

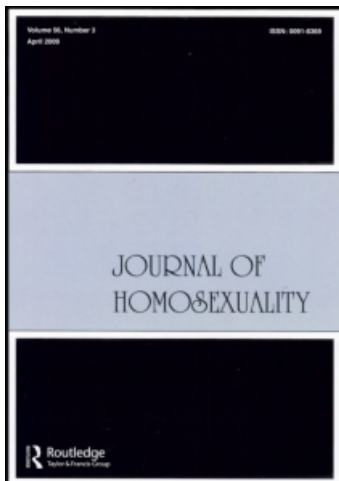
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### Cultural Value Orientations, Internalized Homophobia, and Accommodation in Romantic Relationships

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# Cultural Value Orientations, Internalized Homophobia, and Accommodation in Romantic Relationships<sup>1</sup>

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**ABSTRACT.** In the present study, we examined the impact of cultural value orientations (i.e., the personally oriented value of individualism, and the socially oriented values of collectivism, familism, romanticism, and spiritualism) on accommodation (i.e., voice and loyalty, rather than exit and neglect, responses to partners' anger or criticism) in heterosexual and gay relationships; and we examined the impact of internalized homophobia (i.e., attitudes toward self, other, and disclosure) on accommodation specifically in gay relationships. A total of 262 heterosexuals (102 men and 162 women) and 857 gays (474 men and 383 women) participated in the present study. Consistent with hypotheses, among heterosexuals and gays, socially oriented values were significantly and positively related to accommodation (whereas the personally oriented value of individualism was unrelated to accommodation); and among gays in particular, internalized homophobia was significantly and negatively related to accommodation. Implications for the study of heterosexual and gay relationships are discussed. [Article copies available for a fee from The Haworth Document Delivery Service: 1-800-HAWORTH. E-mail address: <docdelivery@haworthpress.com> Website: <<http://www.HaworthPress.com>> © 2005 by The Haworth Press, Inc. All rights reserved.]

**KEYWORDS.** Cultural values, internalized homophobia, accommodation, interdependence, reinforcement, same-sex romantic relationships, heterosexual romantic relationships

Within the emerging science of personal relationships (Berscheid & Reis, 1998), social-psychological research has been dominated by reinforcement-based theories building upon Skinner's (1938) basic idea that individuals are especially likely to persist in behavior that yields rewards, rather than costs, over time. Unfortunately, certain reinforcement-based theories explain processes in opposite-sex romantic relationships but not in same-sex romantic relationships. For example, resource exchange theory (U. G. Foa & E. B. Foa, 1974) predicts that relationship partners will reciprocate affection as well as respect. This set of predictions is supported among opposite-sex couples (i.e., both affection and respect are reciprocated; Gaines, 1996). However, among same-sex couples, this set of predictions is supported only partially, if at all (i.e., affection, but not respect, is reciprocated among gay male couples; neither affection nor respect is reciprocated among gay female couples; Gaines & Henderson, in press).

By the same token, certain reinforcement-based theories explain processes in same-sex as well as opposite-sex romantic relationships. For example, interdependence theory (Thibaut & Kelley, 1959) predicts that relationship satisfaction and investments will be positively related, whereas alternatives to the relationship will be negatively related, to relationship commitment. This set of predictions is supported in studies of heterosexual men and women (Rusbult, 1980a, 1983) and of gay men and women (Duffy & Rusbult, 1986). Thus, interdependence processes as a whole may transcend individuals' sexuality.

In the present study, we examined the impact of cultural value orientations (Gaines, 1997) on one type of interdependence process—namely, accommodation (Rusbult, Verette et al., 1991)—in heterosexual and gay relationships. In addition, we examined the impact of internalized homophobia (Nungesser, 1983) on accommodation specifically in gay relationships. We begin by reviewing the respective literatures on accommodation, cultural value orientations, and internalized homophobia.

### **ACCOMMODATION IN PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS**

Interdependence theory is unique among reinforcement-based theories of personal relationship processes in suggesting that individuals often stop to reflect on the potential consequences that their behavior at a given point in time will have upon the stability of their personal relationships at a later point in time before deciding upon a particular course in action. As a result, individuals may opt not to engage in behavior that brings immediate rewards if that behavior also is likely to threaten the stability of their relationships. The possibility that individuals might voluntarily forgo short-term individual benefits for the sake of long-term relationship benefits makes perfect sense from an interdependence theory perspective but may seem anachronous from the perspective of resource exchange theory. One reason for this divergence of perspective may be that the role of cognition, which is central to interdependence theory, is all but missing from many, if not most, reinforcement-based theories that emphasize social exchange (see Jacobson & Margolin, 1979).

