 505). Past research

has found that people tend to be more accepting of conditions that are thought to be genetically based and to which the person is powerless over (e.g., physical deformities) than conditions that are perceived to be under the control of the individual (e.g., obesity) (Crocker et al., 1998). Looking specifically at homonegativity, two studies have documented that individuals who believe sexual orientation to be immutable (i.e., unchanging over the course of a person's lifetime) or something that a person has no control over are more likely to maintain positive attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women (Hegarty & Pratto, 2001; Herek & Capitanio, 1995). Thus, the fact that Elizabeth's attitudes became more positive after she decided that homosexuality was genetic offers further support to the theory that it is less acceptable to think negatively of somebody for a condition they cannot control. In addition, Tiffany expresses a similar sentiment when she comments that she would feel horrible if she was prejudiced toward someone for being gay if it was something beyond his control.

> T: But I just, I just, I'm trying to understand it because I would feel horrible if I had all of these terrible, terrible. Like if I was to be outright prejudiced, in, like, to say something rude to a gay person…I would feel horrible if it was some, if really was something they couldn't control… I really try and be aware of that…but I still, I still do think that it mainly is a choice, but I, I just don't know for sure.

Consequently, Tiffany's perception that it is not acceptable to be prejudiced towards gay men for an uncontrollable condition is consistent with the literature on stigma. Moreover, the majority of the participants' perceptions that homosexuality is a controllable condition helps to explain why they maintain such negative attitudes toward gay men. An overview of the factors which influenced the participants' opinions about homosexuality is presented in Figure 5.
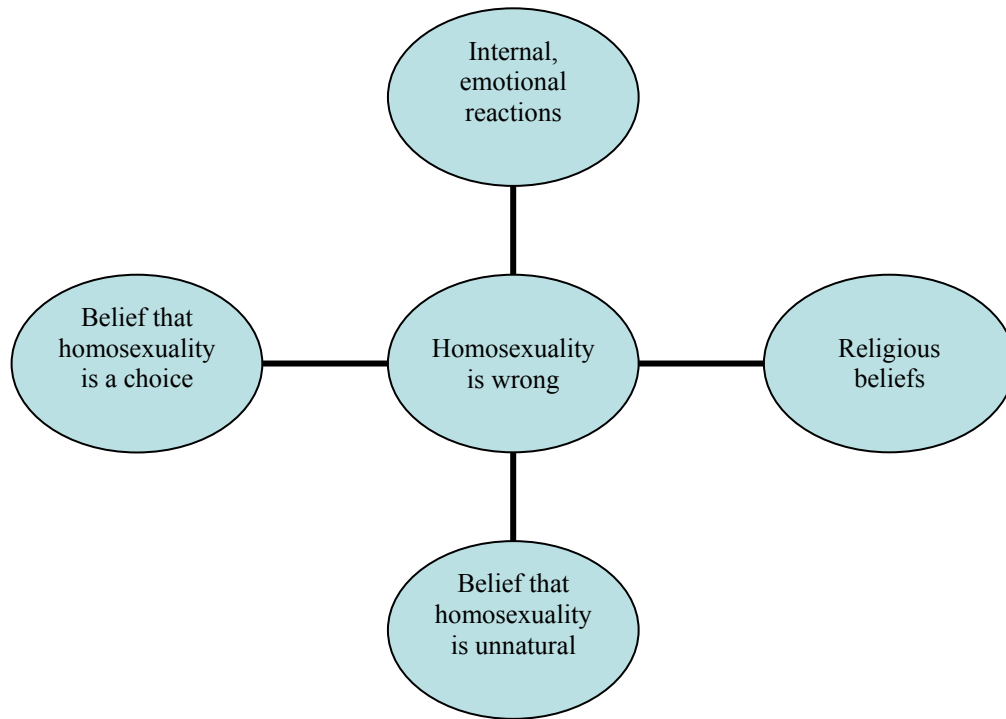
Figure 5. Overview of the influences on participants' perceptions that homosexuality is wrong.

5.3 Participants' Perspectives on Anti-Gay Behaviours

This section will discuss the participants' experiences with anti-gay behaviours. Given that these participants were chosen to participate in interviews on the basis of admitting to engaging in anti-gay behaviours on the questionnaire that was used to screen the participants, it was surprising to learn that the participants did not feel that it was right to behave aggressively toward gay men and that they did not feel as though they had engaged in any anti-gay behaviors. Consequently, this set of results is intriguing as it suggests that perpetrators of anti-gay behaviors on university campuses are different than the perpetrators of anti-gay behaviours that were interviewed in Franklin's (1998) and Van Der Meer's (2003) studies, since the individuals in those studies had no qualms about behaving discriminatorily toward gay men and deliberatively directed violence toward gay men. Thus, the participants' perspectives on being vocal about their homonegative attitudes, their motivations for engaging in the few anti-gay behaviours they reported, and their motivations for not behaving negatively toward gay men will be discussed.

5.3.1 Expressing opinions about gay men. Only three participants (Jason, Blaine, Tiffany) indicated that they expressed their opinions about homosexuality and gay men frequently. The other participants indicated that they either did not feel any need to express their opinions about homosexuality (Connor, Elizabeth) or that they only felt comfortable expressing their opinions to close family and friends (Kurt, Olivia, Sarah). The following extracts highlight the comments of the participants who did not feel the need to express their opinions about homosexuality.

> C: Oh, I don't think I need to express that I don't condone it….Umm, I just think that, like I said, anybody who presses their sexuality on you or beliefs or anything like that… it just, you know I don't agree with that. I, I don't think I need to go around and say, "Hey, I don't agree with that gay, or quit holding hands" or whatever they do….No, no. They can do that, it's fine. Like I mean, there's nothing I can do about that. I can't change who they are.

> E: Umm, I guess if it's something that really makes you angry it would be important to get it out because it's never good to just keep that bottled up….but otherwise, I don't think it really is that important…I don't think people need to hear how much you hate gay people…'cause it's just not helpful in anyway.

It is interesting that even though both of these participants believe that homosexuality is wrong and makes them uncomfortable, they do not feel the need to tell gay men that

they disapprove of homosexuality or wish that they did not see homosexual behaviours enacted in public. It seems that the participants have endorsed the notion that people have a right to be different and that no one has the right to limit the freedom of others. The participants' lack of desire to express their opinions about homosexuality may be a reflection of the values of Canadian society, since tolerance of diversity is often promoted and expected within Canada. However, it is also possible that the participants feel powerless to change gay men and/or other people's opinions about homosexuality and, consequently, do not feel that it is necessary for them to share their opinions. Regardless, the fact that these participants do not feel the need to express their homonegativity is surprising because these participants endorsed a blatant measure of anti-gay attitudes. Up until this point, it has been assumed in the literature that individuals who hold blatantly negative attitudes against homosexuality are likely to be vocal and forthright in expressing their opinions about homosexuality and gay men (Dowler, 1998). However, these participants demonstrate that this is not necessarily the case, since they do not feel that it is appropriate for them to espouse their beliefs about homosexuality. This apparent lack of connection between the participants' blatantly negative attitudes and behaviours will be further explored throughout this section.

Of the participants who indicated that they do express their opinions about gay men and homosexuality, many of them qualified their willingness to do so by stating that they would only express their opinions to people with similar beliefs (such as their close friends and family). The next sets of extracts reflects the reasons why the participants only felt comfortable expressing their opinions to people they trust.

> I: Umm, do you express your opinions, how do you express your opinions about homosexuality?
> K: Umm, in the, the safeness of people I know well…so people I know it's okay to be honest with and, and talk about it with and know that no one's gonna be like offended or…ummm, like, whatever, umm. It would, you know, just talking with closer friends.
>
> O: Umm, I think, in, for any sort of sensitive subject…umm, it's important to have some people that you can discuss, discuss it with and usually, usually you end up discussing with people that you have, that you share the same opinion with…so I think what ends up happening is, ummm, on value related issues like that, umm, when your close family and friends have very similar beliefs, you feel comfortable discussing it and getting your opinion out.
> I: Right.

> O: Whereas you wouldn't just talk to a stranger about it…'cause you wouldn't really know their reaction or…their response, so.
> I: Okay, so you're kind of then concerned about some of the reactions that people might have if you told them.
> O: Yeah.
>
> I: Yeah. Have you done that, in a classroom,
> T: No.
> I: expressed your opinions?
> T: No, I'm too shy.
> I: [*Laughs*]
> T: I, I'm not, I, I'm very opinionated, but it just depends on the context…of where I am. How comfortable
> I: Whether you want to actually express your opinions or not?
> T: Exactly. And depending upon how much opposition I'd think I'd have.
> I: Yeah.
>
> I: Okay, when you do, who do you normally express them to?
> S: I probably express it to my sisters…because if I did express it to my friends and they thought that, umm, homosexuality was okay…then maybe they would see me differently.

These extracts illustrate that the participants are highly concerned with being judged by or offending others. It seems that the participants are reluctant to express their opinions because they fear being placed in a position where they will: (1) be criticized for the opinions or (2) lose the respect of their friends and acquaintances. Thus, the participants are highly motivated to monitor their prejudicial expressions in order to control how they are perceived by others. Consistent with the notion that some individuals may be motivated to withhold overt expressions of prejudice, Dunton and Fazio (1997) have documented that some individuals are motivated to control their prejudiced reactions to others because they are concerned with being perceived as prejudiced and with causing disputes with people to whom they have expressed their opinions. Further, Plant and Devine (1998) have suggested that individuals may be motivated either internally (i.e., they do not want to think of themselves as prejudiced) or externally (i.e., they do not want others to perceive themselves as prejudiced) to modify their prejudiced reactions. On the basis of the extracts presented above, it seems that these participants are primarily externally motivated to control their prejudiced reactions. Moreover, Plant and Devine (1998) found that an external motivation to control prejudiced reactions was only somewhat negatively correlated with self-report measures of prejudice. Thus, the

participants' external motivation to control prejudiced reactions may help to explain why the participants endorsed the ATG, but are not vocal about their opinions or have not engaged in many anti-gay behaviours.

Given that the participants do occasionally express their opinions about homosexuality, they also were asked to explain their reasons for deciding to do so. Most of the participants commented that they either expressed their opinions to hear others' perspectives in order to arrive at a better understanding of their own opinions about homosexuality and gay men or to show others their perspectives about homosexuality.

> I: Why do you feel it's important to have those talks with closer friends?
> K: Umm, to get perspective on a lot of things, I guess. Find out what other people think…Uh, especially, like, talking with some, umm, friends of mine, who are like involved in the church as well…Just to kind of like figure out, you know, 'cause none of us are really sure…how it all fits together, so…umm, it's good to like debate about it….and, I think, understanding comes through knowledge and wisdom, so. You can read lots of books on it, I guess, but it's probably better and easier to learn by interaction.
> I: So it's just trying to work about what you think about this and
> K: Yeah, and learning from what other people know…and what they say, I guess.

> I: So when you do share your opinions, why do you think it's important to share opinions about homosexuality?
> S: Hmmm, well to see, show people how you feel about that.

> I: Okay. Why do you think it's important to you to express your opinions or beliefs?
> T: Umm, hmmm, I don't know. I guess just to show people another side maybe, or, but like especially if it's something different I think.

