

THE MODERATING ROLES OF CONTACT AND CLOSENESS ON THE
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONSERVATIVE BELIEFS
AND HOMOPHOBIC ATTITUDES

by

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ABSTRACT

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This research aims to determine whether having contact and/or close relationships with gay men and lesbian women reduces homophobic attitudes in individuals who hold conservative values. It also explores the relationship between gender and homophobia. Study 1 examined the correlations between two predictor variables—religiosity and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA)—and two predicted variables—homophobia and ambivalence. The moderating roles of contact—operationalized as a participant’s number of friends who are gay men and/or lesbian women (GL)—and relationship closeness with GL friends on these relationships were also investigated. Analyses revealed that both religiosity and RWA significantly predicted higher homophobia. Additionally, contact

significantly moderated these relationships, resulting in lower homophobia. Study 2 experimentally investigated whether imagining contact with a gay man or lesbian woman was associated with anxiety. Participants were asked to imagine interacting with a GL individual or a neutral control before completing a measure of intergroup anxiety. Intergroup anxiety was predicted to be stronger after imagined contact with a gay man than imagined contact with a lesbian woman and higher in male-identified participants than in female-identified participants. The results of Study 2 approached statistical significance but did not provide clear support for the hypotheses. The implications of these studies are discussed, along with limitations and directions for future research.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

While some contested civil rights for gay, lesbian, and transgender individuals have been supported by the courts in recent years, many Americans remain fervently opposed to those protections. Tankard and Paluck (2017) found that while individuals might express acceptance for same-sex marriage as a social norm, their personal homophobic—or homonegative—beliefs may remain unchanged. In other cases, homonegative attitudes are more explicit. A recent Supreme Court decision held that social service organizations have the right to refuse adoption to same-sex couples based on religious beliefs (*Fulton v. City of Philadelphia*, 2021).

This decision underscores the role of religion in the development of homonegative attitudes, the ability of those beliefs to inform policy, and the ensuing consequences for individuals who do not conform to heteronormative standards. Further, it illustrates that some religious individuals have no problem openly denying individual civil liberties based on sexual orientation. Two incongruous decisions from the court over just a few years—first on marriage equality and later on adoption rights—underscore the polarized nature of attitudes about gay men and lesbian women in the U.S, and the need to better understand the beliefs that underpin homophobic attitudes.

The present research seeks to better understand the relationship between religious beliefs, politically conservative ideologies, and homonegativity. Specifically, it aims to determine whether increased intergroup contact and relationship closeness between those who hold religious and/or conservative beliefs and gay and/or lesbian (GL) individuals may serve to reduce anti-GL bias.

Religiosity

Prior research has established a relationship between strongly-held religious beliefs and homonegativity. One meta-analysis of such research concluded that religiosity is generally related to negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women (Whitley, 2009). Because religious ideology—or religiosity—so often drives homonegativity, it is important to understand exactly what is meant by “religiosity.” In other words, we need to understand what core beliefs and philosophies underlie an individual’s belief in various religious constructs. Researchers have conceptualized and measured religiosity in different ways. The present research measures religiosity across three different dimensions in order to characterize participants’ religiosity more accurately and completely.

Religious fundamentalism (RF) is a dimension of religiosity that, broadly described, dictates that there is one deity and/or religious text that holds all of the fundamental truths about God and humanity (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004). These fundamental truths are believed to be opposed by forces of evil (e.g., Satan) against which believers must constantly fight. Individuals who endorse a fundamentalist belief system generally believe that their religion is the only legitimate one and apply a literal interpretation of an ancient text to issues of the modern world. Relevant to the current research, there is a particularly strong positive correlation between RF and homophobic attitudes (Lazar & Hammer, 2018).

Religiosity can also be characterized in terms of religious commitment (RC). This is essentially a picture of an individual’s religious behavior, including how involved they are with churches, whether or not they give money to religious organizations, and the extent to which they apply religious teachings in their daily lives (Worthington et al., 2003). This way of understanding religiosity is particularly valuable as it can be

accurately measured across different religious ideologies (Hill, 2013). Prior research has also revealed a significant positive correlation between religious commitment and homophobic attitudes (Rosik et al., 2007).

While spirituality often co-occurs with religiosity, it has been defined as a separate construct comprising a more internal and subjective experience of God or the divine, which is separate from an external organized religion (Hyman & Handal, 2006). This includes beliefs about mortality and the afterlife, prayer and meditation, and life's purpose (Jones et al., 2006). Because spirituality can overlap with religiosity or stand on its own, it is important to include in a study of religiosity that excludes effects attributable to spirituality.

Right-wing Authoritarianism

Prior research has established strong positive correlations between right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and both religiosity and anti-GL attitudes, and these variables are commonly studied together (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004; Lazar & Hammer, 2018). Authoritarianism has been characterized as “a desire for order and hierarchy and a fear of outsiders” by political psychologists (Glasius, 2018, p. 516). RWA is thought to be a combination of tendencies to submit to and aggressively assert authority according to an established hierarchy, along with an adherence to conservative ideology (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). According to Altemeyer and Hunsberger, individuals high in RWA are highly punitive, prone to prejudice against outgroups, and accepting of the authority of corrupt leadership. The present research will further explore the relationship between RWA and homophobia, and whether it is similar to or different from the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Contact

Contact theory holds that relationships between social groups can be improved when members of those groups have contact with one another, which fosters mutual understanding and reduces prejudice (Allport, 1954). While Allport suggested that equal status, common goals, cooperation, and endorsement of common authority figures were all necessary to facilitate this effect, more recent research has found that they are not necessary for contact to reduce prejudice (Pettigrew et al., 2011).

Allport's theory was originally applied to relationships between members of different racial and ethnic groups but has since been extended to other ingroup/outgroup relationships (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Specifically, contact with gay men and lesbian women has been shown to mitigate negative attitudes among religious individuals. Cunningham and Melton (2013) found that having more friendships with gay men or lesbian women moderated the relationship between religious fundamentalism and homophobic attitudes, such that the association was stronger when participants had fewer of said friendships. Other research has highlighted the importance of relationship closeness, demonstrating that contact in combination with a close relationship resulted in more positive attitudes (Chonody et al., 2016).

Beyond having direct contact with an outgroup member, it has been demonstrated that even imagining such an interaction can affect a reduction in prejudice (Crisp & Turner, 2009). West et al. (2015) demonstrated that imagined contact works not only on homophobic attitudes but in contexts where those attitudes are particularly strong. Heterosexual male participants in Cyprus and Jamaica who imagined contact with a gay man reported more positive attitudes and intentions to interact with gay men in the future than those in the control condition.

Ambivalence

Our attitudes about the people in our lives generally are neither all positive nor all negative. Researchers have suggested that attitudes have three components: cognitive, affective, and behavioral (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). The cognitive component includes our beliefs (e.g., believing that homosexuality is wrong), the affective component is made of up our feelings (e.g., fondness for a friend), and the behavioral component comprises what we do (e.g., choosing to associate with GL individuals). Because these different components exist, there is an opportunity for them to differ (Thompson et al., 1995). For example, one's religious beliefs might lead them to think that homosexuality is wrong—a cognitive component—but they might also have a GL friend whom they like and respect very much—an affective component. This may result in ambivalence, an attitude comprising similar levels of positivity and negativity toward a target (Craig et al., 2005).

A religious individual, depending on the teaching to which they subscribe, may get a high score on a measure of homophobic attitudes. An individual with a close GL friend would likely get a high score on a measure of relationship closeness. For individuals who are religious and have contact or friendship with GL individuals, it is important to include a measure of ambivalence about GL individuals as a possible outcome.

Research Questions

The present research seeks to elucidate the moderating roles of contact and relationship closeness on the relationships between traditionally conservative values—specifically religiosity and right-wing authoritarianism—and homophobic or ambivalent attitudes. One correlational study and one experimental study will be used to examine these relationships. Importantly, research has revealed that negative attitudes toward gay men are stronger than those toward lesbian women (Bettinsoli et al., 2020). The same

research demonstrated that heterosexual men, in particular, have more negative attitudes toward gay men, while gender was not associated with negative attitudes toward lesbian women. For this reason, it is important to have separate measures for gay-targeted and lesbian-targeted homophobia and to examine the effect of participant gender on homophobic attitudes.

The hypothesis for Study 1 is that religiosity and RWA will be positively correlated with homophobia and/or ambivalence about GL individuals, but contact with a gay man or lesbian woman, along with relationship closeness, will moderate this relationship. Exploring this same question experimentally, the primary hypothesis for Study 2 is that participants will report higher anxiety after imagining contact with GL individuals compared to a control group, and that anxiety will be higher after imagining contact with a gay man compared to a lesbian woman. Finally, male-identified participants are expected to report higher anxiety after imagined contact with GL individuals than female-identified participants.

This research contributes to the existing body of literature by examining both contact and relationship closeness with GL individuals as separate moderators of the relationship between religiosity and homophobia, with ambivalence as another possible outcome in the model. In addition, it clarifies whether closeness moderates this relationship more than contact alone. It also furthers our understanding of the role of target gender in homophobic attitudes by examining homophobic attitudes about gay men and lesbian women separately. Finally, this research aims to provide experimental evidence of a difference in homophobic attitudes about gay men versus lesbian women along with different levels of homophobia between participant genders.