One concept that is derived directly from interdependence theory is accommodation, or the process by which individuals refrain from reciprocating partners' anger or criticism, instead responding to partners' hostility with overt or covert attempts at maintaining their relationships

(Rusbult, Verette et al., 1991). According to Rusbult and her colleagues (e.g., Rusbult & Zembrodt, 1983; Rusbult, Zembrodt, & Gunn, 1982), individuals may engage in a variety of responses to partners' negativity: (1) exit (i.e., active, destructive behavior, such as telling one's partner that one wishes to end the relationship); (2) voice (i.e., active, constructive behavior, such as asking one's partner to sit down and discuss what has prompted the partner to behave badly); (3) loyalty (i.e., passive, constructive, behavior, such as remaining expressionless until the partner has calmed down); and (4) neglect (i.e., passive, destructive behavior, such as glaring at one's partner). To the extent that individuals display constructive (i.e., voice and loyalty) over destructive (i.e., exit and neglect) responses to partners' anger or criticism, those individuals display willingness to accommodate to their partners. Voice comes closest to embodying the concept of accommodation; and neglect is negatively correlated with voice (Rusbult, Olson, Davis, & Hannon, 2001).

In previous studies of interdependence processes, among social-psychological constructs, one variable—namely, relationship commitment (i.e., one's persistence in remaining in a personal relationship; Rusbult, 1980a, (b)—consistently has emerged as the primary predictor of accommodation in heterosexual and gay relationships. However, among personality constructs, a variety of variables have emerged as predictors of accommodation in heterosexual or gay relationships. For example, some studies have focused on attachment style as a predictor of accommodation (e.g., Gaines & Henderson, 2002; Gaines, Reis et al., 1997); whereas other studies have focused on gender-related personality characteristics as predictors of accommodation (e.g., Rusbult, Verette et al., 1991; Rusbult, Zembrodt, & Iwaniszek, 1986). One consistent finding of research on personality (and, for that matter, social-psychological) predictors of accommodation is that the same interdependence processes that characterize heterosexual relationships also characterize gay relationships (Rusbult, Olson, Davis, & Hannon, 2001).

### ***IMPACT OF CULTURAL VALUES ON ACCOMMODATION IN HETEROSEXUAL AND GAY RELATIONSHIPS***

As we noted above, previous researchers have examined the impact of various personality variables on accommodation in heterosexual and gay relationships. Personality variables can be conceptualized as features of persons that are reflected in various agendas that, in turn, are di-

rected toward specific relationship outcomes (Snyder & Cantor, 1998). For example, attachment style (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991; Hazan & Shaver, 1987) can be conceptualized as a feature of persons that is reflected in *relationship agendas* (i.e., agendas that involve the formation of enduring, intimate relationships with other persons over time) and relationship outcomes. In addition, gender-related personality characteristics (Bem, 1974; Spence, Helmreich, & Holahan, 1979) can be conceptualized as features of persons that are reflected in *interpersonal agendas* (i.e., agendas that involve the management of social interactions with other persons at a given point in time) and relationship outcomes.

Another group of personality dimensions that can be understood in terms of features of persons, agendas, and relationship outcomes is *cultural value orientations*, or organized sets of beliefs that are communicated by societal agents to individuals and that are internalized by different persons to different degrees (Gaines, 1997). Cultural value orientations can be conceptualized as features of persons that are reflected in *individual agendas* (i.e., agendas that involve the development of individuals' personal and social identities) and relationship outcomes. Cultural value orientations include *individualism* (i.e., an orientation toward the welfare of oneself), *collectivism* (i.e., an orientation toward the welfare of one's larger community), *familism* (i.e., an orientation toward the welfare of one's immediate and extended family), *romanticism* (i.e., an orientation toward the welfare of one's romantic relationship), and *spiritualism* (i.e., an orientation toward the welfare of all living entities, both natural and supernatural). As a personally oriented value, individualism is conceptually and empirically separate from the socially oriented values of collectivism, familism, romanticism, and spiritualism (see Gaines, Marelich et al., 1997). In turn, scores on collectivism and the other socially oriented values tend to be positively intercorrelated; yet collectivism comes closest to embodying the concept of socially oriented values (Triandis, 1995).

From the standpoint of interdependence theory, the impact of "we-orientations" upon accommodation is relatively easy to predict. Collectivism, familism, romanticism, and spiritualism are varieties of an interdependent cultural value orientation emphasizing the importance of relationship maintenance (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998). Thus, individuals' internalization of socially oriented values should be positively associated with individuals' willingness to accommodate toward relationship partners. However, the impact of the "me-orientation" upon accommodation is not so easy to predict. On the

one hand, if scores on the personally oriented value of individualism are negatively related to scores on socially oriented values (e.g., collectivism; see Hofstede, 1980), then individuals' internalization of the personally oriented value should be negatively associated with individuals' accommodation toward relationship partners. On the other hand, if scores on the personally oriented value are unrelated to scores on socially oriented values (e.g., collectivism and familism; see Gaines, Marelich et al., 1997)—a perspective that increasingly has gained conceptual and empirical support within the literature on culture and personality (Triandis, 1995)—then individuals' internalization of the personally oriented value should be unrelated to individuals' accommodation toward relationship partners.

