2014

The Relationship between Traditional Gender Roles and Negative Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men in Greek-Affiliated and Independent Male College Students

Aubrey Lynne DeCarlo
Lehigh University

The Relationship between Traditional Gender Roles and Negative Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men in Greek-Affiliated and Independent Male College Students

by
Aubrey DeCarlo

Presented to the Graduate and Research Committee
of Lehigh University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Counseling Psychology

Lehigh University

This dissertation is accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctorate in Counseling Psychology (Doctor of Philosophy).

_____
Date:

_____
Dissertation Advisor
Grace I. L. Caskie, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Education and Human Services

_____
Accepted Date:

Committee Members:

_____
Arpana G. Inman, Ph.D.
Professor and Chair of Education and Human Services

_____
Christopher T. H. Liang, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Education and Human Services

_____
Michelle Santiago, Psy.D.
Assistant Director of Counseling Services, Moravian College

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Abstract

Significant attitudinal differences between fraternity members and non-fraternity male college students have been found in previous research (e.g., Allison & Risman, 2013). The present study first examined differences between these groups in attitudes towards traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Next, the relationships between traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men was examined, followed by the examination of whether participation in a fraternity moderated these relationships. Data from 98 participants who identified as male and heterosexual were obtained. Greek fraternity-affiliated participants adhered to more traditional gender roles and held more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men than did non-affiliated, independent participants. A hierarchical multivariate multiple linear regression demonstrated that participants who had greater adherence to traditional gender roles also had more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Fraternity membership partially moderated this relationship. This research holds important practice and research implications for student affairs professionals.

CHAPTER I
Introduction

Research has demonstrated significant links between campus diversity efforts and positive college student outcomes such as growth in cognitive tendencies and skills (see Bowman, 2010). As such, in recent years, increasing numbers of colleges and universities in the United States have shown interest in diversity issues and begun to make efforts towards creating a campus climate that is more inclusive and accepting of individuals from diverse backgrounds (Lance, 2002; Patton, Shahjahan, & Osei-Kofi, 2010; Rankin, Hesp, & Weber, 2013). These efforts to increase campus diversity are not limited to student experiences within classrooms and thus include the activities that college students participate in outside of their academic work (Kuk & Banning, 2010; Rankin et al., 2013; Spanierman, Neville, Liao, Hammer, & Wang, 2008). In fact, according to Rankin and colleagues (2013), "Understanding how students from various social groups experience a campus climate is … important to higher education professionals in designing successful out-of-the classroom experiences" (p. 2). In other words, it is essential for colleges to understand the campus climate from a variety of perspectives in order to be effective in planning and influencing the student experience outside of academics.

According to Lance (2002), some universities have made specific efforts to promote general acceptance of and reduce prejudice towards lesbian and gay male (LG) populations. For example, at many universities, LG students have access to support groups and resources to promote their presence on their campuses (Rankin, 2003; Rankin et al., 2013). However, although some college campuses foster supportive environments for LG students, other campus climates remain less accepting (Beemyn & Rankin, 2011; Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002; Rankin, 2003). Researchers have found that a range of attitudes toward LG students exist across various areas and populations within a college campus; for example, student affairs staff and faculty

members differ in interest in LG topics and confrontation of anti-LG behaviors, students in different years of study differ in attitudes and level of involvement in LG events, and students of varying fields of study differ in attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Brown, Clarke, Gortmaker, & Robinson-Keilig, 2004; Lambert, Ventura, Hall, & Cluse-Tolar, 2006; Schellenberg, Hirt, & Sears, 1999). Thus, despite efforts to promote accepting campus climates, this range of acceptance and rejection across campuses may lead LG students to still feel as if they need to pretend that they are heterosexual in order to blend in with their peers (Rankin et al., 2013).

Within the LG college student community, one sub-population that may have unique social needs is those who participate in Greek Social Organizations (GSOs), such as fraternities and sororities (Rankin et al., 2013). The overall population of GSO-affiliated students has shown less openness to diversity than their non-GSO-affiliated (independent) peers (Pascarella et al., 1996), suggesting that the GSO environment may be particularly difficult for LG students. In fact, Yeung and Stombler (2000) theorized that gay fraternity members are at home in neither the fraternity world nor the gay world, as these two identities are often viewed as being conflicting. Little formal research, however, has investigated the experiences of LG college students within the GSO context (Case, Hesp, & Eberly, 2005). With this in mind, it is important for empirical research to investigate the attitudes of GSO members towards LG people in order to plan more effectively for the extracurricular experiences of LG students within these populations.

Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men

According to Whitley (2001), "prejudice against lesbians and gay men is widespread in American society" (p. 691). Thus, despite the efforts that have been made by many college campuses to support a more accepting climate for LG individuals, some portion of the college

student population is still likely to hold an anti-LG prejudice. Rey and Gibson (1997) found that the majority of college students engage in anti-LG pejorative rhetoric, but minimize the impact that such language may have on lesbians and gay men. Other research has indicated that some college students may make judgments about other's sexual orientation based on their traits and behaviors, as many think that people who adhere to gender role traits and behaviors that are more typical of the opposite sex (e.g., men managing a household or being gentle) are more likely to be homosexual (Deaux & Lewis, 1984; Kite & Deaux, 1987; see also McCreary, 1994). Further, one-third of a sample of male college students indicated that they would not be comfortable sitting next to an openly gay man in their classes (Schope & Eliason, 2004). These negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men seem to be more prevalent in men than in women (e.g., Barringer, Gay, & Lynxwiler, 2013; Cárdenas, Barrientos, Gómez, & Frías-Navarro, 2012; Gormley & Lopez, 2010; Herek, 1988, 2002; Kerns & Fine, 1994; Kurdek, 1988; Liang & Alimo, 2005; Schope & Eliason, 2004; Wright, Adams, & Bernat, 1999; see also Kite & Whitley, 1996), and attitudes towards homosexuals (e.g., LG rights) appear to be changing at a slower rate for men than for women (Kite & Whitley, 1996). With this widespread prejudice in mind, it is important to understand these attitudes as well as their effects.

Other research has determined that the attitudes individuals hold towards gay men are typically more negative than their attitudes about lesbians (Herek, 2002; McCreary, 1994; Petersen & Hyde, 2010; Schellenberg et al., 1999). Whitley and Lee (2000) postulated that women and men hold equal opinions about lesbians because this population is already considered socially dominated due to their gender status, although gay men are not; as such, more negative attitudes towards gay men may serve as one way to socially dominate this population. Although some research has found significant "same-sex negativity" in which

heterosexual women hold more negative attitudes towards lesbians whereas heterosexual men have more negative attitudes towards gay men (e.g., Polimeni, Hardie, & Buzwell, 2000, p. 57), this pattern may be more common among men (Herek, 2002). Negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men may also take different forms depending on one's gender; for example, men may be more aggressively negative or socially avoidant of gay and lesbian people (Bernat, Calhoun, Adams, & Zeichner, 2001; Wright et al., 1999). Indeed, with men, such negative attitudes tend to be shown in verbal or physical violence towards gay men; in women, such attitudes appear to be less direct and instead take the form of heterosexism, whereby lesbians are made to appear socially invisible (Hamilton, 2007).

According to Stark (1991), these negative attitudes hold harmful consequences for not only the homosexual men and women to whom these attitudes are directed, but also for the heterosexual people who hold such attitudes. For example, negative attitudes towards gay and lesbian people have been associated with increased sexual rigidity, authoritarian styles, and social status consciousness (Smith, 1971). Negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men may also influence affectionate interpersonal same-sex touching and be one reason why heterosexual men, who typically hold more negative attitudes than women, engage in less same-sex touching and view such acts as being more negative (Floyd, 2000; Gormley & Lopez, 2010). Male college students with higher levels of negative attitudes may also experience anger-hostility and anxiety when exposed to overtly homosexual material (Bernat et al., 2001). Further, Gormley and Lopez (2010) determined a relationship between anti-LG attitudes and both dismissive and avoidant personality styles in male college students, thus suggesting that negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men relates to a fear of intimate relationships within this population. In

contrast, college students who oppose traditional gender roles and have less authoritarian styles tend to be less negative towards lesbians and gay men (Swank & Rais, 2010).

College Greek Social Organizations

When considering the anti-LG biases and prejudices of college students, one important area to which to attend is the influence of fraternities and sororities, or Greek Social Organizations (GSOs). In light of research that has demonstrated that individuals skew their own beliefs, interests, and values to be more similar to those held by the organizations to which they belong (Gonzalez & Chakraborty, 2012), it seems plausible that GSOs can have a strong influence on the social life of many college campuses. For example, Allison and Risman (2013) suggested that college campuses with a strong culture of Greek life and male varsity sports teams might also be "where the sexual double standard makes its last stand, as male participants in these groups are more likely to embrace the double standard" (p. 1203). Increased involvement in these organizations has been associated with significantly increased drinking behaviors (Capone, Wood, Borsari, & Laird, 2007; Kingree & Thompson, 2013), use of prescription stimulants for non-medical purposes (Dissault & Weyandt, 2013) and other substance use (Sidani, Shensa, & Primack, 2013), binge drinking, drunk driving, and other risk behaviors (Ragsdale et al., 2012; Scott-Sheldon, Carey, & Carey, 2008). Most relevant to the current study, Hinrichs and Rosenberg (2002) determined that campuses that include GSOs have climates that are less accepting towards LG students than campuses that do not include GSOs; although this research could not determine causality (i.e., students with more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men may be more attracted to colleges with GSOs), the results do suggest that the presence of GSOs can influence the campus climate.

In the 2010-2011 academic year, over 300,000 undergraduate men were members of a fraternity on approximately 800 college campuses (no percentage figure given; North American Interfraternity Conference, n.d.). According to Kingree and Thompson (2013), fraternities are "private organizations that are largely designed to promote the social lives of male college students" (p. 213). Many of these groups are self-governing, private organizations with volunteer pledges who are then selected to become group members, thus making it more difficult to influence change from outside of these groups (Boschini & Thompson, 1998). As such, Boschini and Thompson (1998) noted that bringing diversity into and creating developmental and positive change in these groups is a primary challenge for many student affairs professionals. Understanding how participation in these organizations may influence and promote certain beliefs, values, and attitudes is important.

Diversity may be an area of concern for many Greek social organizations because, according to Boschini and Thompson (1998), many of these organizations were founded at a time when college campuses were not diverse, and these groups were not diverse, either. Although college campuses have become increasingly diverse, these groups have struggled with diversity (see Boschini & Thompson, 1998; e.g., Martin & Hummer, 1989; Pascarella et al., 1996; Wright, 1996). A more recent study found no difference between GSO members and independent college students in their openness to diversity (Martin, Hevel, Asel, & Pascarella, 2011), but it is unclear if this research represents a shift in attitudes or an outlier. As such, it is important to continue attending to diversity issues in these organizations; further, GSOs that do not embrace diversity within their organizations may be considered as not aligning with their college's multicultural goals, which may have consequences for these organizations (Boschini & Thompson, 1998). Beyond this, for many of these organizations, a founding principle is to be a

part of the college community, but by failing to embrace diversity, GSOs instead separate themselves from the community (Boschini & Thompson, 1998). With this in mind, "it is imperative that [GSOs] understand the importance of diversity" (Boschini & Thompson, 1998, p. 19).

Although students interested in joining GSOs may hold prejudiced attitudes prior to becoming group members or entering college, GSOs exert an influence on their members as well as non-member students on campuses that include these organizations (Capone et al., 2007; Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002). Kalof and Cargill (1991) found that men and women who were involved with GSOs have more stereotypical and traditional views about female submissiveness and male dominance. Further, in a study of 18 colleges and universities, Pascarella and colleagues (1996) found that students who were a part of a GSO were significantly less open to diversity than were their independent peers. In fact, for some GSOs, having diverse members within the organization may be a signal that the group holds a lower social status than more homogeneous groups (Martin & Hummer, 1989; Wright, 1996).

Even though particular GSOs may appear to be more open to promoting diversity, some that have formal support for diverse members may do so simply as a risk-management strategy (Anderson, 2008; see also Hesp & Brooks, 2009). With this in mind, it is not surprising that GSO members from diverse backgrounds may experience these organizations as both culturally hostile and supportive in different areas (Case et al., 2005). Indeed, some have concluded that primarily White fraternities are sheltered from punishment and accountability on their campuses, whereas primarily Black fraternities are not afforded these privileges (Ray, 2012; Ray & Rosow, 2012). Further, non-White fraternity members in primarily White fraternities may feel they need to act in a proscribed way for their White peers to view them as racially equal (Hughey, 2010).

The results of a recent qualitative investigation by Anderson (2008), however, suggest that some fraternities may be changing to become more open and accepting of those from marginalized populations. Anderson concluded that these changes stem from a shift in both general social opinion and in fraternity culture that increasingly values a form of masculinity that promotes acceptance of diverse populations, along with the particular values of the fraternity that was studied.

Traditional Gender Roles

As noted previously, research has determined a link between attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and some gender-related variables. One of these links, adherence to traditional gender roles or traditional gender role attitudes may be at fault for many personal and societal problems (Cotten-Huston & Waite, 2000; Herek, 1988; Kerns & Fine, 1994; Stark, 1991). In general, gender roles may be defined as how one demonstrates or expresses their gender, through cultural expectations, norms, and behaviors of what is masculine and feminine (O'Neil, 1981; Rogers, McRee, & Arntz, 2009). According to Basow and Johnson (2000), attitudes regarding traditional gender roles "consist of the beliefs that family labor should be divided based on gender, with men contributing financial support and women providing child care" (p. 392).

Throughout one's life, many sources convey information about acceptable roles and behaviors for one's gender and the consequences that result from violating these roles. Beginning at a young age, children are socialized to acceptable gender roles through interpersonal relationships and various organizations, literature, and the media (O'Neil, 2008; Schope & Eliason, 2004); by the time they reach college, many young adults adhere to these traditional gender role values and attitudes (Kalof & Cargill, 1991). Violations of these gender roles often come with a range of consequences. For some, these consequences may include

isolation and being avoided, and, for others, the consequences may include more serious penalties, such as hate crimes that are violent and often homicidal (Schope & Eliason, 2004). As noted previously, these gender roles and their consequences are different for men and women.