CHAPTER II:

STUDY 1

Methods

Participants

Of the original 184 individuals who began the study, participants who did not complete the study were excluded from the analyses ($n = 17$), as were participants who did not identify as heterosexual ($n = 4$). The final sample consisted of 163 adults between the ages of 22 and 83. The mean age was 42.7 years, and the median was 40 years. Cisgender women comprised 54% of the sample ($n = 88$), 44.2% identified as cisgender men ($n = 72$), 1.2% selected “other” when asked to indicate their gender identity ($n = 2$), and 0.6% of participants did not provide an answer ($n = 1$). All participants identified as either heterosexual (93.9%; $n = 153$) or mostly heterosexual (6.1%; $n = 10$). Participants’ political orientations and religious affiliations are described in Table 1 and Table 2.

The majority of the sample self-identified as White, Caucasian, or European (85.3%, $n = 139$). The next largest subset identified as biracial or multiracial (5.5%; $n = 9$). Asian, Pacific Islander, or Asian American individuals comprised 3.7% of the sample ($n = 6$), and Black, African American, or African individuals comprised 3.1% ($n = 5$). The remainder of the sample identified themselves as Latino/Latina, Latin American, Chicano/Chicana, or Hispanic (1.8%; $n = 3$) and other (0.6%; $n = 1$).

All participants were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk and paid \$1.50 upon completion of the study.

Materials

Religiosity. Dimensions of religiosity were measured using three separate scales. The Religious Commitment Inventory (RCI-10; Worthington et al., 2003) contains 10 items (e.g., “My religious beliefs lie behind my whole approach to life”) to which

participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all true of me*) to 5 (*totally true of me*). Scores were computed as the sum of all items ($\alpha = 0.96$), with higher scores indicating higher levels of religious commitment.

The Revised Religious Fundamentalism Scale (RRFS; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004) contains 12 items (e.g., “God has given humanity a complete, unfailing guide to happiness and salvation, which must be totally followed”) to which participants responded on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from -4 (*very strongly disagree*) to +4 (*very strongly agree*). Scores were computed as the sum of all items after reverse coding the appropriate items ($\alpha = 0.97$), with higher scores indicating higher levels of religious fundamentalism.

The Beliefs and Values Scale (BVS; King et al., 2006) contains 20 items (e.g., “I am a spiritual person”) to which participants responded on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). Scores were computed as the sum of all items ($\alpha = 0.97$), with higher scores indicating higher levels of spirituality.

Right-wing Authoritarianism. The Right-wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWAS; Altemeyer, 1998) contains 30 items (e.g., “Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us”) to which participants responded on a 9-point Likert scale ranging from -4 (*very strongly disagree*) to +4 (*very strongly agree*). Scores were computed as the sum of all items after reverse-coding the appropriate items ($\alpha = 0.97$), with higher scores indicating higher levels of right-wing authoritarianism.

Homophobia. Participants completed two measures of homophobia: The Modern Homophobia Scale – Gay (MHS-G; Raja & Stokes, 1998) and the Modern Homophobia Scale – Lesbian (MHS-L; Raja & Stokes, 1998). The scales contain 22 and 24 items, respectively. Participants responded to statements (e.g., “Gay men should undergo

therapy to change their sexual orientation”) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*do not agree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Scores were computed as the mean of all items after reverse-coding the appropriate items, with higher scores indicating higher levels of either gay-targeted ($\alpha = 0.98$) or lesbian-targeted homophobia ($\alpha = 0.98$).

Ambivalence. Subjective ambivalence about gay men and lesbian women was assessed with 4 items (Hoffarth & Hodson, 2014). Participants responded to statements (e.g., “How conflicted do you feel in your attitudes toward lesbians?”) on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*not at all conflicted*) to 5 (*very conflicted*). Scores were computed as the mean of all items ($\alpha = 0.93$), with higher scores indicating higher levels of ambivalence.

Relationship Closeness. The Friendship Closeness Inventory (FCI; Polimeni et al., 2002) was adapted to measure friendship closeness with individuals who are gay men or lesbian women. Participants were asked how many close gay or lesbian friends they have, and to keep those friends in mind as they responded to 46 items measuring emotional, cognitive, and behavioral closeness (e.g., “I feel comfortable hugging my friends”) on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 7 (*very frequently or a great deal*). A mean score was calculated for each subscale: emotional closeness ($\alpha = 0.95$), cognitive closeness ($\alpha = 0.95$), and behavioral closeness ($\alpha = 0.93$). The three mean scores were then summed to create a composite score, with higher scores indicating higher relationship closeness.

Demographics. All participants were asked to indicate their age, race, ethnicity, sex assigned at birth, gender identification, and sexual orientation. Additional items asked participants to indicate their level of education, relationship status, religion, and political orientation. One item measured participants’ number of non-friend contacts who identify

as gay or lesbian (i.e., “How many of your work colleagues identify as a gay man or lesbian woman”) to which participants responded on a scale ranging from 0 to 5 or more.

Procedure

Participants completed the study online using Qualtrics via Amazon Mechanical Turk. All participants were told that the purpose of the research was to examine religious beliefs, closeness with LGBTQ+ individuals, and attitudes about the LGBTQ+ community. Informed consent was obtained before participants began, and they were debriefed upon completion of the study.

Participants first completed the Revised Religious Fundamentalism Scale (RRFS; Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 2004), the Religious Commitment Inventory (RCI-10; Worthington et al., 2003), and the Beliefs and Values Scale (BVS; King et al., 2006). Next, participants completed the Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWAS; Altemeyer, 1998). Then, participants completed the Modern Homophobia Scale – Gay (MHS-G; Raja & Stokes, 1998) and the Modern Homophobia Scale – Lesbian (MHS-L; Raja & Stokes, 1998), which were counterbalanced. Participants then completed the ambivalence items (Hoffarth & Hodson, 2014). Finally, participants completed the Friendship Closeness Inventory (FCI; Polimeni et al., 2002), followed by the demographics questionnaire.

Analyses

To examine the primary hypothesis, regression analyses were conducted to detect any main effects of predictor variables (religiosity and right-wing authoritarianism) on predicted variables (homophobia and ambivalence), along with any moderating effects of number of gay and/or lesbian friends and relationship closeness. The various combinations of predictor, moderator, and predicted variables resulted in 24 regression analyses. With the exception of number of gay and/or lesbian friends, all variables were mean-centered.

Results and Discussion

The following linear regression analyses examine the association between predictor variables religious fundamentalism, religious commitment, beliefs/values, and right-wing authoritarianism and predicted variables gay-targeted homophobia, lesbian-targeted homophobia, and ambivalence. The moderating effects of relationship closeness with a GL friend and number of GL friends on these associations are also examined.

Gay-targeted Homophobia

Religious Fundamentalism and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was gay-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was religious fundamentalism, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .46$, $F(3,72) = 20.20$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious fundamentalism, which was positively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = .02$, $p < .001$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = -.07$, $p < .001$. The interaction of religious fundamentalism and relationship closeness was not significant, $b = 0.00$, $p = .400$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that having close relationships with GL individuals predicts lower homophobia. However, it does not support the hypothesis that relationship closeness with GL individuals would moderate the association between religiosity and homophobia.

Religious Fundamentalism and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was gay-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was religious fundamentalism, and the moderator variable was number of gay and/or lesbian (GL) friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .56$, $F(3,159) = 67.80$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious fundamentalism, which was

positively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = .03, p < .001$. There was also a main effect of number of GL friends, which was negatively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = -.12, p < .001$. As seen in Figure 1, the interaction of religious fundamentalism and number of GL friends was statistically significant, $b = -.01, p = .010$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that a higher number of GL friends predicts lower homophobia. Finally, it supports the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Religious Commitment and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was gay-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was religious commitment, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .30, F(3,72) = 10.50, p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious commitment, which was positively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = .03, p < .001$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = -.07, p < .001$. The interaction of religious commitment and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = 0.00, p = .664$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that having close relationships with GL individuals predicts lower homophobia. However, it does not support the hypothesis that relationship closeness with GL individuals would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Religious Commitment and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was gay-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was religious commitment, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .41, F(3,159) = 36.20, p < .001$. There was a

main effect of religious commitment, which was positively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = .05, p < .001$. There was also a main effect of number of GL friends, which was negatively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = -.16, p < .001$. As seen in Figure 2, the interaction of religious commitment and number of GL friends was statistically significant, $b = -.004, p = .032$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that a higher number of GL friends predicts lower homophobia. Finally, it supports the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Beliefs/Values and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was gay-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was beliefs/values, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .20, F(3,72) = 6.04, p = .001$. There was a main effect of beliefs/values, which was positively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = .01, p = .006$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = -.09, p = .003$. The interaction of religious commitment and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = -.001, p = .203$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that having close relationships with GL individuals predicts lower homophobia. However, it does not support the hypothesis that relationship closeness with GL individuals would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Beliefs/Values and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was gay-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was beliefs/values, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .31, F(3,159) = 24.20, p < .001$. There was a main effect of beliefs/values, which was positively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = .02,$

$p < .001$. There was also a main effect of number of GL friends, which was negatively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = -.16, p < .001$. As seen in Figure 3, the interaction of beliefs/values and number of GL friends was also statistically significant, $b = -.003, p = .045$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that a higher number of GL friends predicts lower homophobia. Finally, it supports the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Right-wing Authoritarianism and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was gay-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was right-wing authoritarianism, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .59, F(3,72) = 33.90, p < .001$. There was a main effect of right-wing authoritarianism, which was positively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = .01, p < .001$. The association between relationship closeness and gay-targeted homophobia was not statistically significant, $b = -.03, p = .153$. The interaction of right-wing authoritarianism and relationship closeness was also not statistically significant, $b = 0.00, p = .456$. This model supports the hypothesis that RWA would predict homophobia, but not the hypothesis that close relationships with GL individuals moderate the relationship between RWA and homophobia.