### **IMPACT OF INTERNALIZED HOMOPHOBIA ON ACCOMMODATION IN GAY RELATIONSHIPS**

So far, we have considered the impact of personality variables on accommodation in heterosexual as well as gay relationships. However, given that gay men and gay women are stigmatized as a group within Western nations (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998), certain personality variables reflecting gays' psychological responses to their stigmatized status might be related to individuals' accommodation toward romantic partners specifically in gay relationships. Such personality variables have been ignored within the mainstream, heterosexually oriented literature on personal relationships (see Huston & Schwartz, 1995; Peplau & Spalding, 2000).

One personality variable that may be manifested in personal relationship processes among gay men and gay women in particular is *internalized homophobia*, or a set of negative attitudes toward homosexuality in others and in oneself (Nungesser, 1983). Internalized homophobia may be conceptualized as a feature of persons that is reflected in individuals' *group agendas* (i.e., agendas that involve the person's membership and active participation in larger group, organizational, and societal contexts) and relationship outcomes. Internalized homophobia includes negative attitudes toward *self* (i.e., attitudes toward one's own homosexuality), *other* (i.e., attitudes toward homosexuality in general and toward other gay persons), and *disclosure* (i.e., attitudes toward others knowing about one's own homosexuality). Scores on measures of the self, other, and disclosure dimensions of internalized homosexuality tend to be positively intercorrelated; yet the attitudes-toward-self

dimension comes closest to embodying the concept of internalized homophobia (Shidlo, 1994).

Interdependence theory does not explicitly address the manifestation of personality variables specifically in gay relationships. However, Shidlo (1994) suggested that internalized homophobia is negatively related to gays' relationship-promoting behaviors in general (see also Downey & Friedman, 1995; Dupras, 1994). If accommodation is a pattern of behavior that facilitates relationship maintenance, then internalized homophobia should be negatively related to gays' accommodation in particular.

### **GOALS OF THE PRESENT STUDY**

In the present study, we tested the following hypotheses regarding cultural value orientations, internalized homophobia, and accommodation in romantic relationships: (1) With regard to relations among latent variables, (a) among heterosexuals as well as gays, individuals' social orientation (measured positively by collectivism, familism, romanticism, and spiritualism) will be positively and significantly related to accommodation, but no relationship is expected between individuals' personal orientation (measured positively by individualism) and accommodation; and (b) among gays in particular, individuals' internalized homophobia (measured positively by negative attitudes toward self, other, and disclosure) will be negatively and significantly related to accommodation. (2) With regard to relations between latent and observed variables, (a) among heterosexuals as well as gays, the individualism scale will load positively and significantly on the Personal Orientation factor; (b) among heterosexuals as well as gays, the collectivism, familism, romanticism, and spiritualism scales will load positively and significantly on the Social Orientation factor; (c) among heterosexuals as well as gays, the voice and loyalty scales will load significantly and positively, whereas the exit and neglect scales will load negatively and significantly, on the Accommodation factor.

### **METHOD**

#### ***Participants***

*Heterosexual sample.* The heterosexual sample consisted of 262 individuals (102 men, 160 women; Gilstrap, 1999; Yi, 1999). The mean



age of heterosexuals was 19.56 years ( $SD = 2.72$  years). In terms of ethnicity, 63% of heterosexuals were European American, 6% were African American, 11% were Latina/o, 17% were Asian American, and 3% were "Other." The mean relationship length for heterosexuals was 1.37 years ( $SD = 1.57$  years). Individuals in the heterosexual sample were introductory psychology students who received one hour of experiment credit as compensation for their participation in the study.

*Gay sample.* The gay sample consisted of 857 individuals (474 men, 383 women; Henderson, 2001). The mean age of gays was 37.69 years ( $SD = 10.29$  years). In terms of ethnicity, 87% of gays were European American, 2% were African American, 3% were Latina/o, 2% were Asian American, 1% were Native American, and 5% were "Other." The mean relationship length for gays was 6.16 years ( $SD = 6.97$  years). Individuals in the gay sample were volunteers who received no compensation for their participation in the study.