The participants' motivations to express their opinions about gay men seem to be rather commonplace and harmless. They do not seem to be trying to persuade others to change their opinions to agree with them that homosexuality should be condemned, but, instead, are either exploring their own opinions or expressing to similar others how they feel. However, these participants' motivations for expressing their opinions about homosexuality seem to be quite different from the motivations of the participant who likes to express his opinions about homosexuality frequently. In contrast to the other participants, Jason seems to have a specific agenda for expressing his opinions about homosexuality.

J: 'Cause I don't think it's healthy for a society to…get rid of its, you know, get rid of any type of right and wrong or…and, that's definitely something that's being, you know, people are being with it, "Oh, you know, you just hate people because you're saying what they do is wrong" Well, no, you know. I think that if you're just quiet 'cause you're afraid everybody's gonna, gonna get mad at you or whatever, you know…They think, "Oh, I think being gay is wrong, so I should say anything"…but, you know, I mean you should be polite about it definitely, but, yeah, that would be a, a reason I would… definitely like to speak up more.

Jason is concerned that society's morals are declining by becoming more tolerant of homosexuality. Further, he seems to feel that it his duty to speak out against homosexuality to remind others that this type of behaviour is wrong. This is supported by the fact that he is critical of people who maintain a similar opinion to his, but do not speak openly of their opinions. Unlike the other participants, Jason does not seem to be motivated to control his prejudiced reactions and, as a result, offers insight into why some people blatantly express their homonegative opinions.

5.3.2 Anti-gay jokes. When probed about the anti-gay behaviours in which they have participated, all of the participants (except Olivia) indicated that they have either told or laughed at anti-gay jokes. However, the participants did not consider anti-gay jokes to be true "anti-gay" behaviours. In their opinions, anti-gay jokes were common, acceptable forms of conduct.

C: Oh there's a million jokes, but there's a million jokes about everybody, so… I'd hate to throw them into their own specific category and say that I'm really gay bashing, would be, wouldn't be right, I don't think…'cause there's jokes about everyone, so.

J: I don't know, you know, we're not, we're definitely not the only people who do [tell anti-gay jokes], you know, it's normal like its….
I: Yeah, no, it's very, very common

B: It's just like the same as telling any kind of a joke, right. Like you can tell "Yo Mama" jokes about some guy, like it's not like…about their mom, but, you know, or you can say like, mmm, well I guess like any kind of joke like you're saying to someone like…it's, you're just doing it to bug them or whatever like…it's not, there's no real meaning…I would take things with a grain of salt, I guess, so….Nothing's really meant by it, so.

These extracts illustrate that many of the participants actually found it offensive to consider anti-gay jokes to be anti-gay behaviours because they considered anti-gay jokes to be just like any other type of joke that is told. Connor's comment that he does

not want to be thought of as a "gay basher" because he makes anti-gay jokes suggests that there is a stigma associated with being known as someone who behaves negatively toward gay men. Comparably, Jason's assertion that anti-gay jokes are commonplace and Blaine's claims that anti-gay jokes are meaningless likely serve to reinforce for them that they do not engage in unusually negative behaviours toward gay men. Further, the high prevalence and widespread acceptability of anti-gay jokes has likely contributed to the participants' perceptions that anti-gay jokes are not harmful to sexual minorities. Other studies have also documented that anti-gay jokes and slang words are often used by college and university students and that students are often unaware of the derisive nature of anti-gay jokes and insults (Burn, 2000; Burn, Kadlec, & Rexer, 2005).

Upon further exploration of the participants' experiences with anti-gay jokes, there appeared to be two primary motivations for engaging in this behaviour. First, anti-gay jokes or slander were used to make fun of either gay men or of someone who was "acting" like a gay man.

> I: What are some of your reasons for telling like gay, gay jokes?
> B: Just to make fun of them.

> T: Just, [*exhales*] I don't know, I think it's more making fun of someone who is a very feminine gay person…just, you know, imitating them or just, I don't know. Just kind of like playing out what you think they would act like or. It's mainly at, not in an actual joke, I don't think...but just kind of joking around about it.
> I: Okay. What would be some of your reasons for joking about gay men or what would be kind of a trigger for an incident like that?
> T: Umm, either seeing it on TV or just seeing, you know, like seeing a gay man doing something you consider a woman to be doing like hair or…shopping. I don't know, just like. I guess it's stereotypical stuff like that….Mainly just the, the way that they would, if they would act in a really…gay way, kind of thing [*laughs*].
> I: Okay. And, and why do you, umm, make jokes about gay men?
> T: I, it's probably mainly because of discomfort…and not, not really knowing how else to act.

> J: As a family, we're being, the more of a guy you are, you know, the better type of…view. Saying someone's gay is kind of saying you're not really a guy type of, not a normal guy or whatever…you know, it's just a way of. Sometimes, you know, when we're really mad, you know, we just, we don't. Gen, generally when we're really actually mad at each other we don't say something like you're gay…but, you know, that's just a way of bugging someone, you know.

K: Usually, I guess. I can't really think of why, it just seemed like the appropriate thing to do at the time, I guess…umm, maybe if someone did something that would be considered gay, then you would make a joke about it [*Laughs*].

The extracts from Blaine and Tiffany demonstrate that anti-gay jokes are used to disparage gay men. Tiffany is particularly articulate about her reasons for making fun of gay men and suggests that she uses jokes to help relieve the tension and discomfort she experiences when she observes gay men who are violating the traditional male role by acting feminine. In contrast, the extracts from Jason and Kurt indicate that they use anti-gay jokes and slander as a means to insult other heterosexuals who they perceive to be acting "gay." By using anti-gay terms as insults, Jason and Kurt are able to reprimand their peers for deviating from the traditional male role. Thus, this motivation is consistent with Franklin's (1998) and Van Der Meer's (2003) findings that some men are motivated to engage in anti-gay behaviours to punish individuals who deviate from society's gender role expectations. While the participants in the current study do not directly derogate gay men with their jokes, they are still using anti-gay jokes to punish their peers for deviating from their expectations of how men should behave.

Looking more closely at whom the participants directed anti-gay jokes toward, it seems that the participants thought it was inappropriate to tell anti-gay jokes directly to gay men.

K: Uh, jokes would only ever be, like, behind people's backs. I would never, kind of like, make it out to their face…or like make fun of them to their face.

I: Okay, so in situations where you're joking around then, so it's just like, with people that you're comfortable with.
T: Right, it would be even, with more like with friends and stuff…it would never be in the presence of a gay person.

Although the participants consider gay jokes to be "meaningless," they do not seem think that this type of behaviour is acceptable when it is directed toward particular gay men. Thus, the participants appear to be somewhat contradictory in their use of anti-gay jokes. The participants did not explain why they thought it was acceptable to engage in anti-gay jokes with their peers but not directly with gay men; however, this belief may stem from a desire to be perceived as non-prejudiced by others.

The second motivation that participants had for using anti-gay jokes or slander was to demarcate when something was "stupid" or "dumb".

> K: It would always just be with, umm, like playing sports on a sports team or whatever…and using the word gay as a, a slang.
> I: Like "you're so gay" or?
> K: Yeah, yeah like a term, so that's quite common…in my vocabulary. Calling something gay just because it's dumb. That's just, I guess, growing up in secular society, just.

> I: Is there a particular, like do you have, is there a certain situations where you're more likely to say to somebody "That's so gay" or something like that
> K: No, mostly if it just, I don't know, like, if it's stupid or something…like I wouldn't say it very, or like, I have no discrimination when I use the, the slander
> I: Okay, it's not reserved for special situations.
> K: No, yeah, it's just kind of like if I feel like saying "it's gay"…I guess, I've never, I can't say I don't make any, there's no…distinction.

The term "gay" seems to be used indiscriminately in order to point out that something is stupid. Thus, in these situations, it does not appear that the participants explicitly relate the term "gay" to the concept of homosexuality. Instead, the term seems to have become one of the many insults that people use and has, in the eyes of the individuals using the terms, been stripped of its true meaning and implications. Several studies suggest, however, that the use of anti-gay slang words continues to have a harmful impact on sexual minorities, even if heterosexuals are not consciously using the terms to harm sexual minorities (Burn, Kadlec, & Rexer, 2005; Smith, 1998).

It should also be noted that it was primarily the male participants who were responsible for engaging in anti-gay jokes. While Elizabeth and Sarah admitted to finding some anti-gay jokes funny, they also commented that they would never seek out or initiate an anti-gay joke.

> E: Mmmm. Never really spread gossip or made fun of or anything, but definitely heard some gay jokes….
> I: It's pretty, I guess it's kind of hard to avoid
> E: Yeah, they're pretty popular, but I've never really, been like, "okay I'm gonna go search on the Internet for gay jokes because I think they're funny"…It's never been anything I'm interested in. You hear it, but it's not something that really plays back in your mind.
> I: Okay. What do you think about when you hear gay jokes, like?
> E: Umm, it kind of depends on the situation….like if it's two friends together and they're like, "ha ha, this is funny," whereas if you're in a public place, it's like same with racial jokes like…you don't approve of them, but sometimes

they're kind of funny….like, you wouldn't agree with what they're saying but it's humorous…and make sure you're careful where you say them.
I: And the same kind of goes with gay jokes.
E: Exactly, yeah.

I: What were you kind of thinking when your sister made that comment?
S: I was a little bit shocked that she said that…like I normally wouldn't say something like that to my friends…but she is my sister so, I don't know [*laughs*],

Again, we see that both Elizabeth and Sarah are highly concerned with how their participation in an anti-gay behaviour would be construed by others. The participants are careful of where and to whom they make anti-gay jokes. Further, the fact that it is primarily the male participants in the sample who engage in anti-gay jokes suggests that the female participants are more concerned with their prejudiced reactions than the males.

5.3.3 Distancing and avoidance behaviours. The second type of anti-gay behaviours that the participants engaged in were distancing and avoidance behaviours. Primarily, the participants felt compelled to distance themselves from gay men in interactions with them that they perceived to be negative. The interactions that the participants considered to be negative enough to prompt avoidance ranged in severity from seeing two men holding hands in the hall to being "hit on" by a gay man at a social event. The following extracts reflect some of the negative interactions the male participants had with gay men.

I: What do you do in those sorts of situations when you see two men?
K: Uh, like if. I guess the extent that I've actually experienced it would just be in the hallway, kind of like holding hands or something like that, like…just keep walking, like, I guess. If it's pretty minor. I can't say what I would do in a major situation...probably just go about my business.
I: Okay. But generally you just kind of….
K: Yeah.
I: try to ignore it and walk away from
K: Yeah, I wouldn't let it get to me sort of thing.

C:. Other times that have made me uncomfortable was when, like, lets say I'll go, I went to like the gym in [City] or something like that…and was working out and then afterwards you have a shower and another guy was just sitting there kind of staring at you. And you're just really creeped out, like…I was just in there having a shower. Everybody showers…together, I guess, and he was just kind of sitting there, like shampooing his hair and just like staring right at me. Like not at my face, that's for sure.

I: Oh, wow.

C: [*Laughs*] So, just kind of, kind of creeped out, so I pretty much just showered and got out of there as soon as possible. Like I didn't know what really to do, so.

I: Did you say anything to him or did you have any sort of interaction with him?

C: Never. Not once. No, I didn't even know who the guy was.

I: Oh, wow.

C: I never saw him again either, but….

I: Do you remember what you were kinda of thinking, like as you were

C: Not really 'cause like what do ya. I guess kind of grossed out, the other hand I was kind of offended and the other part of me was pretty mad too, like..

