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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Julie Marie Duhigg

The Graduate School
University of Kentucky

2007

PROCESSES LEADING SELF-IDENTIFIED HETEROSEXUALS TO DEVELOP
INTO SEXUAL MINORITY SOCIAL JUSTICE ALLIES: A QUALITATIVE
EXPLORATION

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Education at the University of Kentucky

By

Julie Marie Duhigg

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Sharon S. Rostosky, Associate Professor of
Educational and Counseling Psychology

Lexington, Kentucky

2007

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PROCESSES LEADING SELF-IDENTIFIED HETEROSEXUALS TO DEVELOP INTO SEXUAL MINORITY SOCIAL JUSTICE ALLIES: A QUALITATIVE EXPLORATION

The impact of homonegativity on both sexual minorities and heterosexuals is profoundly debilitating. Due to the implicit power of their privileged status, heterosexually-identified individuals can serve a crucial role as allies in eliminating sexual minority oppression. Because minimal research exists around heterosexual identity issues, broadly, and sexual minority ally development, specifically, it is difficult to promote such ally work without a clear understanding of the developmental processes and motivational issues that lead heterosexuals to sexual minority social justice action. The current study sought to explore the developmental experiences of heterosexually-identified “exemplars” who work in their communities for sexual minority social justice.

The present investigation was conducted through interviews with 12 individuals who demonstrated commitment to sexual minority volunteer work. Through the use of a discovery-oriented interviewing methodology, participants revealed the paths they have taken as they committed to social justice ally work alongside sexual minority activists. The qualitative data collected were subjected to a systematic, collaborative analysis by a team of researchers. The results revealed six general themes that arose from these participants’ stories, and specified subcategories within each domain: Early Family Modeling (*positive modeling* and *negative modeling*), Recognition of Oppression and Privilege (*recognition of LGBT individual oppression*, *recognition of the oppression of others*, *recognition of oppression directed at oneself*, *recognition of one’s own privilege*, and *recognition of other’s privilege*), Response to Recognition (*emotional reactions*, *taking responsibility*, and *behavioral reactions*), Impact of Values/Attitudes (*equality*, *attitudes about sexual orientation*, *personal responsibility*, *valuing diversity*, and *religious/spiritual beliefs*), Reactions to Ally Work from Others (*positive support from family/friends*, *negative reactions from local community*, *positive reactions from local community*, *positive reactions from LGBT community*, and *negative reactions from LGBT community*), and Rewards from Ally Work (*making a difference*, *friendships and connections*, and *other rewards*).

These findings highlighted key elements that contribute to the development of sexual minority allies. Interdependence with and empathy for others were vital elements

of this growth. These often developed from encounters with “otherness” and led to greater involvement with social justice action. Finally, homophobia was revealed as a significant barrier to ally identification. Methods for cultivating developmental experiences are outlined.

KEY WORDS: Heterosexually-identified, Sexual Minority, Ally,
Social Justice, Privilege

Julie Marie Duhigg

November 30, 2007

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DISSERTATION

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To my son, Jeremy Arthur Dunn

Whose joyous spirit inspires me to build a just world

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When I began my doctoral training I was more than a little dubious about whether I could write a dissertation. Anne Lamott's advice about writing saved me from my skepticism. In her words, I took things "bird by bird", or, one step at a time. This last step of acknowledgment proved to be, if not the hardest, the most important of all. One step at a time could not have happened for me without the love of family and friends that make those steps feel worthwhile in the first place.

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Chapter One: Introduction

If the field of counseling psychology purports that multiculturalism and diversity are paramount to our practice, social justice must logically follow. Counseling psychologists have a moral and ethical responsibility to the issues and concerns raised by social injustice found both in our field and in the lives of the persons we serve and for whom we advocate (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Constantine, Hage, Kindaichi, & Bryant, 2007; Fox, 2003; Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks, & Weintraub, 2004; Kakkad, 2005; Vera & Speight, 2003). Vera and Speight indicate that social justice is “the heart of multiculturalism in that the existence of institutional racism, sexism, and homophobia is what accounts for the inequitable experiences of people of color, women, gay, lesbian, and bisexual people (among others) in the United States” (p. 254). Along with the moral and ethical call to social justice, counseling psychology as a field has historically connected itself with sustaining the healthy development of persons. Because these persons are frequently situated in socially unjust contexts that hinder healthy development, we must address these contexts directly. This necessitates a commitment to social justice on behalf of our field.

Within this social justice framework, an area of considerable significance is the systematic oppression of sexual minority individuals. Sexual minority oppression, dichotomized with the purported “normalcy” and superiority of heterosexual privilege (Rich, 1980), is ubiquitous in the dominant culture of the United States. Sexual minority individuals experience various direct effects due to this systematic oppression. They are refused protection in their relationships, including marriage rights. They are denied safety in their communities due to acts of homonegative violence. In childhood and adolescence they lack safe and supportive educational environments in which to develop. They are refused acknowledgement and inclusion in the majority of their religious institutions. They lack the protections to raise children without scrutiny and/or threat of legal interference in their homes. As a result of these and many other expressions of oppression, the lives of sexual minority individuals are subject to heightened levels of minority stress and subsequent mental health concerns (Meyer, 2003).

The impact of homonegative oppression on sexual minority individuals is apparent. Less apparent, however, are how heterosexual individuals are impacted by this

form of oppression. Given the implicit role that heterosexuals play in the enforcement of sexual minority oppression, they must also be impacted by this form of social injustice. McIntosh (1995) stated “we are taught to think that... heterosexism is carried on only through intentional, individual acts of discrimination, meanness, or cruelty, rather than an invisible system conferring unsought dominance on [heterosexuals]” (p. 86). Indeed, heterosexuals do benefit from this invisible system of privilege. Institutional acknowledgement, celebration, and ritualization surrounding heterosexuality confers to heterosexuals tremendous social, psychological, cultural, and developmental support that is denied to sexual minority individuals.

Heterosexual privilege also intersects uniquely with male privilege. Wide ranging scholarship has consistently identified the interconnection between institutionalized sexism, male gender role socialization, and the development and perpetuation of homonegativity (Kimmel, 2003; Kivel, 1992; Pharr, 1988; Rich, 1980; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Men are socialized to “fit” emotionally, physically, and socially, within a narrow band of acceptable masculinity to both distinguish themselves from women and reduce the likelihood that they will be considered homosexual. While this relationship is complex, one overarching result has been that heterosexually-identified men espouse particularly strong levels of homonegative attitudes when compared to heterosexually-identified women (Herek, 1988, 2000, 2002; Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Male privilege interwoven with this homonegativity results in unique benefits for heterosexually-identified men. These include systematic power over women as well as dominance over sexual minorities.

Along with various benefits, heterosexuals also experience costs due to a heterosexist system. Goodman (2001) identified areas in which privileged people can be negatively impacted. These include psychological, social, intellectual, moral and spiritual, and material costs. Examples from these areas, adapted with heterosexuals in mind, include: heterosexual persons’ denial of empathy and other emotions for sexual minorities; isolation from sexual minorities; distorted view of sexual minority history and contributions; spiritual emptiness due to condemnation of sexual minorities as a group; and losing competent employees because of a homonegative work environment. These are just a brief range of costs that heterosexuals are likely to experience in a

homonegative environment.

On the other hand, heterosexuals may benefit by undertaking their responsibility to eliminate heterosexism. Goodman (2001), suggesting some of the broad benefits of working as social justice allies, stated “with greater social justice, people could have a fuller, more authentic sense of self; more authentic relationships and human connection; greater moral consistency and integrity; access to cultural knowledge and wisdom; and improved work and living conditions” (p. 123). These benefits are clearly healthier than the present system of oppression.

The responsibility of changing institutional homonegativity belongs to heterosexual individuals because they hold disproportionate institutional power over sexual minorities and have a moral obligation to protest and dismantle this form of oppression. Understanding the developmental and motivational qualities that propel a heterosexually-identified individual to pursue social justice ally work is the purpose of this project. This project integrates critical psychological theory, identity developmental theory, and transformative learning theory to provide a framework for exploring the development of social justice activism, in general, and heterosexual ally activism, in particular.

Statement of the Problem

As identified above, the impact of homonegativity on both sexual minorities and heterosexuals is profoundly debilitating. Recent literature emphasizes the important role of heterosexually-identified social justice allies in eliminating sexual minority oppression (Briodo, 2000, 2000; Croteau, Lark, Lidderdale, & Chung, 2005; Dillon, Worthington, Bielston Savoy, Rooney, Becker-Schutte, & Guerra, 2004; DiStefano, Croteau, Anderson, Kampa-Kokesch, & Bullard, 2000). However, it is difficult to promote such ally work without a clear understanding of the developmental processes and motivational issues that lead heterosexuals to sexual minority social justice action. As educators, trainers, clinicians, and researchers, we have far too little empirical evidence on which to base psychoeducational interventions to facilitate individual and group processes that will eradicate heterosexism and promote social justice for sexual minorities. Counseling psychologists are in a unique position to address this void in the social justice literature through research, training, and activism in academic and public arenas.

The purpose of this project is to explicate the developmental processes and experiences of a sample of heterosexually-identified “exemplars” who actively work in their communities for sexual minority social justice. Through the use of a discovery-oriented interviewing methodology, participants revealed the processes and paths they have taken as they committed to social justice ally work alongside sexual minority activists. By systematically analyzing these interviews, we discovered these motivational and developmental processes. This information is now available to inform evidence-based interventions and psychoeducational programs on which counseling psychologists and others can rely.

The following chapter provides an overview of the salient literature that facilitates a clearer understanding of the theoretical elements that lead heterosexual individuals to develop and commit themselves to sexual minority social justice ally work. Critical psychology, developmental psychology, and transformative learning theory are discussed at length and help shape the larger framework for answering questions about heterosexual social justice activism.

Chapter Two: Review of Selected Literature

This chapter presents a review and examination of the relevant literature from critical psychology, developmental psychology, and adult education that informed this study. These literatures are used as the conceptual framework for exploring the question of how heterosexuals develop into anti-heterosexist activists interested in advancing social justice for sexual minorities. Following an overview of definitions for key terms, Prilleltensky's (1997) emancipatory communitarian approach to psychology is outlined to provide a macrolevel moral framework for social justice action. At the microlevel, formative identity development models are explored for their contributions in conceptualizing social justice activism as a healthy part of human development for persons from both privileged and oppressed social identities. Finally, Mezirow's (1997) transformative learning theory and Goodman's (2001) work addressing privilege in social justice work provide a conceptual framework for the processes that are likely to facilitate social justice action. This review concludes with a synthesis of the literature that informed the research question regarding heterosexual social justice activism.

Defining Social Justice, Power, Oppression, Privilege, and Ally

Throughout this project, the use of clearly defined and specific terms that convey key concepts is crucial. Several theorists inform the following working definitions. The commonality between these definitions resides in their mutual emphasis on creating a socially just society. Indeed, the concept of *social justice* used throughout the body of this work is a complex one worthy of definition. Bell (1997) defined social justice as the

full and equal participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs. Social justice includes a vision of society in which the distribution of resources is equitable and all members are physically and psychologically safe and secure. (p. 3)

Bell's definition provides a succinct overview of the goals implicit in the term social justice.

Power is another term essential to understanding human relationships within a social justice framework. Prilleltensky and Nelson (2002) defined power as "the capacity and opportunity to fulfill or obstruct personal, relational, or collective needs" and further elaborated, "power affords people multiple identities as individuals seeking well-being, engaging in oppression, or resisting domination" (p. 7). As implied in the latter part of

this definition, power can be used in a wide variety of ways. One central concern of this work regards how power is used to resist and change systematic forms of oppression.

Two additional terms are connected to these concepts of social justice and power. *Oppression* can be defined as “a state of domination where the oppressed suffer the consequences of deprivation, exclusion, discrimination, exploitation, control of culture, and sometimes even violence” (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002, p. 12). Goodman’s (2001) description of oppression is quite similar. Importantly, she elaborated that the oppression of persons is typically linked to their group identities (e.g. sexual minorities, women, people of color, etc.). Similarly, *privilege* can be defined as the provision of “greater access to power, resources, and opportunities that are denied to others and usually gained at their expense” (Goodman, p. 20). Examples of group identities that are privileged include heterosexuals, men, and White people. For the purposes of this work, both privilege and oppression are conceptualized within this group identity perspective.

Finally, the term *ally* has developed within the social justice literature to distinguish a particular group of social justice activists. Washington and Evans (1991), define ally as “a person who is a member of the ‘dominant’ or ‘majority’ group who works to end oppression in his or her personal and professional life through support of, and as an advocate with and for, the oppressed population” (p. 195). The term ally is befitting of the heterosexually-identified social justice activists that participated in this study, and are further described in Chapter Three.

Emancipatory Communitarian Psychological Approach

Isaac Prilleltensky is a critical psychological theorist who has challenged thinking (or lack thereof) regarding social justice issues within the field of psychology (Prilleltensky, 1989, 1997, & 2003; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). His formative article regarding morality and psychology (1997) provides a framework for application among social justice-minded psychology researchers (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Constantine, Hage, Kindaichi, & Bryant, 2007; Fox, 2003; Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks, & Weintraub, 2004; Vera & Speight, 2003). In this piece, Prilleltensky set out to develop and explicate a moral metaframework. He described the importance of psychologists’ ability to articulate two things; first, describe what the “good life” looks like, including ideals and values, and second, identify those actions that will lead to

creating this good life (p. 518). To assist envisioning and enacting the good life, Prilleltensky advocated that psychologists explicitly examine their moral values. Prilleltensky stated “I define moral values as benefits that human beings provide to other individuals and communities. Thus, I treat values as entities, ideas, or predispositions to action that have the potential to promote the good life and the good society” (p. 520). The core values that he identified include: caring and compassion, characterized by empathy for others; self-determination, exemplified by an individual’s freedom to choose particular paths for herself or himself; human diversity, characterized by an affirmation of the unique range of humans’ social locations; collaboration and democratic participation, referring to the human ability to cooperate and shape their respective paths peacefully; and distributive justice, characterized by the fair distribution of resources in society. Prilleltensky recognized these five values as being core to the actions that lead to the good life and emphasized that these values are interconnected.

Prilleltensky’s emancipatory communitarian (EC) psychological approach is a moral framework that emphasizes balancing the five core values identified above. Prilleltensky described communitarianism as “the balance between rights and responsibilities... [and] uphold[ing] the common good” (p. 528). His definition of communitarianism emphasized the responsibility that humans have to one another. Acknowledging the potential loss of individual rights in the name of the common good, Prilleltensky incorporated the concept of emancipation, which refers to the liberation of any people who are oppressed. Emancipation and communitarianism combined are complementary and reflect an emphasis on social justice action. Indeed, Prilleltensky asserted “political action to reduce conditions of oppression is one of the roles envisioned for emancipatory communitarian psychologists” (p. 530).

Prilleltensky’s moral framework provides a lens through which to examine the remaining literature of this chapter. This approach centralizes the need for social justice activism as an enactment of the values that comprise emancipatory communitarianism. These values (caring and compassion; self-determination; human diversity; collaboration and participation; distributive justice) are also core to the goal of engendering a sense of moral responsibility among heterosexually-identified individuals. Prilleltensky recognized that increasing awareness of oppression is key to the development of the

critical thinking and subsequent action that leads to emancipation. Certainly “once people overcome the myth that existing social arrangements are immutable, they are in a position to question power structures that interfere with the pursuit of fundamental values for everyone, rather than just for those who benefit from privilege and comfort” (p. 530). Heterosexually-identified persons who recognize sexual minority oppression and the myth of heterosexual superiority are, therefore, in a position to challenge and change the imbalance of power as social justice allies.

Social Justice and Identity Development Models

At the microlevel, issues of privilege and oppression in human development can be understood through examination of identity development models. Myers and colleagues (1991) emphasized that these models evolved in response to the impact of hierarchical systems of privilege and oppression, which divide and centralize differences among humans. As a result, “identity [has become] salient because we live in a world in which people are constantly ‘otherized’ for the purpose of assigning differential rewards and punishment to them” (Okolie, 2003, p. 2). Initially, identity models sought to understand the inherent challenge of developing within a particular seat of oppression, such as racial/ethnic minorities, women, or sexual minorities (Atkinson, Morton, & Sue, 1997; Cass, 1979, 1984; Downing & Roush, 1985; Fassinger & Miller, 1996; Helms 1990, 1995; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999). More recently, models were created to examine the development of those within particular seats of privilege, including Whites and heterosexuals (Broido, 2000b; Eliason, 1995; Helms, 1990, 1995; Sullivan, 1998; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). These latter models are significant because they provide a framework through which to examine long-regarded “normal” and dominant groups. Identity development models are also useful in the guidance of psychological practice. Understanding the stages or statuses in which individuals find themselves allows for tailored interventions designed to reach persons where they reside developmentally (Sue & Sue, 1999).

Following is an overview of how identity development models can shed light onto individuals’ social justice development, particularly for heterosexual persons. Two identity models are presented, including Helms’ (1990, 1995) White Racial Identity model and Worell and Remer’s (2003) Personal/Social Identity Development model.

These models were chosen because of their unique emphasis on social justice action as a specified developmental goal for privileged persons. Next, heterosexual identity is considered in light of the development models that have been advanced over the past decade (Broido, 2000b; Eliason, 1995; Sullivan, 1998; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Consideration is given to the contribution of identity development models to help conceptualize heterosexual self-awareness and subsequent social justice work.

White Racial Identity Model

White racial identity was the first privileged status to be considered at length in the identity development literature. On the heels of extensive research related to racial minority identity development, exploration of White privilege has become a popular area of study for many fields, including women's studies, sociology, education, as well as psychology (Brown, Parham, & Young, 1996; Eichstedt, 2001; Gillespie, Ashbaugh, & DeFiore, 2002; Helfand & Lippin, 2001; Helms, 1990, 1995; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000; Henze, Lucas, & Scott, 1998; Hytten, & Warren, 2003; Marx, & Pennington, 2003; McIntosh, 1995; Ottavi, Pope-Davis, & Dings, 1994; Parker, Moore, & Neimeyer, 1998; Richard, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999; Tatum, 1994). Helms' (1990, 1995) model of White Racial Identity development is widely recognized as one of the foremost models for understanding the developmental nature of White identity and privilege.

Helms' (1990, 1995) White Racial Identity model consists of two phases with a total of six statuses, three for each phase. Helms originally couched her model in a stage format (1990) but following further consideration, she changed the language from "stage" to "status" to clarify the idea that individuals do not move in lock step from one stage to the next (1995). Indeed, she emphasized the likelihood that individuals may move back and forth between statuses across their development.

The first phase of Helms' White Racial Identity development model is *abandonment of racism* (1990, 1995). The first status found within this phase is *contact*, which implies a White person's initial awareness of people of color when that individual does not clearly self-identify as White. In this status she or he often references stereotypes about people of color and is likely to blindly use White cultural standards to evaluate persons from other cultures.

The next status is *disintegration* and frequently involves instability and confusion as the individual tries to construct an understanding of her or his Whiteness in a racist society, although she or he is unlikely to acknowledge that society is racist. Feelings of guilt and anxiety are likely to surface at this stage. If the individual is able, she or he is likely to withdraw from people of color or superficially try to change racist ideas of those around her or him.

Reintegration is the final status of the first phase. During reintegration, the individual recognizes her or his own White racial identity. Individual stability and a sense of belonging are regained through reaffirming her or his place within a White, racist world. Helms emphasized that in this first phase, it is highly conceivable that an individual could move back and forth between the disintegration and reintegration statuses. Helms also emphasized that a White individual could easily remain in the reintegration status indefinitely.