Right-wing Authoritarianism and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was gay-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was right-wing authoritarianism, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .72, F(3,159) = 138.00, p < .001$. There was a main effect of right-wing authoritarianism, which was positively correlated with gay-targeted homophobia, $b = .02, p < .001$. The association between number of GL friends and gay-targeted homophobia was positive, but not statistically significant, $b =$

.05, $p = .164$. As seen in Figure 4, the interaction of right-wing authoritarianism and number of GL friends was statistically significant, $b = -.002$, $p < .001$. This model supports the hypothesis that RWA would predict homophobia. It also supports the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between RWA and homophobia.

Lesbian-targeted Homophobia

Religious Fundamentalism and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was lesbian-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was religious fundamentalism, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .53$, $F(3,72) = 27.20$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious fundamentalism, which was positively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = .02$, $p < .001$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = -.08$, $p < .001$. The interaction of religious commitment and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = 0.00$, $p = .254$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that having close relationships with GL individuals predicts lower homophobia. However, it does not support the hypothesis that relationship closeness with GL individuals would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Religious Fundamentalism and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was lesbian-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was religious fundamentalism, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .64$, $F(3,159) = 92.70$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious fundamentalism, which was positively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = .03$, $p < .001$. There was also a main effect of

number of GL friends, which was negatively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = -.12, p < .001$. As seen in Figure 5, the interaction of religious fundamentalism and number of GL friends was statistically significant, $b = -.002, p < .001$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that a higher number of GL friends predicts lower homophobia. Finally, it supports the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Religious Commitment and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was lesbian-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was religious commitment, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .33, F(3,72) = 11.50, p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious commitment, which was positively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = .03, p < .001$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = -.09, p = .002$. The interaction of religious commitment and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = -.002, p = .345$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that having close relationships with GL individuals predicts lower homophobia. However, it does not support the hypothesis that relationship closeness with GL individuals would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Religious Commitment and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was lesbian-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was religious commitment, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .43, F(3,159) = 40.50, p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious commitment, which was positively correlated with lesbian-

targeted homophobia, $b = .05, p < .001$. There was also a main effect of number of GL friends, which was negatively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = -.15, p < .001$. As seen in Figure 6, the interaction of religious commitment and number of GL friends was statistically significant, $b = -.01, p = .010$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that a higher number of GL friends predicts lower homophobia. Finally, it supports the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Beliefs/Values and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was lesbian-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was beliefs/values, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .25, F(3,72) = 7.81, p < .001$. There was a main effect of beliefs/values, which was positively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = .01, p = .005$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = -.11, p < .001$. The interaction of beliefs/values and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = -.002, p = .111$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that having a close relationship with GL individuals predicts lower homophobia. However, it does not support the hypothesis that relationship closeness with GL individuals would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Beliefs/Values and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was lesbian-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was beliefs/values, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .34, F(3,159) = 27.40, p < .001$. There was a main effect of beliefs/values, which was positively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b =$

.03, $p < .001$. There was also a main effect of number of GL friends, which was negatively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = -.16$, $p < .001$. As seen in Figure 7, the interaction of beliefs/values and number of GL friends was statistically significant, $b = -.003$, $p = .012$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict homophobia. It also suggests that a higher number of GL friends predicts lower homophobia. Finally, it supports the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between religiosity and homophobia.

Right-wing Authoritarianism and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression was lesbian-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was right-wing authoritarianism, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .67$, $F(3,72) = 48.00$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of right-wing authoritarianism, which was positively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = .01$, $p < .001$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = -.05$, $p = .015$. The interaction of right-wing authoritarianism and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = 0.00$, $p = .099$. This model supports the hypothesis that RWA would predict homophobia. It also suggests that having close relationships with GL individuals predicts lower homophobia. However, it does not support the hypothesis that having close relationships with GL individuals would moderate the relationship between RWA and homophobia.

Right-wing Authoritarianism and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was lesbian-targeted homophobia, the predictor variable was right-wing authoritarianism, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .79$, $F(3,159) = 195.00$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of right-wing authoritarianism, which was positively correlated

with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = .02, p < .001$. There was also a main effect of number of GL friends, which was positively correlated with lesbian-targeted homophobia, $b = -.07, p = .029$. As seen in Figure 8, the interaction of right-wing authoritarianism and number of GL friends was statistically significant, $b = -.002, p < .001$. This model supports the hypothesis that RWA would predict homophobia. Unlike other models, it also suggests that a higher number of GL friends predicts higher homophobia. Finally, it supports the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between RWA and homophobia.

Ambivalence

Religious Fundamentalism and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was ambivalence, the predictor variable was religious fundamentalism, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .36, F(3,72) = 13.60, p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious fundamentalism, which was positively correlated with ambivalence, $b = .02, p < .001$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with ambivalence, $b = -.09, p = .015$. The interaction of religious fundamentalism and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = 0.00, p = .444$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict ambivalence about GL individuals. It also suggests that having close relationships with GL individuals predicts lower ambivalence. However, it does not support the hypothesis that having close relationships with GL individuals would moderate the relationship between religiosity and ambivalence.

Religious Fundamentalism and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was ambivalence, the predictor variable was religious fundamentalism, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall

model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .10$, $F(3,159) = 6.12$, $p < .001$. The association between religious fundamentalism and ambivalence was not statistically significant, $b = .004$, $p = .079$. Similarly, the association between number of GL friends and ambivalence was not statistically significant, $b = -.01$, $p = .800$. As seen in Figure 9, the interaction of religious fundamentalism and number of GL friends was statistically significant, $b = .002$, $p = .028$. While this model does not support the hypothesis that religiosity would predict higher ambivalence about GL individuals, it does support the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between religiosity and ambivalence.

Religious Commitment and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was ambivalence, the predictor variable was religious commitment, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .30$, $F(3,72) = 10.20$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious commitment, which was positively correlated with ambivalence, $b = .04$, $p < .001$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with ambivalence $b = -.09$, $p = .016$. The interaction of religious commitment and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = .002$, $p = .497$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict ambivalence about GL individuals. It also suggests that having close relationships with GL individuals predicts lower ambivalence. However, it does not support the hypothesis that having close relationships with GL individuals would moderate the relationship between religiosity and ambivalence.

Religious Commitment and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was ambivalence, the predictor variable was religious commitment, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model

was statistically significant, $R^2 = .10$, $F(3,159) = 6.15$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of religious commitment, $b = .02$, $p = .002$. The association between number of GL friends and ambivalence was not statistically significant, $b = -.03$, $p = .297$. The interaction of religious commitment and number of GL friends was also not statistically significant, $b = 0.00$, $p = .768$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict ambivalence about GL individuals, but not the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between religiosity and ambivalence.

Beliefs/Values and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was ambivalence, the predictor variable was beliefs/values, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .20$, $F(3,72) = 6.14$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of beliefs/values, which was positively correlated with ambivalence, $b = .01$, $p = .005$. There was also a main effect of relationship closeness, which was negatively correlated with ambivalence, $b = -.12$, $p = .004$. The interaction of religious fundamentalism and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = 0.00$, $p = .964$. This model supports the hypothesis that religiosity would predict ambivalence about GL individuals. It also suggests that having close relationships with GL individuals predicts lower ambivalence. However, it does not support the hypothesis that having close relationships with GL individuals would moderate the relationship between religiosity and ambivalence.

Beliefs/Values and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was ambivalence, the predictor variable was beliefs/values, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .05$, $F(3,159) = 2.71$, $p = .047$. The association between beliefs/values and ambivalence was not statistically significant, $b = .01$, $p = .086$. Likewise, the association between number of GL friends and ambivalence was not statistically significant, $b = -.03$,

$p = .204$. The interaction of beliefs/values and number of GL friends was also not statistically significant, $b = 0.00$, $p = .682$. This model fails to support the hypothesis that religiosity would predict ambivalence about GL individuals as well as the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between religiosity and ambivalence.

Right-wing Authoritarianism and Relationship Closeness. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was ambivalence, the predictor variable was right-wing authoritarianism, and the moderator variable was relationship closeness. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .47$, $F(3,72) = 21.30$, $p < .001$. There was a main effect of right-wing authoritarianism, which was positively correlated with ambivalence, $b = .02$, $p < .001$. The association between relationship closeness and ambivalence was not statistically significant, $b = -.06$, $p = .095$. The interaction of right-wing authoritarianism and relationship closeness was not statistically significant, $b = 0.00$, $p = .903$. This model supports the hypothesis that RWA would predict ambivalence about GL individuals but not the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between RWA and ambivalence.

Right-wing Authoritarianism and Number of GL Friends. The outcome variable for this linear regression analysis was ambivalence, the predictor variable was right-wing authoritarianism, and the moderator variable was number of GL friends. The overall model was statistically significant, $R^2 = .16$, $F(3,159) = 10.40$, $p < .001$. The association between right-wing authoritarianism and ambivalence was not statistically significant, $b = .003$, $p = .120$. There was a main effect of number of GL friends, which was negatively correlated with ambivalence, $b = -.16$, $p = .001$. As seen in Figure 10, the interaction of right-wing authoritarianism and number of GL friends was statistically significant, $b = .002$, $p < .001$. This model supports the hypothesis that RWA would predict ambivalence

about GL individuals. It also suggests that a higher number of GL friends predicts lower ambivalence. Finally, it supports the hypothesis that number of GL friends would moderate the relationship between RWA and ambivalence.