I: Mad.

C: Yeah, like this isn't, this isn't a show like [*laughs*].

I: Yeah

C: So. Well, I don't know…. All of those feelings I guess kind of mixed up into one.

I: Ah, okay, so how did you feel after you got out of there, like?

C: Ah, still was kind of like worried about it. Disgruntled, I guess.

I: Right. In what kind of way?

C: Just like I said, kind of felt violated and I was just, was kind of unsure of the situation. Like if I handled it properly, like just, should I have like said something to him like "what are you looking at?" But I'm sure if I would have said something…and then followed up on it. If he would have said something back, maybe I would have, you know, got upset and, and I don't know. Who, who knows what happens but…I mean anytime that there's a confrontation, it's never, never good…I guess, so to speak, so I just thought, you know, whatever, just walk away. Get out of here and just…leave it alone, I guess, so. Umm. But it was, it was really, a negative experience I guess you could say.

B: This was in [City] at [an event]…and I was working in there and this gay guy. I can't remember what he said to me, but he hit on me and it was like really uncomfortable like right now….like I was, I don't know, I was just, it was just uncomfortable. I don't know.

I: Do you remember, what other sort of emotion words would you use to describe how you felt?

B: Sick.

I: Sick. What else?

B: Mmmm, disdained…

I: What, do you remember what kind of thoughts were running through your head when he was hitting on you?

B: I gotta get out of here [*laughs*]…the thing was like I was working there too, so I couldn't just leave. Like I just had to find something else to do.

I: What did you end up doing?

B: I don't remember like. It was just like one of the normal jobs…I just switched jobs or whatever.

I: Yeah. Did you say anything to him?

B: Told him I was straight, umm.

> I: How did you feel after the whole thing was over? Like when you got out of the situation?
> B: Sick.

Although these extracts reflect three different incidents that three separate participants experienced, the similarities across the extracts are striking. It seemed that the primary thought on each of the participants' minds was to remove themselves from the situation. Further, Connor and Blaine, who both felt pursued by a gay man, expressed similar feelings about being a gay man's object of desire: they both felt uncomfortable and "grossed out" or "sick" as a result of the interaction. The participants' desire to avoid gay men is reminiscent of Van Der Meer's (2003) finding that heterosexual men in shame cultures often try to distance themselves from dishonourable members of society, such as gay men. It is possible that this is what the male participants in this study also wanted to accomplish in their interactions with gay men. Alternatively, the participants may have simply wanted to remove themselves from an unpleasant situation in order to reduce the negative feelings they were experiencing, as well as the likelihood that a gay man would behave romantically towards them.

Two other important motivations for avoiding gay men also are hinted at in the above extracts. The first is that the male participants wanted to demonstrate their heterosexuality to the gay men who appeared to be attracted to them by distancing themselves from them, and the second is that they did not want to be perceived as "gay bashers." Looking more closely at the participants' desire to demonstrate their sexual orientation, we can see in Blaine's extract that he makes a point to tell the man who is "hitting" on him that he is straight. Moreover, other participants who have never been "hit on" by a gay man also indicated that they would try to avoid gay men out of fear of being attractive to gay men.

> I: So what would kind, what would be some of the reasons that you would try to distance yourself from them or get away from them?
> J: 'Cause I'm not gay and generally. I don't know, like, it, it kind of comes from the, uh, like it, like if a guy likes you…and you don't want him [*laughs*], you don't like him kind of thing like that, you know, I think of it that way too, like, "Okay, I'm not at all interested in you," you know. Like that's happened with like a girl who likes me and I'm like, okay, "I don't wanna…"And not because I don't want to be rude, want to be rude to them, you know, like maybe they're my friend, but I don't want to give off any signals…to the contrary, you know. The way it is, so…. That would definitely be part of it.

I: What about it is kind of threatening?

K: Umm, I guess it's just the thought of, umm, guys, you know, you don't automatically assume because they're gay, they're going to like you…but it's like you're in their perspective… for that so. I guess that would be threatening.

These participants are threatened by the possibility that someone could think of them as gay, as well as by the possibility that a gay man could be attracted to them. Therefore, they are motivated to avoid any situation where their sexual orientation may be mistaken by using distancing strategies to express that they are not interested in gay men. Further, the participants' fear of being perceived as gay also influences how they behave around their heterosexual friends, especially in public locations.

J: I have guy friends that, you know, I'll put my arm around, and, you know, I'll touch them, you know…You know, we'll hug or whatever, you know, like I don't think that's gay. But I'm definitely careful not to do that in a place where people…can take that the wrong way, you know, like…around all my friends, you know, everybody knows, you know, they won't take it the wrong way…but I do know some people do and especially like in public if you put off that and someone who is gay sees that, they're like "oh, yeah," you know, or I think that, you know...that goes through my head.

Consequently, it seems that Jason is always somewhat vigilant about demonstrating his heterosexuality in order to prevent himself from being mistaken as gay. The participants' desire to demonstrate that they are heterosexual is congruent with Franklin's (1998) finding that perpetrators of anti-gay behaviours are motivated to engaged in these behaviours to display their sexual identity and to prove their heterosexuality.

The second motivation for distancing oneself from gay men that was apparent in the initial set of extracts that were presented in this section is that the participants were motivated to avoid a confrontation that may lead to a physical encounter with gay men. Connor is particularly concerned about being perceived by others as a "gay basher" and Jason seems to share this sentiment with his insistence that he is not a "homophobe".

J: But at the same time, you know, like with all the political stuff behind it, you know, there's so much "Oh, that's 'cause, oh, that's hate language" or "you're, uh, you're a homophobe" or whatever, you know, and I. No, I'm not. I just, I don't agree with you, so.

I: Okay.

J: That's kind of my view, I'm not, you know, aggressive against gay people.

Again, these participants seem to be concerned with how they are perceived by others and are aware of the negative connotations that are associated with being a "gay basher" or a "homophobe." Further, Jason appears to be internally motivated to view himself as someone who is not a homophobe. He is unwilling to acknowledge that his decision to speak out against homosexuality is something that someone who is "homophobic" may do. Further, his claim that he does not behave aggressively toward gay men suggests that he equates a "homophobe" with someone who acts violently toward gay men. Thus, the participants' decisions to use distancing strategies seems to remove them from an unpleasant situation, but also helps them to preserve their conceptualizations of themselves as people who are not homonegative.

Finally, Blaine offered an additional perspective to explain why he chooses to avoid gay men instead of behaving aggressively toward them.

> I: Have you ever like threatened somebody who was gay or anything like that?
> B: Threatening a gay man is like fighting a girl.
> I: How so? [*Laughs*].
> B: Well, because they are like women…So it's like fighting a girl [*laughs*].
> I: So does that mean it's something you wouldn't do then, or?
> B: Yeah.
> I: Yeah. For that reason because they're, its like fighting?...
> B: Yeah, so, why would you? 'Cause it's like. I don't know. It's not like I'd have any reason to be afraid of a gay man…It's, it's not like they're gonna like give you ether and do you up the, you know, when you're passed out. It's just that, you know, I don't know they're not aggressive enough for me to be worried about it.
> I: Okay. So it's not really something even registers then…
> B: Nope.
> I: with respect to any threat or anything like that.
> B: Nope.

Blaine indicates that he would be unwilling to threaten or fight a gay man because he perceives gay men to be: (1) like women and (2) non-aggressive. He seems to discount the variability that exists among gay men's characteristics and stature and does not consider the possibility that gay men may be aggressive. Thus, the stereotypes that exist about gay men also may influence the types of anti-gay behaviours that the participants were willing to direct toward gay men.

5.3.4 Female participants' interactions with gay men. Thus far, most of the discussion addressing anti-gay behaviors has revolved around the male participants'

experiences with gay men. The female participants seemed to experience different responses when interacting with gay men than the male participants. While some of the female participants felt uncomfortable while they were interacting with gay men, they did not express an intense desire to remove themselves from the situation.

> E: And, umm, these friends were, like the people living in the apartment were two gay men…and another, a, another woman…and while we were there, I, I didn't know that they were gay…and then half way through the game one goes and sits on the other's lap and they are, they started kissing and I just thought this was.
> I: Oh, wow.
> E: I was very drawn aback…I was kind of like, "What?" But I guess everybody else knew, so everybody else didn't really say anything and they just thought "oh well, that's who they are," so I didn't say anything about it…and kind of tried to wipe the look off my face…but I was definitely a little bit uncomfortable because they were also in the chair right next to me…and I was just like.
> I: Do you remember what you were thinking?
> E: Umm. I can't remember. I was, I was shocked…
> I: So how did you feel after like, after you kind of got out of the situation? How did you, how did you make sense of it?
> E: I actually kind of felt better.
> I: Oh.
> E: I was surprised by how I reacted. I was surprised that I didn't say anything or I didn't want to leave or I wasn't really uncomfortable…So I almost, I felt better about myself…that I was more accepting than I thought I would have been…But, uh, I don't know, it was just, yeah that awkward feeling was about all I could really remember feeling.
>
> I: Okay, umm, how about have you ever, umm, you know seen a gay man and either stared at him or put distance between yourself and him?
> O: Umm, I would have to say probably…umm, but they, then again, I think it's more of, not a feeling of being scared or threatened, just more a feeling of curiosity or novelty or something like that.
> I: Oh, okay
> O: Yeah. But not, not staring at them or, like, purposefully trying to get away from them feeling as though they were like a bizarre…you know, just more of like a brief, sort of, notice that they're gay but then
> I: Okay, more of a curiosity thing
> O: Yeah

The fact that both Elizabeth and Olivia did not want to leave a situation in which they observed a gay couple is interesting, since this sort of interaction was enough to make the male participants remove themselves from the situation. Thus, this suggests that the level of discomfort that the female participants experienced when they encountered gay

men is lower than the level of discomfort that is experienced by the male participants. Further, Elizabeth's and Olivia's minimal desire to leave the situation or to demonstrate their own sexual orientation suggests that women may not share the same motivations as men for engaging in distancing and avoidance behaviours. There appears to be less at stake in the female's interactions with gay men because there is no chance that a gay man will be attracted to a woman. Thus, the lack of perceived threat from gay men may help to explain why the female participants' feelings of discomfort and desire to distance themselves from gay men are less intense than the male participants.

Like Elizabeth and Olivia, Tiffany and Sarah also indicated that they did not have any desire to avoid gay men or to behave negatively toward them in any other manner.

> I: Okay, how about those people in your class. How did you kind of deal with that?
> S: Umm, I didn't say anything to anyone. I just saw it and I thought "I wish you wouldn't do that."…But like I wouldn't go to them and say that, I'd just keep it to myself, you know.
> I: Just think it in your head or.
> S: Yeah.

> I: Umm, so yeah, how, what have been your interactions with gay men with respect to anything negative?
> T: Nothing, really. Honestly, nothing negative. Anything negative would be in my own head…not, not as something of the circumstances. Definitely it would just be something negative in my own mind.
> I: Like what sort of things in your own mind?
> T: Just like, oh, just how weird it is or how wrong it is or just, but not my actual interaction. I've never had anything negative.