The second phase in Helms' White Racial Identity development model is *defining a non-racist White identity*. Helms emphasized that in order for a White individual to move out of the first phase, *something significant must occur* to push them to this next phase. This second phase is also comprised of three distinct statuses, beginning with *pseudo-independent* which involves the individual's initial acknowledgment of both Whites as a group and her or his own personal role in racism. The individual is likely to try steering people of color toward White culture to try and alleviate the detrimental impact of racism.

The next phase, *immersion/emersion* is when the individual actively pursues consciousness-raising activities to work at understanding her or his White identity. The person's focus shifts away from changing people of color and toward changing Whites. When the individual releases the negative feelings that took shape during the disintegration stage, this signals she or he is ready to move into the final status.

During this final status, referred to as *autonomy*, the individual embraces a new anti-racist White identity and, as a result, actively resists and rejects institutions of White racism. Helms emphasized that this status is ongoing and that the individual's development never completely "ends". This final stage of identity development is

particularly significant because Helms argued that as White identity awareness increases and develops so must the impetus toward social justice activism.

Personal/Social Identity Development Model

Worell and Remer (2003) developed an expansive identity model within a feminist framework. Unlike Helms' model (1990, 1995), which focused on a privileged status alone, this model simultaneously incorporates positions of privilege and oppression. The authors articulated an important understanding that identities intersect and occur simultaneously and prefer to address identity development through "a graded set of dimensions... [in terms] of how an individual might be categorized" (p. 35).

The dimensions include *preawareness* in which the privileged and oppressed person accepts the majority status and the privileged person also believes her or his status to be superior to others. The oppressed person, in turn, has learned to devalue her or his status.

The second level is referred to as *encounter* when both the privileged and oppressed person recognizes the privileged or oppressed values placed on their statuses. The privileged person typically experiences discomfort and internal struggle with this recognition. The oppressed person often feels relieved as well as conflicted about the disparity. As the name implies, the person experiences challenges through one or many conflictual experiences.

The third level is called *immersion* and is marked by engagement by both privileged and oppressed individuals. A privileged person accesses more information about the oppressed group and learns about her or his role in oppressing others. An oppressed person engages in learning about and valuing her or his status, often feeling anger regarding the oppression.

The final dimension of Worell and Remer's model is *integration and activism*. This final status is notable because the aspects of the dimension are fully shared by persons from privileged as well as oppressed identities. The person's identity becomes more fully integrated. In addition, social justice activism is explicitly stated as an expected part of the developmental process.

Worell and Remer's choice to integrate multiple identity models of privilege and oppression is both a unique and compelling contribution to the identity development

literature. Their decision to recognize social justice activism as an integral part of healthy development, regardless of the social identity status, is a crucial advance within the identity development literature. This emphasis will be further explored following a review of the heterosexual development literature.

Heterosexual Identity Models

Heterosexual identity is a burgeoning topic among the developmental models that attempts to account for the unique aspects of heterosexual development (Broido, 2000b; Eliason, 1995; Sullivan, 1998; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Similar to White racial identity development, until relatively recently heterosexual identity was unexamined and deemed “the norm or default sexual identity” (Eliason, 1995, p. 824). Given this assumption, as well as the dominant cultural context that imposes “compulsory heterosexuality,” efforts to discover the process of heterosexual identity development were slow to emerge (Rich, 1980).

Eliason (1995) began the exploration of heterosexual identity development through qualitative research methods involving twenty-six self-identified heterosexual college students. These students were enrolled in a course addressing sexual identity and were asked on the first and last day of the class to write about their sexual identities. The narratives were then analyzed for common themes. The author noted that many of the students reported that prior to being asked by the researchers they never considered their sexual identity. Many students identified religion as an influence on their sexual identity. External sources of influence included gender role socialization. Additionally, differences were apparent between male and female respondents. For example, the men were twice as likely to assert that their heterosexual identities were inborn. Eliason’s exploratory qualitative study offered preliminary insight into how heterosexually-identified persons conceptualize their sexual identities. Social justice action did not emerge as a concept in this study.

Sullivan (1998) next took preliminary steps toward framing sexual identity development, including heterosexual identity, into a recognizable stage format like those used in other identity models. This model outlined identical stages for lesbian, gay, and bisexual persons as well as heterosexual persons. The stages, drawn from Hardiman and Jackson’s racial identity model (1992), include naiveté, acceptance, resistance,

redefinition, and internalization. The author emphasized that these stages would be experienced differently depending on whether an individual was in a seat of privilege or oppression in relation to her or his sexual identity. Similar to other early developmental models, Sullivan's model has been criticized due to its focus on rigid stages rather than allowing for a more fluid developmental process (Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). However, the final stage of internalization is marked for heterosexuals when "they recognize what they can gain from dismantling heterosexism" (p. 11). Clearly, Sullivan acknowledged the developmental importance of heterosexuals choosing to deconstruct heterosexism.

Broido (2000b) made another attempt to understand heterosexual development, specifically related to the development of heterosexuals who become social justice allies to sexual minorities. Citing Hardiman and Jackson's dominant identity development model (1992) as a framework, Broido identified five stages of heterosexual ally development. The stages include Heterosexual Naive, when the heterosexual individual is unaware of sexual identity privilege and oppression. The second stage, Heterosexual Acceptance, when the heterosexual individual has been socialized to value physical intimacy only with the "other" gender and, in addition, she or he has learned to devalue lesbian, gay, and bisexual persons. Heterosexual Resistance is the third stage of the model. This stage occurs when the heterosexual individual recognizes the multilayered oppression of sexual minority individuals and begins to challenge this oppression in themselves and others. The fourth stage, Heterosexual Redefinition, encourages heterosexual allies to "focus on their own privilege within their spheres of influence to bring about social change" (2000b, p. 352). This stage is characterized by a sense of responsibility. The fifth and final stage of this adapted model is called Heterosexual Internalization. At this stage of development, heterosexuals align their work addressing sexual minority oppression with work related to other forms of social identity oppression. Broido's adapted model offers a compelling perspective on heterosexual activist identity development.

The most comprehensive heterosexual identity development model to date was presented by Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, and Vernaglia (2002). This ambitious model has drawn from a wide range of previous developmental models, including sexual

minority, feminist, White, and other heterosexual identity (Cass, 1979, 1984; Downing & Roush, 1985; Eliason, 1995; Fassinger & Miller, 1996; Helms, 1990, 1995; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Sullivan, 1998). Worthington and colleagues conceptualized that heterosexuals develop their sexual identity within a broad biopsychosocial framework. Aspects of this framework include biology, microsocial context, gender norms and role socialization, culture, religious orientation, and a homonegative system that oppresses sexual minorities and privileges heterosexuals. The model involves a multifaceted, non-linear set of heterosexual developmental statuses that occur within this biopsychosocial framework. Each status of the heterosexual developmental model addresses the individual's identity development and well as her or his group identity development. The statuses described in this model are also unique because they are fluid and multidirectional (see figure 2.1 at end of chapter). The authors hypothesized that movement between the different statuses is common.

There are a total of five distinct, parallel statuses for individual and group heterosexual identity development. The first status is *unexplored commitment*. The authors hypothesized that, given the intense homonegativity of the dominant culture, it is extremely likely all individuals begin their development in the first status. A heterosexually-identified individual in this status is likely to exhibit a complete, unquestioning acceptance of heterosexuality as a mandate. Surrounding social and contextual forces strengthen this status. Once an individual moves out of this status, she or he cannot return because the paths out require a significant enough shift to negate the naiveté of the status. Regarding group identification, the individual views the heterosexual group as normative and if there is awareness of privilege present, the individual is likely to think said privilege is justified. Individuals in this status are also likely to believe they do not know any persons categorically defined as lesbian, gay, or bisexual.

The authors identified three potential paths that heterosexual individuals may take out of unexplored commitment. The developmentally optimal path leads to the *active exploration* status. The authors stated clearly that “for active exploration to occur the individual must engage in cognitive or behavioral exploration of individual sexual identities beyond that which is socially mandated within one's social context” (p. 516).

Ultimately, on some level, the individual transgresses the prescriptive confines of heterosexuality assigned to her or him. Because this development occurs within the biopsychosocial framework, the range of exploration can be quite broad. For example, an individual may choose to date outside of her or his ethnic or spiritual group, which for many would deviate from social and cultural expectations. A female may choose to actively assert her sexual needs in her relationship with her male sexual partner. Other behaviors could involve participating in sexual activities deemed inappropriate; engaging in sexual activity with same-sex partners; or reading or reflecting about sex in a fundamentally challenging way. Intentionality in this exploration is key. Depending on the process of exploration, group identity will likely include the individual becoming aware of her or his privilege as a heterosexual. This awareness may either be questioned or reaffirmed.

Another path that leads out of unexplored commitment is *diffusion*, although any status could lead an individual into this particular status. On the surface, diffusion can look like active exploration, but the authors differentiate the two noting that crisis typically draws an individual into this status and she or he lacks intentionality with their defiant behavior. Additionally, “a loss or absence of a sense of identity characterizes people experiencing diffusion and might typically coincide with a number of forms of psychological distress” (p. 518). Related to the chaotic component of diffusion, the authors do not connect this status with any predictive sense of group identity. They do, however, indicate that active exploration is the only way to leave the diffusion status.

The final path out of unexplored commitment is *deepening and commitment*. This status can also be reached through active exploration. An individual in this status becomes more committed to their sexual beliefs, needs, and orientation. The authors hypothesized that most heterosexuals probably enter deepening and commitment without experiencing active exploration due to the intense cultural and social rigidity regarding heterosexual norms. Therefore, heterosexuals in this status may hold a group identity that ranges from basic confirmation of their privilege to a fuller questioning of stated privilege. Additionally, attitudes toward sexual minorities can range from condemnation to celebration.

The final status described is *synthesis*. This status shows the greatest maturation among those in the identity model and an individual at this status is believed to fully integrate their sexual orientation identity into their overall person. The authors specified that individual identity, group identity, and sexual minority attitudes blend for an individual at this level. They also speculated that few individuals reach this status given the numerous facets and complexity found within this identity development process. The authors hypothesized that in order to reach synthesis, individuals might have to experience active exploration. In turn,

because [the authors] also hypothesize[d] that active exploration is associated with more flexible thinking with respect to sexual diversity, individuals reflecting the status of synthesis are likely to be more affirmative toward LGB individuals and understand human sexuality along a continua. (p. 520)

Even in this more advanced status the potential exists that individuals may move out of and into different statuses along the developmental course of their lives.

The heterosexual identity development model presented by Worthington and colleagues offers a complex foundation on which to examine how sexual identity is formulated for this privileged group. Further research and validation of this model is needed to understand the specific factors and processes that move heterosexually-identified individuals toward an integrated, mature sexual identity. The authors hypothesized that an increase in both intentional, personal exploration and subsequent sexual identity maturation may lead heterosexuals to hold more positive attitudes toward sexual minority individuals. However, while the authors identified the homonegative context within which heterosexuals develop, they did not explicitly conclude that social justice activism is an indispensable component of a more fully developed heterosexually-identified individual.

Identity Models Demarcating Critical Change

All of these identity development models share a central concept that is crucial to grasping the process of heterosexually-identified individuals' shift in self-awareness. Every model necessitates that an individual go through either a significant event or series of events or form of intentional exploration; essentially, something out of the ordinary that contributes to shifting the way the individual sees the world and her or his self. This defining characteristic is present in all identity models to some degree or another and

signifies change that leads the individual in a healthy direction (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1997; Broido, 2000b; Cass, 1979, 1984; Downing & Roush, 1985; Fassinger & Miller, 1996; Helms, 1990, 1995; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999; Sullivan, 1998; Worell & Remer, 2003; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Such intentional exploration is paralleled with the emancipatory communitarian approach described earlier by Prilleltensky (1997). These kinds of core-shaking experiences are also similar to *trigger events* from transformational learning theory, described below (Cranton, 1994). Critical events and/or reflections provide opportunities for heterosexually-identified individuals to become aware of their privilege and, in turn, motivated to engage in social justice ally action.

Goal of Social Justice Activism Within Identity Models

A strength of the personal/social identity, White identity, and two of the heterosexual identity models is the explicit focus on social justice action as an eventual developmental goal (Broido, 2000b; Helms 1990, 1995; Sullivan, 1998; Worell & Remer; 2003). Explicitly naming the importance of social justice action sends a powerful message. It is logical to expect that in later statuses of development, individuals would become aware of increased connections between their internal identities and an external world requiring a justice-orientation to make lasting change. With this in mind, it is extremely disappointing that Worthington and colleagues (2002) developed a nearly comprehensive heterosexual identity development model that entirely overlooks social justice activism. Although the authors acknowledged the impact that culture, homonegativity, religion, and gender role socialization has on heterosexual identity development, they neglected to acknowledge that efforts to critique and change these influences would be a fundamental aspect of healthy heterosexual development. Their model is lacking a balanced integration of Prilleltensky's (1997) emancipatory communitarian values; both emancipation, broadly, and distributive justice, in particular.

An identity model that effectively articulates the development of heterosexuals, including opportunities for critical change and eventual ally activism, would be a tremendous asset. Unfortunately such a model does not yet exist and, with the exception of Helms' model (1990, 1995), there is no published empirically-supportive literature for any of the other social justice-centered models examined above. The purpose of this

study was to develop a deeper understanding of heterosexual development, including the group accountability implicit in the ally work in which some heterosexually-identified individuals engage. Indeed, the results of this study contribute a much-needed perspective to models such as Worthington's.

Change Processes for Motivating Social Justice Activism

While emancipatory communitarianism and identity development models postulate important content related to the development of social justice action, we must turn to transformative learning theory to frame the possible processes or mechanisms that move individuals through the various statuses. Transformative learning is explored to determine what insight this theory of learning can offer as it relates to heterosexuals' movement into social justice action. Additionally, because the examination of privilege awareness leading to social justice action is a relatively new area in the field of psychology, one particularly useful theorist is considered to further identify motivations of privileged persons for social justice ally activism.

Transformative Learning

Transformative learning is an adult education theory developed by Jack Mezirow and expanded upon by his colleagues over the past nearly thirty years (Brown, 2004; Cranton, 1994, 2002; Lange, 2004; Mezirow, 1997; Mezirow & Associates, 2000; Taylor, 1997). Cranton (2002) offered a succinct description of transformative learning:

At its core, transformative learning theory is elegantly simple. Through some event, which could be as traumatic as losing a job or as ordinary as an unexpected question, an individual becomes aware of holding a limiting or distorted view. If the individual critically examines this view, opens herself to alternatives, and consequently changes the way she sees things, she has transformed some part of how she makes meaning out of the world. (p. 64)

Indeed this is a simple explanation, and while Cranton captures the essence of transformative learning in this brief paragraph, a closer examination of the components of this theory allows for a richer understanding of the transformative learning process.

Transformative learning core concepts. Cranton (1994) offered a thorough outline of transformative learning theory, expanding upon Mezirow's work as well as the writings of others. Her work included a methodical exploration of various ideas surrounding how people experience and draw meaning from their world. The first major

component that Cranton described is *meaning perspectives*, which draw from previous experiences and can also be referred to as an individual's *frame of reference*. Meaning perspectives are comprised of assumptions or *meaning schemes*. Cranton indicated that there are three forms of meaning perspectives, *epistemic*, *sociolinguistic*, and *psychological*. An epistemic meaning perspective refers to people's knowledge and the individual ways that they learn. A sociolinguistic meaning perspective refers to all of the ways that people are uniquely shaped by culture, religion, language, gender and other socially defined expectations. Finally, a psychological meaning perspective refers to the ways that people view themselves, including their self-esteem, personality characteristics, and level of inhibition, among other psychological concepts. It is important to note that meaning perspectives "are a product of what we have learned, how and where we grew up, and how we see ourselves. Consequently, meaning perspectives... can be distorted" (p. 30). Therefore, each of these three forms of meaning perspectives, or frames of reference, can include assumptions that are distorted.

Some examples of distorted assumptions (Cranton, 1994) follow and are particularly illustrative because they are applied to the kinds of assumptions that may commonly influence heterosexually-identified individuals. Importantly, these assumptions can be connected to the individual's sexual identity development, as drawn from Worthington and colleagues' model (2002). For example, a heterosexually-identified person early on in their awareness of their own and group identity could have an epistemic, or knowledge, distorted assumption that all people are heterosexual. Another example of how these assumptions can occur involves the sociolinguistic meaning perspectives. A heterosexually-identified individual who was raised in a conservative religious tradition may have learned and believe that LGBT persons deserve unequal treatment and condemnation. Finally, psychological meaning perspectives can be distorted for heterosexually-identified individuals as well. For example, a woman entering the active exploration status of development, seeking to learn more about her sexual needs, is ridiculed by her sexual partner for this action. This woman may feel a psychological decrease in self-confidence and be disinclined to explore with that partner, future partners, or even herself again. This decrease in self-confidence is another form of distortion. Mezirow (1997) argued that these distorted assumptions are problematic and

will persist unless the individual actively engages in the critical reflection of these distorted assumptions.

One final highlight regarding meaning perspectives and assumptions is worth noting. The three areas from which individuals derive meaning, epistemic, sociolinguistic, and psychological, are not mutually exclusive and are often mutually influential and woven together (Cranton, 1994). For example, systematic homonegativity fits squarely in the sociolinguistic meaning perspective framework. However, homonegativity can lead to epistemic and/or psychological distortions as well. Returning to heterosexually-identified persons will illustrate one more useful example. When a heterosexually-identified young man is harassed by his peers and called homonegative names like “fag” for not being good in gym class, his psychological assumptions about himself can become distorted and he may experience low self-esteem. Additionally, he may further internalize and reinforce the sociolinguistic homonegative assumptions he has learned about gay men and distance himself from anyone or thing that could remotely be construed as “gay,” categorically. Such distortion is likely to have a profound impact on the young man and others he encounters, including sexual minority individuals.

Keeping meaning perspectives in mind, the next step is to understand how transformative learning actually occurs. Cranton (1994) outlined the following generalized transformative learning process:

the process of working toward transformative learning includes some stimulating event or situation - self-analysis or self-examination, perhaps accompanied by emotional responses such as frustration, anxiety, or excitement; reflection and exploration, including a questioning of assumptions; revision of assumptions (meaning schemes) or meaning perspectives; and a phase of reintegration, reorientation, or equilibrium. (p. 72)

Cranton emphasized that these phases are a flexible process and do not necessarily occur in this specific order. She described a significant or *trigger event* very broadly as a moment that could occur just about anywhere at any time, when an individual is confronted with something that challenges her or his distorted assumptions in some shape or form. This definition is intentionally broad because there are so many ways that individuals could experience a trigger event. The use, again, of heterosexual examples offers a helpful framework. Some trigger events could include: a heterosexually-

identified woman in her first Women's Studies course read Adrienne Rich's essay about compulsory heterosexuality; a heterosexually-identified male learned that his new partner on the police force is gay; a heterosexually-identified woman overheard a heated conversation about gay marriage over the water cooler at work. Each example offers the potential to be a trigger event, however Cranton emphasized not every individual will react the same way to the same event. The individual's unique frame of reference, assumptions about the world, personality style, as well as other factors, will contribute to what becomes a trigger event to her or him.

Following a trigger event, Cranton (1994) indicated that *learner empowerment* is a crucial component in allowing the individual to deal effectively with such an event and engage in the critical reflection necessary to experience transformative learning. An individual who feels a sense of empowerment and support from others is considerably more likely to engage rather than withdraw from a trigger event. When an individual does engage a trigger event, she or he begins the process of *critical reflection*, or questioning assumptions. Cranton emphasized that there are three steps involved in this process, beginning with the individual explicitly recognizing her or his assumptions. The next step involves the individual questioning where the assumptions came from and how they have impacted the individual. Finally, the individual determines whether the assumption she or he is questioning is valid. If the individual determines the assumption is invalid and makes an adjustment in her or his assumptions accordingly, transformative learning has taken place. While this process of critical reflection can be difficult, it can also lead the individual to change the way she or he thinks and transform her or his frame of reference to accommodate healthier perspectives.