## Materials

*Heterosexual sample.* In the heterosexual sample, individuals completed the following cultural value orientation scales (see Gaines, Marelich et al., 1997): (1) *Individualism* (10 items; e.g., "I am the master of my own fate"), measuring an orientation toward the welfare of oneself; (2) *collectivism* (10 items; e.g., "I want the opportunity to give back to my community"), measuring an orientation toward the welfare of one's larger community; (3) *familism* (10 items; e.g., "My family is always there for me in times of need"), measuring an orientation toward the welfare of one's family; (4) *romanticism* (10 items; e.g., "I believe that if two people truly love each other, a relationship can last a lifetime"), measuring an orientation toward the welfare of one's romantic relationship; and (5) *spiritualism* (10 items; e.g., "I believe that a higher power is at work in my life"), measuring an orientation toward the welfare of all living entities. All items were scored according to a 5-point, Likert-type scale (1 = disagree strongly; 5 = agree strongly); higher scores reflected higher levels of the cultural value orientation in question. Results of reliability analyses indicated that the cultural value orientation scales generally were internally consistent (standardized item alphas = .55 for individualism, .76 for collectivism, .87 for familism, .69 for romanticism, and .73 for spiritualism).

In the heterosexual sample, individuals also completed the following accommodation-related scales (see Rusbult, Verette et al., 1991): (1) *exit* (3 items; e.g., "When my partner yells at me, I consider breaking

up”), measuring an active, destructive type of response; (2) *voice* (3 items; e.g., “When my partner yells at me, I calmly discuss things with my partner”), measuring an active, constructive type of response; (3) *loyalty* (3 items; e.g., “When my partner yells at me, I give my partner the benefit of the doubt and forget about it”), measuring a passive, constructive type of response; and (4) *neglect* (3 items; e.g., “When my partner yells at me, I sulk and try to avoid my partner”), measuring a passive, destructive type of response. All items were scored according to a 9-point, Likert-type scale (1 = never do this; 9 = constantly do this); higher scores reflected higher levels of the accommodation-related response in question. Results of reliability analyses indicated that the accommodation-related scales were internally consistent (standardized item alphas = .90 for exit, .76 for voice, .69 for loyalty, and .73 for neglect).

*Gay sample.* In the gay sample, individuals completed 5-item versions of the aforementioned cultural value orientation scales. All of the sample items mentioned above for the heterosexual sample were included in the scales for the gay sample. However, due to concerns that several of the romanticism items in particular may have been heterosexist, those problematic items were excluded from the questionnaire for the gay sample (for discussions of the need to guard against heterosexism in research on gay relationships, see Huston & Schwartz, 1995; Peplau & Spalding, 2000). In order to ensure that equal numbers of items were used from each scale, five items were dropped from the other cultural value orientation scales (based on factor loadings, rather than item content). Results of reliability analyses indicated that the cultural value orientation scales generally were internally consistent (standardized item alphas = .47 for individualism, .74 for collectivism, .88 for familism, .76 for romanticism, and .90 for spiritualism).

In the gay sample, individuals also completed the aforementioned 3-item scales measuring responses to partners’ anger or criticism. Results of reliability analyses indicated that the accommodation-related scales were internally consistent (standardized item alphas = .94 for exit, .76 for voice, .78 for loyalty, and .72 for neglect).

Finally, in the gay sample, individuals completed the Nungesser Homosexuality Attitudes Questionnaire (NHAI; Nungesser, 1983). The NHAI consists of three scales: (1) Attitudes toward *self* (15 items; e.g., “Whenever I think a lot about being gay, I feel depressed”), measuring attitudes toward one’s own homosexuality; (2) attitudes toward *other* (8 items; e.g., “Homosexuality is a sexual perversion”), measuring attitudes toward homosexuality in general and toward other gay persons; and (3) attitudes toward *disclosure* (11 items; e.g., “It is important for

me to conceal the fact that I am gay from most people”), measuring attitudes toward others’ knowledge about one’s own homosexuality. All items were scored according to a 5-point, Likert-type scale (1 = disagree strongly, 5 = agree strongly); reverse-coded items were rescored so that higher scores reflected higher levels of the internalized homophobia dimension in question. Results of reliability analyses indicated that the internalized homophobia scales generally were internally consistent (standardized item alphas = .76 for self, .58 for other, and .85 for disclosure).

### ***Procedure***

*Heterosexual sample.* Participants in the heterosexual sample were recruited from introductory psychology classes, through posted sign-up sheets and through direct visits to classes by one or more of the authors, at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, at Pomona College, and at California State University-Los Angeles. Participants completed two survey questionnaires (“Dispositions and Attitudes” and “Personality and Close Relationships”) containing several scales measuring personality characteristics and personal relationship processes involving persons of the opposite sex. Participants read and signed informed consent sheets, completed the aforementioned scales measuring cultural value orientations and accommodation among heterosexuals (as well as other scales that are not discussed further in the present paper); answered several demographic items; read debriefing forms; and optionally completed feedback sheets. Subsequently, participants were thanked; given one hour of experiment credit; and dismissed.