Men and gender roles. Some research has demonstrated that men have higher levels of adherence to traditional gender roles in comparison to their female counterparts (e.g., Kerns & Fine, 1994). Further, Levant and colleagues (2003) found that women tend to endorse a less traditional view of masculinity than do men, and Stark (1991) found that male participants were not only more likely to adhere to traditional gender roles, but also more likely to hold sexist beliefs in general (see also Barron, Struckman-Johnson, Quevillon, & Banka, 2008; Parrott, Adams, & Zeichner, 2002). According to some theorists (e.g., Archer, 1992), men continue to hold on to stronger gender role expectations because of societal expectations for them to do so, paired with the power that is traditionally held by males in these roles. Although adherence to these roles appears to have become weaker in more recent years and men may be incorrectly assumed to hold more traditional gender attitudes than they actually do (Diekman, Eagly, & Kulesa, 2002; Grant, Button, Ross, & Hannah, 1997), men still seem to be changing their values at a slower rate and holding on to traditional gender roles and attitudes longer than women (Stark, 1991; Twenge, 1997).

One possible reason why men continue to adhere these gender norms is the strict barriers and tenuous status of the male identity. Although these gender roles may be strict, men may receive many different gender role messages from various sources (e.g., interpersonal relationships, various organizations, literature; O'Neil, 2008; Schope & Eliason, 2004), thus leading to various responses and outcomes, and indicating the complexity and tenuousness of this role (Mahalik, 2000). Indeed, the results of an investigation by Vandello, Bosson, Cohen,

Burnaford, and Weaver (2008) suggest that college students perceive "manhood (to be) a relatively precarious, socially achieved status" (p. 1330). Further, Scher, Canon, and Stevens (1988) theorized that the developmental tasks of male college students may combine with general college pressures as well as pressures and stressors related to this gender ideology, thus making college a particularly stressful experience.

One possible consequence of such rigid masculine ideology is that men often reinforce these roles by outwardly policing the behaviors of others, and violations of this role often result in harsh consequences. For example, McCreary (1994) hypothesized that gender role behaviors and characteristics are closely associated with men's supposed sexual orientation, but this is not true for women. Indeed, in comparison to women, men have been shown to be more likely to explicitly label others who they feel are violating gender roles with pejorative terms, such as dyke, queer, or fag, perhaps as one way to police other's behaviors (Bosson, Taylor, & Prewitt-Freilino, 2006). Beyond this, groups of men tend to be particularly harsh towards other men who they see as violating traditional gender roles; for example, Schope and Eliason (2004) found that heterosexual men would be open to introducing a masculine-acting gay man to their friend group, but less open to doing the same for a less masculine-acting gay man.

Violations of gender role norms also hold considerably harsher consequences for men. According to Schope and Eliason (2004), men who violate their traditional gender role may face consequences as harsh as violence, and the penalties for women are often more subtle. With this in mind, it makes sense that other research has found that men experience higher expectations of negative backlash following violations of their gender roles (e.g., Bosson et al., 2006). Heterosexual men who anticipated that these violations would result in their misclassification as being gay or bisexual experienced heightened anxiety and concerns about the status of their

belongingness (Bosson et al., 2006). Therefore, men not only hold more traditional gender roles, but also do more to reinforce these roles and expect harsher consequences when they violate these roles.

Greek Social Organizations, Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men, and Gender Roles

Previous research has demonstrated significant relationships between GSO-affiliation and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, as well as between such attitudes and traditional gender roles, yet research examining all of these variables together remains scarce. Some qualitative research, however, has examined these variables in fraternities and found that feminine-acting individuals who attempt to join a fraternity were the most unlikely to receive a membership offer; known heterosexual men who acted this way, however, were more likely to get an offer than masculine-acting gay men (Hesp & Brooks, 2009). Further, Lottes and Kuriloff (1994) hypothesized that college students involved in GSOs would hold lower levels of feminist attitudes and higher levels of intolerance towards homosexuality while also holding attitudes that promote male dominance. Although the results of their research failed to support this hypothesis, Lottes and Kuriloff believed that their results failed to demonstrate significance because their sample was obtained from a college study body with particularly strong liberal values. With these results in mind, it is important to continue to investigate both GSO-affiliated and independent college students and their reported attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and adherence to traditional gender roles to gain a better understanding of the discrimination LG students may face and to better conceptualize and plan their college experiences.

Rationale for Present Study

In recent years, college administrators have become increasingly interested in the promotion of diversity on their campuses, both in and outside of the classroom. In particular,

many who work in higher education have tried to understand the perspectives of students from a variety of backgrounds in "designing successful out-of-the classroom experiences" (Rankin et al., 2013, p. 2). One type of group that has been noted as having a strong influence on many college campuses are Greek Social Organizations; although these groups appear to struggle with diversity in general, little is known about how these groups view and treat gay men and lesbians.

Previous research has linked attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and traditional gender roles, and although GSOs appear to promote traditional gender roles and demonstrate an elevated level of negative attitudes towards these populations, empirical investigations into this remain scarce and provide inconsistent results. General research into this area demonstrated associations between gender roles and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, with adherence to traditional gender roles believed to be a factor leading to attitudes that are more negative. With such a small body of empirical literature and inconsistent results, however, it is difficult to draw conclusions about how these variables work within the context of a GSO.

With this lack of literature in mind, the present research study examines traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men within GSO-affiliated and independent heterosexual male college students. This research specifically examines the experiences and attitudes of men, given that previous research has demonstrated men's higher adherence to traditional gender roles (Kerns & Fine, 1994; Stark, 1991) and greater levels of negative attitudes toward LG people (e.g., Barringer et al., 2013; Gormley & Lopez, 2010; Wright et al., 1999). Further, although previous research has demonstrated that individuals typically hold more negative attitudes towards gay men than lesbians (e.g., Petersen & Hyde, 2010), people do hold negative attitudes towards lesbians as well (e.g., Whitley, 2001. As such the present research examines participant attitudes towards lesbians and gay men overall, instead

of focusing on attitudes towards one particular population. The specific research questions of the proposed research are: 1) do the levels of adherence to traditional gender roles differ in fraternity-affiliated as compared to independent male college students?, 2) do the attitudes towards lesbians and gay men in fraternity-affiliated differ as compared to independent male college students?, 3) are traditional gender roles predictive of negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men?, and 4) does involvement in a fraternity moderate the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men?

Research Hypotheses. The specific hypotheses for the proposed research are:

- H_1: Those with membership in a fraternity will have higher levels of traditional gender role attitudes than those who are not members of a fraternity.
- H_2: Those with membership in a fraternity will have higher levels of negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men than those who are not members of a fraternity.
- H_3: Regardless of membership in a fraternity, participants who demonstrate higher levels of traditional gender role attitudes will also demonstrate higher levels of negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men.
- H_4: Membership in a fraternity will moderate and strengthen the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, with higher levels of traditional gender role attitudes leading to increased levels of negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men in those participants who indicate membership in a fraternity.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Searches in the PsycInfo database and personal contact with researchers resulted in the identification of literature relevant to Greek social organizations, homophobia, and gender roles. In the PsycInfo database, relevant search terms included Greek, sorority, fraternity, sex, sex roles, male, masculine, female, traditional gender roles, gender roles, attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, homophobia, heterosexism, discrimination, prejudice, prejudice reduction, institutional, systemic, diversity, diversity education, stereotype, stereotype accuracy, heteronormative, college, university, college students, young adults, masculine ideology, male gender role conflict, male gender role strain, and Safe Zone. This literature review has three sections. The first section examines the general literature on attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, including correlations of such attitudes, attitudes as part of a larger belief system, attitudes within GSOs, and the experiences of LG individuals within GSOs. The second section reviews the general literature on male gender roles, including gender role conflict and strain, fear of femininity, gender role violations, and gender roles with GSOs. The third section reviews the literature on GSOs and homophobia, attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, and includes specific information and the male gender role as it relates so such attitudes.

Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men

Although prejudice towards LG populations may take a variety of forms and hold various definitions (see Kitzinger, 1996), two commonly used terms are homophobia and heterosexism. MacDonald (1976) defined homophobia as the "irrational persistent fear or dread of homosexuals" (p. 23), and others have noted that this term has generally "offered an explanation of the hatred, anger, and fear homosexuality arouses in so many people" (Kitzinger, 1996, p. 8). Further, Kimmel (1997) defined homophobia as "men's fear of other men" (p. 237).

Heterosexism, on the other hand, has been defined as "the assumption that all people are and should be heterosexual" (Stevenson & Medler, 1995, p. 1). Although heterosexism may not immediately appear to be as threatening as homophobia, Stevenson and Medler (1995) state that homophobia at least acknowledges the existence of LG individuals, whereas heterosexism stifles the visibility of these populations.

Although much of the literature continues to utilize the term homophobia, this term is far from ideal, and different sources may have varying definitions of this word (Herek, 1986; see also Fyfe, 1983). However, confusion exists regarding which terms are appropriate to use in examining people's attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (O'Donohue & Caselles, 1993). Indeed, despite its popularity, the term 'homophobia' is limiting due to its particular focus on negative attitudes (Herek, 1984). Further, homophobia is too broad of a term – many cultural changes have occurred since this term was coined, and these attitudes are not true phobias (Herek, 2004). Thus, the present research focuses on the more general concept of attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (see Herek, 2004, for review).

Unfortunately, negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men continue to be a deeply serious problem in the United States (Kilianski, 2003). A recent investigation by Herek (2009) utilizing a national sample found that, in the United States, more than half of LG adults felt that they had experienced some sort of stigma against their sexual orientation. Indeed, approximately 50% of this population had experienced verbal abuse, approximately 20% had been victims of a crime, and 25% had experienced an attempted crime due to their LG orientation (Herek, 2009). In particular, men were at greater risk for having such experiences (Herek, 2009), a finding that is not surprising in light of extensive research demonstrating that people tend to hold more negative attitudes towards gay men than toward lesbians (see Kite & Whitley, 1996). Further, a

systemic form of negative attitudes has become more common recently, with prejudice shifting towards more subtle forms of expression, such as support for restricting resources (e.g., marriage benefits) as a way to keep systemic inequalities in place (Eldridge & Johnson, 2011).

Correlates of negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Some college-related statuses and activities have been tied to attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. For example, previous research has determined a difference in attitudes between students in different fields (e.g., social work students have more positive attitudes towards LG individuals) and years of study (e.g., male student attitudes towards LG individuals appear to become more positive in later years of study; Chonody, Rutledge, & Smith, 2012; Lambert et al., 2006; Schellenberg et al., 1999). Other research has found attitudes to tie into participation in extracurricular activities, such as one's student athlete status (McKinney & McAndrew, 2000). Further, specific demographic characteristics such as age (e.g., older students experiencing more positive attitudes; Chonody et al., 2012), race (e.g., White students have slightly more positive attitudes in comparison to Black students; Whitley, Childs, & Collins, 2011), religion (e.g., Conservative Protestants were more negative than those who were Agnostic, Jewish, or Athiest; Newman, 2002), geographical area (e.g., men living in the southern United States were more likely to label homosexuality as morally wrong; Barringer et al., 2013), and personal moral standpoint (e.g., politically conservative participants had more negative attitudes; Brown & Henriquez, 2008) have also been tied to attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. However, a lack of methodological consistency in this area has often led to inconsistent results, such as Brown and Henriquez failing to find a direct gender effect in attitudes whereas several other researchers (Chonody et al., 2012; Lambert et al., 2006; Schellenberg et al., 1999) have found such a difference.

Interestingly, some negative behaviors and attitudes have been correlated with more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men as well. For example, in college student populations, more negative attitudes have been associated with lower levels of empathy and increased use of isolation and denial as coping styles, whereas those with less negative attitudes tend to have more open personality styles (Cullen, Wright, & Alessandri, 2008; Johnson, Brems, & Alford-Keating, 1997). In college male populations, factors such as "interpersonal contact, openness to experience, hypermasculinity, sexism, defensive attitude function, experiential attitude function, religiosity, and political leanings" were determined to be predictive of negative attitudes towards gay men (Barron et al., 2008, p. 162). Further, this group tended to have increased religiosity, closed mindedness, and approval of violence that is linked to their views on masculinity, and to conform more to peer attitudes on gay men (Barron et al., 2008; Parrott et al., 2002).

A further correlate of negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men is gender attitudes; according to Kimmel (1997), these two factors are inherently linked. For example, male college students with increased negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men may also have hypermasculine perspectives on gender (Barron et al., 2008; Parrott et al., 2002). Further, these men may not only hold more sexist viewpoints, but also more hostile or mysoginistic viewpoints coupled with callous beliefs about sex (Barron et al., 2008; Parrott et al., 2002). As such, Parrott and colleagues (2002) suggest that negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men may "incorporate general negative attitudes against feminine characteristics" (p. 1275), whereas O'Neil and Egan (1992) suggest that such attitudes are one type of sexism that prevents men from making successful gender-related developmental transitions and exploring their feminine characteristics.

Negative attitudes as part of a larger belief system. Some researchers have theorized that negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men are one component of a larger belief system (e.g., Davies, 2004). Indeed, men's negative attitudes towards these populations may serve to express a larger set of conservative values (Herek, 1986; Whitley & Lee, 2000). For example, much research has determined a relationship between both social dominance attitudes and authoritarianism with negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (e.g., Whitley & Ægisdóttir, 2000; Whitley & Lee, 2000). In fact, although Whitley and Lee (2000) determined several viewpoints and/or dispositions (i.e., dogmatism, conservatism, right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance) to be predictors of these negative attitudes in a meta-analysis of the literature in this area, further analysis revealed that both right-wing authoritarianism and social dominance were significantly related to attitudes towards lesbians and gay men even when controlling for other variables. Still other research, however, has determined that gender role beliefs partially mediate the relationship between social dominance and anti-LG attitudes (Whitley & Ægisdóttir, 2000), thus demonstrating that some mediating variables may significantly influence the relationship between larger belief system factors and anti-LG attitudes.

Formal efforts to promote acceptance. As noted previously, some universities have begun to make policy changes to promote diversity on their campuses, through both classroom and extracurricular means (Spanierman et al., 2008). General diversity activities and courses have demonstrated some success in reducing prejudiced attitudes (e.g., Pettijohn & Walzer, 2008; Spanierman et al., 2008), and efforts to reduce prejudiced attitudes towards gay men and lesbians have become increasingly popular. However, despite this increase, there remains a lack

of "formal systems that train heterosexuals who want to be effective supporters and advocates for LGBT communities" (Ji, Du Bois, & Finnessy, 2009, p. 403).