Another example demonstrates this process. A heterosexually-identified woman experiences a trigger event by reading Adrienne Rich's essay about compulsory heterosexuality for one of her Women's Studies classes. Imagine this woman never encountered a concept such as compulsory heterosexuality and is seriously troubled and concerned about what this may mean about her and her own sexual identity. She makes the decision to engage the event. This woman would begin to critically reflect on her privileged heterosexual assumptions surrounding the "innateness" and "normalcy" of the sexual identity of herself and heterosexuals as a group. Optimally, she would have the

support of peers and/or her professor to assist her throughout her critical reflection process. Next, she would examine what sources led her to believe her assumptions and the result of looking at her sexual identity in this narrow manner. Perhaps she would consider how her family and church reinforced heterosexual privilege, as well as the impact of the mainstream media. Finally, she would come to question whether or not her privileged assumptions about the “normalcy” of heterosexuality are valid. Answering “no”, she would conclude that her sexual identity, and that of other heterosexuals, is shaped by more than the confines of biology alone, that social and cultural forces influence it as well. She would begin to shift her privileged assumptions and continue to look at her heterosexual privilege in this new light. She has had a transformative learning experience. While not always so simple, this example helps illustrate the overall process.

This example was intentionally succinct to demonstrate the transformative learning process in brief. However, as Cranton (1994) stated, the process can be longer and movement from one step to the next can also be less clear-cut and more, as Mezirow put it, *incremental* (Mezirow & Associates, 2000). Following, is a closer look at how transformative learning theory has been applied to social justice activism.

Transformative Learning Applied to Social Justice Activism

Brown (2004) conceptualized the use of transformative learning as a core approach to motivating persons, particularly educators, into leadership positions in social justice work. She emphasized the positive impact that transformative learning can have on drawing people toward socially just ways of thinking, feeling, and acting. In particular, when transformational learning theory is applied wisely, “personal biases and preconceived notions [that learners] hold about people who are different from themselves by race, ethnicity, culture, gender, socioeconomic class, sexual orientation, and physical and mental abilities are identified and discussed” (p. 89). Brown (2004) also identified several pedagogical strategies that are likely to “trigger” critical thinking and may be used by educators interested in advancing social justice in their classrooms, workshops, and trainings. These include cultural autobiographies, life histories, prejudice reduction workshops, reflective analysis journals, cross-cultural interviews, educational plunges, diversity panels, and activist action plans (micro, meso, and macro levels).

In Mezirow & Associates (2000), Daloz described research she conducted with colleagues examining the transformative processes of 100 persons involved with work for the “common good”. Through extensive interviews, she sought to better understand the commitment some persons show towards socially responsible action. Daloz stated that there were many kinds of experiences that the interviewees identified that led them to their work, however only one experience was identified by all 100 interviewees. She and her colleagues named this experience “*a constructive engagement with otherness*” (p. 110). They elaborated with this description:

everyone described at least one significant experience at some point during their formative years when they developed a strong attachment with someone previously viewed as “other” than themselves... In some significant way the inner experience of the other was engaged, a bond was formed, and some deep lesson about connection across difference was learned. (p. 110)

The contact and engagement provided by relationships with “others” clearly offered a “trigger event” of lasting impact. Along with engaging otherness, Daloz identified three other important components to transformative learning relating to social justice. Her concept of *reflective discourse* moves Cranton’s (1994) description of individual critical reflection into a dialogue with other persons. Additionally, having a *mentoring community* is another contributor to sustaining socially responsible work. Daloz’s emphasis on the support and encouragement provided by mentors echoes the role of learner empowerment described by Cranton earlier. Finally, the powerful role of engagement is only possible if there are *opportunities for committed action* with which an individual can connect.

Daloz’s conclusions can be practically applied and integrated with Brown’s (2004) pedagogical strategies, mentioned earlier. For example, use of prejudice reduction workshops, cross-cultural interviews, and diversity panels could provide ample opportunities for individuals to engage in encountering otherness on some level, engaging in critical discourse, and developing a mentoring community. Activist action plans could allow individuals the opportunities for developing and implementing committed social action plans. The practical applications of using transformational learning techniques with heterosexually-identified individuals to raise awareness of heterosexual privilege and encourage allied action with sexual minorities are considerable. It is not only critical

but also possible to develop ways for heterosexually-identified individuals to encounter trigger events and “otherness”, engage in critical reflection and discourse, and transform into anti-heterosexist social justice activists.

Goodman’s Framework for Motivating Privileged Groups to Change

Another theorist whose writing about change has informed the social justice literature is Diane Goodman (2000, 2001). Through a review of social justice research and dialogues with persons in classroom and workshop environments, Goodman developed a theoretical framework focused on how to motivate privileged groups to take action for social justice issues, such as a White person doing anti-racist work or heterosexuals addressing heterosexism in their communities. She theorized three significant forces that appear to motivate change among privileged groups, including empathy, moral principles and spiritual values, and self-interest. She also addressed the problem of resistance as a factor that must be addressed if privileged persons are to truly be motivated to take responsibility and bring about social justice change.

Empathy. The idea of *empathy* is ubiquitous in the helping fields, however a closer examination of the concept is worthwhile in light of how empathy can facilitate and motivate social justice activism. Goodman (2001) defined empathy as simply “being able to identify with the situation and feelings of another person” (p. 126). The role that empathy plays in the engagement of social justice action is considerable, less simple, and well regarded (Faver, 2001; Goodman, 2000, 2001; McCrary, 2002; Mezirow & Associates, 2000; Robinson, 1999; Robinson & Howard-Hamilton, 2000). Goodman described the power of empathy as nothing less than a humanizing force. Empathy allows privileged persons to recognize the humanity of oppressed persons and also assists them in seeing their connections to and responsibilities for others. For example, Robinson (1999) talked about relying on the “gift of empathy” in order to better relate to and understand the experience of an individual with physical disabilities (p. 74). This “gift” can be experienced on affective and cognitive levels.

Goodman emphasized that empathic thought and feeling can, in turn, lead to empathic action. She identified two main reasons why an individual may be motivated to act on her or his feelings of empathy. She referred to the first as *compliance with internalized standards*, meaning the individual learned through socialization how to

respond appropriately when she or he experiences empathy. In turn, the individual may experience rewards, or lack of punishment, by responding appropriately. The other reason a person may be motivated to act on their experience of empathy is referred to as *aversive arousal reduction*. In this example, the individual is motivated to act in order to relieve her or his experience with uncomfortable emotions, including guilt and anger. One final motivation that Goodman mentioned is *altruism*. This motivation would be inspired by exclusive concern for others. The author, however, criticized altruism as a goal in and of itself. She emphasized that most altruistic acts are considered brief responses to a critical incident (e.g. saving a child from a burning building). Instead, she advocated motivating persons toward on-going pro-social action, which acknowledges the long-term nature of changing oppressive systems.

Goodman detailed three important ways to cultivate empathy among privileged individuals. The first involves exposing people to other life experiences. Exposing privileged individuals to resources such as books, movies, and speaker panels allows for connections to develop that can lead to empathic connections. Another way to increase empathy is to encourage individuals to share their personal experiences. Goodman acknowledged that most individuals reside in both privileged and oppressed social locations and emphasized that speaking from one's own oppressed status often allows a person to cultivate empathy for an unfamiliar oppressed status. Finally, the author stressed that it is important for privileged individuals to find opportunities to have firsthand experiences with oppressed individuals. While empathy is likely to be generated through personal contact, "it is important that students are engaged in a process of self-reflection and in discussions of privilege and social inequality so that they can make sense of their experiences and avoid paternalistic attitudes" (p. 145).

Moral principles and spiritual values. Another area that is significant in motivating privileged groups toward social justice action is *moral principles and spiritual values* (Goodman, 2001). Goodman emphasized two types of moral reasoning that motivate social justice action, *morality of justice* and *morality of care*. The former is drawn from Lawrence Kohlberg's (Peterson & Nisenholz, 1999) work on stages of moral development. The latter is taken from Carol Gilligan's (1993) research response to Kohlberg, wherein she situated moral development in the context of women's lives.

Goodman described a *morality of justice* as emphasizing fairness and ensuring that persons have the same rights and are held to the same rules. This developmental model also focuses on individuality and independence. The second kind of morality that is discussed is a *morality of care* and emphasizes the importance of relationships and how individuals respond to one another. This approach to morality is concerned with interdependence and connectedness between people. Both moral frameworks inform an individual's decision about whether to act in a socially just manner. In addition, Goodman included spirituality as an important area that parallels and, at times, overlaps moral frameworks for understanding social justice in the world. She indicated that an emphasis on interdependence is often identified as an important aspect of spiritual life.

Goodman indicated that encouraging privileged individuals to articulate their moral and spiritual values is very important. Another useful factor is education geared toward explicating how unjust actions, circumstances, and systems thoroughly impact oppressed groups. She emphasized that often connecting a privileged individual's sense of morality to the facts of oppression can motivate change. She also indicated that awareness and connections to morality and spirituality are likely to take time to shift a privileged individual into action.

Corresponding with Goodman's work, Faver (2001) examined how spirituality and morality have shaped women's social activism. She interviewed 50 women involved in activism both within and out of their churches. Results of the analysis revealed three common themes that motivated the women's work. These included ensuring the rights of all, fulfilling their responsibilities, and rebuilding relationships and building community. The author concluded that "an expanded ethic of care and the practice of relational spirituality are facilitating some women's efforts to ameliorate injustice outside, as well as within, the boundaries of institutional religion" (p. 334). In addition, Goodman's assertion that moral and spiritual values motivate change is compatible with Prilleltensky's (1997) effort to advance the articulation and implementation of moral values in order to advocate for social justice.

Self-interest. The final motivating force that encourages privileged individuals to engage in social activism is *self-interest* (Goodman, 2001). While often associated with single-minded selfishness, Goodman identified three forms of self-interest that fall along

a continuum. At one end of the continuum is *individualistic 'me'* self-interest, at the center is *mutual 'you and me'* self-interest, and the other end of the scale is *interdependent 'us'* self-interest. Individuals whose self-interest is ruled by individualism are entirely self-centered and if involved with any social justice work, they are driven by a “what it will do for me” mentality (p. 136). Clearly, appealing to this form of self-interest is inadequate to the long-term nature and goals of social justice work. Individuals whose self-interest is concerned with mutuality engage in work that satisfies themselves as well as others. Goodman speculated that most social justice action falls around this area of mutuality. Individuals whose self-interest is interdependent see themselves as connected with others in a deep and essential way. Goodman explained this concept by stating:

Interdependent self-interest may require that people work against what appears to be their immediate self-interest. However, a relational sense of self and a more long-term perspective allows them to see the benefit to themselves and others in the long run. (p. 138)

This final level of self-interest is worth nurturing in order to motivate privileged individuals to act with this long-term perspective in mind.

Goodman described some important techniques for addressing individuals' self-interest. The first involves finding a way to frame the things that privileged people care about into a social justice program. This technique seeks to engage privileged people and draw them into viewing their concerns within this larger social justice context. The individuals' short-term and long-term goals can be situated in this framework as well. Additionally, privileged persons can be encouraged to reflect on the ways that oppression of other groups may have a negative impact on them, despite their overall privileged status.

Working with resistance. Goodman (2001) provided an excellent overview of resistance as it applies to persons from privileged groups. She emphasized the importance of normalizing resistance as a reaction of privileged individuals who may feel threatened and afraid by the unknown changes involved in working toward social justice. Resistance must be considered and understood within several contexts, including cultural, societal, and psychological. Goodman also highlights the common phenomenon of privileged individuals distancing themselves from their privilege and, instead, focusing on their own

experiences with oppression. Examples of an “oppression orientation” include an African American, heterosexually-identified female who resists believing she has heterosexual privilege because she is focused exclusively on her oppression as a woman of color; or a White male who believes he did not get into his first-choice college because of affirmative action. The example of the African American heterosexually-identified woman has grounding in systematic oppression, but her resistance disallows her to see how her experiences with oppression has commonalities to the oppression experienced by sexual minorities. On the other hand, the resistance of the White man is not grounded in his direct experience with systematic oppression, per se. However, his real experience of fear around even the *possibility* of being oppressed furthers his misunderstanding of affirmative action and likely solidifies his resistance.

The above examples of resistance are not unusual among privileged groups and require thoughtful, strategic interventions. Goodman emphasized that, ideally, interventions are designed to meet individuals where they are at developmentally, emotionally, and cognitively. She emphasized creating a supportive environment in which individuals may safely explore privilege and oppression. Although Goodman’s theoretical perspective has not been systematically put into practice, there are still many commonalities between her ideas and the interventions that presently exist.

Building on Goodman’s overview is another important note regarding resistance and the focus of this project. Robinson and Ferfolja’s (2001) exploratory work with pre-service teachers revealed that resistance to sexual minority issues is more profound during diversity training than are discussions of ethnicity and gender. In these authors’ experiences, “gay and lesbian issues always incur greater resistance, due to the controversy and cultural taboos surrounding non-heterosexual or minority sexualities” (p. 124). Drawing from this conclusion, motivating heterosexuals to examine and undermine their privilege will require strategies specifically prepped in anticipation of this unique form of resistance.

Goodman’s Framework Applied to Social Justice Activism

Goodman’s theoretical framework (2000, 2001) is extremely useful in its direct application to motivating social justice activism. Encouraging privileged heterosexually-identified individuals to engage in empathic connections, identify with their own internal

morality and sense of spirituality, and recognize their self-interests as part of a higher process in social justice change are all vital. Additionally, Goodman's emphasis on meeting resistance through supportive contexts echoes transformative learning recommendations outlined earlier. Tailoring our interventions on multiple levels to ensure that we are meeting heterosexually-identified individuals where they are at developmentally is essential to effectively draw them into sexual minority social justice activism.

Summary

Prilleltensky's (1997) emancipatory communitarian psychological approach, social justice-centered developmental psychology, and transformative learning theory all contribute to a comprehensive theoretical framework with which to explore heterosexual allied social justice activism. These theoretical perspectives can be integrated to provide an interdisciplinary framework that advances the literature. At the core, each of these theories recognize the importance of furthering the goals of a socially just "good life" for humanity. Implicit in this goal of the good life is an understanding that privileged persons who hold disproportionate power ultimately benefit from a society that seeks justice and a balance of power. In turn, this framework advances an understanding that change and transformation, at the micro and macro levels, is fundamental to achieving the good life. Specifically, these theories recognize the significance of "critical moments" that hold the potential for change. Individuals who engage these critical moments are likely to change in some manner, ideally in health promoting ways that are consistent with the moral values identified earlier by Prilleltensky and promoted throughout this literature review.

The conceptual framework described in this review has yet to be examined in reference to transforming heterosexual privilege. While there has been some interest in examining heterosexual privilege and identity development, far too little research has systematically described the developmental and motivational processes that lead some heterosexuals to challenge their privilege and work against heterosexism on both individual and institutional levels. Three qualitative research studies situated within university settings prove notable exceptions (Broido, 2000a; Dillon, Worthington, Bielston Savoy, Rooney, Becker-Schutte, & Guerra, 2004; DiStefano, Croteau, Anderson, Kampa-Kokesch, & Bullard, 2000). The first study used written qualitative

methods with a university administration population and elicited the experiences of heterosexuals who are allies to lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people (DiStefano, Croteau, Anderson, Kampa-Kokesch, & Bullard, 2000). Specifically, this study analyzed open-ended survey responses to learn more about the LBG ally work of 87 heterosexual student affairs professionals. Among the findings was a focus on events that led to the individuals becoming allies to LGB persons. Such experiences included knowing LGB individuals, educational and training development, personal values, and/or identification with some other oppressed group. DiStefano and colleagues' research is particularly useful because it identifies some of the possible "trigger events" that helped transform the perspectives of these heterosexual allies.

The second study involved qualitative interviews with college students who were identified as social justice allies working to challenge oppression they did not directly experience (Broido, 2000a). The study analyzed interview data taken from six nominated undergraduate students active in ally work at their university. They included heterosexual as well as male and White allies. All of these students identified three areas as significant to their social justice development. These included acquisition of *information*, especially that which addressed the impact of oppression on others; the development of *meaning-making*, including discussion, perspective-taking, and self-reflection; and identifying an inner sense of *self-confidence*, specifically cultivating the ability to stand up for their beliefs. Of note, heterosexually-identified participants indicated that contact with lesbian, gay, or bisexual persons was very significant to their decision to protest sexual minority oppression. Broido concluded "their development as allies was predominantly a learning process" (p. 13). The findings from this study point to the significant contribution that both contact and learning can make in the development of heterosexual allies. These findings also parallel the theoretical framework of this literature review and reinforce the importance of examining the development, learning experiences, and moral values of heterosexual allies.

The final study used consensual qualitative research methodology (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997) to examine the development of ten heterosexual counselor allies (Dillon, Worthington, Bielston Savoy, Rooney, Becker-Schutte, & Guerra, 2004). These ten counselors-in-training volunteered to participate in a yearlong research team

focused on understanding heterosexual attitudes towards sexual minorities. The team involved 2-hour weekly meetings over one academic year. The meetings combined two formats: seminars (didactic in nature) and group discussions (personal sharing). At the end of the year, the students wrote responses to four questions regarding their developmental experiences with the research team. The data were analyzed and a total of ten domains, or core ideas, were identified. These included: *socialization, motivation for participation, homophobic self-consciousness, research team atmosphere, preconceptions regarding sexual identity development, outcomes gained from participation on the research team, critical events, growth toward affirmativeness-action, awareness of heterosexual privilege, and active commitment to continued self-exploration*. These domains were further defined by core ideas, although frequency data was not provided. Once again, the results from this final study relate to the theoretical framework outlined in this chapter. In particular, several of the domains fit well into Goodman's framework (2000, 2001) regarding promoting awareness and social justice action among privileged groups, including heterosexuals.

In summary, this research project draws from an integrated framework based on the three theoretical perspectives outlined above. Utilizing the ideas provided in this framework, I expect to discover a developmental process that facilitates an individual's movement between statuses. I also expect to find that this developmental movement is accompanied by the individual's shifts in meaning, values, and self-perceptions.