*Gay sample.* Participants in the gay sample were recruited via Internet groups and bulletin boards developed by and for gays. Participants were required to have been in an ongoing same-sex relationship for six months or longer at the time that they took part in the study. Participants completed a questionnaire (“Same-Sex Relationships Survey”) containing several scales measuring personality characteristics and personal relationship processes involving persons of the same sex. Participants read an informed consent sheet; entered assigned login names and passwords (in lieu of signatures); completed the aforementioned scales measuring cultural value orientations, internalized homophobia, and accommodation among gays (as well as other scales that are not discussed further in the present paper); answered several demographic items; and read a debriefing form.

## RESULTS

Matrices of zero-order correlations for heterosexuals and gays are presented in Table 1. In order to test the aforementioned hypotheses involving cultural value orientations, internalized homophobia, and accommodation separately for heterosexuals and gays, we conducted two series of multiple-group structural equation analyses via LISREL (Joreskog & Sorbom, 1996). In each series of analyses, gender served as the variable on which individuals were grouped.

### *Structural Equation Analyses of Cultural Values and Accommodation Among Heterosexuals*

First, we tested the goodness-of-fit of a series of structural equation models for the heterosexual sample. In each model, the following specifications were made: (1) In the measurement error matrix among observed variables, (a) all uncorrelated error terms associated with the measured variables (i.e., summed scores for individualism, collectivism, familism, romanticism, spiritualism, exit, voice, loyalty, and neglect) were freed (i.e., allowed to vary); (b) uncorrelated error terms for cultural value scales were constrained to be equal; and (c) uncorrelated error terms for accommodation-related scales were constrained to be equal. (2) In the factor loading matrix between observed and latent variables, (a) the loading for the individualism scale on the Personal Orientation factor was fixed at 1.00; (b) the loading for the collectivism scale on the Social Orientation factor was fixed at 1.00 (whereas the loadings for the familism, romanticism, and spiritualism scales on the Social Orientation factor were freed); and (c) the loading for the voice scale on the Accommodation factor was fixed at 1.00, and the loading for the neglect scale on the Accommodation factor was fixed at  $-1.00$  (whereas the loadings for the exit and loyalty scales on the Accommodation factor were freed). (3) In the variance-covariance matrix among latent variables, (a) unexplained variance associated with the predictors (i.e., Personal Orientation and Social Orientation) was fixed at 1.00; and (b) unexplained variance associated with the criterion (i.e., Accommodation) was freed. (4) In the path coefficient matrix among latent variables, the paths (a) from Personal Orientation to Accommodation and (b) from Social Orientation to Accommodation were freed.

In the initial model, all correlated measurement error terms were fixed at 0.00; and all freed parameters mentioned in the preceding paragraph were constrained to be equal across heterosexual men and hetero-

TABLE 1. Correlations Among Measured Variables

Heterosexuals									
Var.	Correlation								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	–	.03	<b>.20</b>	.13	<b>.18</b>	.09	.06	–.03	–.01
2	–.13	–	<b>.26</b>	<b>.32</b>	<b>.41</b>	– <b>.24</b>	<b>.23</b>	–.11	– <b>.27</b>
3	–.04	<b>.45</b>	–	<b>.40</b>	<b>.38</b>	–.03	–.02	–.07	–.08
4	–.04	<b>.31</b>	<b>.28</b>	–	<b>.42</b>	– <b>.26</b>	<b>.27</b>	–.05	– <b>.21</b>
5	–.05	<b>.40</b>	<b>.22</b>	<b>.42</b>	–	–.12	.08	–.07	–.06
6	.05	–.07	.02	– <b>.25</b>	.03	–	– <b>.18</b>	–.07	<b>.44</b>
7	–.08	<b>.27</b>	.14	<b>.44</b>	.11	– <b>.26</b>	–	.16	– <b>.32</b>
8	.00	–.02	.02	.00	–.13	.06	.06	–	<b>.22</b>
9	–.01	–.08	–.09	–.19	.07	<b>.52</b>	– <b>.28</b>	.19	–

Correlations for heterosexual men ( $n = 94$ ) are below the diagonal; correlations for heterosexual women ( $n = 148$ ) are above the diagonal. Significant correlations ( $p < .05$ ) are indicated in boldface. 1 = Individualism, 2 = Collectivism, 3 = Familism, 4 = Romanticism, 5 = Spiritualism, 6 = Exit, 7 = Voice, 8 = Loyalty, 9 = Neglect.