> I: Um, have you ever, uh, encountered a gay man and then tried to put some distance between you and him or stared at him disapprovingly or anything like that?
> T: Not that I know of…I try not to do that. Like, especially around this couple that I did know. This gay couple. I just, I'm always so afraid that I'm doing that…I don't, I would never do it intentionally…'Cause I don't wanna appear that way
> I: Okay, so you become like really vigilant when you're in one of those situations.
> T: I'm very self-conscious about what kind of, you know, how they're viewing me viewing them type of thing…like I'm really nervous actually, about it. I don't want to do that.

Both Sarah and Tiffany struggled to think of negative interactions that they have had with gay men, largely because their negative interactions have consisted only of their own negative thoughts about gay men and were not a result of their behaviours. In fact, Tiffany makes a conscious effort to have positive interactions with gay men by monitoring her conduct when she is in their presence. Tiffany's desire to appear tolerant and accepting of gay men may be perceived to be hypocritical, but it may alternatively be a result of her endorsement of two competing values: (1) a desire to be open-minded and accepting; and (2) the belief that homosexuality is wrong. This conflict likely stems from her religious beliefs, as two other religious participants (Kurt and Olivia) also seem to experience a conflict between these two values.

     5.3.5 Conflict of values between being tolerant and maintaining homonegative beliefs. Even though all of the participants strongly believe that homosexuality is wrong, it seems that they are not necessarily comfortable with the implications that their homonegativity has on their perceptions of themselves. Some of the participants would like to think of themselves as open-minded people, but their homonegative beliefs can make it difficult for them to uphold this opinion of themselves. Consequently, some of the participants make a conscious effort to monitor their actions with gay men in order to achieve consistency in their self-concepts.

     I: So how does this idea that homosexuality exists influence your own self-concept or how you view yourself?
     K: The idea of homosexuality?
     I: Yeah, does it have any impact on you as a person?
     K: Ummm, not really, I guess, would, the main part would be just keeping my, you know, because it's not something that I'm super comfortable with, I would want to keep my feelings in check about it as to not offend someone…And make sure that in, in, I guess, in regards to self-concept, would be like, umm, keeping my image or like, umm, general feel of things, as being more relaxed and being okay with it…even if I don't agree with it, so. Keeping that, uh, consistency in my self-concept.
     I: Oh, okay, okay.
     K: If that makes any sense, I guess.
     I: Yeah, I think so, like you want to still act as if you're still you…
     K: Mmmhmm
     I: even though you might be feeling a bit uncomfortable on the inside…
     K: Right, yeah
     I: you still want to treat everybody kind of the same way.
     K: Yeah...that's about it though.

> I: How have your interactions with gay men influenced how you view yourself?
> T: Umm, well it's made me more aware of my judgment towards them…just because I don't want to appear judgmental, but I also don't want to be judgmental and then go and try and appear that I'm not…I'm trying to generally be accepting of it, you know, outside of my own beliefs. Like just to be able to allow it in my mind…you know, not to be changed that I think it's right, but I mean just to be, to be able to be more open minded, I guess.

It is important to both Kurt and Tiffany that they are accepting of the choices that others make in their lives. Kurt strives to be tolerant in order to fulfill his own esteem needs because he would not feel comfortable with himself if he offended a gay man or treated him differently than other men. In contrast, Tiffany seems to be striving to not only *appear* to be an open-minded person, but to actually *be* an open-minded person. This is demonstrated by the fact that she is genuinely trying to accept the existence of homosexuality and people being gay, even though she does not agree with that style of life. However, Tiffany is not able to easily accomplish her goal of being open-minded because she does not want to pretend to agree with homosexuality. Thus, she is trying to reconcile the maintenance of her own beliefs about homosexuality with being respectful of others' opinions about homosexuality. This conflict of values is also expressed by Olivia.

> T: It's, it's hard because I still have an underlying, like I don't want to appear that I think it's okay, but I want it to be appear that I think that it's okay that they do it 'cause it really has nothing to do with me…so, but I just, yeah, I want to be able to stick to my own beliefs but at the same time be okay with everyone else's choices…yeah. It's hard, there's a such a fine line there, I think.
> I: Yeah, it sounds hard, like there's kind of a clash of values there so like.
> T: It, there is definitely.
> I: Yeah, how can you be both values at the same time.

> O: Umm, once again, I would say that I'm, I'm not the type of person to be judgmental towards a person for who they are…but in the same sense, I think there would always be that underlying, if I knew they were gay and they were engaged in a, a gay relationship…I would probably have some sort of opinion just based on the fact that I don't agree with that part of them…but in the same sense again, it goes back to the, the homosexual people that I do know. It's not that I don't associate with them or even consider them to be, like, umm…as much of a human being as anyone else. They deserve all the same sort of things. It would just simply be that I wouldn't…umm, wouldn't agree with or sort of want to promote or whatever that sort of… relationship.
> I: Okay, so it's more of a clash of values, per say, than anything else.
> O: Yeah, yeah, yeah, that's probably a good word.

Neither Tiffany nor Olivia want to consider themselves to be judgmental people, but, given their strong views, they feel that to some extent they do have to express their judgment about homosexuality. It is possible that this conflict of values that is experienced by the participants is a result of a conflict between the values that are promoted in Canadian society (such as being tolerant of diversity) and the individual set of values that is endorsed by each of the participants (such as the belief that homosexuality is wrong). Regardless, neither Tiffany nor Olivia were able to offer a solution for the conflict in values they experience, but it is certainly an important component of their experience of homonegative feelings. The participants' experiences with anti-gay behaviours are summarized in Figure 6.
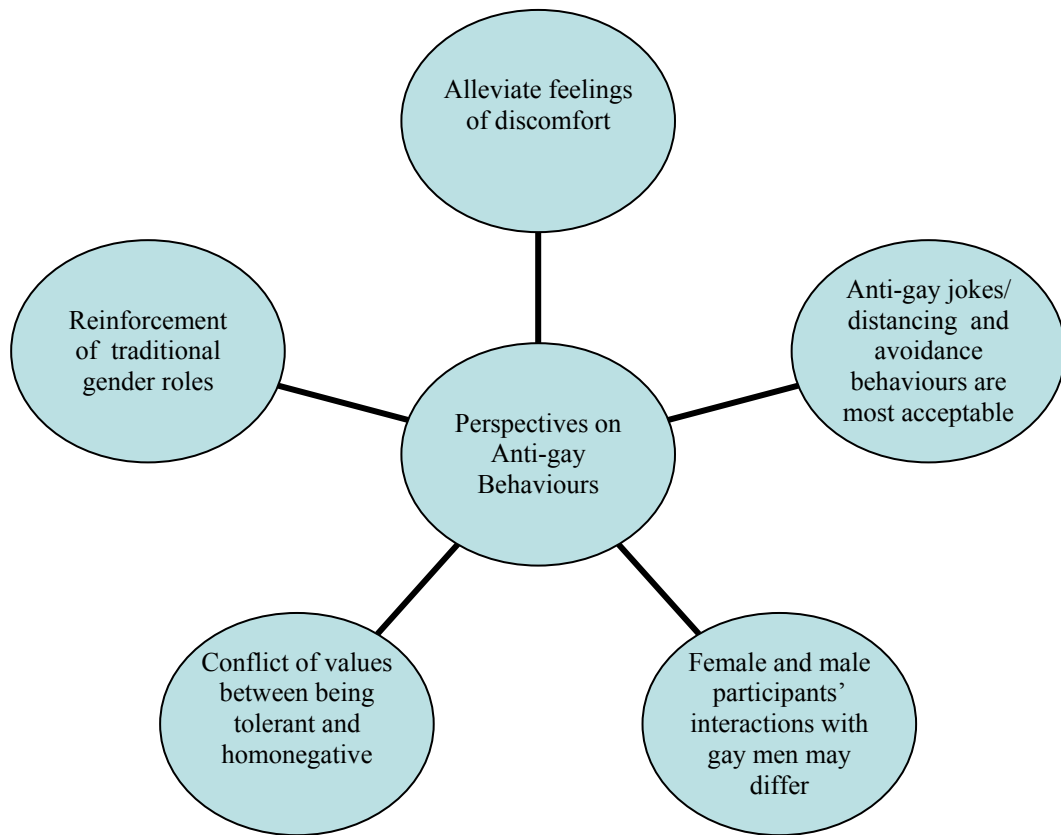
Figure 6. Overview of the participants' perspectives on anti-gay behaviours.

CHAPTER SIX – CONCLUSIONS

This study, which outlines the prevalence of anti-gay attitudes and behaviours and eight individuals' lived experience as perpetrators of homonegativity directed toward gay men, offers an illuminating account of what it means to be homonegative in the current decade. To date, no studies have been published in which an interpretative phenomenological approach was used to understand the experiences of perpetrators of homonegativity. Thus, this study offers insight into individuals' lived experiences of being homonegative, as well as into the various personal and social factors that influence how individuals make sense of their homonegative attitudes and behaviours. Moreover, this study was able to contextualize these individuals' experiences by documenting the prevalence of homonegative attitudes and behaviours directed toward gay men that occur on the University of Saskatchewan campus. The conclusions from this interpretative phenomenological analysis will be presented below.

6.1 Lived Experience of Homonegativity

The experience of being a perpetrator of homonegativity was perhaps most widely characterized by the feelings of discomfort that the participants experienced when they were actively confronted with homosexuality. While the extent to which the participants experienced negative feelings when they encountered gay men differed, all of the participants indicated some degree of discomfort, with the male participants stating that homosexuality was gross or disgusting and the female participants commenting that homosexuality was uncomfortable or awkward. Further, it seems that most of the behaviours that the participants engaged in when they encountered homosexuality or interacted with gay men were largely focused on reducing those feelings of discomfort—namely, by removing themselves from the proximity of gay men, chastising heterosexuals when they "act" like gay men, and using humour to counter the feelings of discomfort.

The participants' experiences as perpetrators of homonegativity were also characterized by their perceptions that gay men act effeminately and are in violation of the traditional male role. The participants' beliefs that gay men *act* feminine were particularly revealing because it became apparent that some of the participants perceived gay men to be putting on a façade. These participants did not believe that gay

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men's stereotypically more feminine tone of voice, mannerisms, and interests were genuine and, as a result, offered new insight into some of the ways in which heterosexuals are irritated by gay men.

Finally, some of the participants indicated that they felt conflicted about their negative opinions about homosexuality and gay men. On the one hand, the participants wanted to think of themselves as open-minded, accepting individuals, while, on the other, they recognized that their strong opinions against homosexuality conflicted with their ability to be tolerant. In addition, some of the participants tried to maintain the contradictory beliefs that they were prejudiced toward homosexuality, but not toward gay men. Thus, the participants' lived experiences of homonegativity were multifaceted, complex and, at times, dilemmatic.

6.2 Finding Meaning in Homonegative Beliefs

Participants tried in a number of ways to understand their homonegative beliefs. The majority of the participants primarily used their religious beliefs to make sense of their opinions about homosexuality and to find meaning in their homonegativity. For the most part, the participants' homonegative attitudes stemmed from their Christian beliefs which dictated that homosexuality should be condemned, and they felt justified with the maintenance of their negative attitudes toward homosexuality because they were following what was stated in the Christian bible.

The participants also used their own internal reactions and emotions to understand their homonegativity. The participants felt in their bodies that it was uncomfortable to witness two men displaying affection and interpreted those feelings to mean that homosexuality is inherently wrong. In addition, the participants used the idea that homosexuality is unnatural to make further sense of their homonegative attitudes. They felt that homosexuality served no purpose in the natural world because it does not lead to sexual reproduction and believed that this offered additional evidence that homosexuality is wrong. Finally, the participants' beliefs that homosexuality is a choice also helped them find meaning in their homonegativity. By believing that men choose to be gay, the participants assumed people who make that choice are abnormal or psychologically disturbed in some manner. Thus, they felt justified in maintaining their

homonegativity because they did not consider gay men to be legitimate, normal humans.