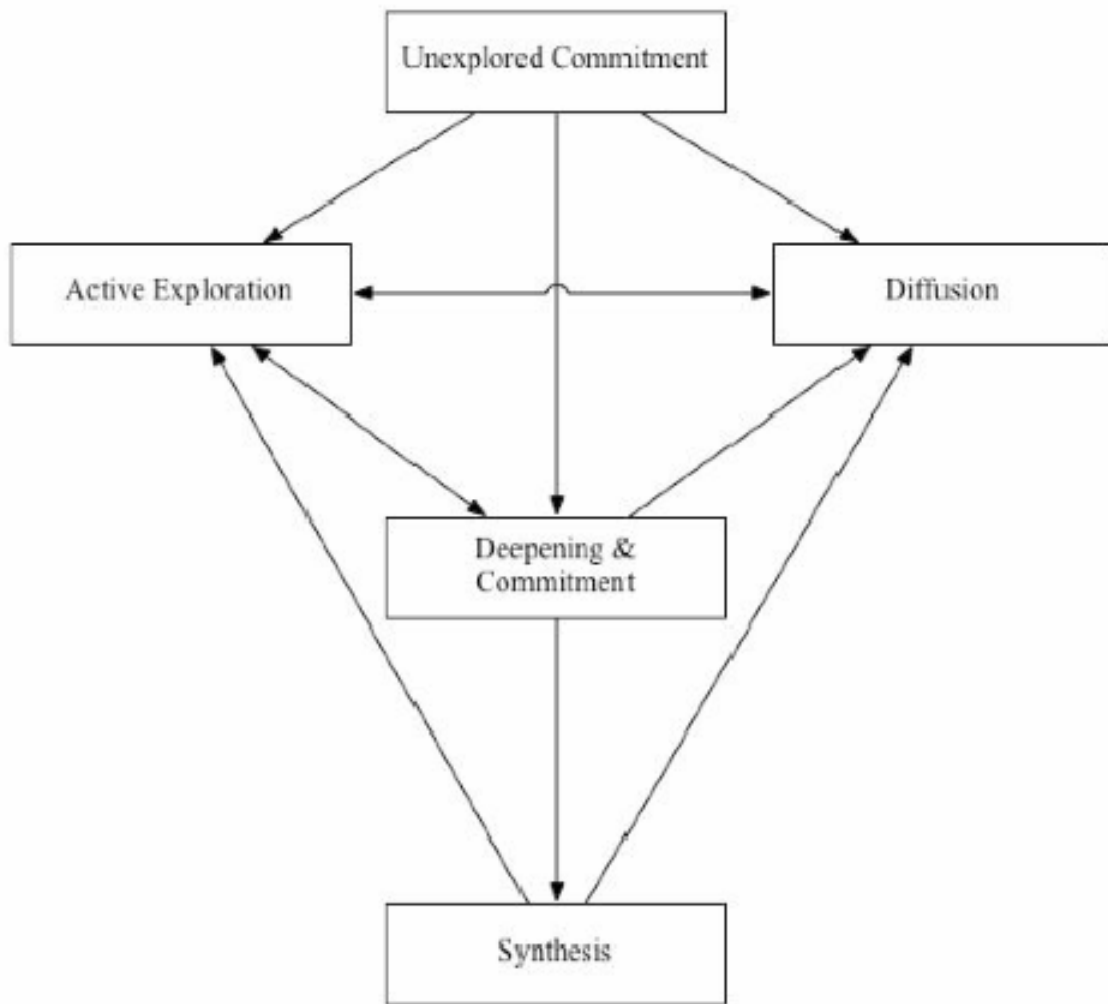
Purpose of Study

This study draws on the empirical and conceptual work reviewed above to explicate the change processes as experienced and described by heterosexually-identified social justice allies who are working on behalf of social justice for sexual minorities. This project integrates theoretical assumptions underlying Prilleltensky's moral framework, social justice-centered identity development, and transformative learning and contributes to a much-needed empirical research base. Knowledge about this process of change and transformation is crucial in order for counseling psychologists to identify effective ways to cultivate sexual minority social justice advocacy through training and helping service interventions.

To reiterate, the responsibility of changing systematic homonegativity belongs to heterosexuals, not sexual minority persons. As Goodman (2001) implied, heterosexuals must not only become aware of their privilege but also become invested in undermining their privilege in the interest of creating a just world. Through the use of a qualitative, discovery-oriented research methodology, this project explicates the developmental processes and experiences of a sample of heterosexually-identified “exemplars” who actively work in their communities as sexual minority social justice allies. By systematically analyzing in-depth interviews with this sample, these processes are discovered and, subsequently, contribute to building a stronger research base on which educators, advocates, parents, clinicians, and others can rely.

In the following chapter, the research design and methodology provide the rationale and specific details involved in the implementation of this study. Utilization of Hill and colleagues’ (1997) Consensual Qualitative Research methodology to analyze the data allowed for a systematic, in-depth analysis of the motivational and developmental processes experienced by the participants in the study.

Figure 2.1, Developmental Statures of Heterosexual Identity Development



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Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

Due to the preliminary nature of the research questions posed for this project, qualitative methods were appropriate for providing a full and systematic description of this phenomenon about which little theory and research exists (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). In addition, Creswell (1998) emphasized that qualitative research is best utilized when an area of inquiry requires extensive exploration, particularly when theory needs to be developed to explicate and understand previously unexamined phenomenon. Following is an overview of the recruiting procedures, data collection procedures, and data analyses performed to address the question of what motivates heterosexually-identified persons to engage in sexual minority social justice work.

Participants

Strauss and Corbin (1990) emphasized that a purposeful approach to gathering a sample can be especially appropriate when a particular kind of person is sought for data gathering. In this case, the purposive sample was chosen through a nomination process, which solicited recommendations from lesbian and gay leaders in local organizations addressing lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) rights in the community. This nomination process helped to ensure that the persons interviewed were considered genuine allies among LGBT community members. Leaders from the two prominent and influential local organizations, the Gay/Lesbian Services Organization (GLSO) and Kentucky Fairness Alliance served as consultants. Further details regarding the mission of these groups and contact information can be seen in Appendix A. In addition, two LGBT identified individuals affiliated with LGBT activism at two local college campuses were consulted for further recommendations.

This study recruited 12 self-identified heterosexual individuals who were each well regarded in their community for addressing sexual minority oppression as well as challenging heterosexual privilege. Hill and colleagues (1997) emphasized that this number of participants was typically adequate to “determine whether findings apply to several people or are just representative of one or two people” (p. 532). A homogeneous sample was important, given the small number of participants. Hill and colleagues emphasized that “researchers might need to impose additional limitations on the sample as they progress in order to obtain a homogeneous sample” (p. 531). Requirements for

individuals to participate in the study included: self-identification as heterosexual; being 25 years of age or older; willingness to talk about her/his experiences and developmental processes; and active involvement in some form of sexual minority advocacy within the past year. The minimal age was set at 25 to ensure that the individuals had a minimal level of adult experience from which they developed their identities and activist relationships.

Procedure and Materials

The participants were contacted and screened to determine their interest and eligibility for participation in this study. Of the 14 individuals contacted, 12 indicated interest and two declined participating. The telephone script used to screen and recruit participants into the study is shown in Appendix B. Eligible and interested individuals were scheduled for interviews, which took place either at a designated location on the University of Kentucky's campus or at the participants' homes/offices, depending on the participants' preference. A copy of the interview questions was also mailed/emailed to the participants in advance of the interview to offer them an opportunity to reflect on their experiences and prepare them to discuss their developmental processes and motivations for engaging in social justice activism. Hill and colleagues advocate this practice, indicating that providing the questions in advance "gives interviewees the opportunity to think about their experiences and prepare their answers" (p. 534; e.g. Schlosser, Knox, Moskovitz, & Hill, 2003).

At the scheduled interview, participants read and completed an informed consent form regarding the parameters of the study (see Appendix C). Participants were also asked to complete a short demographic form (see below) to allow for a description of the sample. Individual, extended interviews were then conducted with these 12 screened participants. The average length of these interviews was around 40 minutes. The interviews were audiotape recorded and later transcribed; any individual-identifying information was removed.

Demographic Questionnaire

Participants were asked to complete a demographic information sheet. This form contained information regarding the individual's age, gender, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. In addition individuals were asked a few questions about their relationship

status, education, and religious/spiritual practices. Appendix D details the demographic items gathered.

Interview Protocol

Participants were asked to reflect on in advance and then respond to a series of open-ended questions in an effort to generate a rich discussion addressing the research questions identified in Chapter Two. These interview questions were piloted with a suitable volunteer to help ascertain whether the questions were best phrased to reveal the participants' developmental and motivational processes. The final interview protocol used for the study is presented in Appendix E.

Data Analysis

This study utilized the Consensual Qualitative Research method developed by Clara Hill and her colleagues at the University of Maryland (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997). The researcher had previous extensive experience and training and had co-authored two publications using this methodology (Dudley, Rostosky, Riggle, Duhigg, Brodnicki, & Couch, 2005; Rostosky, Korfhage, Duhigg, Stern, Bennett, & Riggle, 2004). The analysis team was comprised of four people: two coders, one external auditor, and a supervisor/data manager (myself). Demographically, this team was comprised of male and female as well as heterosexual and sexual minority individuals. All except my faculty advisor, who served as the external auditor, were graduate students.

The two coders and supervisor began with an initial meeting to discuss the timeline of the project. At this meeting, the two coders also discussed the answers they anticipated finding in the transcripts, based on the interview protocol. This allowed the core team to familiarize themselves with the research question and share their initial thoughts and feelings about the analysis.

The 12 interview transcripts were next assigned to one of three groups for the analysis process. Three transcripts were used for the first analysis step. These three transcripts were added to eight additional transcripts for the full consensual qualitative process. Finally, the last transcript was withheld for use in the final verification analysis. A detailed explanation of this process follows. Examples of the steps used in the consensual qualitative research process are outlined in Appendices F-G.

The two coders and supervisor independently coded the same randomly selected three transcripts (2, 5, 8) to begin determining the domains, or general topic areas, of the data. They then came together to reach a consensus about the domains that each person found, with the supervisor serving as mediator. To begin this consensus building, the three members first coded one of the three transcripts together in-person (8) and came to an agreement regarding the emerging domain structure. The coders applied this structure to the second two transcripts (2, 5). In addition, both coders applied the domain structure to two additional transcripts (3, 4) as well as one unique transcript each (1, 6). The coders exchanged the two unique transcripts to audit each other's coding and determine whether each person was applying the structure in a similar manner. Meanwhile, the supervisor applied the consensus-domain changes to transcript 8. In addition, the supervisor consulted separately with the external auditor for additional feedback and perspective following each of the consensus building processes.

The coders and supervisor then met to discuss the domain structure as applied to these next four transcripts (1, 3, 4, 6). One of the transcripts (4) was coded together during this meeting to help further clarify and solidify the domain structure. Any discrepancies in both the audited versions of the two distinct transcripts (1, 6) as well as the two common transcripts (3, 4) were discussed to build a consensus version of the domain structure for each of the four transcripts. The supervisor took these four transcripts and applied any agreed upon coding changes to ensure that the seven transcripts reflected the consensus domain structure. The coders took the remaining four transcripts (7, 9, 10, 11); one coder applied the domain structure to transcripts 7 and 10 and then audited transcripts 9 and 11. The other coder applied the domain structure to transcripts 9 and 11 and then audited transcripts 7 and 10.

The coders again met with the supervisor to build a consensus to ensure all of the remaining data from the final four transcripts (7, 9, 10, 11) fit within the appropriate domains. The supervisor arbitrated this final consensus process and made any final changes to the transcripts to reflect any resolved discrepancies reached by the coding team. At this time, eleven of the twelve transcripts were coded with the consensus domain structure.

The supervisor shared the final domain structure with the external auditor who offered feedback regarding the domain structure. This advice included possibly collapsing two sets of two domains together (e.g. Domains A, B = A+B; Domain C, D = C+D). This constructive feedback was taken back to the coders and discussed. Two of the domains were subsequently collapsed into one based on this feedback.

The two coders each returned to the individual transcripts and independently wrote distilled abstracts of the material found within each domain. One coder wrote five abstracts (5, 11, 3, 1, 9) and audited five (2, 4, 6, 7, 10). The other coder wrote (2, 4, 6, 7, 10) and audited (5, 11, 3, 1, 9) five abstracts as well. The supervisor wrote an abstract for the eleventh transcript (8) and one of the coders audited this transcript. The three met once again to build a consensus about the content of the abstracts (see Appendix F for example of one of the domain abstracts).

Utilizing these agreed upon abstracts, the coders together determined and defined subcategories, or core ideas, found within the final domains (see Table 1 in following chapter). The external auditor reviewed the full domain/subcategory structure and offered feedback to the supervisor. After adjusting minor details related to the phrasing of the subcategories, the two coders and supervisor separately developed a "cross-analysis" document (see Appendix G for example from one domain), which took all of the abstracted material from the individual transcripts and placed it in the appropriate subcategories within the domain structure. One coder cross-analyzed transcripts 1, 2, 3, 4; the other coder cross-analyzed 5, 6, 7, 8; and the supervisor cross-analyzed 9, 10, 11. This stage of the analysis reached across the data set, instead of focusing on each individual transcript. This process yet again went through a consensus-building meeting between the coders and supervisor. The supervisor then compiled a final cross-analysis document based on the minor changes and adjustments that the team made.

Finally, the coding structure was verified through the use of the final unanalyzed transcript (12) to verify the trustworthiness of the coding structure (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The supervisor systematically took the transcript through every step of analysis to determine if there was any significant variation in the data domains or subcategories. The coders then audited the results for this transcript. Hill and colleagues (1997) emphasized that to determine whether the coding structure is solid, it is important that "each new case

does not contribute substantially to the understanding of the phenomena” (p. 553). With the coding structure verified through this final step, the overall analysis was considered stable.

With the structure of domains and subcategories clearly in place, the final step was to tally the number of occurrences found among the transcripts for both the domains and subcategories. The variation in the number of occurrences is captured by three terms. A category that occurs among all of the transcripts is called *general*. A category that occurs among at least half or more of the transcripts is called *typical*. Lastly, a category that appears within less than half to only a handful of the transcripts is referred to as *variant*. The results from the transcription analysis are situated into a table format to illustrate and organize the results yielded by the described steps of analysis (see Table 1 in the next chapter).

Finally, two of the twelve participants were contacted following the full analysis process. Both participants agreed to read through the written results and offer any impressions or reactions to the content. The participants found the results to be coherent and resonant with their expectations of the kinds of themes that might arise from this exploratory research.

Summary of Present Study

This chapter outlined the qualitative methodology utilized to discover the developmental processes and motivational experiences of these heterosexual allies. A description of the participants sought, procedures implemented, and materials utilized for the study were described. In addition, a step-by-step account of the Consensual Qualitative Research method (Hill, Thompson, & Williams, 1997) used to analyze the interviews was detailed. The next chapter describes the results of this analysis in comprehensive detail.

Chapter Four: Results

Following is a comprehensive account of the results obtained from this study. First, the volunteer involvement and demographic characteristics of the participants are described. Next, the domain and subcategory structure discovered through the data analysis process is reported and illustrated through appropriate quotations from the interviews with participants.

Participants

A total of 12 individuals participated in this study. All of the participants were currently or recently (within the previous year) involved in various volunteer projects that addressed LGBT injustice and equality within their communities. Several participants worked to educate voters about an amendment in Kentucky that defined marriage in exclusive heterosexual terms, therefore explicitly denying sexual minorities civil rights. Others advocated for sexual minority social justice in their churches and work settings. Finally, some volunteered with specific LGBT rights organizations such as the Kentucky Fairness Alliance.

Demographic Characteristics

Seven participants identified as female and five identified as male. All of the participants identified themselves as exclusively heterosexual. The age range of those in the study was 28-74, with a mean age of 53.5 and a median age of 52. Participants identified their race/ethnicity as follows: nine persons Caucasian or White; one person Caucasian/Irish/Cherokee; one person Mixed/White; and one person South East Asian. Participants indicated their current romantic relationship status as follows: nine persons are married; one person is single; one person is divorced; and one person is dating. Of the participants, nine are presently employed and three are not. When asked the question “Do you consider yourself to be religious and/or spiritual?” eight individuals stated “yes”, three stated “no” and one stated “unsure/don’t know”. Regarding educational level achieved, all the participants minimally had a college degree. Specifically, two had college degrees, two had some graduate school experience, five had master’s degrees, and three had doctoral degrees. Finally, the annual household incomes for the participants follow: two persons reported \$25,001 - 35,000; two reported \$35,001 - 45,000; two reported \$55,001 - 65,000; and six reported more than \$65,000.

Domain and Subcategory Structure

The domain and subcategory structure resulting from the study is found in Table 4.1 (see page 60). Also included in this table are the frequencies, classification, and coding criteria related to each component of the domain/subcategory structure. The following six domains emerged from the analysis and describe the participants' perceptions of the important factors that led them to become allies: Early Family Modeling, Recognition of Oppression and Privilege, Response to Recognition, Impact of Values/Attitudes, Reactions to Ally Work from Others, and Rewards from Ally Work. Each domain contained subcategories that further elucidated the data. The Early Family Modeling domain included two subcategories: *positive modeling* and *negative modeling*. The domain Recognition of Oppression and Privilege revealed five subcategories: *recognition of LGBT individual oppression*, *recognition of the oppression of others*, *recognition of oppression directed at oneself*, *recognition of one's own privilege*, and *recognition of other's privilege*. Three subcategories emerged for the Response to Recognition domain, including *emotional reactions*, *taking responsibility*, and *behavioral reactions*. The Impact on Values/Attitudes domain yielded five subcategories, including *equality*, *attitudes about sexual orientation*, *personal responsibility*, *valuing diversity*, and *religious/spiritual beliefs*. The domain Reactions from Others to Ally Work included five subcategories: *positive support from family/friends*, *negative reactions from local community*, *positive reactions from local community*, *positive reactions from LGBT community*, and *negative reactions from LGBT community*. Finally, the Rewards from Ally Work domain yielded three subcategories, including *making a difference*, *friendships and connections*, and *other rewards*. Following is an in-depth examination of the entire domain and subcategory results, illustrated by verbatim quotes from the research participants.

Early Family Modeling

Eight of the 12 participants described the early influence of their families on shaping their attitudes about diversity and differences among people. Six participants indicated that their family members had *positively modeled* an affirmative view of humanity as a whole:

My mom is sort of the great equalizer... she is sort of my spiritual and inner personal like model, I guess, in that she's just really kind to people. And really that sense of people have worth in their being not in necessarily their doing or their achievements or their, what categories they fit in. (Participant 8)

Other participants spoke broadly regarding extended family members' modeling of a core acceptance of others. For instance:

My grandmother, even, I mean I remember when we were kids, whenever any of us would say anything derogatory about someone or what they were doing or anything, her attitude was always "honey, it's live and let live. Just live and let live. As long as they don't bother you, let them live their lives." ... I mean, it was a matter that in our family, you know, everybody, everybody was welcome and everyone was equal and you know, nobody better make any derogatory comments about anyone. (Participant 3)

Another participant immediately responded that her family directly shaped her decision to be involved in ally-work:

Starting with family influence, I would say because it's such a socialization factor for choices you make in life in terms of values. I come from an upbringing where my parents and people around me... there was never anything negative that was said at home about anybody who was different than we were. So the message was always that you treat people with respect. As I go back thinking about, "what did my parents told me about gay people" there was never anything negative or derogatory that was said about the community. (Participant 5)

Three participants identified ways that their family impacted them by *negatively modeling* prejudice toward differences among people:

It embarrasses me to admit it but my father was moderately homophobic and a bit racist... And I think that came out of very much his upbringing and I know where it comes from, but I've always been sad – and he's deceased now – but I've been sad that it was really only in his later life that he got past some of that. (Participant 8)

When asked about what shaped the decision to become involved in ally work, one participant responded, "I can't really say that my upbringing led me to that. You know, I come from a, kind of a redneck, good-old-boy family that are not necessarily gay-friendly or minority-friendly or anything else..." (Participant 10).