Results of investigations into the effectiveness of human sexuality courses in reducing prejudiced attitudes have been mixed (Chonody, Siebert, & Rutledge, 2009). For example, although some investigations have demonstrated that these courses are successful in reducing prejudiced attitudes overall (e.g., Ji et al., 2009; Patton & Mannison, 1993; Rogers et al., 2009), others show differences between male and female participants, with females in these courses experiencing greater attitude change (see Chonody et al., 2009; Finken, 2002). Further, methodological issues, such as not utilizing a comparison group, and a lack of literature overall (Chonody et al., 2009; Finken, 2002; Tucker & Potocky-Tripodi, 2006; Waterman, Reid, Garfield, & Hoy, 2001) make it difficult to fully determine the efficacy of these courses in reducing prejudice towards lesbians and gay men.

In terms of formal, out-of-classroom diversity training, many universities have begun to adopt a program titled "Safe Zone" (Alvarez & Schneider, 2008; Finkel, Storaasli, Bandele, & Schaefer, 2003). The general mission of this program is "…to increase awareness and knowledge of, and sensitivity to, important issues affecting LGBT students, faculty, and staff" (Finkel et al., 2003, p. 555). However, the specific makeup of the Safe Zone program is not standardized and appears to vary significantly across campuses, ranging from a simple sticker campaign designed to increase awareness (Evans, 2002) to training seminars (Finkel et al., 2003).

Empirical investigations into the effectiveness of a Safe Zone program are very limited (Evans, 2002; Finkel et al., 2003); however, some literature does exist. Specifically, Finkel and colleagues (2003) found that a version of Safe Zone that utilized a two-hour training on LGBT

issues led participants to feel a greater awareness of LGBT issues and have a greater ability to affirm LGBT identities. In another study, Evans (2002) performed a qualitative investigation of the impact of a Safe Zone sticker campaign. In this instance, no training was provided, but participants who chose to display a Safe Zone sticker were expected to follow general guidelines and act as a support and resource to LGBT individuals. Evans determined that LGBT students felt affirmed by this program and that heterosexual participants reported increased awareness, challenging of their own biases, and a drive to continue educating themselves on LGBT issues.

Attitudes toward lesbians and gay men within Greek Social Organizations. Unfortunately, little empirical research has focused on homophobia within fraternities and sororities (Rankin et al., 2013). Despite this lack of research, some researchers (Anderson, 2008; Yeung & Stombler, 2000) conducting qualitative studies have described a strong relationship between these organizations and homophobia, describing them as prejudiced and pervaded by negative discourse towards lesbians and gay men. When reviewing the small amount of literature that does exist, Anderson (2008) concluded that fraternities have an extremely negative culture towards lesbians and gay men that includes homoerotic hazing and other methods to further stigmatize LG individuals.

According to Hall and La France (2007), one reason that these negative attitudes are so pervasive in fraternities is that gay men are perceived to be threatening to these groups. In their research study, participants believed that having gay men in a fraternity would obstruct the organization from meeting its goals, such as fostering group cohesion, the ability to recruit new members, and sustaining positive relationships with sororities. Further, as participants increasingly believed that gay members would negatively affect the fraternity's ability to reach these goals, their perception towards gay members became progressively more negative. Beyond

this, more negative attitudes towards LG individuals held by fraternity members were associated with greater concerns related to sustaining a heterosexual identity as an organization; as participants became increasingly concerned that they would be perceived as gay, they increasingly thought that including gay men as fraternity brothers would be wrong or bad. As fraternities that are perceived to be tolerant towards gay people may be shunned or ridiculed by other less-tolerant fraternities (Martin & Hummer, 1989), it makes sense that some organizations would fear this tolerant label.

The negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men that pervade fraternity culture may also be self-perpetuating (Hall & La France, 2012). For example, men who see their peers acting in a discriminatory manner are increasingly likely to engage in this behavior and approve of others engaging in this type of behavior; as such, fraternity brothers who use negative rhetoric also said they heard more use of this rhetoric by peers (Hall & La France, 2007, 2012). Interestingly, however, participants with highly negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men reported hearing less frequent use of such language in their fraternity; this suggests that individuals with more negative attitudes may underestimate or overlook the amount of prejudiced rhetoric within their organizations (Hall & La France, 2007). One reason for the relationship between these attitudes and increased prejudiced discourse may be that fraternity brothers with more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men were more concerned that others would perceive them as gay, and thus more likely to utilize such rhetoric as a defense (Hall & La France, 2007). These findings are especially interesting because they suggest that participants with highly negative attitudes, who noted hearing less negative rhetoric in their organizations, may have actually been internalizing this negative rhetoric and this may have fueled their own use of such discourse (Hall & La France, 2007).

Recent research, however, suggests that the culture of fraternities may be changing to become more accepting of LG people. In a study of how the experiences of gay and bisexual fraternity members have changed over time, Rankin and colleagues (2013) interviewed gay and bisexual men who had been a part of fraternities in several decades. The overall results of this cohort investigation demonstrated that participants who were involved in a fraternity since the year 2000 had the most positive experiences, whereas participants who were involved during the 1990s and before did not report such positive experiences (Rankin et al., 2013). In fact, each cohort (joined a GSO prior to 1989, between 1990-1999, after 2000) reported more positive experiences than the one before. Specifically, those who had joined a GSO after 2000 described their experiences as more cooperative, friendly, respectful, communicative, improving, and friendly (Rankin et al., 2013).

More recent fraternity members who are gay or bisexual also reported feeling more safe and comfortable within their organizations and on campus than previous cohorts. In terms of discrimination, more recent gay and bisexual fraternity members reported feeling significantly less intimidation resulting from anti-LG remarks and attitudes (Rankin et al., 2013). These men also reported being more comfortable engaging in campus clubs and activities that focus on LG issues (Rankin et al., 2013). Beyond this, some fraternities and sororities have also taken active steps towards creating more welcoming environments for LG individuals by creating LG-inclusive anti-discrimination policies, as well as providing trainings and educational services on LG issues (Rankin et al., 2013). These organizational changes, as well as social changes, may influence GSOs towards a more inclusive climate that is accepting and inclusive of homosexual people (Anderson, 2008).

Greek social organizations and the experiences of lesbian and gay male students.

Lesbian and gay male college students may also face outright anti-LG attitudes that are related to the GSO context; in other words, LG students have reported experiencing feeling alienated by both GSOs as organizations overall as well as by their participating members (Case et al., 2005). For example, Hall and La France (2007) found that some fraternity members believed having gay men in the group would obstruct the organization from meeting its goals, such as fostering group cohesion, the ability to recruit new members, and sustaining positive relationships with sororities. Unfortunately, however, the empirical literature investigating the experiences of gay and lesbian students with GSOs overall and their heterosexual members specifically is very limited (Case et al., 2005). With upwards of six percent of GSO members openly identifying as LG and likely many more who choose to remain secretive about their sexual orientation, it is important to continue to pursue research of these populations and learn to better support them on college campuses (Case et al., 2005).

The experience of LG students in GSOs appears to be very complex and varies depending on the individual's status within the group. To begin, in many cases, students suspected of being LG who attempt to join a GSO are denied entry into the group or are dismissed from the pledging process; these students typically do not fight this decision because they do not want to bring attention to themselves (Case et al., 2005; Hesp & Brooks, 2009). After gaining formal acceptance into the organization, however, Case and colleagues noted a range of experiences when these students became open about their LG orientation, from acceptance to threats of physical violence to outright rejection (see also Martin & Hummer, 1989). Regardless of the outcome, many LG students who gain membership into these organizations note experiencing

both negative attitudes towards LG people and heterosexism within their groups (Case et al., 2005; Martin & Hummer, 1989).

Fraternity members, or "brothers" (Martin & Hummer, 1989), who are gay often feel the need to ignore or otherwise cope with the negative attitudes towards LG people and heterosexism that they experience within these organizations (Trump & Wallace, 2006). For example, one common way for GSO members to cope with such discrimination is to remain secretive about their sexual orientation; Case and colleagues (2005) postulate that these students may remain secretive either by general choice to do so or because they feel as though it is necessary to maintain their own well-being in their organization. In fraternities, maintaining such secrecy may entail staying personally distant from other group members, repressing one's sexuality, avoiding stereotypically gay behaviors, deceptively portraying a heterosexual image, or overachieving as a means of keeping busy or distracting others from their sexual activities (Case et al., 2005; Trump & Wallace, 2006). Because of these coping mechanisms, some gay fraternity members may experience guilt over not being completely honest with their fraternity brothers (Trump & Wallace, 2006).

Although Trump and Wallace (2006) noted feeling perplexed that gay college men would be interested in joining fraternities that may potentially have a hostile, prejudiced environment, many gay fraternity members note having positive experiences within these groups. Indeed, some gay members may view their fraternity brothers as not truly holding negative attitudes towards LG individuals, but rather hold heterocentric viewpoints or that they are simply failing to realize that someone in the fraternity could be gay (Trump & Wallace, 2006). In fact, secrecy regarding one's sexual orientation appears to be more important while a student is attempting to become part of a GSO and becomes less important after they are accepted. For example, those

individuals who choose to be open about their LG orientation after they gain membership into a GSO generally find acceptance and gay GSO members overwhelmingly note having positive experiences in their organizations overall (Case et al., 2005; Hesp & Brooks, 2009; Trump & Wallace, 2006). Indeed, fraternities with greater diversity and previous positive experiences for gay members may facilitate other brothers to be open about their homosexuality (Trump & Wallace, 2006).

Male Gender Roles

The term 'masculinity ideology' explains one's internalization of culturally proscribed attitudes and belief systems towards men's roles and masculinity in general, including particular behaviors that men should engage in and others that they should avoid (Levant & Richmond, 2007; Pleck, 1995). Similarly, Herek (1986) described the term 'heterosexual masculinity' as the characteristics of toughness, independence, status, success, dominance, and independence, whereas further defining acceptable male characteristics as inherently not homosexual or feminine. Adhering to this ideological view of masculinity may have negative consequences, such as increased aggression, alexithymia, and behaviors related to health risk, decreased behaviors related to health promotion, restricted expression of distress, need for support, and vulnerability, and both more negative communication styles and attempts to obtain and preserve power in interpersonal relationships (Cohn & Zeichner, 2006; Inckle, 2014; Levant et al., 2003; Mahalik, 2000; Mahalik, Lagan, & Morrison, 2006; Scher et al., 1988).

One aspect of the male gender role that may hold extensive consequences is male gender role conflict; O'Neil (1981) defined this concept as "a psychological state in which gender roles have negative consequences or impact the person or others. The ultimate outcome of this conflict is the restriction of the person's ability to actualize their *human potential* or the restriction of

someone else's potential" (p. 203; see also O'Neil, 2008). For example, Good and colleagues (1995) determined that male college students who were clients at their university counseling center encountered higher psychological distress if they had more gender role conflict. Indeed, in reviewing the literature in this area, O'Neil (2008) found that male gender role conflict is associated with decreased self-esteem, increased anxiety, stress, and depression, and a multitude of other psychological occurrences that may have negative consequences. Other investigations have determined specific components of male gender role conflict to relate to other negative characteristics and beliefs, such as interpersonal rigidity and belief in male rape myths (Kassing, Beesley, & Frey, 2005; Mahalik, 2000).

Gender role strain. A further concept that is related to both masculine ideology and gender role conflict is male gender role strain, which may also result in many personal and interpersonal consequences (O'Neil, 2008; Pleck, 1995). Gender role strain is conceptualized as men's subjective evaluation that they have met (or failed to meet) societal expectations related to their male gender and is thus focused on the consequences related to conforming to society's ideas about masculinity (Cohn & Zeichner, 2006). According to Pleck (1995), gender role strain includes three primary concepts: gender role discrepancy, gender role trauma, and gender role strain. The first, *gender role discrepancy*, explains how men are unable to meet society's expectations for their gender. The second concept, *gender role trauma*, explains how the social processes of meeting these male gender expectations can be traumatic in itself. The third concept, *gender role dysfunction*, posits that these idealized male roles are inherently harmful in some ways, for both the men as individuals and for others.

Investigations into this concept have demonstrated the negative consequences related to male gender role strain. For example, research has determined a link between such strain and

aggression, whereas others have found male gender role strain to have a relationship to greater verbal aggression, negative attributions, and anger when evaluating situations that involve intimate partner conflict (Cohn & Zeichner, 2006; Moore & Stuart, 2004). This strain has also been associated with negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, with a greater discrepancy between actual and ideal masculinity being associated with more negative attitudes (Scher et al., 1988; Theodore & Basow, 2000). Specifically, Theodore and Basow (2000) found that "(college) males who believed that the possession of stereotypically masculine attributes was important to their identities as men were significantly more (negative towards LG people) only when they believed themselves to inadequately measure up to others' expectations regarding appropriate masculine behavior" (p. 43). As such, these researchers suggest that those college men who are very sensitive to societal expectations of their gender, and impose negative self-evaluations when they believe that they are failing to fulfill these expectations, may hold the most negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men.

Fear of appearing feminine. One component of male gender role conflict is a fear of appearing feminine; according to O'Neil (2008), several emotional and behavioral patterns that are related to male gender role conflict are impactful on one's fear of appearing feminine (see Archer, 1992, for review). Indeed, many have theorized that, whereas feminine characteristics are innate in men, some try to fight this side of themselves because rejecting all things feminine is a key principle in the modern conceptualization of manliness (e.g., Kimmel, 1997; O'Neil, 2008; O'Neil & Egan, 1992). O'Neil and Egan (1992) postulated that, starting at a young age, men are taught that feminine behaviors, values, and attitudes are immature, inferior, and inappropriate; these patterns may inhibit one's abilities to make developmentally-appropriate transitions later in life (see also O'Neil, 2008). Alongside this devaluation of feminine traits,

men may learn to devalue women; as culture often links masculinity with heterosexuality, and femininity with homosexuality, while also making these appear as opposites to one another, men may learn to devalue homosexuals (Kimmel, 1997; O'Neil, 1981; O'Neil & Egan, 1992).

Empirical investigations have provided some support for the above-described theories on fear of femininity. Vandello and colleagues (2008) found that, when college men were falsely told that their scores on a measure were more typical of a woman, they experienced greater negative affect and became more defensive. Similarly, Schmitt and Branscombe (2001) found that college men who were given feedback that their results showed that they were gender nonprototypical and had indicated a high identification with males as a group experienced negative affect (see also Theodore & Basow, 2000). Interestingly, these men went on to give more negative ratings to other men who were also supposedly nonprototypical and more positive ratings to men who were supposedly gender prototypical, whereas male participants who were given similar nonprototypical feedback and had indicated low identification with men as a group did not experience lower affect or give differential ratings to other men (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2001).