Gays												
Var.	Correlation											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	–	<b>.10</b>	.01	.08	.07	.02	–.04	.08	.08	.08	.06	.05
2	<b>.31</b>	–	<b>.30</b>	<b>.46</b>	<b>.27</b>	.06	.04	–.06	–.09	<b>.19</b>	.08	–.09
3	.01	<b>.34</b>	–	<b>.27</b>	<b>.17</b>	–.07	–.05	– <b>.10</b>	–.09	<b>.15</b>	.09	.01
4	<b>.34</b>	<b>.59</b>	<b>.21</b>	–	<b>.29</b>	.03	.00	–.02	– <b>.23</b>	<b>.15</b>	<b>.13</b>	–.07
5	<b>.12</b>	<b>.43</b>	<b>.33</b>	<b>.30</b>	–	.04	.00	–.02	– <b>.10</b>	.08	<b>.11</b>	–.03
6	.07	<b>.10</b>	–.03	–.02	.06	–	<b>.14</b>	<b>.13</b>	.03	.01	.04	.08
7	.01	.01	.04	.03	.01	<b>.22</b>	–	–.03	.08	–.02	.07	.00
8	–.06	– <b>.11</b>	–.04	–.07	–.01	<b>.13</b>	<b>.13</b>	–	.07	–.04	–.02	<b>.11</b>
9	.08	–.03	.03	– <b>.22</b>	–.01	<b>.21</b>	<b>.10</b>	<b>.11</b>	–	– <b>.23</b>	–.04	<b>.43</b>
10	–.01	.08	.04	.05	.04	.00	.00	–.01	– <b>.18</b>	–	<b>.18</b>	– <b>.28</b>
11	.07	.03	.05	.07	<b>.12</b>	.03	.02	.08	– <b>.12</b>	<b>.21</b>	–	<b>.18</b>
12	.03	–.02	–.01	.05	.00	<b>.16</b>	.02	.06	<b>.43</b>	– <b>.35</b>	<b>.12</b>	–

Correlations for gay men ( $n = 474$ ) are below the diagonal; correlations for gay women ( $n = 383$ ) are above the diagonal. Significant correlations ( $p < .05$ ) are indicated in boldface. 1 = Individualism, 2 = Collectivism, 3 = Familism, 4 = Romanticism, 5 = Spiritualism, 6 = Self, 7 = Other, 8 = Disclosure, 9 = Exit, 10 = Voice, 11 = Loyalty, 12 = Neglect.

sexual women. The amount of error associated with the initial model was significant (chi-square = 191.70, degrees of freedom = 80,  $p < .01$ ); and the chi-square/degrees-of-freedom ratio (2.40) was above the range of 1.00 to 2.00 commonly recommended in structural equation analyses (Loehlin, 1987). Thus, the initial model could be rejected. However, after accounting for several sources of correlated and uncorrelated measurement error terms that differed as a function of gender, we obtained a final model that yielded a significantly lower chi-square compared to the initial model (reduction in chi-square = 117.65, reduction in degrees of freedom = 16,  $p < .01$ ), an acceptable chi-square/degrees-of-freedom ratio (1.16), and an absolute chi-square that was nonsignificant (chi-square = 74.05, degrees of freedom = 64, *NS*). Thus, the final model yielded an acceptable absolute chi-square.

Path coefficients for Personal Orientation and Social Orientation as predictors of Accommodation among heterosexuals are presented in Figure 1. Factor loadings for all scales on the factors of Personal Orientation, Social Orientation, and Accommodation among heterosexuals are presented in Table 2. With regard to relations among latent variables, consistent with hypotheses, (a) Personal Orientation was not significant or marginal as a predictor of Accommodation among heterosexuals; and (b) Social Orientation was a significant, positive predictor of Accommodation among heterosexuals. With regard to relations between latent and observed variables, consistent with hypotheses, (a) individualism loaded significantly and positively on Personal Orientation; (b) collectivism, familism, romanticism, and spiritualism

FIGURE 1. Structural Portion of Final Model Involving Latent Variables

*Heterosexuals*

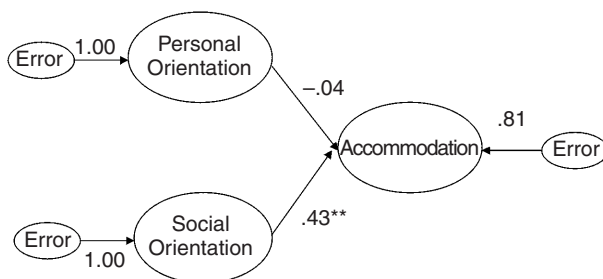
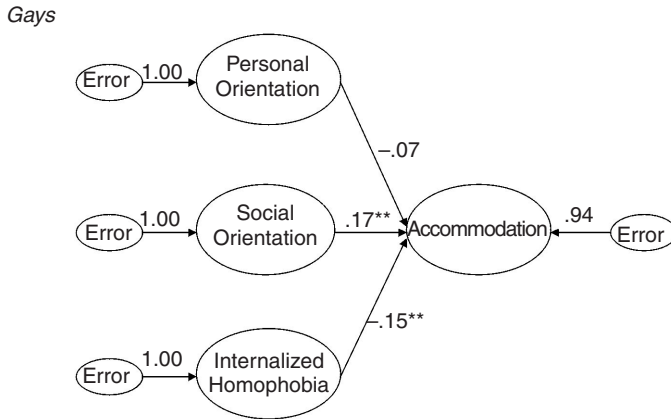