CHAPTER III:

STUDY 2

Methods

Participants

Of the original 259 individuals who began the study, participants who did not complete the study were excluded from the analysis ($n = 86$), as were participants who did not indicate a specific gender identity ($n = 11$) and those who did not identify as heterosexual or asexual ($n = 1$). The final sample consisted of 161 adults between the ages of 19 and 77. The mean age was 41.7 years, and the median was 39 years. Cisgender women comprised 60.2 % of the sample ($n = 97$), and 39.8 % identified as cisgender men ($n = 64$). Most participants identified as either heterosexual (90.1 %; $n = 145$) or mostly heterosexual (9.3%; $n = 15$), and one participant identified as asexual (0.6%).

The majority of the sample self-identified as White, Caucasian, or European (78.9 %; $n = 127$). Biracial/multiracial individuals comprised 5% of the sample ($n = 8$), Asian, Pacific Islander, or Asian American individuals comprised another 5% ($n = 8$), and 5% were Black, African American, or African individuals ($n = 8$). The remainder of the sample identified themselves as Latino/Latina, Latin American, Chicano/Chicana, or Hispanic (4.3%; $n = 7$); Native American or American Indian (0.6%; $n = 1$); or South Asian (0.6%; $n = 1$).

All participants were recruited via Amazon Mechanical Turk and paid \$2.00 upon completion of the study.

Materials

Intergroup Anxiety. An adaptation of the General Intergroup Anxiety scale (GIA; Stephan & Stephan, 1985) assessed participants' levels of different emotions when interacting with gay or lesbian individuals. Participants responded to questions about the

extent to which they would experience various feelings when interacting with gay or lesbian individuals (e.g., “If you were to meet a gay individual, to what extent would you feel anxious?”) on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 10 (*extremely*). Scores were computed as the mean of all items after reverse-coding the appropriate items ($\alpha = 0.95$), with higher scores indicating higher levels of intergroup anxiety.

Right-wing Authoritarianism and Religiosity. Participants completed the measures of religiosity and right-wing authoritarianism from Study 1, but this data was not analyzed for Study 2.

Demographics. All participants were asked to indicate their age, race, ethnicity, sex assigned at birth, gender identification, and sexual orientation. Additional items asked participants to indicate their level of education, relationship status, religion, and political orientation. Two items measured participants’ number of friend and non-friend contacts who identify as gay or lesbian (i.e., “How many of your work colleagues identify as a gay man or lesbian woman”) to which participants responded on a scale ranging from 0 to 5 or more.

Procedure

Participants completed the study online using Qualtrics via Amazon Mechanical Turk. All participants were told that the purpose of the research was to examine religious beliefs, closeness with LGBTQ+ individuals, and attitudes about the LGBTQ+ community. Informed consent was obtained before participants began, and they were debriefed upon completion of the study.

Participants were randomly assigned to one of three conditions. In all conditions, participants were first instructed to list three activities that they enjoy (i.e., “We would like to find out about your interests. Below, please list three things that you like to do in your leisure time”; Turner et al., 2013).

In condition one, participants were asked to imagine doing their selected activity with a gay man (i.e., “Imagine yourself meeting a gay man you have never met before and completing one of your preferred activities with him. Imagine that the interaction is positive, relaxed, and comfortable”). In condition two, participants were asked to imagine doing the activity with a lesbian woman. In condition three—the control condition—participants were asked to imagine performing their preferred activity with a stranger (i.e., “Imagine yourself meeting someone you have never met before and completing one of your preferred activities with them. Imagine that the interaction is positive, relaxed, and comfortable”).

Participants were given two minutes to imagine each scenario. Upon completion of their assigned condition, all participants were asked to write about the imagined experience in order to reinforce it (i.e., “Write down as many things as you can about the interaction you just imagined”).

After the imagined contact activity, participants completed the General Intergroup Anxiety scale as described above (GIA; Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Finally, participants completed the measures of religiosity and right-wing authoritarianism from Study 1 and the demographics questionnaire.

Analyses

To explore the primary hypothesis, a 3 x 2 factorial analysis of variance was conducted to determine differences in intergroup anxiety between conditions and any effect of gender. The dependent variable for the analysis was intergroup anxiety, and the fixed factors were imagined contact condition (gay, lesbian, or stranger) and participant gender.

Results and Discussion

A factorial analysis of variance was conducted to detect any differences in intergroup anxiety between the two experimental conditions and one control condition, along with any differences attributable to participant gender. The main effect of condition approached statistical significance, $F(2, 155) = 2.45, p = .089$. The main effect of participant gender was not statistically significant, $F(1, 155) = 2.03, p = .156$. The interaction of condition and participant gender was also not statistically significant, $F(2, 155) = 0.18, p = .888$. These results fail to fully support the hypothesis that intergroup anxiety would be higher in participants who interacted with a gay man or lesbian woman when compared to participants in the control condition and that intergroup anxiety would be highest in participants in the gay man condition. It also does not support the hypothesis that there would be a significant effect of participant gender on intergroup anxiety, such that male-identified participants would report higher levels than female-identified participants.

A post hoc test was conducted for condition only to determine which of the three conditions may have exhibited differences in intergroup anxiety. Post hoc comparisons using the Bonferroni test revealed that the only difference that approached statistical significance was between the gay man and lesbian woman conditions. As illustrated in Table 3, participants in the lesbian woman condition descriptively indicated higher intergroup anxiety than those in the gay man condition, $t(155) = -2.20, p = .089$, Cohen's $d = -.44$. If the difference was statistically significant, this would contradict previous research suggesting that attitudes toward gay men are more negative than those toward lesbian women (Bettinsoli et al., 2020).

CHAPTER IV: GENERAL DISCUSSION

The results of Study 1 offer substantial support for the hypotheses that religiosity and right-wing authoritarianism would predict both homophobia and ambivalence, and that number of GL friends would moderate the relationships between these variables. However, relationship closeness did not have the anticipated moderating effect. Relationship closeness and number of GL friends were also found to independently predict lower homophobia and lower ambivalence. The results of Study 2 do not provide convincing support for the hypothesized difference in homophobic attitudes about gay men versus lesbian women or for a difference in homophobic attitudes between participant genders. But the findings of Study 2 are nonetheless intriguing.

Across all measured dimensions of religiosity, higher levels of religiosity predicted higher levels of both gay-targeted and lesbian-targeted homophobia. There was also a consistent negative correlation between relationship closeness and homophobia, such that relationship closeness predicted lower levels of both gay-targeted and lesbian-targeted homophobia. These results support the Study 1 hypotheses that religiosity would result in higher homophobia and having close relationships with GL individuals would result in lower homophobia. However, none of the models revealed a statistically significant interaction of religiosity and relationship closeness. So, the hypothesis that relationship closeness would reduce homophobia among religious individuals was not supported.

In contrast, contact with gay men and lesbian women consistently moderated the relationship between religiosity and homophobia, suggesting that having one or more GL friends results in lower homophobia among religious individuals. The expected main effect of contact was also supported across these analyses, such that having one or more

GL friends appeared to result in lower homophobia. Given that contact and relationship closeness were both consistent and significant predictors of lower homophobia, one wonders why the interactions of religiosity and relationship closeness were consistently not significant. There are at least two possible explanations.

Sample size was likely a limitation of the present research. Of the 163 participants, only half of them reported having one or more GL friends ($n = 81$). So, while it may be the case that the relationship between religiosity and homophobia does not depend on one's level of closeness with GL individuals, it may also be that the sample was too small to detect any moderating effect. This limitation appeared across analyses in Study 1, such that relationship closeness was not found to be a significant moderator on any of the analyzed relationships. Future research should address this issue by including having GL friends as a criterion for participation and by determining the minimum number of participants with GL friends required to detect an effect of relationship closeness. It is also possible that, consistent with Allport's emphasis on contact and Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis, contact alone is more important than relationship closeness in reducing homophobic attitudes. Future research should also explore these two moderators in greater depth.

The relationship between right-wing authoritarianism and homophobia was similar to that between religiosity and homophobia, such that higher levels of RWA predicted higher levels of homophobia across analyses. Unlike other models, the correlation between number of GL friends and homophobia was positive, such that a higher number of GL friends predicted higher levels of homophobia. However, this was only significant for lesbian-targeted homophobia. The interaction of RWA and number of GL friends was also significant in these analyses, predicting lower levels of both gay-targeted and lesbian-targeted homophobia. These findings support the Study 1 hypothesis

that higher RWA would result in higher homophobia and that contact would reduce homophobia among individuals high in RWA. Future research might explore the puzzling positive correlation between number of GL friends and lesbian-targeted homophobia, and whether lesbian-targeted homophobia is a particularly strong attitude among individuals high in RWA.

Religiosity predicted higher levels of ambivalence about GL individuals, and relationship closeness predicted lower levels. The only significant interaction that emerged from this set of analyses was between religious fundamentalism and number of GL friends, which predicted higher levels of ambivalence. Because all measures of religiosity predicted higher ambivalence, this model partially supported the main hypothesis that highly religious individuals may be more ambivalent about GL individuals. The hypothesis that contact may result in ambivalence among religious individuals was also supported. The negative correlation between relationship closeness and ambivalence about GL individuals is harder to interpret because lower ambivalence could mean a participant was more certain about either a pro-GL or an anti-GL attitude.

While measures of religiosity predicted ambivalence less consistently in these models, it is not surprising that the significant interaction occurred with the religious fundamentalism dimension of religiosity. This measure arguably captures the most extreme religious beliefs of any of the measures in the study, so one would expect to find an effect there.