Further, Wilkinson (2004) determined a significant link between a fear of appearing feminine and men's attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, and Vincent, Parrott, and Peterson (2011) determined anti-feminine attitudes amongst men to be related to both direct and indirect aggression towards LG populations. Indeed, Theodore and Basow (2000) explained similar findings by suggesting that individuals who believe that they are failing to fully meet societal expectations of their gender go on to experience increased distress related to possibly receiving negative feedback in this area; this may lead men to "be more likely to fear and avoid circumstances which and people (i.e., homosexuals) who may lead others to question their

masculinity" (p. 42). Research by Hall and La France (2012) determined that, as men experience greater fear of being mislabeled as gay, they identify increasingly with their masculine gender and become increasingly negative towards LG people. In a more detailed investigation, however, differences were determined between high-negative and low-negative men and their identification as masculine when experiencing an identity threat; in this research, the investigators threatened the masculinity of participants by falsely noting that their scores on a measure were "more typical of a woman's score than a man's" (Stotzer & Shih, 2011, p. 138). The results of this research determined that participants with lower levels of negative attitudes towards LG people rated themselves as more masculine when faced with such a threat, whereas men with higher levels of negative attitudes rated themselves as less masculine. According to Stotzer and Shih, these results suggest that men with more positive attitudes towards LG people react to such threats internally by raising their own self-perceptions of their masculinity. Highly negative men, on the other hand, are psychologically damaged by threats to their masculinity, and in turn react to such threats with aggression, hostility, anxiety, and anger.

Gender role violations. A further component of the male gender role is the tendency of men to watch, rank, accept, and approve each other's manhood (Kimmel, 1997). Indeed, Kimmel (1997) described this as a system of judgment amongst men and remarked "Other men: We are under the constant scrutiny of other men" (p. 231). Some have theorized that this system of judgment has strong ties to negative attitudes towards gay men in particular; men are expected to behave within particular bounds, and gay men's violations of such bounds may be viewed as especially threatening (Kimmel, 1997; Kite & Whitley, 1996).

Indeed, violations of male gender norms may come with consequences. For example, men are more likely to be judged as gay if they are perceived as having traits or engaging in

behaviors more associated with someone of the other sex (Dunkle & Francis, 1990; McCreary, 1994); in some research, even static photos of facial features are enough for participants to make judgments about another's sexual orientation (Dunkle & Francis, 1990). Sirin, McCreary, and Mahalik (2004) determined similar yet different results, in that men with gender role violating *traits* were more likely to be perceived as gay, whereas participants thought men whose *behaviors* violated their gender roles held more different values in comparison to their own. In both traits and behaviors, these researchers found that those who violated gender norms were judged as having a lower social status (Sirin et al., 2004). Beyond this, when people have been asked to purposely violate their gender roles, they often experience increasing discomfort if they believe that these violations will result in their sexual orientation being mistakenly labeled as LG (Bosson et al., 2006).

Male gender roles within Greek Social Organizations. As noted previously, groups of men tend to reinforce traditional gender roles; this appears to be especially true within the American fraternity system. According to Vandello and colleagues (2008), fraternities are one of few subcultures in western society where men need to go through a "rite of passage" to demonstrate their manhood (p. 1335); further, Anderson (2008) noted that the culture of American fraternities as a whole promotes a sexist, anti-LG, and gender-segregated environment that reinforces hegemonic masculinities. In fact, in comparison to sorority members and independent college students, fraternity members are more likely to "accept stereotypical beliefs about women and male heterosexual violence towards women; endorse casual sex by women; reject women's political leadership; oppose women's rights; and believe in differential work roles" (Robinson, Gibson-Beverly, & Schwartz, 2004, p. 871). Still other research has found fraternity members to adhere to traditional sex roles (Allison & Risman, 2013) and greater

approval of forced sex (Kingree & Thompson, 2013) and sexual assault (Franklin, Bouffard, & Pratt, 2012). However, research in this area is somewhat mixed, with Franklin and colleagues determining no difference between fraternity members and independent male students on measures of gender role ideology.

According to some, masculinity is one of the key principles in fraternity life and culture (Hesp & Brooks, 2009; Martin & Hummer, 1989). Here, the definition of masculinity is often very narrow and only permits particular characteristics (Rhoads, 1995). For example, according to Martin and Hummer (1989), some of the valued characteristics of masculine individuals include dominance, sexual prowess, athleticism, and competition. Rhoads (1995), on the other hand, found strength, aggressiveness, and fearlessness to be important to the concept of masculinity in fraternities. As such, whereas masculinity is important in fraternities, it seems as though only particular types of masculinity are valued (Rhoads, 1995).

Elevated adherence to traditional gender roles in fraternities appears to occur for various reasons. As mentioned previously, groups of men, such as fraternities, tend to reinforce adherence to traditional gender roles in general (Schope & Eliason, 2004). Specifically, fraternities reinforce these gender roles at a greater level through an "extreme sexual objectification of women and gay men" (Anderson, 2008, p. 615). Therefore, this reinforcement of gender roles appears to occur both as a product of groups of men in general, but also due to the culture within fraternities specifically.

A further reason why fraternities may experience higher levels of traditional gender role attitudes is the societal power, status, and privilege afforded to men (Rhoads, 1995). Fraternity culture has been found to be hostile towards women and puts women in a passive role (Rhoads, 1995). For example, according to Frintner and Rubinson (1993), college men who participate in

fraternities and other male-centered groups (i.e., sports teams) are more likely to engage in sexual violence, such as sexual assault. Further, effeminate qualities among fraternity members are not valued and are often rejected (Martin & Hummer, 1989). In fact, feminine-acting men were the most unlikely individuals to receive membership offers into fraternities (Hesp & Brooks, 2009). In line with this, Martin and Hummer (1989) found that fraternities may even be proactive about avoiding being labeled as a "gay" (p. 460) organization by encouraging members to act more masculine and purposely recruiting more masculine individuals to join the group. Beyond this, fraternities tend to select members who appear heterosexual, thus continuing to promote a heteromasculine ideal (Anderson, 2008). According to Rhoads (1995), some fraternity brothers may view gay men as being similar to women, and as women are in a subordinate social group, thus so are gay men, and therefore oppressing gay men is viewed as defending masculinity.

Some evidence exists that men who hold more traditional gender role attitudes may be more attracted to or recruited for these groups overall. For example, male first year college students who endorse lower levels of feminist attitudes have a higher likelihood of joining a fraternity later on in college (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994). Keeping in mind that fraternities purposely recruit masculine- and heterosexual-acting men, it seems possible that fraternities both systemically reinforce traditional gender roles as well as attract and recruit individuals who adhere to these beliefs overall.

Gender Roles and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men

The most significant predictor of anti-LG behavior is that the person acting knows that the target of their behavior is gay or lesbian (Schope & Eliason, 2004). In research that examines factors related to more negative beliefs towards LG individuals, however, one of the

most common correlates that have emerged are attitudes that support traditional gender roles (e.g., Basow & Johnson, 2000; Cotten-Huston & Waite, 2000; Kurdek, 1988); this relationship has also been found among college students (Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002). Indeed, although much research has linked an individual's sex (i.e., males vs. females) to anti-LG attitudes (see Kite & Whitley, 1996, for review), other research has found that one's traditional gender role attitudes mediate this relationship (e.g., Cárdenas et al., 2012; Kerns & Fine, 1994; see also Kite & Whitley, 1996). In fact, when researchers control for the effect of such attitudes, the differences between men and women in the level of negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men diminish (Kite & Whitley, 1996). As same-sex attractions are very much threatening to those whose self-concepts are highly related to their adherence to traditional gender roles (Whitley, 2001), negative attitudes towards LG people is one way in which people attempt to reinforce these gender roles.

Previous research has demonstrated a significant relationship between negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and attitudes and adherence to traditional gender role beliefs. For example, Basow and Johnson (2000) found that individuals who most strongly adhere to traditional gender roles also "tend to be the most negative towards homosexuals, both male and female" (p. 392; see also Goodman & Moradi, 2008). In a review of the literature, Whitley (2001) determined a close association between these variables, with increasingly high levels of negative attitudes towards LG people correlated with more elevated traditional gender role attitudes. Although Whitley found this to be true for both men and women, participants who endorsed an extreme "investment in the traditionally male role" (p. 703) demonstrated particularly high levels of negative attitudes. Still other researchers, utilizing an Australian sample, failed to determine a correlation between higher levels of negative attitudes and

masculine traits, but did determine an association between such attitudes and a "lack of positive feminine traits" (e.g., patience, loyalty, gentleness, liking children; Polimeni et al., 2000, p. 59). Overall, however, high levels of traditional gender role beliefs were determined to be a key predictor of both anti-LG attitudes and behaviors, including overt, public anti-gay actions (Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Whitley, 2001).

One common explanation for this association is that these two variables are inherently linked; according to Basow and Johnson (2000), "negative attitudes toward homosexuals are an integral part of traditional sex role ideology" (p. 402). Similarly, Kurdek (1988) postulated that negative attitudes towards LG people are one component in a larger value system that also includes support of more traditional gender roles. Others have hypothesized that such attitudes acts as a device used to reinforce these gender roles and to police those who attempt to violate such roles (Dunkle & Francis, 1990). Indeed, some researchers have postulated that much of the prejudice towards gay and lesbian people is because these populations are perceived to violate their gender roles, both in their behavior and as individuals who have same-sex attractions (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Schope & Eliason, 2004). Therefore, as LG individuals may employ behaviors that violate their traditional gender roles, negative attitudes towards LG people serve to persecute these violations (Schope & Eliason, 2004). The message behind this prejudice, then, is that LG individuals are at fault for their own persecution by violating gender roles and that this is avoidable if people in these populations were willing to act heterosexual (i.e., in line with their traditional gender role; Schope & Eliason, 2004).

Male gender roles and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. In the same way that some scholars believe in an inherent link between negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men and gender roles in general, others argue that these negative attitudes are an inherent part of

the masculine gender role specifically. For example, some scholars believe "that [negative attitudes] plays a central role in the construction of masculinities" (Hamilton, 2007, p. 145). With this in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that research has determined a relationship between adherence to men's traditional gender roles and negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (e.g., Keiller, 2010; see also Kite & Whitley, 1996). Indeed, although extensive research has determined that men hold more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (e.g., Cullen et al., 2008; Davies, 2004), a review of the literature in this area determined that traditional gender role attitudes mediates this relationship, and gender differences diminish after controlling for such attitudes (Kite & Whitley, 1996).

As mentioned previously, one reason that men may adhere to traditional gender roles is to avoid misclassification as gay; because gay men are often believed to possess characteristics that violate traditional gender roles, adhering to these roles may be seen as one way to prevent identity misclassification (e.g., Herek, 1986; Schope & Eliason, 2004). Indeed, according to Kilianski (2003), heterosexual men may be negative towards gay men because they may see gay men's behavior as a gender violation or a threat to their own masculinity; also, men with higher identification to their masculine gender are more likely to express something negative by using anti-LG rhetoric, suggesting that such language may be perceived as one way to defend or project one's masculinity (Hall & La France, 2012). Similarly, Bosson and colleagues (2006) found that men would adhere to male gender roles and avoid exhibiting female-oriented behaviors in public in an attempt to dissuade others from perceiving them as gay. Men who do not anticipate that an audience will misperceive them as gay, however, may be more comfortable in violating these gender roles (Bosson et al., 2006). Interestingly, investigations into threats to men's masculinity have found that men become more negative towards and psychologically

distant from gay men and aggressive following a threat to their masculinity (Talley & Bettencourt, 2008; Vandello et al., 2008) regardless of the participant's attitudes towards gay men. Such results suggest that those men with more positive attitudes towards gay men may simply be controlling their prejudices, but that this is overridden by the need for men to respond to a threat to their masculinity (Talley & Bettencourt, 2008). With this in mind, it appears as though men's fear of misclassification as gay plays a significant role in their adherence to traditionally masculine gender roles.

Along similar lines, some men may hold particular attitudes and viewpoints as a means of outwardly demonstrating their sexual orientation. Indeed, Vandello and colleagues (2008) determined that college students of both genders believe that, whereas womanhood is viewed as developmentally guaranteed, manhood is more precarious, tenuous, and may be lost. In line with this concept, men may need to more actively defend their manhood by proving it to others (Vandello et al., 2008). As such, negative attitudes and behaviors towards gay men may be one way to prove, defend or portray one's own heterosexuality (Barron et al., 2008; Herek, 2002; Phoenix, Frosh, & Pattman, 2003).

A further reason why men may adhere to greater levels of traditional gender role attitudes is the privilege and power afforded to the male gender; this relationship also results in negative attitudes towards gay men who may be viewed as violating such roles (Archer, 1992; Keiller, 2010; Kerns & Fine, 1994; Scher et al., 1988). For example, Scher and colleagues (1988) hypothesized that power is important to college men, and that such power is lost if men are believed to have feminine, or homosexual, tendencies. This idea is supported by Keiller's (2010) findings, which determined that men who had higher beliefs that they should have power over women also had greater negative attitudes towards gay men; these results suggest that gay men

may be perceived as a threat to men's social status and privileges. Kerns and Fine (1994) expanded on this theory, positing that male privilege and power is important in the relationship between gender role adherence and these attitudes; men have more power than women, and if men engage in behaviors more typical of women, they may be perceived as putting such power and privilege at risk.

One concerning aspect of the relationship between negative attitudes towards LG people and gender role attitudes is that men appear to experience greater hostility and negative affect as a result. For example, Hinrichs and Rosenberg (2002) found men to have greater levels of hostility related to their experiences of negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Indeed, such results are supported by Bernat and colleagues (2001), who found that college men with more negative attitudes towards LG individuals were significantly more aggressive towards homosexual men and experienced increased anger-hostility and anxiety when exposed to overtly homosexual material. Here, the researchers suggest that exposure to homosexual material may lead to increased negative affect (i.e., anger-hostility and anxiety) among men who hold such attitudes, which in turn triggers greater aggression towards gay men (Bernat et al., 2001).

The link between masculine gender roles and negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men may be especially true within the context of groups. One primary characteristic of male institutionalized homosociality, or the desire to be in an environment of people of the same-sex, is negative attitudes towards gay men; here, heterosexual men may be firmly set in positions that evoke hostility towards gay men (Schope & Eliason, 2004). Indeed, groups of men often act in ways that reinforce these negative attitudes and adherence to these gender roles (Schope & Eliason, 2004). Still, hegemonic masculinity, or types of masculinity that put men in dominant positions, are "partially based on the outright expression of [these negative attitudes], particularly

among men in homogeneous, masculine settings" (Anderson, 2008, p. 605). With this in mind, it appears that groups of men, especially those that promote masculinities where men take on dominant social roles, may result in particularly high levels of negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Therefore, although the research literature has yet to fully examine these variables in the context of fraternities, previous research related to this area suggests that members of these groups may hold particularly strong gender role attitudes and negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men.