6.3 Anti-Gay Attitudes and Behaviours: The Progression Toward Subtle Behaviours

The most recent research studies (Franklin, 2000; Roderick et al., 1998) exploring the prevalence of anti-gay behaviours were conducted approximately ten years ago and it seems that the types of anti-gay behaviours that occur on university and college campuses has changed significantly within this period of time. In contrast to Franklin's (2000) study which reported that 10% of her undergraduate sample had engaged in physical violence toward gay men and lesbian women, the results from the quantitative phase of this study revealed that only 1% of the current sample had been in a physical fight with gay men. Further, with the exception of being in a group of people who have yelled insulting comments at gay men, playing jokes on gay men, and warning gay men to stay away from them, most participants had not engaged in any behaviours that were explicitly directed toward gay men. Instead, the majority of the participants who did engage in anti-gay behaviours endorsed participation in subtle behaviours which served to: (1) indirectly disparage gay men (via anti-gay joke telling and gossip); (2) covertly express their disapproval of sexual minorities (through staring disapprovingly or being rude); or (3) distance themselves from gay men (by changing seats, changing one's normal behaviour in a restroom, or walking way from someone). The lack of endorsement of the explicit anti-gay behaviours listed on the SBS-R was surprising because a fifth of the current sample continued to maintain blatantly negative attitudes toward gay men. Consequently, the results of the current study suggest that the way in which homonegativity is expressed behaviourally on university campuses has been transformed and that homonegativity is most likely to be expressed with behaviours that are more subtle in nature.

Traditionally, theorists in social cognition have assumed that there is a chain of account between one's emotions, thoughts, and actions (Smith, 1996). As such, one would expect that individuals with blatantly negative thoughts and feelings about homosexuality and gay men would also engage in blatantly negative behaviours toward gay men; however, this does not seem to be the case. While the results from the quantitative phase of this study did reveal that individuals who hold anti-gay attitudes

tend to engage in more anti-gay behaviours, the qualitative results suggest that there is a disconnection between how the participants feel and think about homosexuality and how they act (or think they act) towards gay men. Thus, given the extremely low prevalence rates of self-reported explicit anti-gay behaviours on the University of Saskatchewan campus and the participants' accounts as their experiences of perpetrators of homonegativity, it is necessary to question the assumption that an individuals' thoughts and feelings are, in fact, consciously connected to their explicit behaviours.

The accounts of the lived experiences of the eight homonegative individuals who participated in this study were integral to understanding the reasons why individuals who maintain negative attitudes toward gay men may not engage in blatantly negative behaviours directed toward gay men. First, looking at the ways in which the five highly religious participants (Jason, Kurt, Olivia, Tiffany, Sarah) made sense of their homonegative beliefs was helpful in understanding how people can maintain the belief that homosexuality is wrong, while believing that they do not act discriminatorily toward gay men. All of the religious participants were resolute that homosexuality is unacceptable, but they were also equally adamant that they did not discriminate against gay men. Of course, these two sentiments are inherently contradictory and the question that remains to be answered is how can a person disapprove of a crucial component of a person's identity (i.e., their sexual orientation) and not allow this to influence how he or she behaves toward that person? Based on the participants' accounts of their interactions with gay men, it became apparent that even though they thought that they did not treat gay men differently, their homonegativity did influence their behaviours toward gay men in subtle, negative ways that the participants were not able to explicitly acknowledge. For instance, Jason's friendship with a gay man essentially ended as a result of his friend's sexual orientation, Kurt was unwilling to make an effort to become friends with someone who was gay, and Connor, Kurt, Blaine, and Tiffany all thought it was acceptable to make anti-gay jokes as long as they were not directed toward a gay man. All of these behaviors are arguably subtle, "anti-gay" behaviours, yet the participants were either not able to or were unwilling to recognize them as such. It seems that the participants are able to hide behind their religious beliefs which "superficially" dictate that they are tolerant of gay men to

prevent themselves from recognizing when they have behaved discriminatorily toward them. Alternatively, it may simply be the case that self-report measures of anti-gay behaviours more sensitive to *subtle* anti-gay behaviours need to be developed or that other methods of measuring anti-gay behaviours need to be employed in order to capture the association between homonegative attitudes and newer, more subtle forms of discrimination.

Second, society's requisite for political correctness and tolerance seems to further enhance the disassociation that exists between the participants' negative thoughts and emotions about gay men and their behaviours towards them. Nearly all of the participants (with the exception of Jason) were reluctant to express their opinions about homosexuality because they either: (1) felt that they did not have a right or a need to condemn homosexuality or (2) were fearful of how they would be perceived by others. Consequently, the participants were vigilant about acting in a manner that would prevent others from seeing them as someone who is prejudiced toward gay men, or worse yet, as a gay basher. This constant need to monitor their behaviours and, consequently, others' perceptions of them also likely contributed to the lack of association between the participants' blatantly negative attitudes toward gay men and their explicit behaviours toward gay men.

Finally, Fazio's (1990) MODE model may also be useful in understanding the progression toward subtle anti-gay behaviours that seems to be taking place. The MODE model posits that in situations in which individuals have the motivation and opportunity to contemplate their behaviours, they may act in ways that are inconsistent with their attitudes. Given that the behaviours listed on the SBS-R are more deliberative in nature, the results are perhaps reflective of the fact that many individuals with negative attitudes toward gay men have chosen against acting in overtly negative ways toward gay men. Blatantly violent behaviours such as physical violence and verbal harassment are not condoned by society and, as a result, many individuals likely choose to refrain from engaging in such activities. However, individuals may not recognize that more subtle behaviours, such as telling anti-gay jokes, also reflect discriminatory behaviours toward gay men or they may not think that others will be able to identify their anti-gay prejudices on the basis of some types of actions (such as distancing

oneself from a gay man or changing seat locations). Therefore, it may be the case that when participants act in accordance with their negative attitudes, they do so by choosing to engage in more subtle behaviours or by engaging in behaviours that do not require deliberative processing.

6.4 Motivations For Engaging in Subtle Anti-Gay Behaviours

The exploration of the participants' self-reported motivations for engaging in anti-gay behaviours in this study also reflects a significant contribution to the literature regarding the motivations of non-deviant men and women for engaging in less severe forms of negative behaviours toward gay men, such as expressing one's opinions about gay men, joke-telling, and distancing oneself from gay men. Some of the motivations that the participants offered for engaging in these behaviours were quite different than the motivations of the more deviant perpetrators in Franklin's (1998, 2000) and Van Der Meer's (2003) studies. The participants in the current sample did not seem to feel pressured to engage in anti-gay behaviours to attain the approval of their peers or to feel closer to their friends. In fact, some of the participants indicated the opposite in that they felt pressure to refrain from expressing their opinions about homosexuality and engaging in anti-gay behaviours for fear of their peers' disapproval. Further, none of the participants indicated that they engaged in anti-gay behaviours for the purposes of thrill-seeking. However, the participants in the current study were motivated to engage in anti-gay behaviours to alleviate feelings of discomfort that they experienced upon encountering gay men, which is not a motivation that arose in either Franklin's (2000) or Van Der Meer's (2003) study. In addition, the participants who were interviewed did not cite their religious or moral objections to homosexuality as reasons for behaving negatively toward gay men, thereby suggesting that their anti-gay ideology did not explicitly serve as a motivation for their behaviours. However, it is mostly likely that their anti-gay beliefs did unconsciously influence their behaviours.

Two of the motivations the participants did express were similar to those documented in Franklin's (2000) and Van Der Meer's (2003) studies. First, many of the participants indicated that they engaged in anti-gay behaviours to either make fun of gay men or heterosexual men who were acting gay, likely to reinforce the traditional male gender role. Second, the male participants in the current study were motivated to

engage in anti-gay behaviours (primarily distancing behaviours) to demonstrate their own heterosexuality. It is important to note that a desire to display one's heterosexuality was not a motivating factor for the female participants' decisions to engage in anti-gay behaviours. Thus, it appears that there are some differences in men's and women's motivations for behaving discriminatorily toward gay men.

6.5 General Discussion

6.5.1 Functions of prejudice revisited. Herek (1988) suggested that prejudice toward gay men may serve a value-expressive, social-expressive, and/or defensive function. Looking strictly at the interview participants' attitudes and behaviours directed toward gay men, it seems that their homonegativity primarily served a value-expressive function. First, many of the participants indicated that they felt that their religious beliefs necessitated that they think negatively of homosexuality. Therefore, their objections to homosexuality seemed to reflect their religious values. However, the participants did not seem to engage in anti-gay behaviours as a means of directly expressing their religious convictions. Second, all of the participants seemed to use their homonegativity to express their ideology about the traditional male role. Both the male and female participants were irritated by gay men's perceived feminine qualities and many of the male participants used anti-gay jokes or slang words to reprimand individuals who were not behaving in accordance with their expectations of what it means to be "a man." Thus, the function of the participants' homonegativity can be understood in terms of their endorsement of religious values and traditional gender roles.

The extent to which the homonegativity was used to fulfill a social-expressive function was unclear. While some of the participants indicated that they had used anti-gay slang words and made anti-gay jokes with their friends, which are behaviours that have been associated with the social-expressive function of prejudice by other researchers (Burn, 2000; Burn, Kadlec, & Rexer, 2005), it was not obvious that the participants in the current study were engaging in these behaviours to obtain approval or acceptance from their friends. Instead, they seemed to be engaging in these behaviours to express their values about masculinity and the traditional male gender role. Further, many of the participants seemed concerned that their peers would think less of them for

being homonegative; thus, the participants only disclosed their negative opinions about homosexuality to others whom they believed shared their opinions. Consequently, the social-expressive function of prejudice would have served a minor role, if any, for most of the participants.

Finally, there was little evidence that the participants used homonegativity as a defensive function in order to stifle their own intrapsychic conflicts and homosexual impulses. The participants generally were not concerned with accentuating the differences between themselves and gay men (as the defensive function would predict), and there was no indication that they had latent homosexual impulses. However, it would be difficult to ascertain whether the participants engaged in homonegativity to protect some aspect of themselves if this motivation lied beyond their consciousness. Regardless, on the basis of the analysis, it seems the value-expressive function of prejudice best characterized the participants' homonegativity.

6.5.2 Applying the theoretical models of homonegativity. To date, a handful of theoretical models have been proposed to explain individuals' negative attitudes toward homosexuality: (1) the gender belief system (Kite & Deaux, 1987; Whitley, 2001); (2) men's discrepant actual, ought, ideal, and undesired selves (Kilianski, 2003; Theodore & Basow, 2000); and (3) hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995; Gough, 2002; Korobov, 2004, Wilkinson, 2004a). Again, looking specifically at the results from the qualitative phase of the study, it appears that the gender belief system offers the best overall explanation of the participants' homonegativity.