Recognition of Oppression and Privilege

All twelve of the participants identified one or more moments when they recognized privilege and/or oppression. Personal encounters with sexual minority

individuals and subsequent recognition of sexual minority oppression was a complex and frequent theme that arose from the interview conversations. Eleven participants specifically described interpersonal connections with *LGBT individuals who had experienced oppression as a result of their sexual minority status*, including friends, family, and/or colleagues. Some participants came to know LGBT individuals through personal friendships:

On a personal level I started becoming really close friends with folks from the LGBT community there [in college]. A really good friend of mine was actually doing drag here in Lexington so I would travel with him and kind of hang out with him and learn about the culture and about him, about who he was as a person... he definitely influenced me... just kind of opened my eyes to the aspects and the diversity within the community... (Participant 5)

Another participant similarly emphasized that her awareness of LGBT oppression was increased through a significant friendship:

Once I got to college, I would have to say one of the most influential people in my life still to this day is my friend S. I met him when I was 19. He was very out except to his family and to this day they just don't discuss the fact that he is gay. And we have been friends for over 26 years now. We're in contact three or four times a week... He's brilliant. He has one of the most incredible minds. And his family cannot see that. All they really focus on is the fact that he's gay. (Participant 7)

Participants also encountered LGBT individuals through family members coming out to them. Describing the impact of her daughter's decision to come out to her, one participant shared, "that was a very big changing event. It was really great that it happened, for us to be opened up like that. And of course, we've learned so much from J (daughter) and her partner" (Participant 6). Other participants identified the importance of encountering LGBT co-workers or colleagues:

The woman I started this [gay/straight alliance at work] with is openly gay which is the first openly gay person I've known there. And, you know, she and I have become real good friends in the process of doing this... I've learned a tremendous amount... (Participant 12)

Another subcategory that emerged was when participants recognized the *oppression of others*, generally. A total of ten participants noted that specific groups are oppressed by the dominant culture, including sexual minorities as a group (rather than particular individuals), people of color, and people with other socially marginalized

identities. Following are examples of participants articulating this recognition of injustice and its impact on society:

I've always been drawn to activism... in high school I got involved in anti-war activities during the Vietnam war... I became very active in the protests over both nuclear power and nuclear weapons. Got active in protests over the US policy in Latin America, very involved in that. So I've kind of always been drawn toward social activism. [LGBT ally work] just seemed like, you know, a continuation of that. I've always bought into that old saying about if one of us is in chains, then none of us are free. You know, it's just that's kind of been a beacon for me, I guess a guide... it just seemed natural to gravitate into work with the LGBT community because it's an oppressed part of society and it shouldn't be. It is a situation where some people are figuratively in chains and that renders, it makes all of us lesser when that situation exists. (Participant 2)

Going back to childhood, I was really aware that there were some people who were treated as less than equal. I went to a very integrated elementary school and realized there were certain people within the school, especially if they were African American or if they were poor, they were treated as "less than", were treated as less intelligent, less worthy. And so I got it in...by living, not so much as anybody said it, but I got it that there were these sort of power differentials that were not based on anything. That there was this, if you want to call it unearned White privilege, I got it that that was out there. (Participant 8)

It wasn't until a little later [in my life] that I kind of realized that, you know, there are places in this blessed country of ours where African Americans would venture at the risk of their lives. (Participant 9)

What specifically led me to do [LGBT ally work] was, my experience at [company #1] contrasted to my experience at [company #2]. At [company #1] there were people around me who were gay, openly gay. There were people around me at [company #2] who weren't. And I had heard enough comments by individuals, by managers, for crying out loud, that made me understand why people were not openly gay at [company #2]. And again, it's just that, you know, small number all it takes is for one idiot to say something and everybody else to keep their mouth shut that the gay people figure it's not safe for them. I'd better just keep all this stuff to myself, no pictures on the desk, no comments about people that I care about. And that's... this is not right. (Participant 12)

Eight participants described recognition of their *own experiences with oppression*. Participants spoke of their experiences of oppression based on gender, religion, ethnicity, and disability. Several examples follow:

Some of my best friends were different. Whether it was sexuality or color, we were just not of the group that was in power... and I'm a minority. I'm a female Jewish person in a city with one percent Jewish people. (Participant 4)

I was blacklisted from this one work situation and it was like well, we don't want a woman on the crew. And you know, I was just sitting there thinking "but they don't know me". They don't know what I can do. They don't know my skills or my talents. They don't know me as a person. All they know is, that this woman has applied for a job. And you know, and again it was hard to believe that in the 20th century this type of mindset still existed. And so, again, that really influenced me to work against that sort of prejudice. And once you've felt that oppressed it links you to other oppressed people. It links you to people... when you've been on the fringe, then you know how other people on the fringe feel. So I think it was worthwhile because it helped me to understand other people and it helped form connections in the bigger picture. (Participant 7)

I think all women have the experience of having been second-class citizens, so to speak. And I think, you know, people in the gay and lesbian community feel they have been second-class citizens also. So there is that kind of like "yes, I know about discrimination from having been discriminated against" and "yes, that's wrong", you know. I can't understand about being LGBT but I can understand about discrimination. (Participant 1)

Well, of course, definitely being a minority woman growing up as an immigrant in this country I didn't have any choice but to learn about what oppression feels or looks like and experience it firsthand. So I truly believe that a lot of my passion around social justice and breaking the cycle of oppression comes from that, the personal experience. And also having a deep sense of what it, how ugly it is and how it can really truly affect people and how we are so... we don't start at a level playing field and it's very unfair. It's really based on your gender, your race, your ethnic background, um, things that people don't have any control over. (Participant 5)

Another participant indicated "the start of [my involvement with ally work] was dealing with some of the discrimination I've experienced as a person with a disability" (Participant 10).

While less prevalent than the subject of oppression, some individuals also examined privilege. A total of five participants spoke explicitly about *their experience of personal privilege* as an important motivation for their ally development. One individual stated "well, I am, of course, in the majority in terms of everything except disability. White, male, highly educated, all of those things kind of puts me in the power of

majority, you could say” (Participant 10). Another participant reflected directly on her personal experience with heterosexual privilege:

Looking at it internally and trying to see what privileges do I carry as a straight woman and the fact that I can hold hands with my boyfriend and walk down the street and not have to worry about anything safety-wise. Or, the fact that I can go to a card store and find any card that really expresses what it is that I’m trying to say to my significant other. I struggle with whether I’m wanting to call my boyfriend my partner, you know, things like that where I’m really trying to keep my... I catch myself every, maybe other day, in saying something, thinking something that I know is heterosexist. Assuming that everybody is straight. I still do that. I catch myself on that, you know. So things like that... it did make me kind of think about something that I probably wouldn’t have thought about if I wasn’t involved with this community. (Participant 5)

Finally, three participants mentioned *privilege of others*. For example, one participant spoke about the far-reaching influence of heterosexual privilege that has the power to impact legislation that affects the rights of sexual minorities. Because he was speaking about the group at-large, this was distinguished from a more personal examination of his privilege as illustrated by Participant 5 in the previous subcategory:

[These days] there’s more straights that would be involved in an issue like the Fairness Ordinance, which, obviously, things like that are not going to pass without significant straight support. And straights calling their council people and saying hey, we need to do this... I still feel that there is an appreciation of people getting involved who don’t have any real personal need. They don’t have a dog in the fight themselves but they come forward. (Participant 3)

Response to Recognition

All of the participants recounted responses to their personal discovery of privilege and oppression. One of the most common responses involved *emotional reactions* to this recognition. Ten participants described a range of emotions. One indicated that part of being an ally is “moving beyond that guilt, feeling guilty because of my privilege, you know” (Participant 5). Further emotional reactions are exemplified through the following quotations:

I’m glad I don’t have to go through [sexual minority discrimination]. I mean, I feel fortunate that biologically my urges are hetero instead of homo because life is just so much more difficult and I don’t have to deal with that. (Participant 4)

[Living in Kentucky] there is a lot more prejudice from a majority of people that we didn’t really see in the Northeast. You know, the Northeast was more or less

an even split. I don't think there was much "hate speech" against gays and lesbians in the Northeast like there is here, so it was a bit more nerve-wracking. I mean, you don't feel as safe because you don't feel as though you are in the majority. You're in the minority and I imagine that anybody in a minority would understand that feeling. (Participant 6)

[In the past] there were some lesbians that I knew that I just think wouldn't let me get as close to them as a friend because I was a male... that was very frustrating and that's one of those little subtleties that I talked about earlier... At that time I didn't recognize that I couldn't really understand their oppression, you know. And I've come to appreciate that and probably approach the situation much differently now than I did then. (Participant 2)

Another common response among participants to the recognition of privilege and oppression was the concept of *taking responsibility*. Eight of the individuals spoke about an increase in their awareness of having personal responsibility to act in response to the injustice and oppression they came to recognize. Several illustrative quotes follow:

I got dealt a hand where I've got some opportunities to make a difference that perhaps I wouldn't have, sadly, if I were not [heterosexual] and so I feel like OK... you get privileges and responsibilities. I've got unearned privilege and along with that goes this responsibility. You have to do something with that. (Participant 8)

... living in New York through the AIDS epidemic, seeing what that caused. Seeing people rejected. You know, it was a disease. It's not a reason to hate someone. And I think that's the thing that bothered me is, for me, AIDS was never a nameless, faceless disease. Every time somebody talked about AIDS, it had a face. You know, it was T, it was J, it was R. It was someone I had loved who had died... I would have to say that's really what started spurring me into social justice and really, I mean, I've now gone back to school. I'm working on my master's degree in social work just so that I can start to influence policy and all these things. And I would say that that's really what sort of started me focusing and started that journey toward getting a master's in social work was seeing one population singled out. And, and I never want to see that happen again if it's within my power. (Participant 7)

... part of the reason I set up that [gay/straight alliance] at work is, here's something that doesn't have to be this way. And I don't see anybody else trying to make a difference. I'm thinking that, you know, I've got to do it. (Participant 12)

Five of the participants spoke about particular *behavioral reactions* that followed their experience with recognizing oppression and privilege. These responses are in

addition to the ally-work involvement of the participants, which qualified them for the study. Two examples of such reactions follow:

I guess after our daughter came out, our oldest daughter came out as a lesbian – senior, no, when she was in graduate school... She came out to us and we then decided that we probably should get involved because we had a lot of questions... we joined a group called PFLAG, Parents, Friends of Gays, Lesbians, etc., and my husband particularly became very active and very out, wrote....writing letters to the editor. He had a big piece in the paper with his picture and everything. And this was something because we had lived in that area for forty years. And so all of a sudden, you know, all the people that we knew and had worked with and knew our oldest daughter and our youngest daughter, it was quite an awakening for all of them, and so then he became very active politically, going to Trenton, you know, visiting senators and so when we moved here [to Lexington, Kentucky], then I became more active and he kind of sat back a while... We traded hats and I became more active. (Participant 6)

Before I came back to Lexington I lived in New York in the 80s and I was active in some of the organizations up there at a very low level. I supported the gay men health crisis group during the AIDS epidemic by doing a little bit of work but mainly through monetary donations because, again, time has always been a problem for me. I don't have a lot of free time so I try to help out when I can but mainly working for AIDS awareness and also for just social justice and civil rights. Again, sort of on an informal basis but really trying to sort of plant seeds where I can. (Participant 7)

Impact of Values/Attitudes

All twelve of the participants reported that the experience of recognizing and responding to privilege and/or oppression was shaped by their values and attitudes. Ten of the participants shared their strong commitment to the value of *equality*.

You know, gays should have equal rights... it just seemed natural. I don't understand why anybody would say differently... I think it boils back down to fairness and justice. I mean, it's got to be fair for everyone or it's not fair for anyone. (Participant 3)

Two other quotes illustrate how the participants' volunteer involvement reflected their values of equality:

I think it probably says that I believe strongly in equality for all people, not just lesbians, gays, bi-sexuals and transgendered, but all minorities and especially now, you know, when we have the Muslim population, that we can't just discriminate on a broad picture. We have to look at people as people and human with values of their own. And kind of discuss everything more, talk about it, bring it out. Meet with other people from other backgrounds and talk about it. Talk

about the subjects that are really bothering us as far as inequality is concerned. (Participant 6)

I don't really consider myself an advocate. What I consider myself is a person who believes in fair and equal treatment of others and what I've done is what I would do for any group that I feel has been put in situations where they're not getting fair or equal treatment... It's just basically, as long as there's a need and as long as it's being treated unfairly, who I am is going to have a problem with that. (Participant 10)

Ten of the participants spoke about the wide-ranging impact their involvement has had upon their *attitudes about sexual orientation*. The following several quotes illustrate the more common themes that arose in this subcategory:

...it's healthy for the straight people to see this is what gay people are about. I mean, and ultimately it's more a process of unlearning than it is of learning, because people have got their preconceptions and I know as many variety of gay people that there are straight people. (Participant 12)

My best friend C, who is gay, is no more making a choice to be in a relationship with a man than I was making a choice to be attracted to my husband. You know. Yeah, you make behavioral choices about the specific behaviors you do or don't do in your life, but in terms of your gut sense of who you feel connected to and who you want to be with relationally, I just don't think that's a choice. (Participant 8)

A lot of times people think I'm a lesbian, which is all right by me. The only person I wouldn't want me to... wouldn't want to have think that about me is a guy I was interested in dating. But in a way it's kind of a compliment to be assumed to be a part of a group. Heterosexuals are all the time imagining the world as heterosexual, you know, so if gays or lesbians imagine the world as gay or lesbian, that's cool, too. (Participant 1)

I think one fear that people have to get over, that straights have to get over... and here's a difference with the civil rights movement where you could advocate something but it was obvious that you were not Black, and you were still separate from it. But now I think there's a fear that if you're hanging out with gays and if you're advocating, then somebody might think you are, too. And I think that subtly makes it a little more difficult possibly for some people to get involved or to feel safe at speaking out... [due to] the imagined stigma. (Participant 3)

So I really think that becoming an ally is not as easy as I think people think it is. And there are costs/benefits to it... I know that one other young person who

wanted to be an ally for our LGBT group at the institute at camp, she was just adamant that she wanted to be an ally but she didn't want people to think that she was gay. And so it was a really hard lesson for her to learn that you're not truly being an ally if you are sitting there really worried that people are going to think you're gay... so there's internalized stuff that we want to definitely put aside in order for us to be truly an ally. I can't go around worrying about the community thinking I'm a lesbian or bi. Who cares, you know. But it took me a long time to get there. It's a journey. It's definitely a journey. (Participant 5)

Additionally, two participants specifically noted their appreciation of the concept of a sexuality continuum. One stated, "it's only in the, I would say the last third of my life that I've come to appreciate the concept of the sexual identity continuum... It's a continuum... you're somewhere on that continuum and even that can slide" (Participant 2). The other concurred:

I always think that things are on a continuum anyway. I mean, you know you're always somewhere on a continuum and you might move, you might change your place on that at some point due to some experience or other. (Participant 11)

Eight participants talked about feeling a greater sense of *personal responsibility* in light of the oppression they witnessed and found it essential to take some kind of action. As one individual stated, "basically I am interested in social justice. And I guess I was brought up that way and so when I see people being treated unfairly, then I want to respond and level the playing field" (Participant 4). Other participants shared in greater depth how personal responsibility translated into action in their lives:

Several of us at church, the heterosexuals, had talked about things we wanted to do [regarding support of city ordinance that included sexual orientation as a protected status] and one of the nights of the reading of the Ordinance one of my friends called me and we called two or three and about half a dozen of us ended up making sure that we were down there even though all of us would probably just as soon kick back and watch the news or read or whatever we were going to do that evening. But it was kind of, we started laying a guilt trip on each other, and it was like we gotta be down. Come on. I'll pick you up in a half hour... it's just a matter of... you have to get involved. You have to speak up and it can be a little thing... I think we did this with, and are continuing to do it with racism to the extent where now... When I was a child I heard nigger this, nigger that and I was further south at the time. But, I mean, that's just the way Whites talked. And it's gotten to the point where, other than the fringe of society, I mean even people that are racist are not going to, in a public situation, use the word nigger. And it's because other people started letting them know that just wasn't acceptable... I think whenever somebody hears a derogatory comment about a gay or lesbian that

they need to speak up. I mean say “that’s unacceptable to me. I don’t want to hear that talk”. (Participant 3)

So it’s moving from the guilt and feeling shame and, oh, you know, this helpless feeling of what I can do about the issues that are so huge and what can I do as an individual. Moving from that to taking responsibility on an individual basis. I mean, then of course, affecting the institutions around us. I think it is a process or a strategy that every ally should move from feeling sorry about who you are, who some other people are and to saying “you know, this is what I’m going to do about it”. (Participant 5)

Seven participants articulated their personal attitudes about *valuing diversity*. The following quotes illustrate the impact that the experience of recognizing and responding to privilege and/or oppression had on their views of diversity:

We’re all here together. Let’s enjoy each other. I think diversity, having friends of different races, different sexual orientations, different backgrounds, you know, adds a lot of texture to life. And that it’s a lot more fun if you know a lot of different people. (Participant 1)

I’m not one to analyze things a lot and look back at, OK, over the last thirty years of my work... I realize a little more how I have changed in that period of time in my acceptance of people. Especially my comfort level with some more eccentric people out there. (Participant 3)

I believe in diversity of perspectives. That’s how I live my life. I truly believe that without diversity in perspectives we cannot help us progress or move ahead. So I take my work, my living and what I do and who I am, I try to embrace people with different perspectives and ideas, and try to as much as possible see where people are coming from... I truly believe that people tend to accept people more when they have been exposed to people who are different than they are. And so the ignorance goes away about something that’s scary, something that I don’t know anything about and I find out more about it or I meet somebody who’s from a different place and different beliefs. Tend to, I truly think, tend to really, if not anything, open people’s eyes to differences and it becomes, I think, less scary. (Participant 5)

Finally, three participants directly indicated that their *religious and/or spiritual beliefs* were either impacted or strengthened by their involvement with LGBT ally-work.