CHAPTER III
Method

Participants

Participants were a sample of fraternity-affiliated and independent self-identified heterosexual male undergraduate college students who were enrolled students at one of three universities in the northeast region of the United States. The three selected schools are private, higher education institutions in eastern Pennsylvania, and each school independently provided IRB approval for the current research. Potential participants were identified by their participation in various student groups and were contacted by email. Although 208 potential participants opened the questionnaire by clicking on the link provided in the recruitment email, only 157 participants agreed to participate (i.e., accepted the conditions of the informed consent document and decided to continue on with participation in the study). Of these 157, only 98 participants completed enough of the questionnaire, fit within the parameters of the study (e.g., male, undergraduate student), and passed the necessary validity items for inclusion in the final data pool. A power analysis determined that at least 82 participants were needed for adequate statistical power for each of the data analyses (Cohen, 1988) ; as such, a total of 98 participants was deemed sufficient.

Participants ranged in age from 19 to 25 (M = 20.6, SD = 1.0). In terms of participation in a GSO, 43 participants indicated that they were a part of a fraternity, whereas 55 identified as independent; in terms of year in college, there were 25 sophomores, 43 juniors, 28 seniors, one student who did not identify, and another who was a fifth year undergraduate. Most participants identified as Caucasian (n = 72) and exclusively heterosexual (n = 91). Further, participants primarily identified as Christian (n = 49) or non-religious (n = 33), and there was a range of political standpoints represented. Further data on participant demographics, including

percentages, can be found in Table 1. Specific information about the sexual orientation, race, religion, and political standpoint of the fraternity affiliated and independent participants can be found in Table 2.

Procedures

Participants will be contacted via email (see Appendix A) and directed to a web address containing the survey; for better organization of the data and study procedures, separate online surveys were created for each participating school. Individuals who agreed to participate went to a provided website address that brought them to the survey. First, participants were provided an informed consent further outlining the purpose and risks associated with completion of the study (see Appendix B). Next, participants were asked to complete the demographic questionnaire (see Appendix C), followed by the Anti-Femininity subscale (from the Male Role Norm Scales; Thompson & Pleck, 1986; see Appendix D), the Anti-Masculinity subscale (from the Female Role Norms Scale; Lefkowitz, Espinosa-Hernandez, Gillen, & Shearer, 2011; see Appendix E), the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988; see Appendix F), The Homophobia Scale (Wright et al., 1999; see Appendix G), and the Modern Homophobia Scale (Raja & Stokes, 1998; see Appendix H). Similar to Worthington, Navarro, Savoy, and Hampton (2008, p. 25), four validity items (e.g., "Please click the number '5' for this item") were inserted throughout the survey to control for malicious and/or random responding; surveys that failed to correctly complete at least three of these four validity items were discarded before the data analysis. Finally, participants were presented with an online debriefing statement (see Appendix I) including information about mental health resources should they experience any psychological harm or discomfort following the completion of the study.

Measures

Demographic Information. Participants were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire to both describe the sample and determine group membership (GSO-affiliated vs. Independent) for the analyses (see Appendix C). Beyond being asked their GSO membership status and which university they attended, participants were asked to provide their year in school, field of study (major), age, race, religious denomination (see Alwin, Felson, Walker, & Tufis, 2006), involvement in extracurricular activities (sports teams, personal interest clubs, student government, etc.), participation in gender and multicultural courses and trainings, and personal moral standpoint (conservative, liberal, etc.).

Traditional Gender Role Attitudes. Traditional gender role attitudes were assessed through two subscale measures - the Anti-Femininity subscale from the Male Role Norm Scales (MRNS; Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and the Anti-Masculinity subscale from the Female Role Norms Scale (FRNS; Lefkowitz et al., 2011). The MRNS was selected as a measure of femininity in the traditional male gender role; it is widely used (Lease et al., 2010) and, as described below, has established reliability and validity (Thompson & Pleck, 1986; Whitley, 2001). The FRNS was selected because it evaluates masculinity in the traditionally female gender role; the survey is modeled after the MRNS, and these two scales have previously been used in conjunction with one another (Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Lefkowitz et al., 2011). Reliability and validity for the FRNS is also described below. According to Goodman and Moradi (2008), these scales separately measure the extent to which participants believe that women should adhere to traditionally feminine characteristics and thus avoid masculine characteristics (FRNS) and the extent to which participants believe that men should adhere to traditionally male characteristics and thus avoid feminine characteristics (MRNS). As such,

these scales examine participant attitudes towards gender roles in general, not their own personal perceived gender role; thus, it is important to measure participant attitudes towards both male and female gender roles, not the male gender role alone.

Both of these subscales include seven items and utilize a seven-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree); item 6 is reverse-scored on each subscale. The ratings of the 7 items are averaged for each measure, with higher scores indicating participant attitudes that adhere to higher degrees of traditional gender role attitudes towards each gender (Goodman & Moradi, 2008). The range of scores of the MRNS and FRNS measures from previous research utilizing one or both of these measures can be found in Table 3.

Sample items from the Anti-Femininity subscale include "I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie" and "If I heard about a man who was a hairdresser and a gourmet cook, I might wonder how masculine he was" (Thompson & Pleck, 1986). In previous research, the reliability for this subscale was within the acceptable range (.76; Thompson & Pleck, 1986), whereas in the current study, Cronbach's alpha for the Anti-Femininity subscale of the MRNS was slightly higher at .83. In terms of validity, the overall MRNS has demonstrated a relationship with participant support of traditional gender roles and attitude towards women (Whitley, 2001).

Sample items from the Anti-Masculinity subscale include "If I heard about a woman who was a firefighter and a hunter, I might wonder how feminine she was" and "I think it's extremely good for a girl to be taught how to mow the lawn and fix things around the house (reverse scored)" (Lefkowitz et al., 2011). The reliability for this subscale also fell within the acceptable ranges in previous research (.69-.82; Lefkowitz et al., 2011). Cronbach's alpha for the Anti-Masculinity subscale of the FRNS in the present study was .77. In terms of validity, the FRNS

was strongly associated with traditional beliefs on male, childrearing, and marital roles (Lefkowitz et al., 2011).

The Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale. The Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men (ATLG) Scale measures participant attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (Herek, 1988) and was selected because of its widespread use, separate measurement of lesbians and gay men, and strong reliability and validity (Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Herek, 1988, 1994, n.d). This scale utilizes 20 items rated on a 7-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree) and is comprised of two subscales, one measuring attitudes towards lesbians (ATL; 10 items) and another measuring attitudes towards gay men (ATG; 10 items; Herek, 1988). Sample items include "I think male homosexuals are disgusting" and "A woman's homosexuality should *not* be a cause for job discrimination in any situation (reverse scored)" (Herek, 1988). After reverse-coding items 2, 4, 7, 11, 15, and 20, the current study will follow the procedure of Goodman and Moradi (2008) and create the two subscale scores by averaging the relevant subscale items (ATL is comprised of items 1-10; ATG is comprised of items 11-20). In previous research, reliability was satisfactory for the ATG (.89) and ATL (.77) subscales (Herek, 1988). For the present study, Cronbach's alpha was slightly higher for both the ATG (.94) and the ATL (.92). Further, the validity of this scale and subscales has been established as it has correlated with similar and relevant constructs, such as higher levels of religiosity and little contact with LG populations, on a consistent basis (see Herek, 1988, 1994, n.d.).

Homophobia Scale. The Homophobia Scale was selected to supplement the information provided by the ATLG. Specifically, The Homophobia Scale was selected because it provides a more detailed assessment of participant attitudes towards LG people in terms of the participants' endorsed behaviors, affects, and cognitions (Wright et al., 1999). In its original form, this scale's

25 items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = strongly agree to 5 = strongly disagree. In the current research, the Likert scale on this measure will be reversed (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) so that higher ratings represent higher levels of negative attitudes. Items 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 16, 18, and 22 are reversed-scored, and then participant ratings are summed to achieve a total score on this measure (Wright et al., 1999). Sample items include "I make derogatory remarks like 'faggot' or 'queer' to people I suspect are gay" and "Organizations which promote gay rights are necessary (reverse scored)" (Wright et al., 1999). Wright et al. determined sufficient reliability for this scale, ranging from .94 to .96 and also established construct validity via its correlation with the Index of Homophobia; Hudson & Ricketts, 1980) for the measure. In the present study, Cronbach's alpha was .95.

Modern Homophobia Scale. The Modern Homophobia Scale (MHS) assesses prejudice towards lesbians and gay men (Raja & Stokes, 1998). This measure was specifically selected because it taps into subtle, less overt forms of prejudiced attitudes, it separately measures attitudes towards lesbians and towards gay men, and it provides information on the participant's personal discomfort with homosexuality as well as their institutional attitudes (i.e., lesbians' and gay men's legal rights; Raja & Stokes, 1998). This scale utilizes 46 items rated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = do not agree, 5 = strongly agree); items 1-5, 8-9, 16-17, 23-25, 28, 31-39, and 41-43 are reverse-scored so that all items will use higher ratings to reflect higher levels of homophobia. Participant ratings on these items are separated into subscales then summed to achieve scores that measure attitudes towards gay men (MHS-G) and attitudes towards lesbians (MHS-L; Raja & Stokes, 1998). Sample items include "Employers should provide health care benefits to the partners of their lesbian employees" (reverse-scored) and "I am tired of hearing about gay men's problems" (Raja & Stokes, 1998). Raja and Stokes established strong reliability

for this measure (.95 for both MHS-L and MHS-G) and also established construct validity. Cronbach's alpha for the present sample was .97 for both the MHS-G and the MHS-L.

Validity Items. Four validity items were randomly placed throughout the survey to control for malicious and/or random responding (Worthington et al., 2008). The four items are as follows: "Please select the number '3' for this item," "Please select the number '6' for this item," "Please select the number '2' for this item," and "Please select the number '4' for this item." Any surveys wherein the participant failed to correctly complete at least three of these four validity items were discarded before the data analysis (n = 3; Worthington et al., 2008).

Data Analysis Plan

To begin, univariate normality will be assessed for each measure in the present sample (see Weston & Gore, 2006). For the first research question examining differences between GSO-affiliated and independent participants in gender role attitudes, a one-way MANOVA will be utilized using the Anti-Femininity subscale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and Anti-Masculinity subscale (Lefkowitz et al., 2011) measures as the dependent variables. For the second research question examining differences between GSO-affiliated and independent participants in attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, a one-way MANOVA will be utilized with five dependent variables: (1) the Attitudes Towards Lesbians subscale (ATL; Herek, 1988), (2) the Attitudes Towards Gay Men subscale (ATG; Herek, 1988), (3) The Homophobia Scale (Wright et al., 1999), (4) the Modern Homophobia Scale – Gay (MHS-G; Raja & Stokes, 1998), and (5) the Modern Homophobia Scale – L:esbian (MHS-L; Raja & Stokes, 1998). If a significant multivariate difference is found between GSO-affiliated and independent participants in either of these one-way MANOVAs, univariate ANOVAs will be conducted to examine group differences

in the individual dependent variables, and a discriminant analysis will also be conducted to examine group differences in a linear combination of the outcome measures (Stevens, 2009).

To address the third and fourth research questions, a hierarchical multivariate multiple linear regression (MMLR) analysis will be used. The first step of the MMLR analysis will examine traditional gender roles as a predictor of attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Traditional gender roles will be measured with The Anti-Femininity subscale (Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and Anti-Masculinity subscale (Lefkowitz et al., 2011), and the dependent variable set representing attitudes toward lesbians and gay men will include five measures – the ATL and ATG (Herek, 1988), The Homophobia Scale (Wright et al., 1999), and both the MHS-G and MHS-L (Raja & Stokes, 1998). In the second step of the MMLR analysis, GSO status (affiliated vs. independent) and an interaction term of GSO status with each of the two measures of traditional gender roles will be added to examine whether GSO status moderates the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. The interaction terms for this analysis will be created by first centering the two continuous independent variables (MRNS and FRNS) by determining the group mean and subtracting this from each participant's score, thus making the group mean zero. Next, participant scores for each centered variable will be multiplied by a dummy-coded version of the moderator (GSO status) to create the interaction variable. According to Baron and Kenny (1986), moderation examines the influence of a third variable on the relationship between the independent and dependent variables; in this case, the third variable, GSO status, is believed to be a possible moderator of the relationship between the independent variable, traditional gender role attitudes, and the dependent variable set, representing attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. At each step of the MMLR analysis, Wilks' lambda will first be examined for statistical significance to

determine whether a relationship between the predictor variable set and the outcome variable set exists at the multivariate level; if significance is found, then univariate results (i.e., R^2 and the regression weights for the individual predictors) will be examined and interpreted as appropriate.

Chapter IV
Results

Descriptive Statistics

Before conducting the analyses, the univariate normality of the continuous variables was examined in terms of each variable's skewness and kurtosis. See Table 4 for skewness and kurtosis values as well as other descriptive statistics. Univariate normality was acceptable for all variables, using Weston and Gore's (2006) recommended criteria of -3 to +3 for acceptable skewness and -10 to +10 for acceptable kurtosis.

Differences in Gender Role Attitudes by GSO Status

For the first research question examining differences between GSO-affiliated and independent participants in gender role attitudes, a one-way MANOVA was utilized using the Anti-Femininity subscale (FRNS; Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and Anti-Masculinity subscale (MRNS; Lefkowitz et al., 2011) measures as the dependent variables. A significant multivariate difference was found between the Greek and independent participants (Wilks' $\Lambda = .80$, $F(2, 95) = 11.88$, $p < .001$). Further, at the univariate level, significant group differences were determined for both of the gender role attitude measures; specifically, the Greek affiliated participants demonstrated greater adherence to traditional gender roles than independent participants on both the MRNS ($p = .02$) and the FRNS ($p < .001$) (see Table 5 for means).

As specified *a priori*, a descriptive discriminant analysis was conducted as a follow-up analysis to the significant one-way MANOVA to explore any between-group differences on a linear combination of the MRNS and FRNS scores. Because this analysis compared two groups, only one linear combination (i.e., discriminant function) of the scores on the MRNS and FRNS was possible (Wilks' $\Lambda = .80$, $\chi^2 = 21.203$, $p < .001$). Although scores on both measures were correlated with the discriminant function, the FRNS showed a much stronger correlation (.990)

than the MRNS did (.479). Further, the standardized coefficients demonstrated that FRNS scores had a high positive weight (1.095), whereas MRNS scores had a weak negative weight (-.176), indicating that the MRNS variable was redundant in the discriminant function. Thus, this function primarily reinforces the univariate finding of a significant difference between Greek and independent participants in terms of their scores on the FRNS.