The gender belief system posits that homonegativity towards gay men originates from the endorsement of traditional gender roles and gay men's perceived violation of those roles. Consistent with the gender belief system, the participants generally perceived gay men to be in violation of the traditional male role (Kite & Deaux, 1987). Many of the participants commented that they thought that many gay men were effeminate and that there were similarities between gay men and heterosexual women. In addition, a few of the participants stated that they found it awkward to observe a man in a "woman's position" in a relationship. This suggests that they are uncomfortable with potential gender role violations that may occur when two men are in a relationship with each other. Further, the gender belief system posits that, because the male gender

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role is more rigid, heterosexual men tend to maintain more negative attitudes toward gay men than heterosexual women (Kite & Whitley, 2003). Thus, in comparison to female participants in the present study, male participants' tendency to report experiencing stronger negative feelings whilst observing two men behaving romantically is in accord with the gender belief system. Moreover, the discomfort that both men and women experience when they witness two men engaging in public displays of affection may be due to shock when observing men acting in a manner that is not congruent with their gender role.

The participants' unwillingness to accept gay men's perceived gender role violations may also be an indicator of hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity refers to the divisions that exist between different types of men (such as heterosexual men and gay men) who possess supposedly different forms of masculinities (Gough, 2002). Under the rubric of hegemonic masculinity, heterosexual masculinities are afforded more status and power than homosexual masculinities (Connell, 1995; Gough, 2002). By looking specifically at the behaviours which the male participants' directed toward gay men, it seems that they used behaviours, such as anti-gay jokes, to punish their peers for deviating from the expected masculine role. As such, the participants were not only able to point out a gender role violation (as would be explained by the gender belief system), but they were also able to reinforce the social divisions that exist between heterosexual men and gay men by essentially telling their peers what behaviours are appropriate for "masculine" men. Consequently, the participants were able to maintain the current social order by using their actions to indirectly subordinate gay men. Further, the male participants' tendencies to distance themselves from gay men they believed to be sexually attracted to them and to demonstrate their heterosexuality is also consistent with hegemonic masculinity, since men who engage in hegemonic masculinity are often fearful that gay men will be sexually attracted to their "maleness" (Donaldson, 1993). Thus, the use of distancing and avoidance strategies served to help the male participants ascertain their own personal security from gay men, while simultaneously marginalizing them.

Little research has explored whether women contribute to hegemonic masculinity; however, the current study suggests that women also act in ways which

reinforce that certain masculinities have more power over others. Both of the female and male participants in the sample afforded more status to men who enacted heterosexual masculinities. For instance, both the men and women commented that they expected men to be "macho" and interested in "sports" and "pursuing women," and that they were irritated by men who enacted homosexual masculinities (e.g. by acting more effeminately, being interested in shopping, and discussing one's emotions). The female participants' lack of acceptance of homosexual masculinities and their expectations that men should act in a way that is congruent with heterosexual masculinities consequently marginalizes gay men and contributes to the maintenance of the divisions that exist between heterosexual and homosexual men. However, hegemonic masculinity does appear to be more of a concern for the male participants in the sample and is enacted more frequently by them.

Finally, the current study offers little evidence that discrepancies between men's "ought" and "actual" masculine selves or their ideal masculine and undesired feminine selves contributes to their homonegativity, as would be predicted by self-discrepancy theory (Kilianski, 2003; Theodore & Basow, 2000). The male participants did not indicate that they thought negatively of homosexuality or gay men because they were insecure about their own masculine qualities. Further, the female participants also did not indicate that their concepts of selves with respect to their perceived masculine and/or feminine qualities influenced their homonegativity. Thus, it seems that the participants' negative attitudes and behaviours toward gay men are best explained by the theoretical frameworks of the gender belief system and hegemonic masculinity. Figure 7 offers an overview of the various influences on the participants' anti-gay attitudes and behaviours.
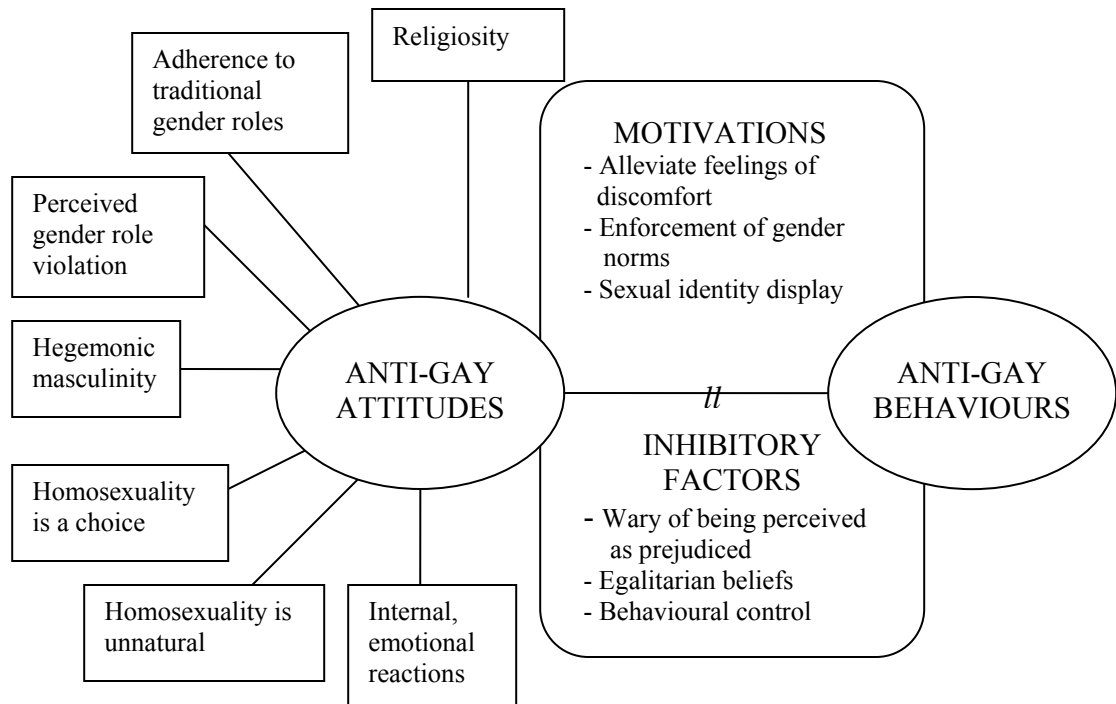
HOMONEGATIVITY DIRECTED TOWARD GAY MEN

Figure 7. Overview of the factors which contributed to participants' anti-gay attitudes and behaviours.

6.6 Implications for Interventions

The results of this study have a number of implications with respect to how to combat the existence of homonegativity, particularly on university and college campuses. Given that many of the participants perceived gay men in terms of the stereotypes that exist about them, it may be beneficial for heterosexuals to have increased contact with gay men. A recent meta-analysis conducted by Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) suggests that positive contact between prejudiced individuals and members of the social group that they think negatively of can reduce those individuals' prejudices, including their negativity toward gay men. While it may be difficult to orchestrate one-on-one interactions between homonegative individuals and gay men, it may be possible to integrate an educational lecture about homosexuality that includes a discussion with a gay man into various university courses (e.g., introductory psychology and human sexuality courses). It would be ideal if the lecture could be moderated by a panel of gay men to increase students' awareness of the variability that exists among gay men and to help students learn more about gay men's style of life, especially with respect to how the men knew they were gay and their reasons for being openly gay. In addition, in-class discussions designed to challenge students' stereotypical beliefs about gay men and homosexuality may also serve to reduce prejudice towards gay men. Finally, education about the harmful effects associated with the use of anti-gay jokes and slang words also may be beneficial, since students, as evidenced by the participants in the current sample, do not necessarily recognize that these types of behaviours have a detrimental effect on sexual minorities.

6.7 Limitations

As with any study, a discussion of its limitations is warranted. The first limitation of this study is that the themes that emerged from the interviews with the homonegative individuals cannot be generalized to other persons or populations. The relatively small sample size that was used for the second phase of this study does not meet post-positivism's criteria for generalization and it would consequently be inappropriate to generalize these findings (Korobov, 2004). However, this study does allow for an in-depth exploration of individuals' experiences of homonegativity and allows researchers to obtain a more thorough understanding of the reasons why

individuals may hold negative attitudes toward gay men and engage in anti-gay behaviours. Further, the results of this study can be transferred to similar settings, since thick, rich descriptions of the participants and the setting were provided (Toblin & Begley, 2004).

A second limitation of this study is that it relied on the assumption that participants are conscious of their homonegativity and would be able to articulate their experiences as perpetrators' of homonegativity. However, it is impossible to obtain direct or complete access to another individual's world; therefore, the researcher's ability to access the individuals' worlds was compromised by her own conceptions, as well as by the participants' abilities to express their experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Both the content that was discussed in the interviews and the questions that the participants were asked to complete during the quantitative component were dependent on the participants' abilities to remember their past experiences with gay men and their willingness to share those experiences with the researcher. Thus, the information that is presented in this study is only accurate to the extent that it was accurately relayed by the participants.

A third limitation of the study was that it was only possible to document the anti-gay behaviours that were included on the SBS-R. Given the low levels of endorsement of the behaviours listed on the SBS-R, it is possible that this scale did not offer a comprehensive list of the types of anti-gay behaviours in which individuals may engage and did not allow the prevalence rates of anti-gay behaviours that occur at the University of Saskatchewan to be accurately captured.

6.8 Future Directions

The results of the study draw attention to two areas of research that warrant future attention. First, this study looked only at behaviours directed toward gay men. Moreover, prejudice and discrimination towards lesbian women is generally overlooked in the literature and, as a result, it is necessary to determine the extent to which beliefs about lesbian women and motivations to engage in anti-lesbian behaviours are similar to those of anti-gay attitudes and behaviours. Therefore, researchers need to explore heterosexuals' motivations for maintaining negative attitudes about lesbian women and engaging in anti-lesbian behaviours. As well, the current study's results indicated that

there are possible gender differences with respect to how individuals experience their homonegativity toward gay men. Future research should investigate whether there is a difference between individuals' experiences of their homonegativity toward someone of the same-sex compared to someone of the opposite-sex. Specifically, it would be interesting to compare women's motivations for engaging in anti-lesbian behaviours to men's motivations for engaging in anti-gay behaviours to explore whether women are motivated to display their heterosexuality when they are in the presence of a woman who they believe may be sexually attracted to them.

A second area of research that requires further exploration is the types of subtle behaviours that individuals engage in toward both gay men and lesbian women. This study demonstrated that although a number of participants still endorse blatant attitudinal measures of homonegativity, they do not engage in blatantly negative behaviours toward gay men. Consequently, future research needs to examine whether participants are, in fact, not engaging in as many anti-gay/lesbian behaviours or if the behaviours that they do engage in are more subtle than those captured by measures such as the SBS-R. Even though much research still needs to be conducted in the area of homonegativity, this study has laid a foundation for future research and has helped to increase our understanding of the lived experiences of perpetrators of homonegativity, as well as the ways in which individuals who are prejudiced toward gay men find meaning in their homonegativity.

CHAPTER SEVEN – REFERENCES

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APPENDIX A

Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale
(ATG; Herek, 1988)

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

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

3. The idea of male homosexuality marriages seems ridiculous to me.

4. Male homosexuality is a perversion.

5. If I had a son, I would not be too upset if I learned that he was homosexual.*

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

7. Homosexual behaviour between two men is just plain wrong.

8. Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach at schools.

9. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.