Examples include:

My wife and I came to the Unitarian Universalist Church here in Lexington and found a home. And through that process I’ve become more spiritually involved and spiritually focused, I guess. And it’s allowed me to undertake a better

exploration of how I feel about things. And part of how I feel about things is that you need to take your beliefs and turn them into action. And if you believe that the LGBT community is being mistreated, being oppressed, not being given all the rights that they should, then you have to take action on that. Minor, major, whatever, that you should take some action. Even if it's simply wearing a pin to work, or putting a bumper sticker on your car, or, all the way up the spectrum to actively advocating and going to legislative sessions or whatever. Whatever your level that you can accomplish that you need to do, you need to take action. (Participant 2)

Well, hopefully, [my ally work] speaks to the fact that I'm a Christian. I was really thinking about this because I think about the moral majority and the really fundamental people who are so opposed to gay rights and stuff and who see themselves as Christian and then on the flip side, there's me who sees myself as a Christian and for a long time I wasn't comfortable using that term because I associated it so much with the extreme fundamentalists. But really as a Christian, I have two obligations. One is to love and serve God and one is to love and serve his creation which includes everybody and love, in my opinion, for me, love is a call to action. It isn't this sort of warm, fuzzy feeling. Love is hard and it's messy and it's dirty and it means getting out of your comfort zone, and it means loving people who are prickly and who may have disease and who aren't like you. But it is a call to action. It's work. I don't think that God sent Christ to earth to make it a warm, fuzzy place. He, as I have grown spiritually and have become more oriented toward Christianity, he shook the place up. And I don't see God turning away people because of their sexual orientation. I just don't see that. And so I think it really speaks to my values as a Christian. (Participant 7)

Reactions to Ally Work from Others

All twelve of the participants shared their experiences of a wide range of reactions to their ally-work from others, both positive and negative. Nine individuals indicated that they received *positive support from their family and friends*. For example, two indicated that their spouses were a source of strong support: "Ninety percent of my support for everything comes from, probably from my wife and my partnership that I have with her." (Participant 10) "A lot of [the support I receive] comes through my husband, who is also very liberal-minded and who also has had many gay friends growing up" (Participant 7). Another participant indicated his friends and activist community provided much needed support:

[I was supported by] the people who were sort of block-leaders and [another friend] and so forth. I couldn't have asked for a better group of people to be working with. And, they steered me in the right direction and kept me from becoming stupid. (Participant 9)

Nine of the participants described experiences with *negative reactions from the local community* around them. Among this broad community, participants described negative responses from a range of individuals, including neighbors, family members, and co-workers. Following is a range of negative reactions that participants described:

[There were] protesters against gay rights... telling me and everybody else on our side, saying, you know, well, you're going to go to hell, and you're taking people to hell with you and you're doubly going to hell because you're choosing to support [sexual minorities]. (Participant 8)

In the university community I noticed that heterosexism and homophobia is much more disguised and much more, much more quiet and so when individuals don't like what you advocate for or what you support, they tend to do it – if it's a social issue like this – they tend to do it more quietly and they tend to do it more in some ways insidiously, where in general society like with, as I said, good-old-boy family members like I have they tend to tell you “you're nuts” and “what're you doing that for” and to confront that... probably it's more uncomfortable with those that have those feelings but are unwilling to kind of let them show and so just kind of treat the responses in unusual ways. (Participant 10)

I've gotten some negative... you get negative stuff when you go door-to-door and when I was talking to voters in February, I got negative responses. In fact, when I first started out early in the morning I wasn't getting any people who agreed with me at all for 45 minutes or an hour, something like that. And I was getting pretty discouraged... [in addition] a Black minister [I knew personally] came through the polls in February a year ago, and I said “are you for this gay marriage?” And he said “P you ought to know me better than that. I'm a minister and I'm not for this” and that really hurt. Because I knew him... (Participant 11)

The final quote below illustrates a transition from a negative reaction to a positive reaction (the next subcategory) in the local community, in this case, his work environment:

I've got a sign up on my work that says, “Just ask me about the gay/straight alliance among [company 2] employees.” I had moved to a new office at the beginning of the year and just taped it up to the door. Well, about a week later I took another look at it and said, wait a minute, that's been taped back together. Somebody had pulled it off the door and ripped it up. Somebody else had taken the pieces that were ripped up and taped them back together and put them on the door... The second [action] I am more impressed with than the first. (Participant 12)

Six participants described *positive reactions from the local community* in response to their ally-work. This support came through co-workers, neighbors, and others. One participant described his work setting by emphasizing, “I not only have gay and lesbian co-workers but I also have heterosexual co-workers who are also strong supporters of their colleagues. And so there’s not a problem there in finding support” (Participant 10). Another spoke about the positive reactions she encountered at times when she reached out to her community about a critical piece of anti-LGBT legislation:

[Going door-to-door] ringing the doorbells against the amendment, people were willing to listen... we may have changed some minds. We made people think, perhaps. I would do it again based on that experience. I would walk again... some people invited us in, you know, so it was a good experience. (Participant 6)

Of the participants, six described the experience of *positive reactions from the LGBT community* to their ally involvement. Many described feeling welcomed and challenged in a healthy manner through their alliances with LGBT community.

I get a chance to earn people’s trust. And that, once again, I think comes from actions and not words... I keep coming back and I’m committed... that’s what I think a straight ally should be doing... I’ve been able to probably gain more trust with the LGBT community by being around. (Participant 5)

I think there was a time when the gay community was, there were less straights that would be open about their alliance with them and so there was, there was more, “Oh, great. We really need you. We’re so glad you’re here”... There is an appreciation of people getting involved who don’t have any real personal need. They don’t have a dog in the fight themselves but they come forward basically. (Participant 3)

There were a couple of women who were in Sister Sound with me, they asked me if I would run for the president of Fairness [a LGBT advocacy organization in Kentucky] and I thought well, that’s very interesting... I thought that was kind of interesting that they would, you know, approach a hetero female about that... they said, “We need somebody strong.” (Participant 1)

Finally, three participants indicated that they experienced *negative reactions from the LGBT community* to their ally-work. Individuals described difficulties with trust and attributed this to their “outsider” status as heterosexuals. Following are two illustrative quotations:

... because I'm not part of that group, I have a harder time understanding the intricacies and the subtleties of what it means to be oppressed in that way. And so I do a less-than-perfect job of advocacy because I don't have that experience and sometimes you experience not being accepted by a community even though you're trying to advocate on their behalf because you're not part of the LGBT community. (Participant 2)

I would hear... some jokes about "breeders" and things like that. It's like kind of those types of things catches you off guard and you're like, well, if I'm not in the room, what are they saying about me. So I've had to call people out on slurs and things like that. And people assume, because I've been really involved, that I might be... closeted or... maybe not comfortable with who I am. People question my intentions quite a bit and I expect that and like I, you know, being a minority woman, any White woman or any White person who would come to support my cause, I could definitely see the distrust and so I understand that. You know, "Why? This is not your battle. What are you, why are you here?" type of thing. (Participant 5)

Rewards from Ally Work

Ten of the twelve participants described a wide range of rewards they have experienced due to their involvement in LGBT ally work. Seven individuals talked about the importance of *making a difference* or positively impacting society. One shared, "I wake up in the morning and I have purpose... I've got a life that is full of meaning... So what motivates me is I know I'm doing some good" (Participant 4). Another indicated that the difference she makes spurs her on in her activism:

My favorite saying is, "If you're not outraged, you're not paying attention." I think that's what really fuels me to keep going... there's days when you are discouraged and not really sure whether you are making an impact or whether things are going to really change. But overall I think when you look, when I look at what we do and especially with young people, and you know that we are really truly making a difference. So that helps. (Participant 5)

Other participants also shared hope that their ally work was positively impacting society. One individual shared her "hope that you're making a difference...that... you're giving some light to somebody who didn't think of something in that way" (Participant 6). Another indicated that she valued "the knowledge that in some minor, small way you might be helping to advance the cause" (Participant 2).

Six participants spoke about the reward of *friendships and connections* with others that resulted from their involvement in LGBT ally-work. Several illustrative quotes follow:

I feel blessed by having gay and lesbian friends. You know, that's been a very good thing in terms of... they're great friends... I had never considered anything I did with the GLBT community work although I guess it has been because, you know, if you volunteer time, that's considered work. (Participant 1)

I meet a lot of good people... just the joy of hanging out with a bunch of good folks and making contacts and meeting people... I like people. And it's just... it's opened up things, possibilities that I didn't know were there before. (Participant 12)

I guess new friends and folks who keep me on my toes and keep me grounded about privileges that I have [is another reward]. It feels good to be connected to a community that maybe even some of my friends or my colleagues are not. I think it's a sense of belonging, maybe, a part of me where I feel very comfortable and very accepted, loved and appreciated and that's huge for any human being. (Participant 5)

Five other participants identified *other rewards* from their ally-work that were significant, though not easily categorized. These included personal/professional recognition, positive feelings about oneself, and enjoyment. In response to what she draws from ally-work, one participant stated, "It's fun. I wouldn't do these things if I wasn't enjoying them... [it leads to] a more interesting life, a fuller life" (Participant 1). Another individual who won an award from the larger community for her advocacy work, stated, "I just won the KCCJ Humanitarian Award of the Year... It was very cool. Approval from peers is critical because it's not widespread throughout the community" (Participant 4). Finally, a participant spoke about how his involvement in ally-work led to him feeling "right" with himself:

The only benefit that I notice is how I feel about myself in the fact that I can look in a mirror without concern about it... It's always been just this is the right thing to do. And I think we all get a big benefit from doing the right thing. (Participant 10)

Summary

This chapter provided a detailed description of the study participants' perceptions of the important factors that influenced them as heterosexual allies in the LGBT

community. The consensual qualitative coding of the 12 interviews resulted in the emergence of 6 domains. Each domain contained 2 to 6 subcategories. Each domain and subcategory was illustrated by direct quotations drawn from the twelve study participants' transcribed interview text. The final chapter will discuss the above results in light of previous research and in light of counseling psychology's commitment to empirically supported psychoeducational training for multicultural competence.

Table 4.1, Domains, Subcategories, Frequencies, Classification, and Coding Criteria for Heterosexual Ally Development

Domains and Subcategories	Number of Occurrences	Classification	Definition/Coding Criteria
Early Family Modeling	8	Typical	
positive modeling	6	Typical	examples of acceptance toward differences among people
negative modeling	3	Variant	examples of prejudice/bias toward differences among people
Recognition of Oppression and Privilege	12	General	
recognize LGBT individual oppression	11	Typical	personal experience with LGBT friends/individuals
recognize oppression of others	10	Typical	observation of others' experiences with oppression
recognize oppression directed at the self	8	Typical	personal experience with oppression
recognize privilege of self	5	Variant	personal experience with privilege
recognize privilege of others	3	Variant	observation of others' experience with privilege
Response to Recognition	12	General	
emotional reactions	10	Typical	emotional response to recognition
taking responsibility	8	Typical	awareness of personal responsibility increases based on recognition
behavioral reactions	5	Variant	behavioral response to recognition

Table 4.1 (continued)

Impact of Values/Attitudes	12	General	
equality	10	Typical	fair and equal treatment of all people
attitudes about sexual orientation	10	Typical	general attitudes regarding sexual identity
personal responsibility	8	Typical	recognition of necessity of taking action
valuing diversity	7	Typical	appreciation of group differences
religious/spiritual beliefs	3	Variant	values drawn from religious/spiritual experience
Reactions to Ally Work from Others	12	General	
positive support from family/friends	9	Typical	positive responses from family/friends
negative reactions from local community	9	Typical	negative response from local community members
positive reactions from local community	6	Typical	positive response from local community members
positive reactions from LGBT community	6	Typical	positive response from sexual minorities
negative reactions from LGBT community	3	Variant	negative response from sexual minorities
Rewards from Ally Work	10	Typical	
making a difference	7	Typical	positive impact on society
friendships and connections	6	Typical	relationships gained from ally work
other rewards	5	Variant	including personal/professional recognition; enjoyment; positive feelings about self; etc.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

The following chapter presents a discussion of the results of the present study. First, the results are summarized. Then, the strengths and limitations of this study are presented. Next, the results are discussed in light of the central purpose of the project, which was to identify and discover ways to engage and motivate heterosexuals' involvement with sexual minority social justice activism. The discussion of the results is organized into five overarching theoretical themes: Interdependence, Encounter, Empathy, Homophobia, and Social Justice. These themes are discussed as they relate to the current findings, the theoretical literature reviewed in Chapter Two, the larger social justice conversation occurring within the field of counseling psychology, and as they inform and contribute to effective training for sexual minority counseling competencies. Specific training considerations and interventions are next described. Finally, future directions for further research are suggested.

Summary of Results

The current study identified six distinct domain areas that were common to a majority of the 12 sexual minority social justice ally participants. These included Early Family Modeling, Recognition of Oppression and Privilege, Response to Recognition, Impact of Values/Attitudes, Reactions to Ally Work from Others, and Rewards from Ally Work. Each of these domains was further clarified through subcategories. Early Family Modeling was comprised of two subcategories: *positive modeling* and *negative modeling*. The domain Recognition of Oppression and Privilege yielded five subcategories: *recognition of LGBT individual oppression*, *recognition of the oppression of others*, *recognition of oppression directed at oneself*, *recognition of one's own privilege*, and *recognition of other's privilege*. Three subcategories emerged for the Response to Recognition domain, including *emotional reactions*, *taking responsibility*, and *behavioral reactions*. The Impact of Values/Attitudes domain had five subcategories: *equality*, *attitudes about sexual orientation*, *personal responsibility*, *valuing diversity*, and *religious/spiritual beliefs*. The Reactions from Others to Ally Work domain included five subcategories: *positive support from family/friends*, *negative reactions from local community*, *positive reactions from local community*, *positive reactions from LGBT community*, and *negative reactions from LGBT community*. Lastly, the Rewards from

Ally Work domain had a total of three subcategories: *making a difference, friendships and connections*, and *other rewards*. See Table 1 for definitions and coding criteria as well as number of occurrences across the data set.

Strengths of the Present Study

This project distinguishes itself from research that focused exclusively on the widespread nature and impact of homonegative attitudes of some heterosexual individuals by explicating healthy developmental processes that lead heterosexual individuals to assume responsibility for their privileged status and then use that status to work actively toward positive social change. One strength of this project is its unique examination of “everyday” exemplars in a mid-sized Southern city in a religiously conservative state that recently voted to deny marriage rights to same-sex couples and families. This social and political context provides a particularly salient frame of reference for those heterosexuals who are working for social justice for sexual minorities.

The qualitative methodology of this study ensured that important aspects of the change process were allowed to emerge so that theory-building and later hypothesis testing in this area can be properly grounded (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The CQR research method’s emphasis on utilizing a systematic and discovery-oriented approach allowed salient themes to emerge during the data collection and analysis. CQR as a data analytic method also draws on feminist methodologies through valuing multiple perspectives in the data interpretation process. In particular, Hill and colleagues (1997) emphasized that CQR “places a value on researchers working together as a team to construct a shared understanding of the phenomenon” (p. 522). This collaborative method enriched the analytic process and subsequent results and recommendations.

Another strength of this qualitative methodology is that it provided a depth of analysis that is not possible in survey methodologies. The design of this study allowed for a systematic discovery and description of the developmental and motivational processes experienced by the 12 individuals who participated. The design is appropriate to the research question given that the purpose was to discover and describe a process and given the absence of research in this area that renders hypothesis testing premature. This project contributes to this research base and serves as a valuable beginning point for generating

hypotheses for further testing and ultimately for formulating evidence-based pedagogy in clinical training programs.

Results from this study contribute to the research base by providing rigorous, systematic analysis and description of this phenomenon and an increased understanding of the processes that lead heterosexual individuals to engage in social justice-oriented activities. In turn, knowledge of these processes informs counseling psychologists, educators, and community leaders as they facilitate the professional and personal development of positive and effective social change agents. This knowledge also helps contribute to understanding how social justice interventions related to persons of privilege could be developed and applied in both university and community training settings. These contributions are further discussed in the sections to follow.

Limitations of the Present Study

The regional and demographic characteristics of the sample used for the study limit its generalizability to all heterosexual allies. However, the situated and contextualized knowledge generated by this in-depth exploration of a sample of exemplars in one community in the midst of a political initiative denying marriage rights and other legal recognition of same-sex relationships illustrates the importance of social context to understanding research findings collected by any systematic method. In many traditional quantitative studies, the social context of the significant relations among variables is sacrificed in favor of generalizability. As with any in-depth, qualitative research, this study was not designed with generalizability as a condition. Therefore, the sample is not representative of all heterosexual allies either in terms of age, race/ethnicity, and so on. In-depth research that accounts for a wider range of social locations among heterosexual allies is important and discussed under future research directions located at the end of this chapter.

This study uncovered the importance of a particular place and historical time period in which local politics and local community organizations were backdrop to critical events and encounters that provided these participants with opportunities and challenges and likely shaped their development. With this knowledge, additional research will hopefully include these important contextual variables rather than relying solely on the assessment of intra-individual factors.

Likewise, perhaps a random sample of heterosexual allies would have been optimal, however this study prioritized the nomination process of allies who exemplified a commitment to social justice work as heterosexual allies to sexual minorities. This exemplar status is important to examine and understand further. Learning from these particular heterosexual allies contributes to a larger developmental literature that seeks to understand moral commitment, in general, and ally work, in particular (Colby & Damon, 1994; Eichstedt, 2001; Faver, 2001; Loeb, 1994; Mezirow & Associates, 2000). Indeed, understanding this process of change contributes to counseling psychologists' ability to effectively encourage sexual minority social justice advocacy through training and other interventions.

Finally, another limitation of this study is the lack of racial/ethnic diversity of the participants. Part of this limitation may be explained by exploring how the sample of participants was developed. Each of the four community leaders who contributed names to the list of potential participants was White. Only one racial minority individual arose from this nomination process. Perhaps that number would have increased if a person of color had been a contributing member of this nomination process. Future research that involves a wide range of racial/ethnic minorities is essential to further understanding of the development of heterosexual allies. This is discussed further under future research suggestions, below.

Interdependence, or, I am You and You are Me and We are One

The first major theme drawn from the results of this study embodies a philosophical perspective held by the participants best expressed by the term interdependence. The individuals in this study frequently spoke about linking their involvement with sexual minority ally activism to their goal of developing a healthier world to which all humanity is connected and responsible. This is observed through their descriptions of being accountable to one another, experiencing religious or spiritual responsibilities for others, and feeling rewarded to know they were making a difference in the world through their ally work. This underlying theme was woven in different ways throughout the participants' narratives.

The concept of interdependence is reflected in Prilleltensky's (1997) emancipation communitarian theoretical approach, which is further referenced

throughout much of the burgeoning social justice counseling psychology literature (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Constantine, Hage, Kindaichi, & Bryant, 2007; Gainor, 2005; Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks, & Weintraub, 2004; Vera & Speight, 2003). In particular, his emphasis on communitarianism focuses on humanity's commitment to the "common good" (p. 528) and fosters a strong sense of interdependence among people and communities. This concept of the "common good" was often present in the participants' responses as they shared their path to becoming involved in ally work. In addition, Prilleltensky asserted that a communitarian approach centers on power sharing. The value of sharing power in community is epitomized through the actions of privileged persons, such as those in this study, who use their privilege to challenge imbalances of power and work to create a just world. Clearly the value of Prilleltensky's theoretical approach fits well with the interdependent values espoused by the study participants.

Not surprisingly, there is a good deal of overlap between Prilleltensky's theoretical emphasis on community and connectedness among people and the prominence Goodman (2000, 2001) placed on the importance of interdependence to motivate privileged persons to become involved in social justice ally work. Her discussions around morality and spirituality as well as self-interest both highlighted the conceptual significance of interdependence. Specifically, her emphasis on a "morality of care" focuses on the interconnected feeling of affinity and concern that persons develop for one another. This care was explicit in statements made by study participants who frequently shared their feelings of concern for both sexual minorities and their desire for the elimination of all oppression. Additionally, Goodman pointed out that the interdependent end of the self-interest continuum spurs some allies' involvement in social justice work. At this point on the continuum, allies recognize that their work on behalf of sexual minorities, for example, is also beneficial for themselves as heterosexuals. This level of awareness motivated their long-term commitment to social justice work. Several participants recognized that the struggle for sexual minority rights was ongoing and many challenges were still to come.

Encounter as a Wake-up Call

A concrete, real-life encounter with oppression and privilege was central to the narratives of these exemplars. These encounters included a wide range of experiences that led them to recognize their own oppression and privilege and that of others. The participants' encounters with sexual minority oppression, both categorically as well as among specific LGBT friends and/or colleagues in their lives, were particularly powerful. Most indicated these encounters had a strong impact on the way they looked at the world, and led them to look at themselves and others differently. Identification of these "trigger events" which influenced the research participants' self-awareness, and subsequent actions, makes an important contribution to identity development and transformative learning literatures (Atkinson, Morten, & Sue, 1997; Broido, 2000b; Cass, 1979, 1984; Cranton, 1994, 2002; Downing & Roush, 1985; Fassinger & Miller, 1996; Helms, 1990, 1995; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Sue & Sue, 1999; Sullivan, 1998; Worell & Remer, 2003; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). As hypothesized from both theoretical perspectives and now empirically supported by these findings, such encounters led to the participants' increased awareness, recognition, and examination of sexual minority oppression and their heterosexual privilege. The importance of the encounter experience is also consistent with prior research that revealed knowing a sexual minority person reduces homonegative attitudes (DiStefano, Croteau, Anderson, Kampa-Kokesch, & Bullard, 2000; Goodman, 2001; Herek, 2000). Without such exposure it is difficult to imagine how transformative change could take place, particularly for a group whose privileged and "normative" identities as heterosexuals are contingent on social constructions of "other" and "deviant" identities.