Differences in Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men by GSO Status

For the second research question examining differences between GSO-affiliated and independent participants in attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, a one-way MANOVA was utilized with five dependent variables: (1) the Attitudes Towards Lesbians subscale (ATL; Herek, 1988), (2) the Attitudes Towards Gay Men subscale (ATG; Herek, 1988), (3) The Homophobia Scale (Wright et al., 1999), (4) The Modern Homophobia Scale – Gay (MHS-G; Raja & Stokes, 1988), and (5) The Modern Homophobia Scale – Lesbian (MHS-L; Raja & Stokes, 1998). No significant difference was found at the multivariate level for this set of dependent variables (Wilks' $\Lambda = .89$, $F(5, 92) = 2.27$, $p = .054$) (see Table 5 for means); thus, it was not appropriate to examine any follow-up univariate analyses.

Gender Role Attitudes as Predictors of Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men: Moderation by GSO Status

To address the third and fourth research questions, a hierarchical multivariate multiple linear regression (MMLR) analysis was used. The first step of the MMLR analysis examined attitudes about traditional gender roles as a predictor of attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Traditional gender roles were measured with the FRNS and the MRNS, and the dependent variable set representing attitudes toward lesbians and gay men included the ATL and ATG, The Homophobia Scale, the MHS-G, and the MHS-L. A significant multivariate relationship was

found between attitudes about traditional gender roles and the set of outcomes measuring attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Wilks' $\Lambda = .46$, $F(10, 182) = 8.75$, $p < .001$), with 54% of the variance in the outcome variable set being explained by attitudes about traditional gender roles. As shown in Tables 5 through 9, the follow-up univariate analyses indicated that a significant amount of variance was also explained in each of the outcome variables, with gender role attitudes explaining significant variability for the ATL (32%, $p < .001$), the ATG (44%, $p < .001$), The Homophobia Scale (49%, $p < .001$), the MHS-G (44%, $p < .001$), and the MHS-L (45%, $p < .001$). Because each of these univariate analyses was statistically significant, the regression weights for the two gender role attitude measures with each outcome were further examined. Here, higher scores on the MRNS ($\beta = .25$, $p = .022$) and FRNS ($\beta = .38$, $p = .001$) were significantly related to higher scores on the ATL, and higher scores on the MRNS ($\beta = .37$, $p < .001$) and FRNS ($\beta = .37$, $p < .001$) were related to higher scores on the ATG. In addition, higher scores on the MRNS ($\beta = .44$, $p < .001$) and FRNS ($\beta = .34$, $p = .001$) were related to higher scores on The Homophobia Scale. Finally, higher scores on the MRNS ($\beta = .38$, $p < .001$) and FRNS ($\beta = .36$, $p < .001$) were related to higher scores on the MHS-G, and higher scores on the MRNS ($\beta = .38$, $p < .001$) and FRNS ($\beta = .36$, $p < .001$) were related to higher scores on the MHS-L. Thus, overall, participant adherence to higher degrees of traditional gender role attitudes was predictive of more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men.

In the second step of the MMLR analysis, GSO status (affiliated vs. independent) and an interaction term of GSO status with each of the two measures of traditional gender roles were added to examine whether GSO status moderated the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. First, a significant multivariate relationship was found (Wilks' $\Lambda = .34$, $F(25, 328) = 4.41$, $p < .001$); the follow-up univariate

analyses indicated that a significant amount of the variance was explained for each of the outcome variables, with this larger set of predictor variables explaining significant variability for the ATL subscale (40%, $p < .001$; see Table 6), the ATG subscale (50%, $p < .001$; see Table 7), The Homophobia Scale (55%, $p < .001$; see Table 8), the MHS-G (50%, $p < .001$; see Table 9) and the MHS-L (48%, $p < .001$; see Table 10).

Because each of the univariate analyses were significant, the regression weights for the two gender role attitude measures, Greek status (the moderator), and the two predictor/moderator interaction terms were further examined for each of the five outcomes. In this model, scores on the MRNS were not a significant predictor of scores for the ATL ($\beta = .00$, $p = .997$), ATG ($\beta = .18$, $p = .265$), The Homophobia Scale ($\beta = .17$, $p = .267$), MHS-G ($\beta = .14$, $p = .388$), or MHS-L ($\beta = .18$, $p = .266$), indicating that the relationship of the MRNS to these outcome variables became non-significant after controlling for GSO status and the two interaction terms. FRNS scores were a significant predictor of scores on the ATL ($\beta = .67$, $p < .001$), ATG ($\beta = .61$, $p < .001$), The Homophobia Scale ($\beta = .66$, $p < .001$), MHS-G ($\beta = .63$, $p < .001$), and MHS-L ($\beta = .57$, $p < .001$), indicating that scores on the FRNS remained significant after controlling for GSO status and the two interaction terms.

Greek status was a significant predictor of ATL scores ($\beta = .24$, $p = .009$), ATG scores ($\beta = .21$, $p = .011$), and MHS-G Scores ($\beta = .20$, $p = .016$), but not scores on the MHS-L ($\beta = .12$, $p = .145$) or The Homophobia Scale ($\beta = .14$, $p = .079$), indicating that males who identified with Greek organizations had higher scores than independent males on the ATL and ATG subscales and the MHS-G. The interaction of MRNS scores and Greek Status was statistically significant for The Homophobia Scale ($\beta = .36$, $p = .02$), but not for the ATL ($\beta = .31$, $p = .083$), the ATG ($\beta = .23$, $p = .155$), the MHS-G ($\beta = .29$, $p = .070$), or the MHS-L ($\beta = .26$, $p = .119$). Similarly, the

interaction of FRNS scores and Greek status was significant for The Homophobia Scale (β = -.35, p = .007), but not for the ATL (β = -.23, p = .123), the ATG (β = -.17, p = .194), the MHS-G (β = -.22, p = .098), or the MHS-L (β = -.19, p = .152).

To better understand how Greek status moderated the relationships of MRNS and FRNS to scores on The Homophobia Scale, plots of the simple slopes were examined (see Figures 1 and 2; Jose, 2013). As shown in Figure 1, males who affiliated with a GSO had a stronger relationship between endorsement of traditional female gender roles and attitudes towards LG populations relative to the relationship of these variables in independent students. In contrast, males who affiliated with a GSO showed a weaker relationship between endorsement of traditional male gender roles and attitudes towards LG populations than was observed for independent students. See Figures 3 and 4 for scatterplots of these scores.

Chapter V

Discussion

The present study examined traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men amongst fraternity-affiliated and independent heterosexual male undergraduate college students. Results indicated statistically significant differences between fraternity affiliated students and independent students in terms of their gender role attitudes, but not in their attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. In line with previous research, gender role attitudes were determined to be a significant predictor of attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. When controlling for GSO status, however, participants' anti-femininity attitudes (for men) was no longer a significant predictor of attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Finally, further analysis determined a significant moderation of fraternity affiliation on this relationship, with participation in a fraternity strengthening the relationship between traditional female gender role attitudes and one measure of LG attitudes, yet weakening this relationship for traditional male gender role attitudes.

Traditional Gender Role Attitudes

This research determined that, when compared to independent participants, Greek participants demonstrated higher adherence to traditional gender roles for both men and women than did independent (non-affiliated) participants. These findings support the first hypothesis of the current research and are consistent with previous research on both male oriented groups in general (Schope & Eliason, 2004) and in fraternities specifically (Robinson et al., 2004). Although these findings are not unique, they contribute to existing research by demonstrating that fraternity members may continue to hold some prejudiced attitudes despite suggestions that these organizations may be becoming more accepting over time (see Anderson, 2008). It is important to note here that the group means for both fraternity and independent participants fell

below the midpoint of these scales and are lower than in most previous research that utilized the MRNS and FRNS to examine male college students (see Table 3). Although these means are lower and most of the data are gathered in the lower to mid-range of possible scores (see Figures 3 and 4), participants in this sample did encompass the full range of scores. The lower-than-average scores may be due to more liberal political viewpoints in the geographic locations of the selected schools, leading to less-rigid perspectives on gender roles; alternatively, these lower averages may reflect a shift in attitudes over time since the publication of the previous research. Finally, the average scores of the Greek and independent groups were farther apart on the measure of attitudes regarding women portraying masculine behaviors (i.e., on the FRNS) than they were on the measure of attitudes about men portraying feminine behaviors (i.e., on the MRNS). As traditional gender attitudes have consequences, these lower scores do not mean that such attitudes are not still an important area to which researchers should attend.

Several characteristics of fraternities may reinforce traditional gender role attitudes held by their members. According to Anderson (2008), some fraternities reinforce traditional gender roles by sexualizing individuals perceived to be more feminine, such as gay men and women. Fraternities may also support more traditional gender roles because these roles tend to place men in a position of power over women, thus reinforcing gender roles supports continued power for fraternity members (Rhoads, 1995). However, whether fraternity membership itself causes these differences cannot be determined due to the inability to control for all other possible causes; for example, some evidence suggests that men with particular gender attitudes may be more attracted to fraternity membership to begin with (Lottes & Kuriloff, 1994). To investigate this possibility further, future research could utilize longitudinal methods to determine whether these

differences exist before individuals self-select into a fraternity and whether they persist and/or are exacerbated by fraternity membership.

Keeping in mind that individuals may slant their own beliefs, interests, and values to be more similar to those held by the organizations to which they belong (Gonzalez & Chakraborty, 2012), the finding that fraternity members have greater expectations of traditional gender roles for both men and women seems troubling. According to previous research, adherence to traditional gender roles or traditional gender role attitudes may be at fault for many problems, both personal and societal (Cotten-Huston & Waite, 2000; Herek, 1988; Kerns & Fine, 1994; Stark, 1991). Because traditional gender roles tend to place men in a position of power and women in a position of disadvantage, it makes sense that some men may benefit from reinforcing traditional gender roles, whereas women continue to suffer the cost of these roles. As such, the finding that fraternity members have greater expectations of these traditional roles means that their members, and campus climates that are influenced by the presence of fraternities, may be at greater risk of negative consequences such as ongoing gender-related power disparities, sexism, and discrimination towards gender non-conforming populations on campus. Further, as student affairs professionals consider how to influence campus climates (Lance, 2002; Patton et al., 2010; Rankin et al., 2013), it is important to keep in mind that some have suggested that Greek social organizations may be more difficult for student affairs professionals to access and affect (Boschini & Thompson, 1998). Thus, although student affairs professionals may try to support gender equality on campus, organizations such as fraternities may counteract these efforts by contributing to the reinforcement of more traditional attitudes.

The present research may help to inform student affairs practices in that it provides evidence of attitudinal differences between fraternity affiliated and independent heterosexual

males, with more negative attitudes in the fraternity affiliated students on average, thus providing further support for the need to continue attempts to promote change in these groups specifically. However, the present research does not investigate the causes of these attitudes and instead only concludes that some attitudinal differences do exist. Many different factors may contribute to the development of such negative attitudes, such as one's cultural background, various multicultural identities, family structure, personal history, peer influence, and so on. As such, student affairs professionals should consider the myriad factors that influence attitudinal development and how to address these with multicultural interventions before, during, and outside of fraternity involvement.

Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men

In line with existing research, the current study hypothesized that fraternity affiliated participants would demonstrate more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. This hypothesis was not supported in the current study, which is inconsistent with previous research (Anderson, 2008; Yeung & Stombler, 2000). Specifically, qualitative studies (Anderson, 2008; Rankin et al., 2013; Yeung & Stombler, 2000) have described Greek social organizations as prejudiced against LG individuals and that anti-LG language and discourse is a pervasive part of GSO culture. One possible explanation for the findings of the present research is that, although fraternities promote anti-LG behavior, this behavior may not lead to a change in individuals' attitudes or reflect attitudes at an individually-reported level. For example, in an attempt to adhere to the culture of their organizations, fraternity members may engage in anti-LG behavior, such as using discriminatory language (e.g., jokingly calling a friend a "fag"), without actually holding or endorsing anti LG attitudes. However, this hypothesis has yet to be examined by empirical research.

This study contributes to existing literature by pointing out inconsistencies in the research methodology used to investigate LG issues in fraternities. The current study utilized a comparison group of independent students who were not affiliated with a fraternity, included only heterosexual or mostly heterosexual men in the sample, and used established quantitative measures. In contrast, previous research on this topic has focused on the experiences of gay fraternity members (Anderson, 2008; Rankin et al., 2013; Yeung & Stombler, 2000), has studied fraternity members alone without a control group of independent students (Hall & La France, 2007), has utilized qualitative methodology (Anderson, 2008; Rankin et al., 2013; Yeung & Stombler, 2000), employed non-established quantitative measures of LG attitudes (i.e., created their own, previously unused scale; Hall & La France, 2007, 2012), or simply looked at different, more specific dimensions of LG attitudes (e.g., only attitudes towards gay men and "homophobic communication"; Hall & La France, 2012). With these discrepancies in mind, it is important for future research to employ consistent methodology and psychometrically valid measures to investigate these attitudes and the factors that may influence them.

Other research, however, has suggested that fraternity member attitudes towards LG individuals have been changing over time to become more positive. In fact, Rankin and colleagues (2013) found that gay and bisexual fraternity members have reported experiences that are more positive in recent years. The non-significant findings in the present study may reflect these changes, in that attitudes within fraternities may be becoming more positive (or less negative) over time, leading to greater acceptance of LGB populations. As part of this shift, gay and bisexual fraternity members may experience reduced discrimination and have more positive experiences overall within these organizations (Rankin et al., 2013). Given the disparity between the findings in the present research and those of Rankin and colleagues, however, researchers

should consider further examination of both LG attitudes among fraternity members and the experiences of gay men in these organizations, possibly through more qualitative research.