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

_____

Note: * represents items to be reverse scored. A 5-point Likert-type scale will be used with the ATG (1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=don't know; 4=agree; 5=strongly agree)

APPENDIX B

Self-Report Behavior Scale – Revised
(SBS-R; Roderick, McCammon, Long, & Allred, 1998)

1. I have spread negative talk about someone because I suspected that he was a gay man.

2. I have participated in playing jokes on someone because I suspected that he was a gay man.

3. I have changed roommates and/or rooms because I suspected my roommate to be a gay man.

4. I have warned men whom I thought were gay and who were a little too friendly with me to keep away from me.

5. I have attended anti-gay protests.

6. I have been rude to someone because I thought that he was a gay man.

7. I have changed seat locations because I suspected the man sitting next to me to be gay.

8. I have had to force myself to stop from hitting someone because he was gay and very near me.

9. When someone I thought to be gay has walked towards me as if to start a conversation, I have deliberately changed directions and walked away to avoid him.

10. I have stared at a gay man in such a manner as to convey to him my disapproval of his being too close to me.

11. I have been with a group in which one (or more) person(s) yelled insulting comments to a gay man or group of gay men.

12. I have changed my normal behavior in a restroom because a man I believed to be gay was in there at the same time.

13. When a gay man has "checked" me out, I have verbally threatened him.

14. I have participated in damaging someone's property because he was a gay man.

15. I have physically hit or pushed someone I thought was a gay man because he brushed his body against mine when passing by.

16. Within the past few months, I have told a joke that made fun of gay men.

17. I have gotten into a physical fight with a gay man because I thought he had been making moves on me.

18. I have refused to work on school and/or work projects with a partner I thought was a gay man.

19. I have written graffiti about gay men or homosexuality.

20. When a gay man has been near me, I have moved away to put more distance between us.

_____

Note: A 5-point Likert-type scale will be used with the SBS-R. (1=never; 2=rarely; 3=occasionally; 4=frequently; 5=always)

APPENDIX C

Demographics Questionnaire

1. My age is: _____(yrs)

2. My sex is: Male___   Female___

3. My academic major is: (please specify) _____

4. My ethnic background is: (*please select one)*

_____ Aboriginal
_____ African
_____ Asian
_____ Hispanic
_____ Caucasian
_____ Other (please specify):_____

5. By my own definition, I would consider myself to be:

_____ Very liberal
_____ Liberal
_____ Somewhat liberal
_____ Somewhat conservative
_____ Conservative
_____ Very conservative

6. I attend religious services (*e.g., in a church, synagogue, mosque, etc.)*:

_____ Regularly
_____ Now and then
_____ On special occasions
_____ Never

7. By my own definition, I am:

_____ Very religious
_____ Quite religious
_____ Somewhat religious
_____ Not at all religious

8. By my own definition, I would consider myself to be:

_____ Exclusively heterosexual
_____ Primarily heterosexual
_____ More heterosexual than homosexual
_____ Bisexual
_____ More homosexual than heterosexual
_____ Primarily homosexual
_____ Exclusively homosexual
_____ Do not know
_____ If other, please specify:_____

9. I am currently:

_____ Single/Dating
_____ Common-law
_____ Married
_____ Separated
_____ Divorced
_____ If other, please specify: _____

10. The average income in my (parent's) household before taxes is:

_____ Less than $10,000
_____ $10,001 - $19, 999
_____ $20,000 – 29,999
_____ $30,000 – 39,999
_____ $40,000 – 49,999
_____ $50,000 – 59,999
_____ $60,000 or more

11. The number of gay acquaintances that I have are: _____

12. The number of lesbian acquaintances that I have are:_____

13. The number of family members that I have who are gay men:_____

14. The number of close friends that I have who are gay men:_____

15. The number of family members that I have who are lesbian women:_____

16. The number of close friends that I have who are lesbian women:_____

APPENDIX D

Verbal Instructions for Mass Testing Sessions

Thanks for signing up for today's testing session. The research that you are participating in today is designed to help us understand how people feel about other social groups. We're interested in learning about what you find irritating about them, as well as the kinds of interactions that you've had with them in the past. We are particularly interested in how you feel about gay men. There are no right or wrong responses on the questionnaire, so please answer the questions as honestly as possible.

In the next few weeks, we also would like to interview some of you to learn about your opinions in more detail. Your participation in this interview would be greatly appreciated and you will be able to receive either additional bonus course credits or a $20.00 gift certificate for participating in the interview. If you are interested in participating in an interview, please make sure that you fill out the contact information sheet. We have given you an extra sheet to write your contact information on because we want to protect the confidentiality and privacy of your questionnaire responses by not having you place any identifying information directly on the questionnaire. However, we would still like to know which questionnaire belonged to you, so there is a set of questions at the end of the questionnaire that are also asked at the beginning of the contact information sheet that I will use to match your questionnaire to your contact information. I will use your answers to these questions to make a code, so please make sure that your answers to the questions on the questionnaire are exactly the same as your answers on the contact information sheet. When you hand in your questionnaire and contact information sheet, there will be two different boxes placed up front—one box is for your questionnaire and the other box is for your contact information sheet.

Before you get started on the questionnaire, I just wanted to go over your rights as a participant. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you are free to stop participating whenever you would like, without any penalty (i.e., you will still get your bonus course credits for coming in today). I also want to assure you that your questionnaire responses and contact information will remain completely confidential. I am the only person who will have access to your contact information and your contact information will be stored separately from your questionnaires in locked filing cabinets. If you have any questions while you're filling out the questionnaire, please feel free to ask me.

APPENDIX E

Self-Generated Identification Code

The answers to the following questions will be used to create an identification code that the researcher will use to link your questionnaire responses to your contact information. The researcher will be the only person who has access to your contact information and will keep your contact information and questionnaire responses confidential.

Please answer the following questions and transfer your answers onto the contact information sheet.

1. What is the FIRST LETTER of your MOTHER'S FIRST NAME? _____

2. What is the FIRST LETTER of your FATHER'S FIRST NAME? _____

3. How many OLDER BROTHERS do you have?_____

4. How many OLDER SISTERS do you have?_____

5. What is the LAST DIGIT of your home phone number?_____

APPENDIX F

Contact Information Sheet

Please transfer your answers to the five questions on the last page of the questionnaire onto this sheet. Please make sure that the answers on both sheets are EXACTLY THE SAME.

1. What is the FIRST LETTER of your MOTHER'S FIRST NAME? _____

2. What is the FIRST LETTER of your FATHER'S FIRST NAME? _____

3. How many OLDER BROTHERS do you have?_____

4. How many OLDER SISTERS do you have?_____

5. What is the LAST DIGIT of your home phone number?_____

Contact Information:

Name:_____

Home phone number: _____

Permanent phone number:_____

Email address:_____

THANK YOU!!!!

APPENDIX G

Interview Guide

Introductory Statement

The purpose of this interview is to obtain a better understanding of the opinions that people hold about gay men and the types of interactions individuals have had with gay men. You have been selected to participate in this interview because you indicated on the questionnaire that you completed a few weeks ago that you think less favorably of gay men and have engaged in behaviours that may be seen as "anti-gay". In this interview, I will ask you questions that are intended to help me gain a better understanding of what you dislike about gay men, as well what your interactions with gay men have been in the past. I know that this is a topic that is not often discussed in "politically correct" environments such as the university, so you may not feel comfortable answering the questions that I ask you. Should you choose to answer various questions, I would just encourage you to do so as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions I will be asking, and I highly value your input. If you feel uncomfortable at any point or do not want to answer a question, please don't hesitate to let me know. You may also terminate the interview at any point or stop the audio-recorder, without any penalty. This means that you will still receive your bonus course credits or gift certificate. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. Also, please be assured that I do not have an agenda—my only goal with this interview is to understand your opinions and experiences with gay men.

Before we get started, I also wanted to let you know that your responses will be strictly confidential and no one will be able to identify you by any quotations that I use in my MA thesis or other publications and presentations. With your permission, I will audio-record the interview. The interview data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet and will be stored separately from your consent form. Please feel free to tell me about the behaviours that you have participated in the past towards gay men; however, you should know that I will be obligated to report any future intent that you express to harm either yourself or someone else to the authorities. Before we begin the interview, please read through the consent form and ask me any questions you may have. You may also ask me questions at any point during the study.

I'm going to start the interview by asking you a few questions about your general opinions about homosexuality and gay men.

1. What are your thoughts on homosexuality?

    a. What do your parents think about homosexuality?
        i. Why do you think they feel this way?
        ii. How do they express their feelings about homosexuality to you?

      iii. How do you think their feelings or opinions about homosexuality have influenced your own feelings or opinions about homosexuality?

  b. What do your siblings think about homosexuality?
      i. Why do you think they feel this way?
      ii. How do they express their feelings about homosexuality to you?
      iii. How do you think their feelings or opinions about homosexuality have influenced your own feelings or opinions about homosexuality?

  c. What do your friends think about homosexuality?
      i. Why do you think they feel this way?
      ii. How do they express their feelings toward homosexuality to you?
      iii. How do you think their feelings or opinions about homosexuality have influenced your own feelings or opinions about homosexuality?

  d. Are you religious?
      i. What religion do you follow?
      ii. Do you think religious beliefs influence peoples' feelings about homosexuality?
      iii. [If religious], have your religious beliefs influenced how you feel about homosexuality?

2. What do you think of gay men?

  a. What is it about gay men that you dislike?

  b. Do you know any gay men?
      i. [If yes], how many gay men do you know?
      ii. [If yes], what is your association to each man (e.g., acquaintance/friend/family member)?
      iii. [If yes], what do you think about [insert person's name]?
      iv. What kind of interactions have you had with [insert person's name]?
      v. How do you make sense of his sexuality?
      vi. Do you feel differently towards him than you do towards gay men in general?

  c. In what ways do you think gay men differ from heterosexuals?

  d. Would you consider gay men to be masculine?
      i. Explore issues related to masculinity / femininity
      ii. In what ways are gay men masculine?

       iii. In what ways are gay men not masculine?
       iv. Do you think gay men behave like men are expected to behave in our society?

    e. Do you think gay men threaten our society? Please tell me more about that.

    f. Do you think homosexuality is choice? Please tell me more about that.

The purpose of the next set of questions is to help me understand some the past interactions you have had with gay men. Some of the questions may be difficult to answer and they may be about things that you don't normally tell people, so I just wanted to remind you that I will keep your responses strictly confidential and that you have the right not to answer any questions. In addition, the more honest and detailed you can be in your responses, the better able I will be to understand your experiences.

3. Can you tell me about an interaction that you have had with a gay man or group of gay men in the past?
    a. How have you expressed your dislike of gay men in the past?
    b. Possible experiences/interactions to ask about:
       i. Have you ever made comments or jokes about gay men?
       ii. Have you ever written graffiti about gay men?
       iii. Have you ever vandalized something that you thought belonged to a gay man?
       iv. Have you ever verbally threatened (i.e., threatened to attack) a gay man?
       v. Have you ever physically threatened (i.e., threatened to hit) a gay man?
       vi. Have you ever physically attacked (i.e., punched, hit, kicked, or shoved) a gay man?
       vii. Have you ever followed or chased a gay man?
       viii. Have you ever attended anti-gay protests?
       ix. Have you ever verbally insulted gay men?
       x. Have you ever distanced yourself from (moved away from) someone you thought to be gay?
       xi. Have you ever stared disapprovingly at some who perceived to be gay man?
       xii. Have you ever changed roommates because you suspected your roommate to be gay?
       xiii. Have your ever been rude to a man because you thought he was gay?
       xiv. Have you ever changed your behaviour in a restroom because you thought another man in the restroom was gay?
       xv. Have you ever refused to work with someone on a school or work project because you thought he was gay?

    c.   Possible follow-up questions to further explore a specific behaviour/interaction:
- i. What were you thinking prior to the event?
- ii. What motivated you to act as you did?
- iii. How did you feel emotionally before you acted?
- iv. How did you feel physically before you acted?
- v. What were you thinking while you were [*engaging in the incident*]?
- vi. Who was with you during the incident?
- vii. Did other people influence your behaviours?
- viii. How did you feel after [*the incident*] was over?
- ix. Why do you think you acted as you did?
- x. How do you think your family would feel about your actions? (Also ask about what friends and others in general would think about his/her actions.)
- xi. Would you do [*this type of behaviour*] again?
- xii. How do you feel now about the incident?