The developmental contribution of encounter experiences on the participants' "frame of reference" cannot be overemphasized. Participants' encounters with sexual minorities challenged them to critically reflect on their privileged positions and their dominant cultural context that maintains heterosexuality as both "compulsory" and "natural" (Rich, 1980). Additionally, counseling psychology's social justice literature places considerable emphasis on the importance of self-examination, including awareness of one's own and others' seats of oppression and privilege (Constantine, Hage, Kindaichi, & Bryant, 2007; Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks, & Weintraub, 2004; Kakkad,

2005; Prilleltensky, 1989, 1997; Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002; Vera & Speight, 2003, Worell & Remer, 2003). Part of attaining a socially just world requires individuals to examine their social identities and, in particular, those seats of privilege that assign them disproportionate, unearned power. The results of this study emphasize that heterosexuals are benefited by directly encountering the impact of sexual minority oppression and heterosexual privilege. Such encounters offer heterosexuals the opportunity to develop an awareness of their straight privilege and, ideally, subsequent responsibility for changing this homonegative, dominant culture.

Empathy and a Call for Compassion

Not surprisingly, empathy was the key to transformation. Without the ability to empathize, or the ability to identify with what another person is experiencing, these participants would never have developed the compassion that allowed them to mature into sexual minority allies. Participants' empathy was marked in a wide variety of ways. As detailed in the results, several individuals described that their own experiences with oppression (e.g. sexism, racism, etc.) allowed them to identify with sexual minority oppression. In addition to these direct personal experiences, individuals conveyed multiple examples of how a personal connection with a sexual minority individual, including witnessing her/his experience with oppression, led these participants to feel empathy for that individual. Building on their "encounter" experiences, study participants were able to connect with and see the deleterious impact of homonegativity on sexual minorities as individuals, as a group, and in the dominant culture.

The ubiquitous presence of the term "empathy" in the field of counseling psychology should not desensitize us to its transformative power in both our therapy sessions and in our humanity. The importance of empathic attunement is highlighted throughout the social justice literature. One of Prilleltensky's (1997) five core values, caring and compassion, relates strongly to empathy. His framework affirms the significant role of empathy in the development of a socially just society and offers a strong foundation for much of counseling psychology's social justice literature (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Constantine, Hage, Kindaichi, & Bryant, 2007; Gainor, 2005; Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks, & Weintraub, 2004; Vera & Speight, 2003). In addition, the capacity for empathy is one of three core concepts that Goodman (2000,

2001) cites to help explain the process by which privileged individuals become allies and support social justice. Prilleltensky, Goodman, and others recognize the critical role that empathy plays, particularly for persons in privileged positions. Certainly, empathy was a necessary emotional response to the encounters experienced by these participants if social justice work was to follow. Without the emotional capacity to comprehend painful struggles and losses resulting from sexual minority oppression, these heterosexual allies could not adequately recognize and respond to this form of social injustice.

“Not that there’s anything wrong with that!” Homophobia as a Barrier to Ally Work

At the beginning of a television episode of *Seinfeld*, a reporter mistakes friends Jerry and George for a gay couple. Throughout the remainder of the episode, both men vehemently work to “correct” her misperception, yelling time and again “I am *not* gay... not that there’s anything wrong with that!” This paradoxical reaction is, of course, intended to draw laughter as the characters struggle with their homophobic reaction while trying to appear nonjudgmental of LGBT people. This illustration typifies the type of homophobia that surfaced as an area of concern for these study participants. Several of the participants perceived that other heterosexuals’ fears of being considered sexual minorities were a barrier to participation for those individuals. As noted in Chapter Two, Dillon and colleagues (2004) discerned a similar finding in their work with heterosexual LGB-affirmative counselors, identifying a *homophobic self-consciousness* domain. Clearly, this fear of being “gay by association” serves as a considerable barrier in discouraging heterosexuals from connecting and building social justice alliances with sexual minorities.

Recognition of the fear of being considered a sexual minority speaks directly to heterosexual privilege and contributes to the heterosexual identity development literature in an important way (Broido, 2000b; Eliason, 1995; Sullivan, 1998; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). A comprehensive heterosexual identity development model needs to consider and incorporate the “concealable” nature of sexual orientation. Due to the inherent ambiguity and concealability of sexual orientation, heterosexual privilege is threatened simply by associating with sexual minorities, much less becoming publicly involved in ally work. The lack of obvious demarcations of sexual orientation status requires heterosexuals to grapple with their privilege in a unique manner compared to

individuals examining other privileged statuses (e.g. White privilege, male privilege). A useful heterosexual identity development model must talk explicitly about the ambiguity of sexual orientation as a barrier that typically keeps heterosexuals from engaging in encounters, empathic connections, and social justice work with sexual minorities.

Furthermore, the fear of being identified gay is particularly exacerbated for men due to rigid masculine gender role dictates (Kimmel, 2003; Kivel, 1992; Pharr, 1988; Rich, 1980; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). These dictates may heighten the levels of homophobia experienced by heterosexual men and, as a result, men may be more likely to feel threatened by engaging in sexual minority ally work than women. Indeed, this disparity was reflected in the recruitment process for the present study. When this author developed a list of heterosexual allies to contact for involvement in this study, women's names as potential participants came up much more frequently than did men's.

Social Justice: A Call to Enduring Action

Critical psychologist Dennis Fox wrote a commentary to a counseling psychology social justice article aptly titled *Awareness is Good, but Action is Better* (2003). Indeed, action must follow increased awareness of heterosexual privilege and sexual minority oppression for social justice to truly emerge. The participants in this study felt an obligation to act on the empathic awareness they developed about the oppression of sexual minorities. Their decision to take responsibility and act to build a socially just world inclusive of sexual minorities was a crucial part of their development. The theme of social justice action seemingly culminates as an endpoint in the process that this researcher sought to understand. However, there is clearly no true "end" in this enduring work of social transformation and the participants of the study also had an understanding that social justice action required a continuing and on-going commitment.

The goal of heterosexuals' involvement in sexual minority ally activism is discussed throughout the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. In particular, several identity development models emphasized the significance of moving from increased awareness to action, typically in the final level of development (Broido, 2000b; Helms 1990, 1995; Sullivan, 1998; Worell & Remer; 2003). These models also emphasized the ongoing nature of this action. The study participants' decision to become involved with

sexual minority social justice activism is a tangible confirmation of their evolving identity development and commitment to social justice. Their actions certainly point to a healthy level of heterosexual identity development. In addition, results from this study continue to challenge robust heterosexual development models such as Worthington et al.'s (2002) to include sexual minority social justice activism as a healthy developmental goal.

The call to activism is a foundational component of the social justice counseling psychology literature, as well (Blustein, McWhirter, & Perry, 2005; Constantine, Hage, Kindaichi, & Bryant, 2007; Fox, 2003; Gainor, 2005; Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks, & Weintraub, 2004; Kakkad, 2005; Vera & Speight, 2003). Among other things, counseling psychology has traditionally been committed to understanding environmental factors that influence healthy human development. In addition, the field has a strong presence in the development of multicultural and feminist psychologies. However, “counseling psychologists have not yet developed skills in working at the systemic level” (Goodman, et al. p. 797). Social justice theorists assert that counseling psychologists need to expand their roles and intervention repertoires if they hope to successfully advance social justice. Broadening from interventions at the microlevel (e.g. individual and group therapy) to incorporate the macrolevel (e.g. schools, communities, policies) is a key way to further social justice action. Further training recommendations specifically regarding sexual minority social justice follow. Furthermore, social justice action must be informed through direct collaboration with oppressed groups and communities. Certainly, heterosexuals wanting to work against sexual minority oppression need to consult with sexual minorities to determine what needs exist.

Training Implications: Encouraging Heterosexual Allies

Dworkin and Yi (2003) modified an influential feminist adage when they asserted, “whether we agree or not the fact is that the psychological is political” (p. 277). Indeed, heterosexual psychologists must come to recognize their crucial role in the political struggles of LGBT persons. Motivating heterosexuals to identify with and affirm sexual minorities and challenge their heterosexual privilege through action would have considerable impact both on the counseling psychology field and in the larger society. Following is an outline of some of the significant steps that can be taken to cultivate both

a training setting and particular experiences that encourage heterosexual ally development. Four major and overlapping areas are particularly important: develop an LGBT-affirming training environment; create opportunities for encounters with sexual minorities and heterosexual allies; facilitate the development of empathic attunement; and promote a range of opportunities to participate in sexual minority ally activism.

Establish LGBT-affirmative training settings

The first and most important step to training heterosexual allies is to develop and maintain an LGBT affirmative climate within training settings (Croteau, Lark, Lidderdale, & Chung, 2005; Iasenza, 1989; Mohr, 2002; Phillips, 2000; Phillips & Fischer, 1998). Faculty members shape the training setting in several important ways. Perhaps the first step for educators is to turn the lens onto themselves. Examination of their own sexual identity development as well as how they might be participating in and helping to perpetuate heterosexist and homophobic social constructions of reality both in their teaching/training and in other aspects of their personal and professional lives is paramount. This is an ongoing examination that faculty members can engage in alongside their students. Additionally, the existence of visible LGBT and heterosexual-ally faculty members is paramount to setting the tone that sexual minorities are considered valuable contributors to the educational experience of the trainees. Faculty members also have an obligation to integrate LGBT issues into every course they teach (Iasenza, 1989; Phillips & Fischer, 1998) as well as provide the opportunity for students to take an LGBT-specific course to improve their awareness of sexual minority issues and related clinical skills. Coursework should include interventions aimed at reducing homonegative attitudes (Pearson, 2003; Rudolph, 1989) and, in particular, it is crucial for psychologists-in-training to develop affirmative therapy skills for working with sexual minority clients (see Croteau, Lark, Lidderdale, & Chung, 2005; Rostosky, Riggle, Gray, & Hatton, in press). In the following two sections, specific attention is paid to exercises that facilitate encounter and empathic experiences. Other steps to creating an LGBT-affirmative setting include regularly monitoring the climate of the training setting; collaborating with students' practicum and internship sites and supervisors to facilitate affirming and competent experiential growth with LGBT clients; and placing a priority on LGBT research.

Fostering such a training environment has a widespread impact on shaping the educational and training context for heterosexual students. Among other things, heterosexuals can become sensitized to how experiences with homophobia and related oppression negatively impacts and harms LGBT people. Furthermore, an LGBT-affirmative setting allows for homophobia to be sensitively explored and lessened. In particular, examination of heterosexual and male privilege in explicit and open terms is an imperative component of effective training so that heterosexuals can name and then move beyond the homophobic fear of being identified as a sexual minority. Once students grapple with their lack of knowledge and fears, they may also be opened up to the inherent worth and contributions that LGBT persons bring to daily life.

Facilitate encounters with “otherness”

Results from this study and related research support the significant impact of personal relationships with LGBT individuals to help reduce stereotypes and homophobia as well as build empathy (DiStefano, Croteau, Anderson, Kampa-Kokesch, & Bullard, 2000; Goodman, 2001; Herek, 2000). Trainers and educators in the field of counseling psychology have a vital opportunity to provide heterosexual students and trainees the experience of “*a constructive engagement with otherness*” (Mezirow & Associates, 2000, p. 110). “Otherness” should be examined in a broad sense of the term and include encounters with heterosexual allies as well as sexual minority individuals. Tatum (1994) discussed the significant impact of White anti-racist allies as models for White students asked to examine their White privilege in training settings. Similarly, heterosexual-identified trainees could benefit from the example of heterosexual sexual minority allies.

An effective encounter training intervention would be a panel-style discussion allowing trainees to meet sexual minority individuals as well as heterosexual allies (Croteau & Kusek, 1992). Panel discussions would allow attendees to learn directly from LGBT individuals about their sexual identities including their coming-out process as well as the celebratory and difficult aspects of being a sexual minority. Heterosexual panel members could share the process by which they developed their awareness of LGBT oppression as well as their personal role and responsibility in challenging this oppression. In addition, panel members could dialogue with one another and open the floor to

questions. Such panels could be contained within a multicultural/diversity training course, broadly, or sexual minority course, specifically.

Encounter experiences can also be facilitated in other settings including practicum placements. Practicum sites can be screened and evaluated for the diversity and multicultural opportunities they provide. Supervision provided from a multicultural perspective allows trainees opportunities to examine their heterosexual privilege, develop increased awareness of their privileged status, as well as effective, competent interventions for working with sexual minorities (e.g. Porter, 1995).

Additionally, while encounters with LGBT-affirming individuals are imperative, this is not the only manner in which trainees can engage “otherness”. Reflecting back upon the process of transformative learning, Cranton (1994) emphasized that *trigger events*, which ideally lead to transformative *critical reflection*, can stem from a wide range of experiences. For example, Pearson (2003) developed a training seminar on counseling sexual minority clients that included use of popular songs. Other mediums, including film and television, as well as fiction and nonfiction writings may also provide opportunities for trainees to reflect on otherness in a new and powerful way.

Encourage empathic attunement

The prospect of increasing heterosexual trainees’ empathy levels for sexual minorities is complex. Goodman (2001) emphasizes that empathy can be cultivated through increasing emotional and cognitive awareness of self and others in safe training environments that provide ways to explore individuals’ experiences with privilege and oppression. Certainly, part of the process of facilitating empathy includes encounter experiences, as described above. In addition, a wide range of multicultural/diversity researchers emphasize that trainees’ self-awareness, particularly relating to privilege, can shape several important goals, ranging from increased empathy and prejudice reduction to culturally competent practice with diverse clients (Broido, 2000a, 2000b; Constantine, Hage, Kindaichi, & Bryant, 2007; Goodman, Liang, Helms, Latta, Sparks, & Weintraub, 2004; Ottavi, Pope-Davis, & Dings, 1994; Robinson, 1999; Simoni & Walters, 2001; Tatum, 1994; Vera & Speight, 2003; Worell & Remer, 2003; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Exercises involving self-awareness would further

heterosexual trainees' empathy for sexual minorities, by increasing their knowledge base and developing their empathic attunement.

Worell and Remer's second chapter presents "Assessing Your Social Locations" (pp. 58-59), a multifaceted series of exercises developed to increase an individual's awareness of her/his seats of privilege and oppression as well as to help individuals cultivate a greater understanding of groups and individuals different from themselves. This assessment serves as a sound starting place for encouraging heterosexual trainees to examine their heterosexual privilege as well as their other social locations. The design of the exercises is open and flexible, while also serving as a touchstone for trainees to return to as their identity development changes over time. This form of assessment would prove especially effective in safe, supportive training settings, as described above, within diverse groups that encourage trainees to identify their emotional and cognitive reactions to this implicitly challenging exploration. This process further allows trainees to learn from one another's experiences and perceptions. The subsequent self-knowledge that develops for trainees allows them to access emotionally empathic responses towards others.

It is important to note that the training process must emphasize the ongoing nature of privilege/oppression work. A danger lies when an individual forecloses on privilege/oppression exploration too early and truncates their developmental process. This type of "shutdown" is common among privileged individuals and can limit their ability to remain open to empathic connections (Goodman, 2001). Effectual training helps students manage their inevitable anxiety and encourages students to stay open to their own and other's ever-changing stories and experiences. Goodman's concepts of *resistance* and *paradox of identification* are two particular responses that educators are likely to encounter when encouraging individuals to cultivate empathy through explicit examination of their privilege. A brief overview of each follows.

Resistance. As described in the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, resistance is a common defensive reaction that can arise when privileged persons are asked to examine their unearned power, the oppression of others, and the consequences of this disparity. When heterosexual trainees are encouraged to engage in the type of self-examination described above, a range of resistant responses can arise. Due to the culturally

unquestioned “naturalness” of heterosexual identity, trainees may struggle to see how they possess privilege as well as doubt the severity of discrimination that sexual minorities endure. Homophobic fears of being identified as “gay by association” can also surface. Goodman suggests a range of responses to resistance. One preemptive idea is to suggest to heterosexual trainees that it is normal for them to struggle to see their privilege and that, in and of itself, is a very common reaction to privilege work. Further engagement in groups and through journaling may facilitate exploration of this process. Also key to addressing these forms of resistance is to continually foster a safe training atmosphere where heterosexual trainees can voice their fears, raise their concerns, and seek feedback grounded in LGBT-affirmative principles.

Paradox of identification. A final consideration that stems from promoting empathy concerns a frequent pitfall when heterosexual students or trainees broadly extrapolate their personal experiences with oppression, therefore, assuming they fully understand sexual minority oppression. Goodman identifies this as a *paradox of identification*, or overemphasis on the similarities between different oppressed groups (2001, p. 146). For example, a heterosexual female student may believe her experience of sexism is equivalent to a gay man’s experience of homophobia. Both individuals encounter discrimination; however each is unique based on their particular identities and experiences. There is a fine line between using personal experience with oppression to inform one’s ability to empathize with another person’s oppression versus slipping into the faulty assumption that the experiences are equivalent. This stumbling block often arises when a heterosexual individual is challenged to examine their privilege and recognize their role in a heterosexist culture. Again, this concern highlights the importance of cultivating a safe and supportive training setting where such “blind-spots” can be explored and challenged in a trusting, respectful, and sensitive manner.

Promote sexual minority ally activism

Identifying training opportunities for heterosexual counseling psychologists to become involved in sexual minority ally work is another critical part of promoting lasting change. Several steps can be made for a training program to incorporate a diverse range of sexual minority activism with which heterosexual students can connect. While the following section suggests potential ways to become involved, this author recognizes the

authority of sexual minority organizations at the university and community levels in determining the most welcomed and needed forms of ally-support at any particular time.

At the university level, opportunities for trainees to engage in sexual minority activism may include involvement with LGBT-affirming organizations on campus that serve the wider campus community. Goals may include raising awareness of and reducing systematic discrimination against sexual minorities; educating students, faculty, and staff about the positive contributions of sexual minorities; and cultivating an LGBT-affirming campus environment. Examples of how these goals can be achieved include developing programs that address homophobia/heterosexism and heterosexual privilege; visibly supporting events such as National Coming Out Day; and participating in liaison relationships with campus entities such as student housing, athletic departments, and other settings where LGBT-affirming educational outreach can make a significant impact on the overall campus climate. Certainly there are challenges related to these forms of outreach and advocacy, including effectively engaging the larger campus community. Incorporating such interventions within an already established experience such as student orientation, diversity week, or other campus-wide events may help to encourage student participation. For faculty and administrative participation, presentations may be developed for use at human resource trainings, faculty retreats, etc. Depending on the campus, this vision will take varying degrees of labor in order to foster both the relationships and programming that can best reach the widest campus audience. However, at any stage in this process, heterosexual allies are vital and can be encouraged to find opportunities to advocate for sexual minority social justice.

At the community level, there are further opportunities for sexual minority social justice ally work. Unfortunately, in the current political context, there are ample opportunities to advocate for sexual minority equality at a legislative and policy level (Dworkin & Yi, 2003). LGBT rights are consistently denied and under attack on city, state, and national levels and require steadfast support from sexual minorities and heterosexual allies alike. Training programs must consider creative ways to integrate opportunities for heterosexual allies to become involved in legislative advocacy. In addition, collaboration with grassroots and national LGBT organizations can allow trainees to develop appreciation of and commitment to the systemic work needed to

defend the lives and livelihood of sexual minority individuals and their families. Other community level outreach needed to achieve sexual minority social justice is educating members of significant groups such as police, clergy, elected officials, and school teachers. The latter group is perhaps most critical. Educating children about sexual minorities is imperative. Educational outreach in school settings must seek to humanize sexual minorities and deter homophobia. Striving to create school settings that are safe and affirming of LGBT individuals is vital if sexual minority social justice is to be realized.