FIGURE 1 (continued)



Significant paths (except residuals) are asterisked as follows: \* $Z > 1.96$  ( $p < .05$ ). \*\* $Z > 2.58$  ( $p < .01$ ).

loaded significantly and positively on Social Orientation; and (c) voice loaded significantly and positively, whereas exit and neglect loaded significantly and negatively, on Accommodation. However, contrary to hypotheses, loyalty did not load significantly or positively on Accommodation. Therefore, with one exception, all of our hypotheses were supported for the heterosexual sample.

### ***Structural Equation Analyses of Cultural Values, Internalized Homophobia, and Accommodation Among Gays***

Next, in the gay sample, we tested the goodness-of-fit of a series of structural equation models. In each model, all of the specifications that were made for the heterosexual sample likewise were made for the gay sample. In addition, in the measurement error matrix among observed variables for the gay sample, all uncorrelated error terms associated with measures of homophobia (i.e., summed scores for attitudes toward self, attitudes toward other, and attitudes toward disclosure) were freed (i.e., allowed to vary); and uncorrelated error terms for internalized homophobia scales were constrained to be equal. Also, in the factor loading matrix between observed and latent variables for the gay sample, the loading for the attitudes-toward-self scale on the Internalized Homo-

TABLE 2. Higher-Order Factor Loadings for Final Model

Heterosexuals				
<i>Latent variable</i>				
Measured Variable	Personal Orientation	Social Orientation	Accommodation	
Individualism	1.00**			
Collectivism		1.00**		
Familism		.55**		
Romanticism		.65**		
Spiritualism		.58**		
Exit			-.59**	
Voice			.58**	
Loyalty			-.03	
Neglect			-.58**	

*Table caption:* \* $Z > 1.96$  ( $p < .05$ ). \*\* $Z > 2.58$  ( $p < .01$ ).

Gays				
Measured Variable	Personal Orientation	Social Orientation	Homophobia	Accommodation
Individualism	1.00**			
Collectivism		1.00**		
Familism		.58**		
Romanticism		.60**		
Spiritualism		.58**		
Self			1.00**	
Other			.37**	
Disclosure			.38**	
Exit				-.61**
Voice				.59**
Loyalty				.12*
Neglect				-.59**

*Table caption:* \* $Z > 1.96$  ( $p < .05$ ). \*\* $Z > 2.58$  ( $p < .01$ ).

phobia factor was fixed at 1.00 (whereas the loadings for the attitudes-toward-other and attitudes-toward-disclosure scales on the Internalized Homophobia factor were freed). Furthermore, in the variance-covariance matrix among latent variables for the gay sample, unexplained variance associated with Internalized Homophobia



was fixed at 1.00. Finally, in the path coefficient matrix among latent variables for the gay sample, the path from Internalized Homophobia to Accommodation was freed.

In the initial model, all correlated measurement error terms were fixed at 0.00; and all freed parameters mentioned in the preceding paragraph were constrained to be equal across gay men and gay women. The amount of error associated with the initial model was significant (chi-square = 834.34, degrees of freedom = 142,  $p < .01$ ); and the chi-square/degrees-of-freedom ratio (5.88) was above the range of 1.00 to 2.00 commonly recommended in structural equation analyses. Thus, the initial model could be rejected. However, after accounting for several sources of correlated and uncorrelated measurement error that differed as a function of gender, we obtained a final model that yielded a significantly lower chi-square compared to the initial model (reduction in chi-square = 725.72, reduction in degrees of freedom = 46,  $p < .01$ ), an acceptable chi-square/degrees-of-freedom ratio (1.13), and an absolute chi-square that was nonsignificant (chi-square = 108.28, degrees of freedom = 96, *NS*). Thus, the final model yielded an acceptable absolute chi-square.