4. How do you make sense of your dislike for gay men?

    a.   Why do you think you dislike gay men?

    b.   How important do you think sexuality is to a person's self-concept?

    c.   How do you think the idea of homosexuality has influenced your own self-concept?

    d.   How have your interactions with gay men influenced how you view yourself?

    e.   Why was it important for you to express your dislike of gay men with your actions?

5. Have your opinions about gay men changed overtime?
    a.   [If yes,] how have they changed?
    b.   [If yes,] why have they changed?

6. What could gay men do to reduce the dislike that you have for them?

7. Is there anything else that you think I should know about your opinions or interactions with gay men that we haven't discussed?

We're just about done. I just wanted to find out a little bit more information about you before we leave today.

1. Where did you grow up (rural or urban centre)?

2. What is your academic major?

3. What year of university are you in?

4. How old are you?

Thank you for participating in this interview. The last thing that I wanted to go over with you before you leave is whether you would consent to allowing me to transcribe your interview. Typically, researchers transcribe interviews because it is easier for them to work with a written document than with an audio-recording. If you consent to allowing me to transcribe your interview, it also is your right as a participant to review the transcript once it is complete and to make any changes to it that you deem necessary. However, you are not required to review the transcript if you do not wish to do so. You may indicate whether you consent to allowing me to transcribe your interview and whether you would like to review the transcript on the Consent to Transcribe and Review Transcript Form.

As part of my research protocol, I might also want to meet up with again to have you reflect back on my interpretations of what you have told me today and to ask you any follow-up questions. Would you be interested in participating at a second interview, probably sometime in May?

APPENDIX H

Invitation Letter

Dear Participant,

A few weeks ago you filled out a survey which asked you about your opinions of gay men. At this time, you also indicated that you would be interested in participating in an interview that would serve to explore your opinions towards members in these social groups in more detail. As such, I am pleased to invite you to participate in an interview!

The interview will focus primarily on your opinions about gay men, as well as on some of your past interactions with gay men. I am particularly interested in people's negative experiences with gay men and the reasons for which people may think less favourably of gay men. Please be assured that anything you say in this interview is strictly confidential and no one will be able to identify that you participated in this study. The interview will take between 60 to 90 minutes to complete and will contribute to my Master's thesis. In order to show my appreciation of your time, I would like to offer you the option of receiving two bonus course credits (if you have not already filled your quota) or a $20.00 gift certificate for participating in this study.

If you are interested in participating in an interview or would like more information, please contact me at 966-1773 or lisa.jewell@usask.ca. We can then set up a time to meet that is convenient for you.

Thank you for your consideration!

Sincerely,
Lisa Jewell
Graduate Student, MA(cand.)
Department of Psychology
University of Saskatchewan

APPENDIX I

Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study entitled "Understanding Heterosexuals' Attitudes and Behaviours Directed Toward Gay Men". Please read this form carefully, and feel free to ask any questions.

Student Researcher: Lisa Jewell, MA (cand.), Department of Psychology, Arts Building, Room 161, University of Saskatchewan, (306) 717-5342. My email address is lisa.jewell@usask.ca

Research Supervisor: Melanie A. Morrison, Ph.D., Department of Psychology, Arts Building, Room 163, University of Saskatchewan, (306) 966-2564. My email address is: melanie.morrison@usask.ca.

Purpose and Procedures: The purpose of this study is to obtain a better understanding of people's attitudes towards gay men. We are particularly interested in learning about some of the reasons why people think less favourably of gay men and some of the negative interactions that people have either had with gay men or have witnessed. You have been selected for this interview because you have indicated that you may not hold favourable attitudes toward gay men, as indicated by some of your responses to a previous questionnaire. For this study, you will participate in an interview which asks you about your opinions and past interactions with gay men. Your participation is voluntary and the interview should take approximately 60-90 minutes. The interview will be digitally audio-recorded.

Potential Risks: It is important to point out that the questions asked in the interview are sensitive in nature and that the researchers clearly recognize their sensitivity. In addition, it is important to mention that interviews are a common method used by social researchers to explore participants' opinions in detail. The interview is not designed to make you uncomfortable and there are no physical or mental health risks associated with participating in this study. Therefore, you are free to answer only those questions which you feel comfortable answering and you may turn off the recorder at any time. However, if you do experience any stress, or have concerns or questions at any time throughout the data collection period and/or after you finish participating, you are encouraged to discuss them with the student researcher or her research supervisor. Please contact the researchers using the information provided above. Alternatively, you may decide to contact one of the resource centers listed on the Debriefing and Resources Sheet you will receive after the interview. Finally, there is a possibility that someone will be able to identify you on the basis of what you have said because direct quotations from your interview will be used in publications and conference presentations. For example, if you told the researcher about a memorable incident and the researcher presented a quotation about this incident at a national conference, someone in the audience may recognize the incident and remember that you were involved. However, every attempt will be made to protect your identity by using a

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pseudonym for your name and removing all identifying information (e.g., date and place where an interaction took place) from any reports.

Potential Benefits: Your participation in this study will assist researchers in their effort to better understand the beliefs that individuals might hold toward gay men and the types of interactions that individuals may have with gay men. Your feedback will enable us to begin learning about the nature of the beliefs present in our local community. Your opinions and feedback are highly valued.

Storage of Data: The data collected today will be kept in a secure location in a locked filing cabinet in Dr. Melanie Morrison's Social Psychology Lab for a minimum of five years, after which the data will be destroyed. Only the researchers will have access to the data.
Please note that your consent forms will be stored separately from the interview transcripts. In addition, all identifying information will be removed from the transcripts.

Confidentiality: The data from this study will be published and presented at conferences; however, your identity will be kept confidential. Although we will report direct quotations from the interview, you will be given a pseudonym, and all identifying information (e.g., date and place where an interaction took place) will be removed from our report. In addition, you should be aware that the researcher will be obligated to report any intent to harm one's self or another person to the authorities (e.g., if you tell the researcher that you plan on finding John Doe and verbally or physically assaulting him).

Right to Withdraw: You may withdraw from the study for any reason, at any time, without penalty of any sort. If you choose to withdraw from the study you will still receive the additional bonus course credits or gift certificate associated with participating in this study. In addition, if you withdraw from the study, any data that you have contributed will be destroyed at your request. Please note that you have the right to withdraw your responses from the study at any point during or after the study, and that if you have any second thoughts about your responses, you should contact the student researcher who will remove them from the database.

You will also be asked at the end of this interview whether you would like to participate in a follow-up interview. The purpose of this second interview is to allow you to reflect back on the researchers' findings and interpretations of your interview data. Your decision to participate in this second interview is completely voluntary and you will again be asked for your consent prior to beginning the follow-up interview.

Use of data and dissemination of results: The findings from the study will be written up in the form of a Master's thesis. It also is anticipated that the findings from this study will be presented at academic conferences (e.g., the Annual Convention of the Canadian Psychological Association) and submitted for publication to a peer-reviewed scientific journal.

Debriefing: A debriefing sheet will be handed out when the interview is complete, or in the event that a participant chooses not to participate. The debriefing sheet will provide some background to the study and identify the specific aims of the study. It will also contain a list of resources that you are free to access to further discuss any issues that arose during the interview.

Questions: If you have any questions concerning the study, please feel free to pose them; you are also free to contact the researcher at the numbers provided above if you have questions at a later time. This study has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Sciences Research Ethics Board on March 21, 2007. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Ethics Office (966-2084). Out of town participants may call collect. Information concerning the results of the study may be arranged (following the study's completion) via Lisa Jewell or Dr. Morrison at the contact address above.

Consent to Participate: I have read and understood the description provided above; I have been provided with an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered satisfactorily. I consent to participate in the study described above, understanding that I may withdraw this consent at any time. A copy of this consent form has been given to me for my records.

_____   _____
(Signature of Participant)   (Date)

_____
(Signature of Researcher)

APPENDIX J

Consent to Transcribe and Review Interview Form

1. **The researcher would like to transcribe the personal interview that you have participated in today. Please indicate whether you consent to allowing the researcher to transcribe your interview.**

   ☐ YES, I consent to allowing the researcher to transcribe my interview.

   ☐ NO, I do not consent to allowing the researcher to transcribe my interview.

2. **If YES to Question 1, as a participant in this study, it also is your right to review your transcript once it has been transcribed. Please indicate whether you wish to review your transcript.**

   ☐ NO, I do NOT wish to review the complete transcript of my personal interview for this study.

   ☐ YES, I do wish to review the complete transcript of my personal interview for this study.

   If NO, I, _____, hereby authorize the release of my interview to Lisa Jewell to be used in the manner described in the consent form.

   _____   _____
   (Signature of Participant)   (Date)

   _____
   (Signature of Researcher)

APPENDIX K

Debriefing and Resources Sheet

While quite a bit of research has been conducted in the past focusing on how people interact with various social groups, such as African Americans, little research has explored how people interact with gay men and lesbian women. The purpose of this study was to learn about peoples' past experiences with gay men, to understand how people feel about interacting with gay men and to explore what those interactions mean to various individuals. We were particularly interested in learning what it is about gay men that triggers various reactions (sometimes negative and sometimes positive) and people's reasons for engaging in behaviours that are meant to express their dislike of gay men. Much research on people's attitudes towards gay men consists of asking participants to state the extent to which they agree with various items on questionnaires. However, we wanted to go one step further in this study by asking people directly about what they think about gay men, as well as their past interactions with gay men.

It can be stressful to think about past interactions with other social groups and it is possible that you found some of the memories that you recalled or some of the topics that you discussed during the interview to be upsetting. If you do experience any emotional and/or psychological concerns as a result of this study, you are encouraged to contact the agencies listed below to help you work through your concerns.

If you would like to receive a summary of the results of this study, please contact Lisa Jewell at lisa.jewell@usask.ca or (306) 966-1773 or Dr. Melanie Morrison at melanie.morrison@usask.ca or (306) 966-2564.

Student Help Centre
University of Saskatchewan
Rm 27 Place Riel (In the Arts tunnel)
Phone: 966-6981
Email: help.centre@usask.ca
Web site: http://www.ussu.ca/helpcentre/

Student Counselling Centre
University of Saskatchewan
104 Qu'Appelle Hall Addition
Phone: 966-4920
Web site: http://students.usask.ca/wellness/counselling/scs/

Adult Community Mental Health Services
715 Queen Street
Saskatoon, SK
Phone: 655-7950
Web site: http://www.saskatoonhealthregion.ca/your_health/ps_mh_services.htm