Traditional Gender Roles and Attitudes towards Lesbians and Gay Men

The finding that higher levels of endorsement of traditional gender role attitudes were significantly related to more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men is supportive of the research hypotheses and consistent with previous findings within the general population (e.g., Basow & Johnson, 2000; Cotten-Huston & Waite, 2000; Kurdek, 1988) and for college students specifically (Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002). In the present research, greater expectations of traditional male roles as well as of traditional female roles were both significant predictors of negative LG attitudes. However, the relationship between traditional male roles and negative LG attitudes became non-significant after controlling for GSO status and the two interaction terms. The non-significant regression weight for the MRNS in the moderation model indicates that some of the variance in the relationship between the MRNS and the outcome measures was explained by and redundant with the relationship of GSO status to the outcomes. However, it is also interesting to note that GSO status was not a significant predictor in two of these five moderation models, with one of these two models representing the only model with a significant moderation effect (i.e., for The Homophobia Scale). The current research contributes to the body of existing research by providing further evidence of the relationships between traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men within male college student populations and that the strength of these relationship may differ when also considering the GSO status of the student.

According to Kimmel (1997), traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men are inherently linked; the present research provides further evidence of this

link. In men, one explanation for this relationship may be that anti-LG attitudes are one way to defend, portray, or prove an individual's heterosexuality (Barron et al., 2008; Herek, 2002; Phoenix et al., 2003). Interestingly, although previous research demonstrated that higher investment in traditional male roles was particularly related to more negative LG attitudes (Whitley, 2001), the present research found belief in both traditional male and female roles to be similarly significant. These findings may indicate that, in some populations, overall traditional gender role attitudes are tied into more negative LG attitudes, but more research is needed before drawing this conclusion. Future research may consider the specific ways in which men's support of traditional gender roles may relate to their LG attitudes, whether or not this varies by population, and why this phenomenon occurs.

With the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards LG populations in mind, student affairs professionals who are working to address prejudiced attitudes on campuses may consider integrating these variables in their interventions. One way to accomplish this may be addressing gender roles when teaching students about LG populations. Further, existing research suggests that groups of men, in particular, may reinforce traditional gender roles and negative attitudes towards LG populations (Schope & Eliason, 2004). As such, student affairs professionals hoping to promote more accepting gender and sexual orientation attitudes may further consider targeting elements of campus where groups of males exist, such as in all-male dorms, sports teams, and in fraternities.

The Moderating Role of GSO Status

Results for the moderating effect of GSO status on the relationship between traditional gender role attitudes and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men were only partially supportive of the research hypotheses. Although previous research into this topic is very limited, the

present findings contribute to the literature by providing evidence that GSO status may act as a moderator in some ways, but not in others. Specifically, the moderation effect was statistically significant for the relationship of traditional gender role attitudes with The Homophobia Scale, which is believed to measure participant behaviors, affects, and cognitions, but the moderation effect was non-significant for the other outcome measures, which examined more general attitudes towards LG individuals. As such, one possible reason for only obtaining a significant moderation effect with The Homophobia Scale is that this one measure may detect particular dimensions of LG attitudes that the other measures do not. For example, The Homophobia Scale includes items targeting participant behaviors (e.g., "I tease and make jokes about gay people"; Wright et al., 1999), whereas the other two LG measures only examine participant attitudes and cognitions (Herek, 1988; Raja & Stokes, 1998). This distinction is important because it implies that participants may engage in anti-LG behaviors, such as anti-LG discourse with peers, while not endorsing more negative LG attitudes. Further, The Homophobia Scale is the only measure that examined LG attitudes together, as the two other measures evaluated attitudes towards gay men and attitudes towards lesbians separately. Future research should continue to examine these subtleties.

Interestingly, the influence of Greek status as a moderator of the relationship between traditional gender roles and The Homophobia Scale was different for the measures of male and female gender role attitudes. Those males who were members of a fraternity demonstrated a stronger relationship between traditional female gender role attitudes and negative attitudes on The Homophobia Scale than those who were unaffiliated with a fraternity. On the other hand, males who were in a fraternity demonstrated a weaker relationship between traditional male gender role attitudes and negative attitudes on The Homophobia Scale than did unaffiliated

males. Thus, fraternity members appear to link traditional female behavior expectations to more negative LG attitudes, but do not show the same association when it comes to traditional male behaviors.

One possible explanation for the significant FRNS moderation is that male fraternity members may feel more exclusive towards and protective of the male role when it is enacted by females. According to some, masculinity is one of the key principles in fraternity life and culture (Hesp & Brooks, 2009; Martin & Hummer, 1989). In the present research, the FRNS measured men's beliefs that women should adhere to traditional female roles; however, as part of this concept, it also examined how women should *avoid* masculine behaviors. Further, the univariate ANOVA findings and the discriminant analysis indicated that the difference between fraternity affiliated men and independent men was particularly strong with regard to attitudes towards women's gender roles and not as strong for male gender roles. In turn, the moderation in the present study may demonstrate how fraternity membership exacerbates the relationship between the FRNS and anti-LG attitudes. In conclusion, fraternity membership increases protectiveness of the male role when it is enacted by females, which is then associated with more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men, who are also often viewed as violating gender roles (Basow & Johnson, 2000; Schope & Eliason, 2004). However, this explanation of the significant FRNS moderation does not provide an explanation for group differences in gender role adherence for males, and more research is needed to further examine these findings.

A further possible explanation for these results is the out-group homogeneity effect (Gilovich, Griffin, & Kahneman, 2002), which states that individuals see more diversity in the groups they identify with and view individuals in other groups as being more similar to each other. As male-centric groups, one consequence of fraternity membership may be that

individuals have more intense, direct contact with other men, leading to more understanding and appreciation of diverse male roles, and thus lower associations between traditional male gender roles and more negative LG attitudes. However, they may see less diversity in the out-group, women, and have expectations that women should behave within a more restrictive, traditional set of parameters, thus associating non-traditional behaviors with more negative LG attitudes. Alternatively, independent college men may spend more time in mixed gender settings, resulting in a lower adherence with the male group and fewer intense, direct relationships with men in comparison to their fraternity-affiliated peers. As a result, these independent men may not develop as much appreciation for diverse male roles, yet develop greater understanding of diverse female roles in comparison to their fraternity-affiliated peers. More research is needed to better understand these findings.

These findings suggest that, in some ways, participation in a fraternity changes the relationship between traditional gender roles and attitudes towards lesbians and gay men. Although this research is limited, it provides some basis for future research to continue examining this relationship. When considering efforts to reduce negative attitudes towards LG populations, student affairs professionals may consider targeting populations that reinforce greater levels of traditional gender role attitudes and utilizing interventions that include attempts to reduce prejudiced LG attitudes alongside addressing more traditional gender role attitudes.

Limitations

The primary limitation of the current research is restricted generalizability. Although the researcher had aimed to recruit and represent students from diverse backgrounds, the sample of participants that was obtained identified as primarily White and either Christian or non-religious. Beyond this, the participant pool was derived from three specific private universities in

northeastern Pennsylvania; in terms of size, these universities may be considered in the small to medium range. Although the influence of university size on these attitudes are unclear, it is important to keep in mind all possible university-specific cultures (e.g., importance of Greek life, university political culture, sports influence, diversity, religious affiliation) and how these may have affected the results. Next, this research focused on socially-based fraternities without considering participants from multicultural, academic, honor, and other types of fraternities. As some fraternities (social and otherwise) may be more or less accepting of LG populations, it may be important for future researchers to examine the specific culture within each fraternity from which they have participant representation. Further, the current research focused on the attitudes of male students and did not include the attitudes of women, thus limiting the generalizability to only male populations. As such, these results may not be appropriate to generalize to other student populations, such as females, non-White students, and those from different types of fraternities. In addition, the current findings may not be able to be generalized to public institutions or to universities of a larger size. Future research may consider making further efforts to include participants from various racial and religious identities, females, different types of fraternities, different types and sizes of universities, and individuals from a larger range of universities.

An additional limitation is that socioeconomic status was not assessed for the current research study. As many fraternities require their participants to pay monetary dues, fraternity involvement may be more exclusive to students from higher socioeconomic statuses. Future research may consider how socioeconomic status may be tied into fraternity status and, thus, ties into attitudes towards various multicultural populations.

Next, campus events may have influenced the results of this research. One of the three participating universities experienced tension on campus related to multicultural issues during the data collection period. As such, researchers attempted to delay data collection during the period of especially elevated tension. Although the on-campus events were not specifically related to gender or sexual orientation, an increased awareness of multicultural issues during this time may have temporarily influenced participant ideas surrounding multiculturalism, thus possibly skewing the results. Although contextual factors such as these could not be addressed in the current study, it may be important for researchers in future studies to be aware of contextual factors and events on campus and how they may influence participant attitudes.

The high correlations between the LG attitude measures may also be a limitation. Specifically, these correlations may demonstrate that the LG measures were not examining different dimensions of LG attitudes, but instead were repeatedly measuring the same factors. However, despite the high amount of overlap indicated by the correlations, these measures were not perfectly correlated, and the moderation results for one measure were statistically significant whereas the moderation results for the other measures were not statistically significant, suggesting that the measures were in fact examining at least somewhat different dimensions of LG attitudes. In particular, the one measure that demonstrated a significant moderation effect (i.e., the Homophobia Scale) differed from other measures in that it measured both anti-gay and anti-lesbian attitudes together and it examined not only attitudes, but also behaviors. Despite this evidence of difference between the measures, it is important to be mindful of the high correlation and the possibility that the findings may have been somewhat influenced by this overlap in measured factors.

Finally, some factors inherent to the study itself may have been limitations and may have led to some self-selection bias. First, because the research involved a politically controversial topic (i.e., LG attitudes) those potential participants with particular investment in this topic (e.g., those with more extreme views on LG populations) may have been most likely to follow through with completion of the survey. Further, the online survey may have been considered too long, leading some participants to drop out before completion of the study. Specifically, 208 potential participants opened the survey, 157 agreed to participate in the research beyond the informed consent, and only 98 participants completed enough of the questionnaire, fit within the parameters of the study (e.g., male, undergraduate student), and passed the necessary validity items for inclusion in the final data pool.

Recommendations and Future Directions

Future research should continue to examine GSO status as it relates to participant attitudes towards multicultural issues. Previous research has demonstrated that GSOs struggle with diversity concerns (see Boschini & Thompson, 1998; e.g., Martin & Hummer, 1989; Pascarella et al., 1996; Wright, 1996), and the present research supports the idea that GSO members hold more prejudiced attitudes in some areas; however, investigations into this area remain limited. Because these organizations may be influential on college campuses (e.g., Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002), it is important to continue examining the ways in which participation may influence or further promote preexisting student attitudes.

Future research should continue to examine the relationship between fraternity affiliation and attitudes towards traditional gender roles and LG populations, among other differences. For example, although the present study collected information on participant political standpoint (see Table 2), how this factor may have influenced participant attitudes in the Greek and Independent

groups was not examined. Specifically, although the present sample represented a range of political viewpoints, participants appeared to skew to a more liberal political standpoint, which may be affiliated with lesser adherence to traditional gender roles and more positive LG attitudes. Future research may consider political viewpoint and other identities and how any significant demographic differences between fraternity-affiliated and independent groups may influence the results regarding differences in LG attitudes and the moderation of the relationship of gender role beliefs and LG attitudes. Further, although the present research is beneficial in providing a basis for further examination of these attitudes, it is important for future research to aim to obtain findings that will have greater levels of generalizability. Specifically, future studies may consider including larger sample sizes, participants from a greater range of demographic identities, and focus on recruitment from a larger number of college and university campuses.

In the future, researchers working in college contexts should consider the importance of focusing on LGBT concerns beyond fraternities. Specifically, although some research has demonstrated the efficacy of multicultural coursework in reducing negative attitudes towards LGBT populations (see Table 11 for further information on multicultural coursework participation for the present sample), more information is needed on student affairs efforts to accomplish this same goal. For example, little is known about Safe Zone programs; future research may consider efforts to standardize this program and any effect it has in reducing negative attitudes. Beyond this, although information regarding participant extracurricular participation and field of study were collected for the present research (see Tables 12 and 13), an analysis of this information was beyond the scope of this study. Future research may consider these variables and how they may influence participant attitudes. Further, research (Rankin et

al., 2014) has demonstrated that student attitudes towards LG populations have changed over time to become more positive. This positive change in attitudes is reflected in the general population as well (e.g., Overby, 2014); these changes may be due to the greater visibility of LG populations as a result more LG individuals choosing to openly identify their sexual orientation paired with increased and positive attention to LG populations in the media (news coverage, television characters, etc.; Liang & Alimo, 2005). Thus, one strategy that student affairs professionals may consider in their attempts to shift attitudes on their own campus is to increase the visibility of LG populations in a positive way through on campus programming. Further, researchers may consider the specific factors influencing these changes in college campuses and examine how to further encourage and promote this change.

Further, given that previous research had demonstrated that, in comparison to women, male participants endorsed higher gender role adherence (Kerns & Fine, 1994; Stark, 1991) and more negative attitudes towards lesbians and gay men (e.g., Gormley & Lopez, 2010; Wright et al., 1999), the present study focused solely on mostly and exclusively heterosexual men. Although some previous research has determined GSO status to be influential on the attitudes of sorority-affiliated and independent college women, the research in this area remains lacking. As such, additional research is still needed to determine if differences exist between sorority-affiliated and independent college women in these attitudinal variables. Further, the sample for the present research study included a small number of participants (n = 7) who identified as "mostly heterosexual", and as shown in Table 2, six of these seven men were in the independent group. Selection of this self-identity may be indicative of individuals with a more liberal viewpoint and thus may have slightly skewed the results (see Table 14 for further information about political and religious standpoint for mostly vs. exclusively heterosexual participants).

Future research may consider including only participants who identify as "exclusively heterosexual" to examine how this may affect results. Beyond this, the present research included only heterosexual-identified participants, and in doing so, focused on participant attitudes towards a population with which they did not identify. As such, including lesbian and gay participants would have inherently involved an examination of attitudes towards one's own sexual identity and would have changed the basis of the current research. Future studies examining GSO status and multicultural attitudes should consider focusing on or including female participants as well as examining the attitudes of lesbian, gay, and bisexual students.

Although the present research provides information on the attitudes of fraternity members versus independent students, it does not examine the cause of these attitudes. Specifically, although some group differences were found, whether or not participants were predisposed to these attitudes before making a decision about fraternity participation remains unknown. Future research could longitudinally track student attitudes over time, first examining student attitudes at the beginning of college, again after making a GSO involvement decision, and again once these students have had a period of involvement/uninvolvement in a GSO. This type of study would assist in identifying whether fraternity involvement itself influenced participant attitudes, or if participants with particular attitudes self-selected into a fraternity.