Higher levels of RWA generally predicted higher levels of ambivalence about GL individuals, and a higher number of GL friends predicted lower ambivalence. The interaction of RWA and number of GL friends was also significant, predicting higher levels of ambivalence. This interaction supports the hypothesis that a higher number of GL friends may result in more ambivalent attitudes among individuals high in RWA.

Interestingly, RWA alone did not significantly predict ambivalence in the model where number of GL friends was the moderator, which may further support the hypothesis that ambivalence does in fact result from contact with GL individuals.

Another intriguing finding was that number of GL friends was positively correlated with homophobia when RWA was the predictor variable, although it only significantly predicted lesbian-targeted homophobia. Number of GL friends still resulted in lower homophobia when interacting with RWA. Future research might address whether contact actually increases homophobia in individuals who are high in RWA.

The results of Study 2 were somewhat puzzling. Contrary to prior research, participants reported the highest levels of intergroup anxiety after imagining contact with a lesbian woman (Bettinsoli et al., 2020). The same research suggested that men may have stronger homophobic attitudes than women, which formed the basis for the prediction that male participants would report higher intergroup anxiety than female participants. However, no significant effect of participant gender was observed. In fact, participants reported the lowest intergroup anxiety after imagining interacting with a gay man, which contradicts the hypothesis entirely. But, as with Study 1, the sample size may have been inadequate.

The gay man, lesbian woman, and control conditions in Study 2 contained just 51, 57, and 53 participants respectively, falling short of the minimum of 200 total participants suggested by the power analysis. It is possible that the samples were not large enough to detect the predicted effects of condition and participant gender. It is also interesting that the sample sizes correspond with the levels of intergroup anxiety, with participants in the smallest sample (gay man) reporting the lowest intergroup anxiety, and participants in the largest sample (lesbian woman) reporting the most. It seems possible that intergroup anxiety was more detectable as sample size increased.

Results from both studies suggest that lesbian-targeted homophobia may be a stronger attitude than gay-targeted homophobia. Participants may have found it easier to imagine contact with a gay man because representations of gay men in popular media are more commonplace than representations of lesbian women. The open-ended responses, wherein participants described their imagined contact with a GL individual, were not evaluated. Future research might analyze the content of such free responses in order to better understand participant attitudes. Future studies should also consider controlling for familiarity with gay men and lesbian women in popular media (e.g., television shows, sports).

Conclusion

Members of the sexual and gender minority community continue to face unique stressors as a result of their sexual orientations and gender identities. Research has demonstrated a significant association between having parents with anti-GL religious beliefs and the development of internalized homophobia—an acceptance of negative attitudes and stereotypes about GL individuals on the part of those individuals themselves (Gibbs, 2015). It has also been established that non-acceptance and discrimination are associated with higher depression among sexual and gender minority individuals (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2010). Even more troubling is the finding that familial religiosity and internalized homophobia are both associated with suicidal thoughts among sexual and gender minority individuals (Gibbs, 2015).

It is clear from the existing literature that there is much work to be done to both understand and combat the effects of religion-motivated homonegativity on the mental health of GL individuals. The present research takes another step toward that goal by linking three dimensions of religiosity, along with right-wing authoritarianism, to homophobic attitudes. Further, it offers support for the established link between contact

with the sexual and gender minority community and reduced homonegativity among conservative individuals.

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APPENDIX A:

FIGURES

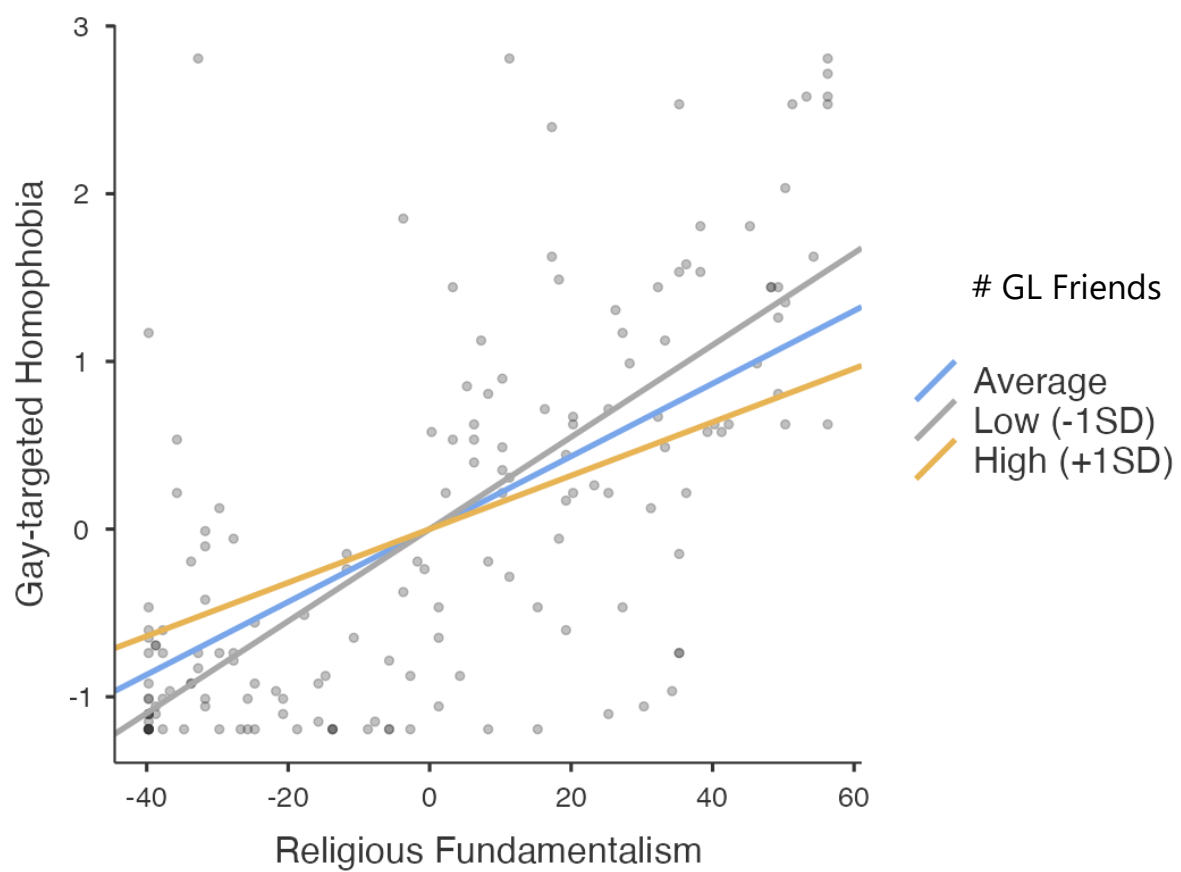


Figure 1
Religious Fundamentalism x Number of GL Friends

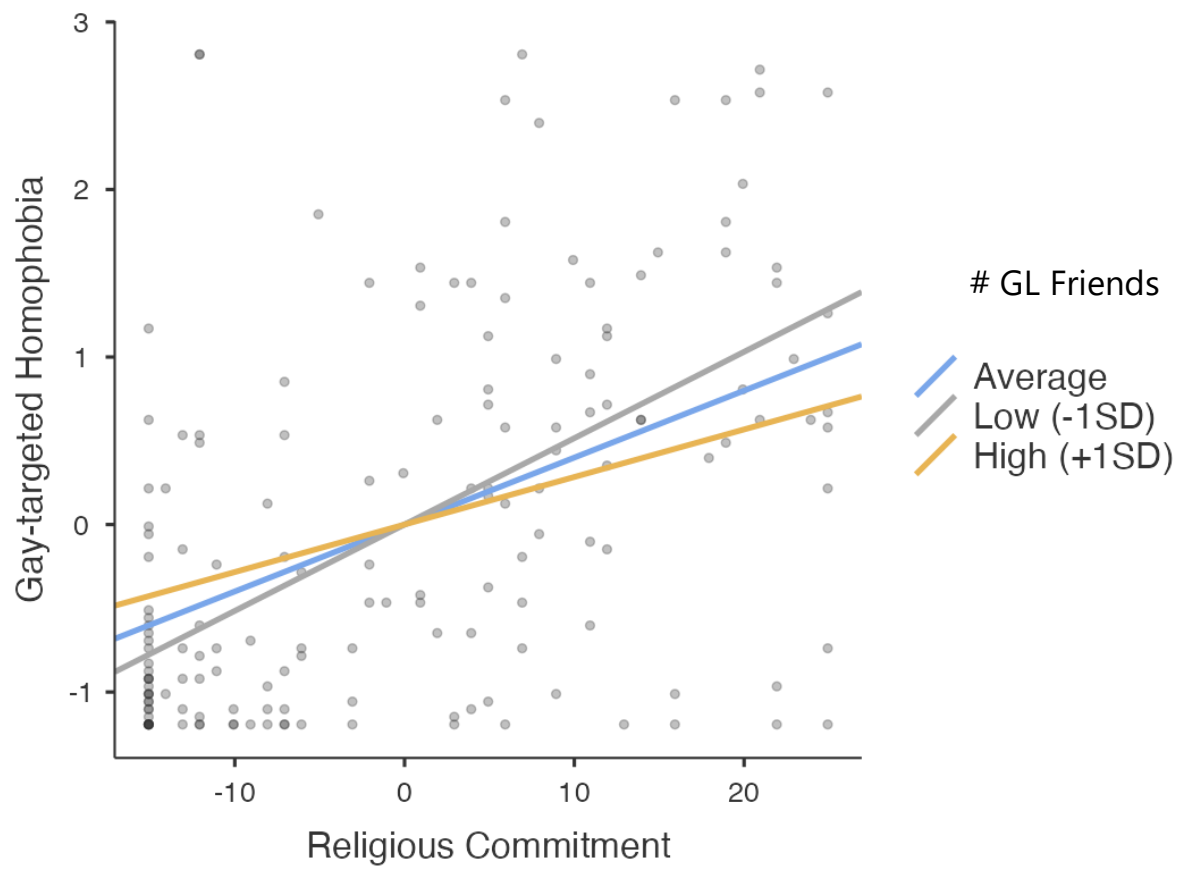


Figure 2
Religious Commitment x Number of GL Friends

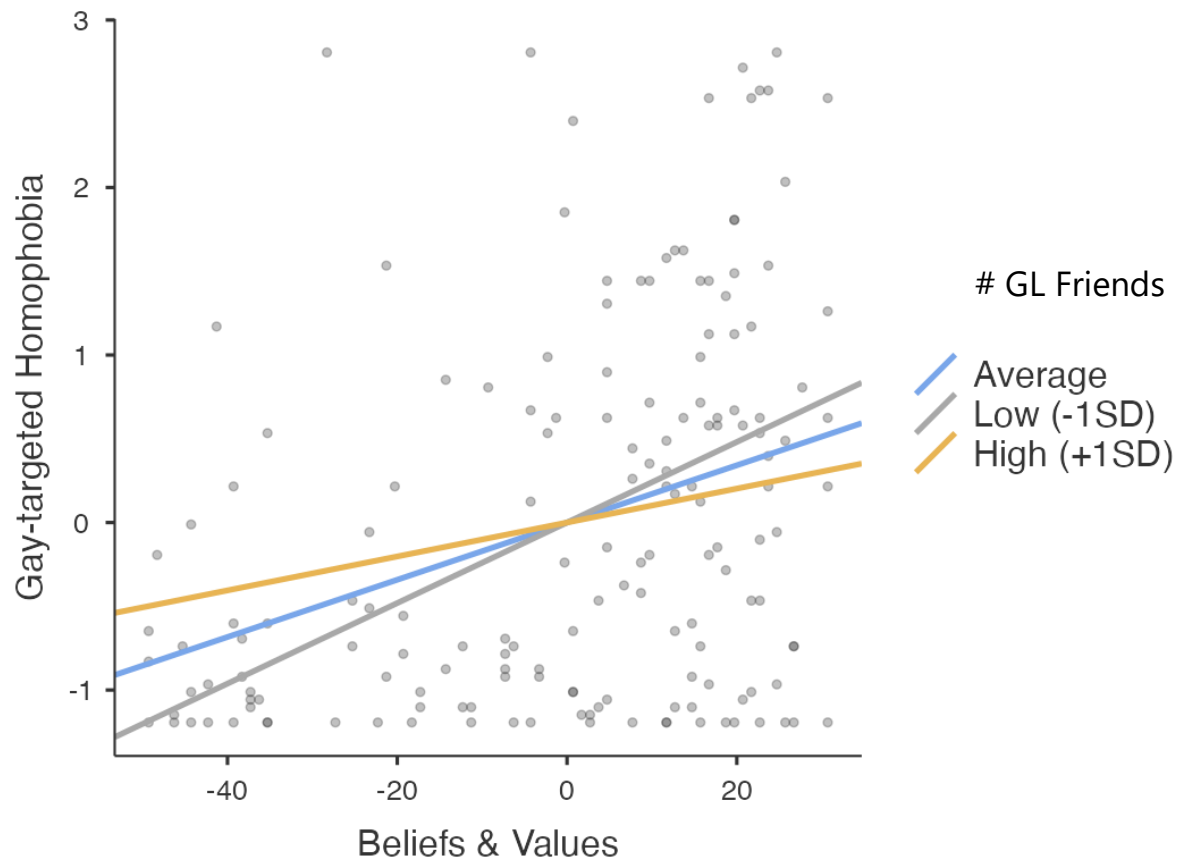


Figure 3
Beliefs & Values x Number of GL Friends

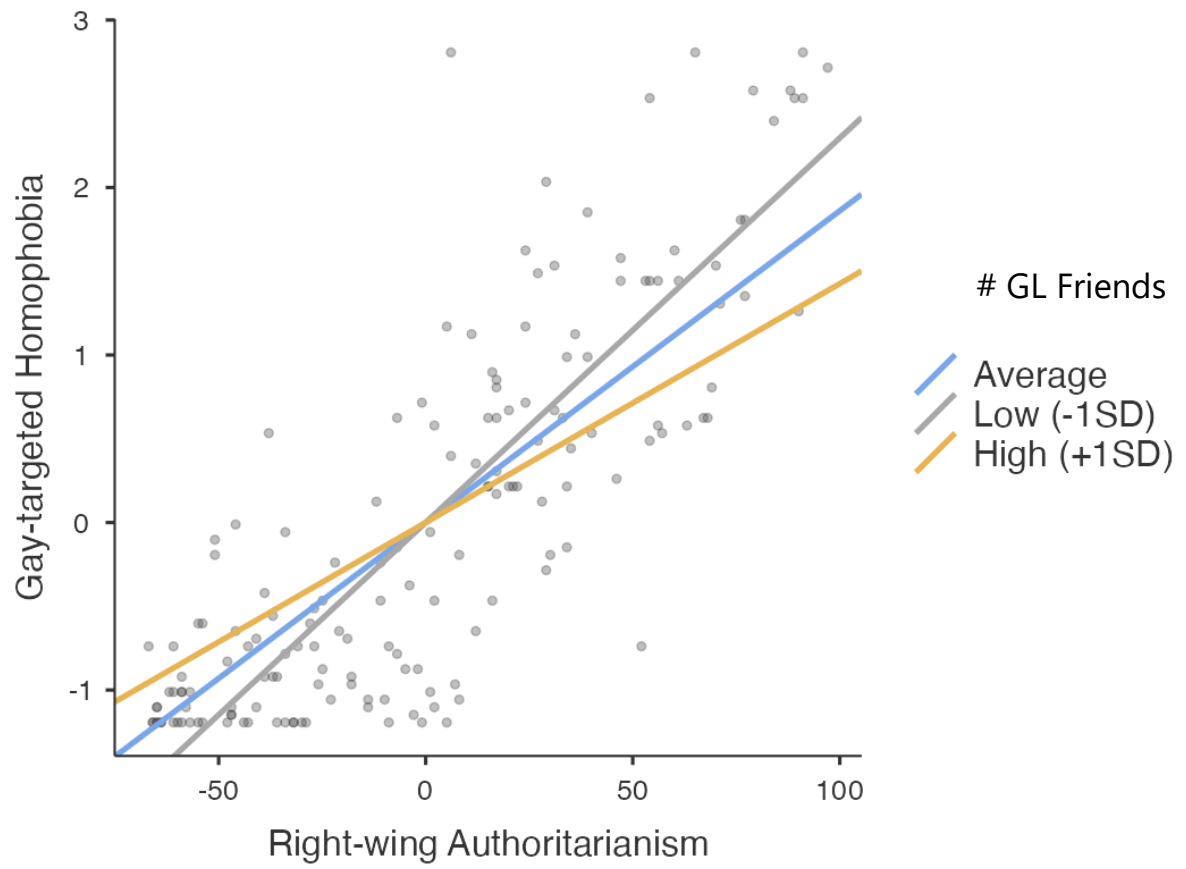


Figure 4
Right-wing Authoritarianism x Number of GL Friends

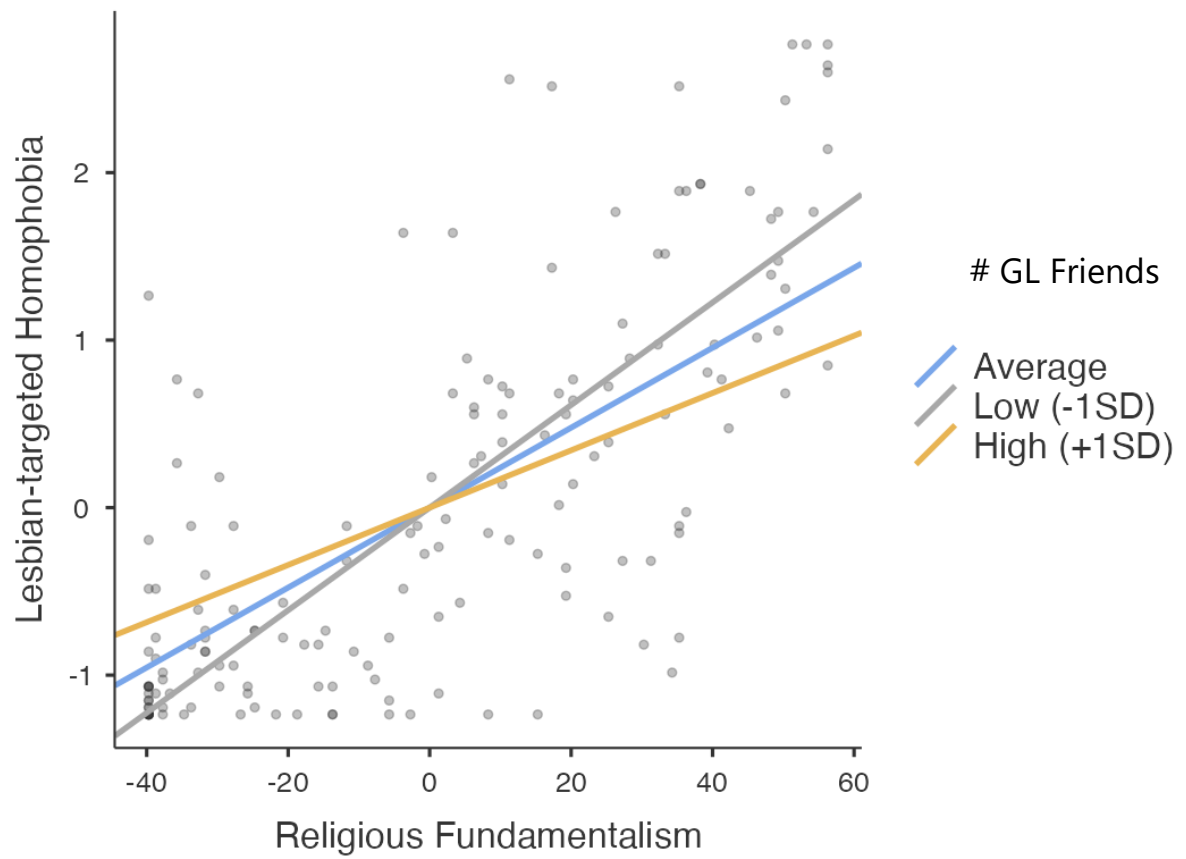


Figure 5
Religious Fundamentalism x Number of GL Friends

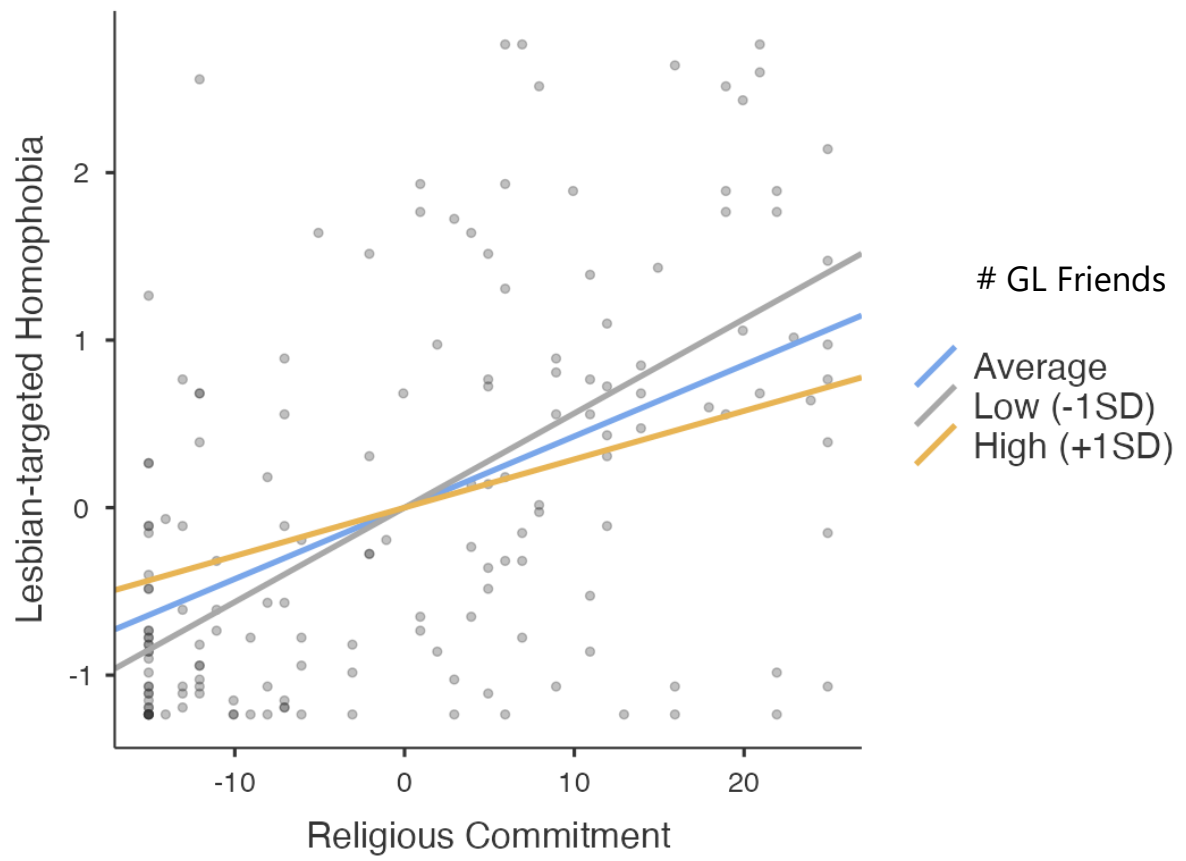


Figure 6