Path coefficients for Personal Orientation, Social Orientation, and Internalized Homophobia as predictors of Accommodation among gays are presented in Figure 1. Factor loadings for all scales on the factors of Personal Orientation, Social Orientation, Internalized Homophobia, and Accommodation among gays are presented in Table 2. With regard to relations among latent variables, consistent with hypotheses, (a) Personal Orientation was not significant or marginal as a predictor of Accommodation among gays; (b) Social Orientation was a significant, positive predictor of Accommodation among gays; and (c) Internalized Homophobia was a significant, negative predictor of Accommodation among gays. With regard to relations between latent and observed variables, consistent with hypotheses, (a) individualism loaded significantly and positively on Personal Orientation; (b) collectivism, familism, romanticism, and spiritualism loaded significantly and positively on Social Orientation; (c) voice and loyalty loaded significantly and positively, whereas exit and neglect loaded significantly and negatively, on Accommodation; and (d) attitudes toward self, other, and disclosure loaded significantly and positively on Internalized Homophobia. Therefore, all of our hypotheses were supported for the gay sample.

## DISCUSSION

Results of the present study yielded support for all of our predictions concerning relations among the latent variables of personal and social orientations, internalized homophobia, and accommodation. Among gays and heterosexuals, socially oriented values were positively associated with accommodation; whereas the personally oriented value of individualism was unrelated to accommodation. Among gays in particular, internalized homophobia was negatively associated with accommodation.

Results of the present study also yielded support for most, but not all, of our predictions concerning relations between latent and observed variables. Among heterosexuals and gays, individualism loaded positively on the Personal Orientation factor; collectivism, familism, romanticism, and spiritualism loaded positively on the Social Orientation factor; and voice loaded positively, whereas exit and neglect loaded negatively, on the Accommodation factor. Among gays in particular, attitudes toward self, other, and disclosure loaded positively on the Internalized Homophobia factor. However, our prediction regarding the loading for loyalty was supported only for gays (i.e., for gays, but not for heterosexuals, loyalty loaded positively on the Accommodation factor). Given that loyalty inherently is difficult to measure (Drigotas, Whitney, & Rusbult, 1995), our near-zero factor loading for loyalty among heterosexuals is not entirely surprising.

Overall, the results of the present study contribute to a large body of evidence concerning the generalizability of interdependence theory across heterosexual and gay relationships. For gays in particular, the present results concerning cultural value orientations (features of persons reflected in individual agendas) and internalized homophobia (a feature of persons reflected in group agendas) complement previous results concerning gender-related personality characteristics (features of persons reflected in interpersonal agendas) and attachment style (a feature of persons reflected in relationship agendas) as predictors of accommodation in same-sex relationships (a relationship-level outcome). Also, for heterosexuals as well as gays, the present study is one of the few studies to demonstrate that cultural value orientations are related meaningfully to personal relationship processes (see Gaines, 1997; Triandis, 1995).

Future researchers might find it useful to examine homophobia (though not necessarily internalized homophobia) as a predictor of accommodation among heterosexuals. In retrospect, we can conceive of two competing explanations for the negative impact of homophobia on accommodation

among gays: (1) The effect could be a target effect, whereby homophobic gays feel a degree of disdain toward their partners (because their partners are gay); or (2) the effect could be a perceiver effect, whereby homophobia is correlated with other factors that, in turn, are negatively associated with accommodation. Unfortunately, we cannot rule out either of these explanations with the current data set. However, an additional data set in which homophobia was assessed among heterosexuals could rule out the latter explanation. If homophobia affects accommodation via feelings of disdain toward one's partner, then homophobic heterosexuals who are dating other heterosexuals should not manifest a negative association between homophobia and accommodation. Thus, just as research on relationship processes among heterosexuals can serve as the basis for future research on relationship processes among gays, so too can research on relationship processes among gays serve as the basis for research on relationship processes among heterosexuals.

At the outset of the present paper, we noted that many social-psychological theories of personal relationship processes (e.g., interdependence theory, resource exchange theory) have been built on Skinner's (1938) contention that individuals are more likely to repeat behavior that brings them rewards than behavior that brings them costs over time. The results of the present study indicate that heterosexuals' and gays' internalization of socially oriented cultural values is manifested in individuals' tendency not to "fight fire with fire" when their romantic partners are angry or critical toward them, opting instead to behave in a way that will defuse interpersonal conflict. Moreover, the results of the present study indicate that gays' *lack* of internalization of homophobia is manifested in individuals' tendency to try and defuse, rather than escalate, conflict with their romantic partners. We conclude that accommodation brings its own rewards to individuals in heterosexual and gay relationships.

#### NOTE

1. Portions of the results in this paper were presented at the 1999 joint conference of the International Network on Personal Relationships and the International Society for the Study of Personal Relationships, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky, USA; and at the 2002 conference of the International Association for Relationship Research, Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, Canada. Portions of the data in Sample 1 were collected while the first author was a Ford Foundation Fellow at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1996-97) and

were collected as part of the masters theses of the fourth and fifth authors. Data in Sample 2 were collected as part of the doctoral dissertation of the second author (completed in May 2001 at Claremont Graduate University), under the supervision of the first author.

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