Suggestions for Future Research

Based on the findings from this study, there are several directions for future research to build upon. One hypothesis is that providing heterosexual trainees encounters and other guided, supportive critical reflection opportunities might predict increased empathy for sexual minorities. On the other hand, these experiences might also foster anxiety, resistance, and defensiveness. Are some training experiences more or less likely to increase empathy? Would certain kinds of trainees be more likely to empathize versus resist? Drawing on previous literature about homonegative attitudes, one may predict that those highly committed to conservative religious tenets might become more defensive and those from liberal and progressive religious traditions might be more empathic (Herek, 1988, 2000, 2002). In turn, one could predict that those whose empathy levels increased would be more likely to do something positive with their empathy. Further examination of these questions and hypotheses would contribute to the heterosexual ally literature in significant ways.

Another area that needs empirical exploration is how specific social locations shape heterosexuals' experiences with sexual minority ally engagement, such as gender, race/ethnicity, age, socioeconomic status, and so forth. For example, drawing from the discussion of empathy above, heterosexual men may have greater difficulty developing empathic feelings for sexual minorities because the performance of masculinity demands rejection and distancing from male intimacy, either sexual or nonsexual (Kimmel, 2003; Kivel, 1992; Pharr, 1988; Rich, 1980; Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Further understanding of the challenges that heterosexual men encounter based on gender

role expectations is critical to developing effective training opportunities that address the unique intersection of homophobia, heterosexism, and sexism.

Additionally, research is needed to discover any unique developmental or motivational differences between White allies and allies of color. In particular, it can be argued that a person with the visible stigma of being a racial minority may hesitate taking on another level of stigma by associating with sexual minority ally work. The intersection of these different stigmas implicitly increases the risk-taking asked of allies of color. A similar argument can be made for individuals that experience the stigma associated with being from a low socioeconomic status. Further exploration of these unique, intersecting positions is essential to understand and appreciate the full range of heterosexual ally development.

The intersection of heterosexual identity development, social justice activism, and attitudes toward sexual minorities offers another rich area for future research. First, there remains a tension between the nearly comprehensive heterosexual identity development model put forth by Worthington and colleagues (2002) that does not identify ally activism as a developmental criterion versus other models that focus on privileged individuals developing a commitment to social justice activism (Broido, 2000b; Helms 1990, 1995; Sullivan, 1998; Worell & Remer; 2003). The present study's examination of heterosexual exemplars reinforces the importance of incorporating sexual minority ally work into heterosexual identity development models. Furthermore, future research is needed to understand the process of heterosexual identity development and attitudes toward sexual minorities. One would predict that heterosexual individuals who were further along in their identity development would hold more affirming attitudes toward sexual minorities. Creating a heterosexual identity development measurement that could be used in combination with a modern LGBT attitude scale (e.g. Morrison & Morrison, 2002) would be invaluable.

Conclusion

“I’m aware that there is unearned power that I have [as a heterosexual]. And by golly, if I can use it in a way that helps other people, then that’s where I’m going with it” (Participant 8). This study sought to examine the motivational and developmental processes that lead heterosexually-identified individuals to pursue sexual minority social

justice. Results from the analysis indicated that a wide range of influences and experiences led these participants to recognize their role in transforming the dominant culture of which they are part. Influences from family members, recognition of and subsequent responsiveness to oppression and privilege, personal values and attitudes, reactions from an array of others, and rewards from their work all contributed to these participants' development and dedication to sexual minority ally work. Further application of these results was subsequently detailed to help cultivate the kinds of training environments that will shape and encourage sexual minority social justice activism.

The work involved in dismantling homonegativity and realizing social justice for sexual minorities is considerable and the role of heterosexuals paramount. As the same participant later noted,

my hope is down the road my voice won't be needed. Everybody's voice will have just as much power and people can speak for their needs and the needs of the people they love and be respected... but I'm a realist and that's where we are right now and so that's what I do. (Participant 8)

Until such a time, heterosexual ally-work must continue with support from a broad community that centralizes social justice values and honors the place of sexual minorities within this framework.

Appendix A: LGBT Community Organizations

Gay/Lesbian Services Organization (GLSO) seeks to improve the quality of life for members of the gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered communities of Eastern and Central Kentucky and their families. The GLSO acts as an umbrella group, working to promote communication and cooperation among the many diverse social action, social support and advocacy groups that serve the lesbigaytrans peoples in this region.

Contact information:

Mary Crone
1630 Ashwood
Lexington, KY 40502
859-266-5904
marycrone@insightbb.com

Kentucky Fairness Alliance seeks to advance equality for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people through leadership development, public education and by encouraging participation in the democratic process.

Contact information:

Jennifer Crossen
389 Waller Avenue
Suite 100
Lexington, KY 40504

Appendix B: Screening Phone Script for Participants

“Hi, my name is Julie Duhigg and I am a doctoral student at the University of Kentucky. _____ gave me your name when s/he learned about the study I am working on and thought you might be interested. Is this an OK time to talk?”

(**YES** - continue; **NO** - “would there be a better time that I might be able to talk to you?”
YES - arrange callback; **NO** - “Thank you for your time”)

I’m currently conducting a study about what motivates heterosexual people to become allies with LGBT groups and work for LGBT equality. _____ nominated you because of your work with _____ and I am wondering if you might be interested in participating. The process would include an in-person interview with myself and completion of a short demographic form. I expect that the meeting would take no longer than two hours of your time. If you chose to participate you could either come to UK’s campus for the interview, or I could come to your home if this is more convenient for you. Do you have interest in participating in this project or any questions that I could answer?

(**YES** - continue; **NO** - “Thank you for your time”)

In order to be sure you are eligible for the study, I need to ask you three questions. Are you 25 years or older? Do you identify yourself as heterosexual? Have you participated in some form of LGBT advocacy work within the past year?

(**YES** - continue; **NO** to **ANY** criteria - “I’m sorry, you are not eligible for this particular study, but I thank you for your interest and time”)

Arrange interview date, time, and place. Also, arrange to mail or email the person the interview questions in advance. Ask her/him to read through and consider the questions prior to the interview. **CLOSE**: “Thank you for your time and for agreeing to help me with my research project. If you have any questions or need to reschedule, please feel

free to phone me at home (245-3209) or email me (jmduhi2@uky.edu). I look forward to meeting with you.”

Appendix C: Consent Form
Consent to Participate in Research Study

Motivations of LGBT Allies

WHY AM I BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?

You are being invited to take part in a research study about social activists on behalf of lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals. If you take part in this study, you will be one of about 8-12 people to do so.

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY?

The person in charge of this study is Julie M. Duhigg, Ed.S. She will be supervised by Sharon Scales Rostosky, Ph.D. Both are from the University of Kentucky. There will be other people on the research team assisting at different times during the study.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The purpose of this study is to understand the perspectives and experiences of heterosexually-identified persons who actively work on behalf of lesbian, gay, and bisexual issues.

WHERE IS THE STUDY GOING TO TAKE PLACE AND HOW LONG WILL IT LAST?

The research procedures will be conducted in a location of your choice. The session will take about 1½ hours.

WHAT WILL I BE ASKED TO DO?

If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to respond to several questions (which will be provided to you in advance) and complete a brief form regarding background information about you.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY I SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?

You should NOT volunteer to participate in this study if you do not identify yourself as heterosexual; are under 25 years of age; and/or have not been involved in lesbian, gay, and bisexual advocacy work in some form within the past year.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?

To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be doing have no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life. Although we have made every effort to minimize this, you may find some questions we ask you to be upsetting or stressful.

Therefore, YOU MAY ELECT TO SKIP ANY QUESTION(S) THAT YOU DO NOT WISH TO ANSWER OR DISCUSS. In addition to the risks listed above, you may experience a previously unknown risk or side effect.

WILL I BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There is no guarantee that you will get any benefit from taking part in this study. However, some people have reported that they enjoyed participating and learned something about themselves that was beneficial to their everyday lives. We cannot and do not guarantee that you will receive any benefits from this study.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?

If you decide to take part in the study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering.

WHAT WILL IT COST ME TO PARTICIPATE?

You may have to pay for the cost of getting to and from a study site at the University of Kentucky, if you choose to participate at that location.

WILL I RECEIVE ANY PAYMENT OR REWARDS FOR TAKING PART IN THE STUDY?

You will not receive any monetary compensation for your participation in this study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION I GIVE?

The interview will be audio taped and transcribed. All identifying information will be removed at this time. The coding team will analyze all of the interviews to discover important themes across the interviews.

There are some circumstances in which we may have to show your information to other people or to tell authorities if we believe you have abused another individual or are a danger to yourself or someone else. Also, we may be required to show information that identifies you to people who need to be sure we have conducted the research correctly and ethically; these would be people from the University of Kentucky responsible for the ethical treatment of all research participants.

WHAT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

If you have questions about the study, you can contact the principle investigator, Julie M. Duhigg, Ed.S., by calling (859) 245-3209 or by emailing jmduhi2@uky.edu. You may also contact the faculty supervisor, Sharon Scales Rostosky, Ph.D., by calling (859) 257-

7880 or by emailing rostosk@uky.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research volunteer, you are welcome to contact the staff in the Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky at (859) 257-3138. You will receive a copy of this consent form to take with you.

Signature of person agreeing to take part in the study Date

Printed name of person taking part in the study

Name of person providing information to the participant

Appendix D: Demographic Questionnaire

DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

Directions: This brief questionnaire asks for some basic information about you. Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability. If you do not find an answer that is adequate, feel free to write in an answer in the space provided. You may refuse to answer any question(s). Remember all the information obtained through this questionnaire will be treated confidentially.

1. What is your sex? _____
2. What is your date of birth? _____
3. How would you describe your sexual orientation?
 Exclusively Heterosexual
 Mostly Heterosexual
 Somewhat Heterosexual, Somewhat Homosexual
 Mostly Homosexual
 Exclusively Homosexual
4. How would you describe your ethnicity/race? _____
5. How would you describe your current romantic relationship status? (check all that currently apply)
 I am single
 I am dating
 I am divorced
 I am separated
 I am widowed
 I am involved in a long-term, committed relationship
 I am married
6. Are you presently employed? If yes, what is your current job or occupation?
 Yes (current job _____)
 No
7. Approximately how many hours per month are you involved in LGBT advocacy work?
_____ hours a month
8. Do you consider yourself to be religious and/or spiritual?
 Yes No Unsure/Don't know
9. If you do consider yourself to be religious, how often do you participate in organized religious activities (ex. attending church, temple, etc.)?
 More than once a week
 Once a week
 A few times a month
 A few times a year
 Once a year or less

Never

10. *If you do consider yourself to be spiritual, how often do you spend time in spiritual activities (ex.*

private meditation, prayer, etc.)?

More than once a day

Daily

Two or more times a week

Once a week

A few times a month

Rarely or never

11. *What is your highest level of education completed?*

Some high school

Completed high school

Some college

Completed college

Some graduate school

Completed Master's degree

Completed Doctoral degree

Other: _____

12. *What is your annual household income?*

\$15,000/year or less

\$15,001 - \$25,000

\$25,001 - \$35,000

\$35,001 - \$45,000

\$45,001 - \$55,000

\$55,001 - \$65,000

more than \$65,000

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix E: Interview Protocol

1. Tell me about your involvement with the LGBT community? What is it that you do?
2. What experiences, people, life events have influenced your choice to do this kind of work?
3. How have these experiences been influenced by your gender/race/class/geographic location/experiences of oppression?
4. What does your work on LGBT issues say about you and your values?
5. How have your attitudes and feelings about LGBT people changed over the course of time?
6. How have your attitudes and feelings about yourself as a heterosexual changed over time?
7. What kinds of reactions have you received as a heterosexual doing this work? What challenges have you faced as a heterosexual doing this work?
8. What benefits do you enjoy from doing this work?
9. What is important to you about what you are doing? What motivates you to keep doing this work?
10. Where do you get emotional support for this work?
11. Based on your experience, if you were to say “how does a person become an ally” what would you say?
12. What has this interview been like for you?

Appendix F: Example of Domain Abstracts for a Transcript

Participant #8 - Female

Early Family Modeling

Ps father expressed bigoted ideas. Ps mother expressed acceptance of all individuals based on their inherent worth. P internalized mother's beliefs.

Recognition of Oppression and Privilege

P witnessed discrimination of others based on race, class, gender, and sexual orientation. P's family friend delayed disclosure that he was gay to her family because his family of origin rejected him when he came out to them. Ps best friend is gay. P experienced discrimination based on her sex. P was once disappointed to learn a man she found attractive was gay. P participated in a memorial event for the death of Matthew Shepherd. Ps work with trauma survivors made her angry and sad that people harm one another.

Response to Recognition

P recognizes that she has White and heterosexual privilege. P was restrained in her work because she was discriminated against as a woman. Ps experience with gender discrimination allowed her to have some understanding of other minorities' experiences. P was sad to realize her (and other's) heterosexist assumptions about a man's sexual orientation may have contributed to him feeling miserable. P indicates she has a responsibility to others that comes with her privilege. P recognizes and values that gay people exist everywhere. P believes gay romantic relationships offer no threat to her romantic relationship.

Impact of Values/Attitudes

P values the people in her life, regardless of their social identities. P values different beliefs and does not agree with imposing one's values onto others. P believes that an individual's sexual orientation is not a choice. P indicates she has a responsibility to act and work toward change that comes with her privilege. P recognizes a core, shared humanity with others. P believes that society needs to change. P believes that getting to know oneself and one's beliefs are important steps in ally-development.

Reactions to Ally Work

Some people have challenged Ps ally-work, telling her it is wrong and immoral. P anticipates a family member would limit Ps interactions with her nephew if this member knew the extent of Ps ally-work. P experienced some initial suspicion from the gay community when she began her ally-work. P receives support for her ally-work from her husband and her mother. P indicates that her circle of friends is supportive and gay positive.

Rewards from Ally Work

P indicated that her ally-work feels good and is intrinsically rewarding. P considers her ability to work with LGBT individuals a privilege. P identified supporting LGBT individuals as rewarding to her.

Appendix G: Example of Consensus Cross Analysis for One Domain

Early Family Influence

positive impact

3 - Parents and grandparents passed down sense of fairness and justice; father was active in Civil Rights, member of NAACP, and grandmother was adamant that he not use derogatory language.

4 - P discussed being brought up in a religion that cares about all human beings, as well as an interest in social justice.

5 - P was raised in environment where nothing negative was said about anybody; message was that people should be treated with respect.

7 - P discussed having a father that was very open minded and growing up in a family that wasn't prejudiced.

8 - Ps mother expressed acceptance of all individuals based on their inherent worth. P internalized mother's beliefs.

9 - Ps father was an activist, parents were liberal. Parents taught P to judge people based on who they are and what they do.

negative impact

8 - Ps father expressed bigoted ideas.

10 - P identified family biases against gays and minorities.

12 - P recalled that his family avoided talking directly about LGBT people when he grew up. P shared that because his family didn't talk about LGBT people he wondered whether they would be accepting of sexual minorities.

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Educational Specialist	2004	Counseling Psychology University of Kentucky Lexington, Kentucky
Master of Arts Women's Studies Graduate Certificate	2001	Community Counseling University of Cincinnati Cincinnati, Ohio
Bachelor of Arts Women's Studies Certificate	1996	Anthropology University of Cincinnati Cincinnati, Ohio

CLINICAL EXPERIENCE

2007 – Present	Psychology Intern , University of Akron, Counseling, Testing, and Career Center; Akron, Ohio
2005; 2001 – 2004	Counselor , University of Kentucky Counseling and Testing Center; Lexington, Kentucky
2004 – 2005	Psychology Student Affiliate , Eastern State Hospital; Lexington, Kentucky
2002 – 2005	Counselor , Counseling Psychology Services Clinic; Lexington, Kentucky
2000-2001	Master's Intern , Recovery Solutions;

Cincinnati, Ohio

- 2001 **Group Leader**, Counseling Program,
University of Cincinnati; Cincinnati, Ohio
- 2000 **Practicum Student**, Walk-in Clinic,
University of Cincinnati; Cincinnati, Ohio

RESEARCH , TEACHING, WORK EXPERIENCE

- Research Assistant Fall Semesters 2003,
2005
Psychosocial Research Initiative on Sexual Minorities (PRISM),
Department of Educational and Counseling Psychology, University of Kentucky
- Teaching Assistant Spring Semester 2003
Issues and Techniques in the Counseling of Women with Pam Remer, Ph.D.
Department of Educational and Counseling Psychology, University of Kentucky
- Research Assistant 2001 - 2002
HIV Prevention Research, University of Kentucky
- Graduate Assistant 1998 - 2000
Women's Center, University of Cincinnati
- Patient Advocate 1996 - 1998
Cincinnati Women's Services, Cincinnati, Ohio

PUBLICATIONS

- Dudley, M. G., Rostosky, S. S., Riggle, E. D., **Duhigg, J. M.**, Brodnicki, C., & Couch, R. (2005). Same-sex couples' experiences with homonegativity. *Journal of GLBT Family Studies, 1*, 61-78.
- Rostosky, S. S., Korfhage, B. A., **Duhigg, J. M.**, Stern, A. J., Bennett, L., & Riggle, E. D. B. (2004). Same-sex couple perceptions of family support: A consensual qualitative study. *Family Process, 43*, 43-57.

PRESENTATIONS

- Duhigg, J. M.**, Rostosky, S. S., Gray, B. E., & Wimsatt, M. K. (2006, August). Development of heterosexuals into sexual minority allies: A qualitative

exploration. Poster presented at annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, LA.

Korfhage, B. A., Leake, V. S., & **Duhigg, J. M.** (2005, August). Self-efficacy beliefs for providing affirmative counseling to sexual minority clients. Poster presented at annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C.

Korfhage, B. A., Leake, V. S., & **Duhigg, J. M.** (2005, April). Self-efficacy beliefs for providing affirmative counseling to sexual minority clients. Poster presented at annual Department of Education and Counseling Psychology Colloquium, Lexington, KY.

Korfhage, B. A., **Duhigg, J. M.**, Stern, A. J., Bennett, A. L., & Rostosky, S. S. (August, 2003). A qualitative analysis of same-sex couples' perceptions of family support. Poster presented at annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, Ontario.

Korfhage, B. A., **Duhigg, J. M.**, Stern, A. J., Bennett, A. L., & Rostosky, S. S. (March, 2003). A qualitative analysis of same-sex couples' perceptions of family support. Poster presented at annual Department of Education and Counseling Psychology Colloquium, Lexington, KY.

McGinnis-Hemphill, K., & **Duhigg, J. M.** Privilege and diversity awareness in counselor training: An ecological approach. Presentation at annual meeting of the American Counseling Association, San Antonio, TX.

Duhigg, J. M. (March, 2001). Female adolescent sexuality: Promoting responsible choices. Poster presentation at annual meeting of the American Counseling Association, San Antonio, TX.

Duhigg, J. M. (May, 2000). Adolescent pregnancy prevention: Reducing risk and promoting responsible choices. Poster presentation at annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Education Research Partnership, Louisville, KY.

Duhigg, J. M. (May, 2000). Adolescent pregnancy prevention: Reducing risk and promoting responsible choices. Poster presentation at annual meeting of the Chi Sigma Iota Spring Symposium, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH.

PROFESSIONAL HONORS AND AWARDS

Maylon-Smith Scholarship Award, APA Division 44
2005 Award recipient, \$400 dissertation research funding

Arvle and Ellen Turner Thacker Endowment Fund, UK College of Education
2005 Award recipient, \$500 dissertation research funding

National Certified Counselor

2002-present; National Board for Certified Counselors

Outstanding Counseling Master's Degree Graduate

2001, University of Cincinnati, Department of Counseling

MEMBERSHIPS IN PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

American Psychological Association

Graduate Student Affiliate

Division 35 - Society for the Psychology of Women

Division 44 - Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Issues