Religious Commitment x Number of GL Friends

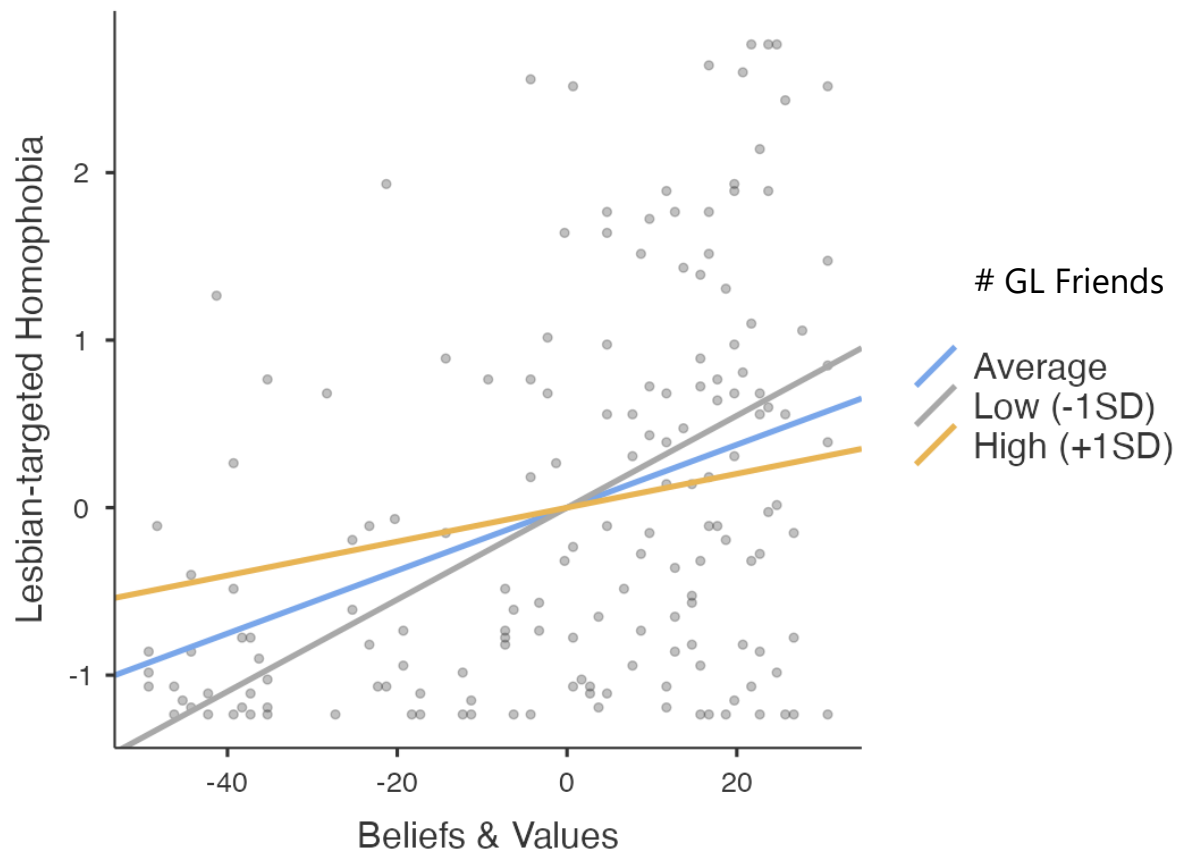


Figure 7
Beliefs & Values x Number of GL Friends

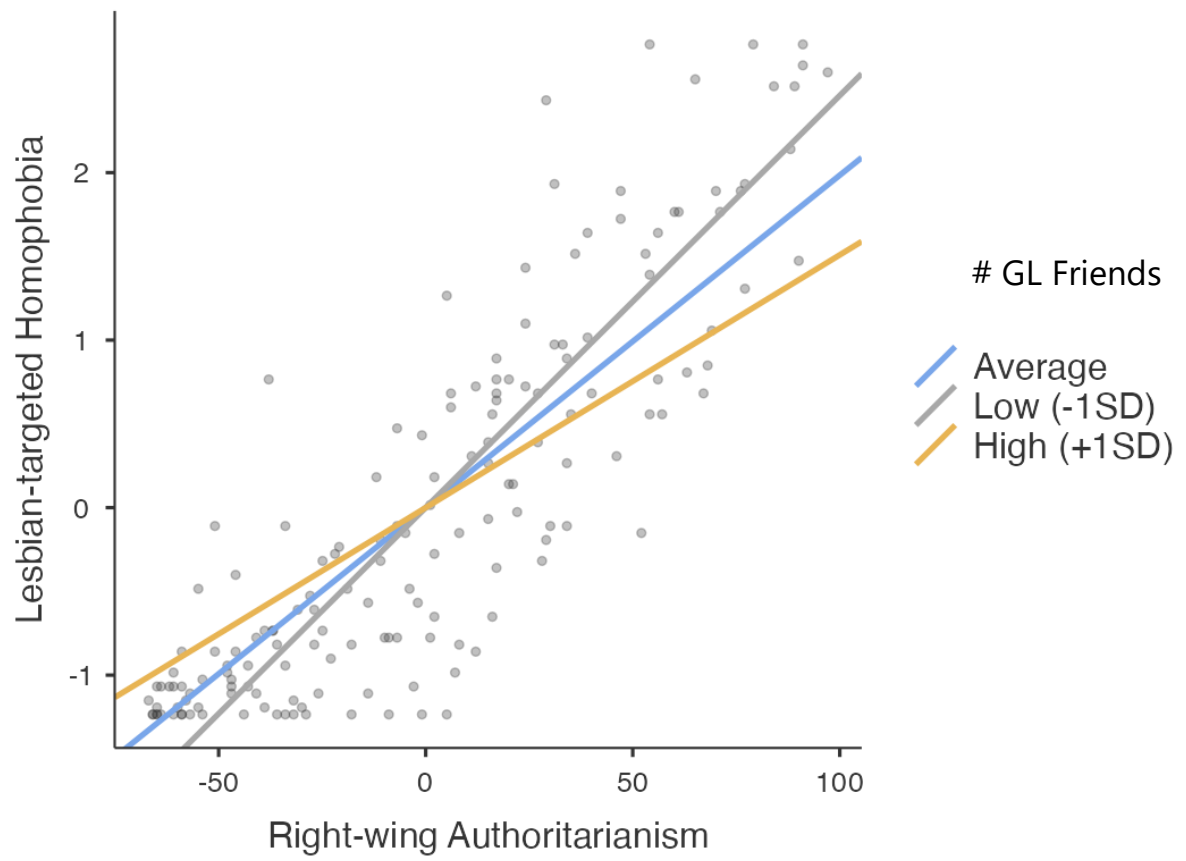


Figure 8
Right-wing Authoritarianism x Number of GL Friends

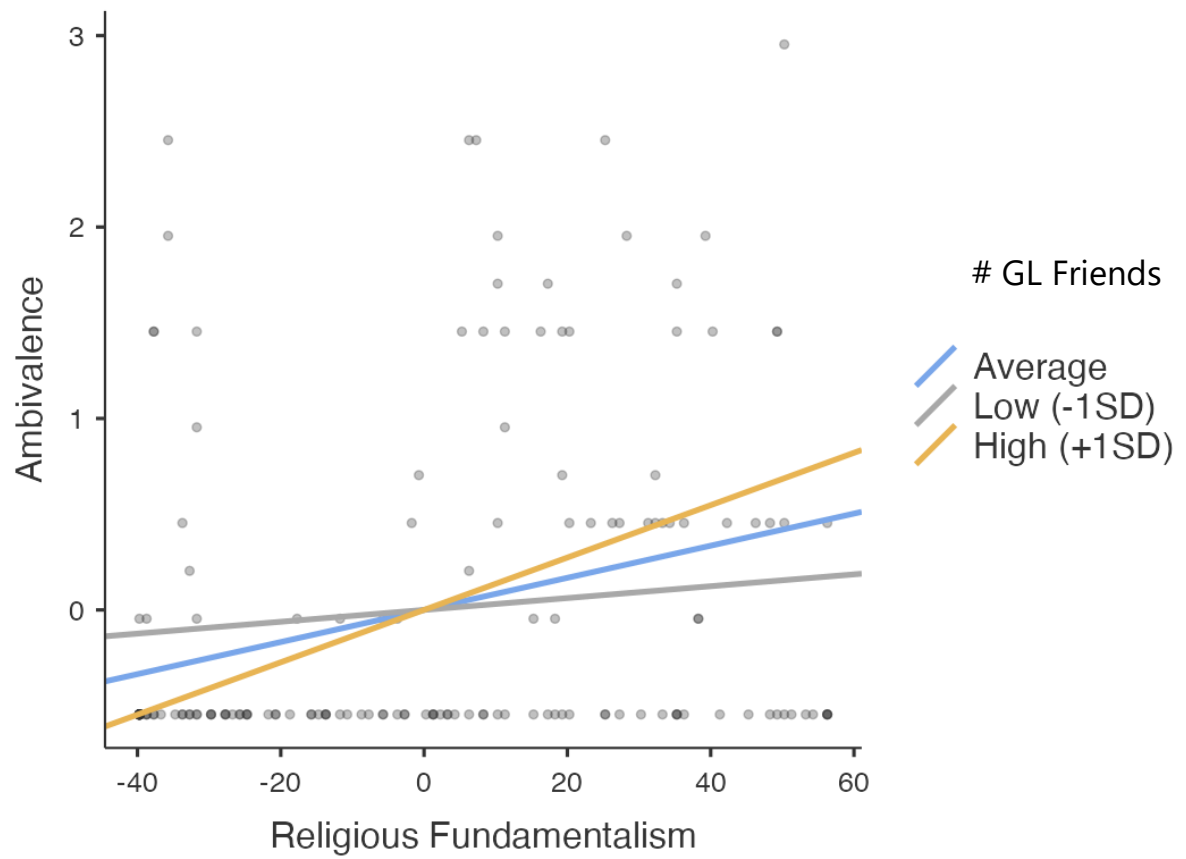


Figure 9
Religious Fundamentalism x Number of GL Friends

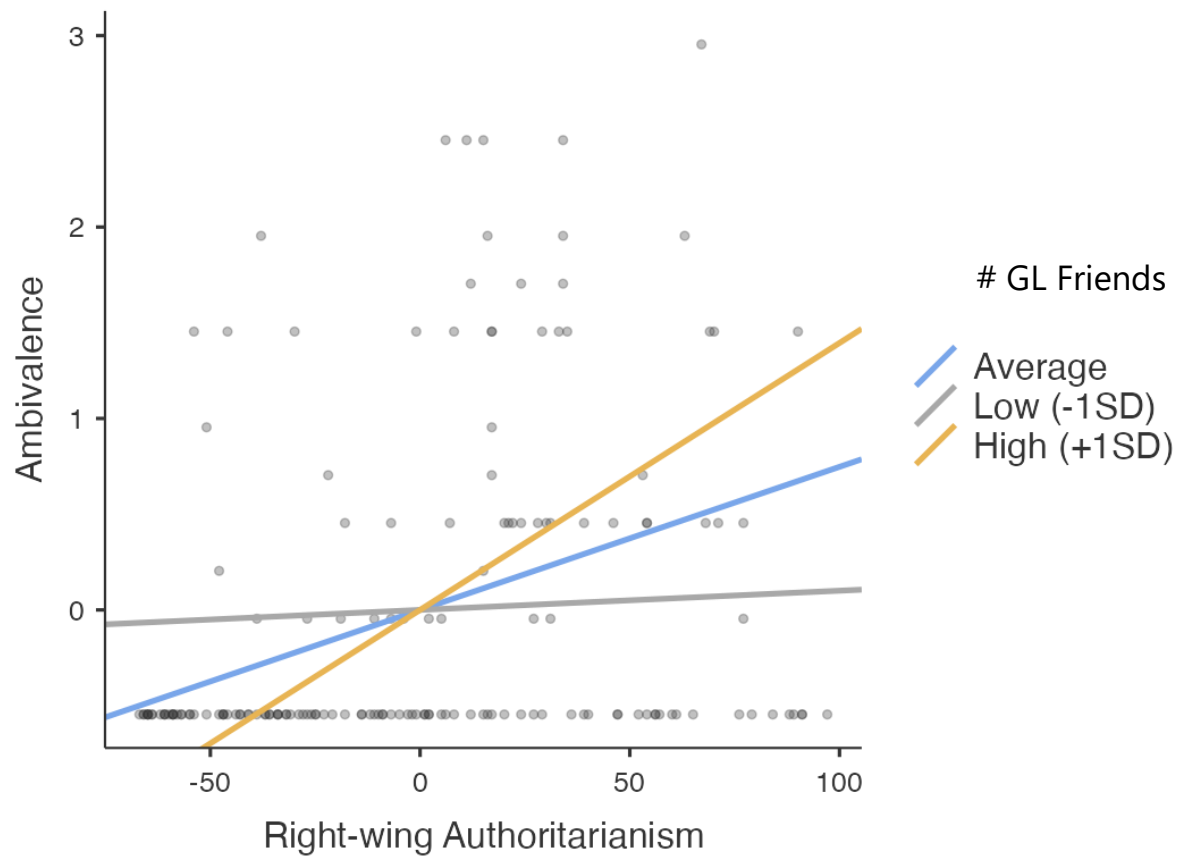


Figure 10
Right-wing Authoritarianism x Number of GL Friends

APPENDIX B:

TABLES

Table 1

Political Orientation (Study 1)

Orientation	<i>n</i>	%
Very Conservative	25	15.3
Moderately Conservative	21	12.9
Slightly Conservative	23	14.1
Moderate	28	17.2
Slightly Liberal	18	11.0
Moderately Liberal	20	12.3
Very Liberal	28	17.2

Table 2

Religious Affiliation (Study 1)

Affiliation	<i>n</i>	%
Agnostic	21	12.9
Atheist	19	11.7
Buddhist	2	1.2
Christian	100	61.3
Jewish	3	1.8
Hindu	1	0.6
Non-religious/Secular	10	6.1
Other	7	4.3

Table 3

ANOVA – Intergroup Anxiety

Condition	Male		Female	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Control	2.76	1.45	2.31	1.52
Gay man	2.33	1.55	2.14	1.31
Lesbian woman	3.21	1.76	2.7	2.12