Finally, future research may consider utilizing more or different measurements of the constructs being studied. As the present research focused on exploring a previously un-examined area of college student attitudes (i.e., the possible moderation between traditional gender role attitudes and LG attitudes in fraternity affiliated vs. independent heterosexual college men), the selected measurements were sufficient in providing a broad idea of the relationship between GSO status and participant attitudes. However, although some outcome measures

indicated a significant moderation effect, others did not. Further, the gender attitude measures examined a specific dimension of gender attitudes instead of a broader idea of gender role attitudes; these proscriptive measures focused on detecting a specific, negative set of attitudes instead of examining the directionality of broader, more prescribed set of values towards gender roles. In terms of measurement of LG attitudes, future researchers may consider the subtle differences in various attitudinal measurements and select measurements between which these differences are less influential. In attitudes towards traditional gender roles, future researchers may consider utilizing measures that examine different or broader dimensions of these attitudes.

Beyond research, psychologists in college counseling centers should continue to consider multicultural factors when working with clients. In working with heterosexual male clients in this setting, counselors may consider the various cultures across a college campus and how these may, or may not, influence client attitudes as the student progresses through his education. For example, counselors who are working with fraternity-affiliated males who express difficulty related to greater adherence to traditional gender roles may consider how fraternity status may impact these attitudes in considering appropriate client interventions. With marginalized populations (women, gender non-conforming students, LGBT students), counselors should consider the range of discrimination and privileges each client may experience from an assortment of organizations or social groups. For example, if a gender non-conforming counseling client is considering joining a fraternity or has joined a fraternity, counselors may consider the culture of these organizations and how the discrimination the client may, or may not, face within these organizations may be influencing his mental health and adjustment. Although the recommendation to attend to multicultural factors is not unique to the current research, it is certainly reinforced by this study's findings.

Gaining knowledge of college student attitudes across a range of areas continues to be important in planning student affairs resources for these populations. Although some research into Greek social organizations and how they may influence campus life does exist, the research on this topic remains limited. The present research assists in filling this research gap by examining how participants in fraternities may differ from independent peers in their attitudes towards traditional gender roles and towards lesbians and gay men. Such research may help student affairs professionals to better understand potential influences on and barriers to multicultural acceptance on their campuses, thus informing possible interventions to address diversity concerns. Although this research provides some information into fraternity involvement, broader research needs to examine the causation of these attitudes and whether they are generalizable across populations and campuses.

References

Allison, R., & Risman, B. J. (2013). A double standard for "Hooking Up": How far have we come toward gender equality? *Social Science Research, 42,* 1191-1206. doi: 10.1016/j.ssresearch.2013.04.006

Alvarez, S. D., & Schneider, J. (2008). One college campus's need for a safe zone: a case study. *Journal of Gender Studies, 17,* 71-74. doi: 10.1080/09589230701838416

Alwin, D. F., Felson, J. L., Walker, E. T., & Tufis, P. A. (2006). Measuring religious identities in surveys. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 70,* 530-564. doi: 10.1093/poq/nfl024

Anderson, E. (2008). Inclusive masculinity in a fraternal setting. *Men and Masculinities, 10,* 604-620. doi: 10.1177/1097184X06291907

Archer, J. (1992). Childhood gender roles: Social context and organisation. In H. McGurk (Ed.), *Childhood social development: Contemporary perspectives* (pp. 31-61). Hillsdale, NJ/England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Baron, R. M., & Kenny, D. A. (1986). Moderator-mediator variable distinction in social psychological research: Conceptual, strategic, and statistical considerations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 51,* 1173-1182.

Barringer, M.N., Gay, D. A., & Lynxwiler, J.P. (2013). Gender, religiosity, spirituality, and attitudes toward homosexuality. *Sociological Spectrum, 33,* 240-257. doi: 10.1080/02732173.2013.732903

Barron, J. M., Struckman-Johnson, C., Quevillon, R., & Banka, S. R. (2008). Heterosexual men's attitudes toward gay men: A hierarchical model including masculinity, openness, and theoretical explanations. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 9,* 154-166. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.9.3.154

Basow, S. A., & Johnson, K. (2000). Predictors of homophobia in female college students. *Sex Roles, 42,* 391-404. doi: 10.1023/A:1007098221316

Beemyn, G., & Rankin, S. (2011). Introduction to the special issue on "LGTQ Campus Experiences." *Journal of Homosexuality, 58,* 1159-1164. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2011.605728

Bernat, J. A., Calhoun, K. S., Adams, H. E., & Zeichner, A. (2001). Homophobia and physical aggression toward homosexual and heterosexual individuals. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 110,* 179-187. doi: 10.1037/0021-843X.110.1.179

Boschini, V., & Thompson, C. (1998). The future of the Greek experience: Greeks and diversity. *New Directions for Student Services, 81,* 19-27. doi: 10.1002/ss.8102

Bosson, J. J., Taylor, J. N., & Prewitt-Freilino, J. L. (2006). Gender role violations and identity misclassification: The roles of audience and actor variables. *Sex Roles, 55,* 13-24. doi: 10.1007/s11199-006-9056-5

Bowman, N. A. (2010). College diversity experiences and cognitive development: A meta-analysis. *Review of Educational Research, 80,* 4-33. doi: 10.3102/0034654309352495

Brown, R. D., Clarke, B., Gortmaker, V., & Robinson-Keilig, R. (2004). Assessing the campus climate for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) students using a multiple perspectives approach. *Journal of College Student Development, 45,* 8-26. doi: 10.1353/csd.2004.0003

Brown, M. J., & Henriquez, E. (2008). Socio-demographic predictors of attitudes towards gays and lesbians. *Individual Differences Research, 6,* 193-202.

Capone, C., Wood. M. D., Borsari, B., Laird, R. D. (2007). Fraternity and sorority involvement, social influences, and alcohol use among college students: A prospective examination. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors, 21,* 316-327. doi: 10.1037/0893-164X.21.3.316

Cárdenas, M., Barrientos, J., Gómez, F., & Frías-Navarro, D. (2012). Attitudes toward gay men and lesbians and their relationship with gender role beliefs in a sample of Chilean university students. *International Journal of Sexual Health, 24,* 226-236. doi: 10.1080/19317611.2012.700687

Case, D. N., Hesp, G. A., & Eberly, C. G. (2005). An exploratory study of the experiences of gay, lesbian, and bisexual fraternity and sorority members revisited. *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity Advisors, 1,* 15-31.

Chonody, J. M., Rutledge, S. E., & Smith, S. (2012). "That's so gay": Language use and antigay bias among heterosexual college students. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services: The Quarterly Journal of Community & Clinical Practice, 24,* 241-259. doi: 10.1080/10538720.2012.697036

Chonody, J. M., Siebert, D. C., & Rutledge, S. E. (2009). College students' attitudes toward gays and lesbians. *Journal of Social Work Education, 45,* 499-512.

Cohen, J. (1988). *Statistical power analysis for the behavioral sciences*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Cohn, A., & Zeichner, A. (2006). Effects of masculine identity and gender role stress on aggression in men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 7,* 179-190. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.7.4.179

Cotten-Huston, A. L., & Waite, B. M. (2000). Anti-homosexual attitudes in college students: Predictors and classroom interventions. *Journal of Homosexuality, 38,* 117-133. doi: 10.1300/J082v38n03_07

Cullen, J. M., Wright, L. W., Jr., & Alessandri, M. (2008). The personality variable Openness to Experience as it relates to homophobia. *Journal of Homosexuality, 42,* 119-134. doi: 10.1300/J082v4204_08

Davies, M. (2004). Correlates of negative attitudes toward gay men: Sexism, male role norms, and male sexuality. *Journal of Sex Research, 41,* 259-266. doi: 10.1080/00224490409552233

Deaux, K., & Lewis, L. L. (1984). Structure of gender stereotypes: Interrelationships among components and gender label. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 46,* 991-1004. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.46.5.991

Diekman, A. B., Eagly, A. H., & Kulesa, P. (2002). Accuracy and bias in stereotypes about the social and political attitudes of women and men. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 38,* 268-282. doi: 10.1006/jesp.2001.1511

Dissault, C. L., & Weyandt, L. L. (2013). An examination of prescription stimulant misuse and psychological variables among sorority and fraternity college populations. *Journal of Attention Disorders, 17,* 87-97. doi: 10.1177/1087054711428740

Dunkle, J. H., & Francis, P. L. (1990). The role of facial masculinity/femininity in the attribution of homosexuality. *Sex Roles, 23,* 157-167. doi: 10.1007/BF00289863

Eldridge, J., & Johnson, P. (2011). The relationship between old-fashioned and modern heterosexism to social dominance orientation and structural violence. *Journal of Homosexuality, 58,* 382-401. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2011.546734

Evans, N. J. (2002). The impact of an LGBT Safe Zone project on campus climate. *Journal of College Student Development, 43,* 522-439.

Finkel, M. J., Storaasli, R. D., Bandele, A., & Schaefer, V. (2003). Diversity training in graduate school: An exploratory evaluation of the Safe Zone project. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 34,* 555-561. doi: 10.1037/0735-7028.34.5.555

Finken, L. L. (2002). The impact of a human sexuality course on anti-gay prejudice: The challenge of reaching male students. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality, 14,* 37-46.

Floyd, K. (2000). Affectionate same-sex touch: The influence of homophobia on observers' perceptions. *The Journal of Social Psychology, 140,* 774-788. doi: 10.1080/00224540009600516

Franklin, C. A., Bouffard, L. A., & Pratt, T. C. (2012). Assault on the college campus: Fraternity affiliation, male peer support, and low self-control. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 39,* 1457- 1480. doi: 10.1177/0093854812456527

Frintner, M. P., & Rubinson, L. (1993). Acquaintance rape: The influence of alcohol, fraternity membership, and sports team membership. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy, 19,* 272-284.

Fyfe, B. (1983). "Homophobia" or homosexual bias reconsidered. *Archives of Sexual Behavior, 12,* 549-554. doi: 10.1007/BF01542216

Gilovich, T., Griffin, D., & Kahneman, D. (Eds.). (2002). *Heuristics and biases: The psychology of intuitive judgment.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gonzalez, J. A., & Chakraborty, S. (2012). Image and similarity: An identity orientation perspective to organizational identification. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 33,* 51-65. doi: 10.1108/01437731211193115

Good, G. E., Robertson, J. M., O'Neil, J. M., Fitzgerald, L. F., Stevens, M., DeBord, K. A., … Braverman, D. G. (1995). Male gender role conflict: Psychometric issues and relations to psychological distress. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 42,* 3-10. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.42.1.3

Goodman, M. B., & Moradi, B. (2008). Attitudes and behaviors toward lesbian and gay persons: Critical correlates and mediated relations. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 55,* 371-384. doi: 10.1037/0022-0167.55.3.371

Gormley, B., & Lopez, F. G. (2010). Authoritarian and homophobic attitudes: Gender and adult attachment style differences. *Journal of Homosexuality, 57,* 525-538. doi: 10.1080/00918361003608715

Grant, M. J., Button, C. M., Ross, A. S., & Hannah, T. E. (1997). Accuracy of attitude stereotypes: The case of inferences based on gender. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 29,* 83-91. doi: 10.1037/0008-400x.29.2.83

Hall, J. A., & La France, B. H. (2007). Attitudes and communication of homophobia in fraternities: Separating the impact of social adjustment function from hetero-identity concern. *Communication Quarterly, 55,* 39-60. doi: 10.1080/01463370600998673

Hall, J., & La France, B. (2012). "That's gay": Sexual prejudice, gender identity, norms, and homophobic communication. *Communication Quarterly, 60,* 35-58. doi: 10.1080/01463373.2012.641833

Hamilton, L. (2007). Trading on heterosexuality: College women's gender strategies and homophobia. *Gender and Society, 21,* 145-172. doi: 10.1177/0891243206297604

Herek, G. (n.d.). The Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale. Retrieved from http://psychology.ucdavis.edu/rainbow/html/atlg.html

Herek, G. M. (1984). Beyond "homophobia": A social psychological perspective on attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Journal of Homosexuality, 10,* 1-21. Doi: 10.1300/J082v10n01_01

Herek, G.M. (1986). On heterosexual masculinity: Some psychical consequences of the social construction of gender and sexuality. *American Behavioral Scientist, 29,* 563-577. doi: 10.1177/000276486019005005

Herek, G. M. (1988). Heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: Correlates and gender differences. *Journal of Sex Research, 25,* 451-477. doi: 10.1080/00224498809551476

Herek, G. M. (1994). Assessing heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men: A review of empirical research with the ATLG scale. In B. Greene & G. M. Herek (Eds.), *Lesbian and gay psychotherapy: Theory, research, and clinical applications* (pp. 206-228). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Herek, G. M. (2002). Gender gaps in public opinion about lesbians and gay men. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 66,* 40-66. doi: 10.1086/338409

Herek, G. M. (2004). Beyond "homophobia": Thinking about sexual prejudice and stigma in the twenty-first century. *Sexuality Research & Social Policy: A Journal of the NSRC, 1,* 6-24. doi: 10. 1525/srsp.2004.1.2.6

Herek, G. M. (2009). Hate crimes and stigma-related experiences among sexual minority adults in the United States: Prevalence estimates from a national probability sample. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence, 24,* 54-74. doi: 10.1177/0886260508316477

Hesp, G. A., & Brooks, J. S. (2009). Heterosexism and homophobia on fraternity row: A case study of a college fraternity community. *Journal of LGT Youth, 6,* 395-415. doi: 10.1080/19361650903297344

Hinrichs, D. W., & Rosenberg, P. J. (2002). Attitudes toward gay, lesbian, and bisexual persons among heterosexual liberal arts college students. *Journal of Homosexuality, 43,* 61-84. doi: 10.1300/Jo82v43n01_04

Hudson, W. W., & Ricketts, W.A. (1980). A strategy for the measurement of homophobia. *Journal of Homosexuality, 5,* 357-372.

Hughey, M. W. (2010). A paradox of participation: Nonwhites in white sororities and fraternities. *Social Problems, 57,* 653-679. doi: 10.1525/sp.2010.57.4.653

Inckle, K. (2014). Strong and silent: Men, masculinity, and self-injury. *Men and Masculinities, 17,* 3-21. doi: 10.1177/1097184X13516960

Ji, P., Du Bois, S. N., & Finnessy, P. (2009). An academic course that teaches heterosexual students to be allies to LGBT communities: A qualitative analysis. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 21,* 402-429. doi: 10.1080/10538720802690001

Johnson, M. E., Brems, C., Alford-Keating, P. (1997). Personality correlates of homophobia. *Journal of Homosexuality, 34,* 57-69. doi: 10.1300/J082v34n01_05

Jose, P.E. (2013). ModGraph-I: A programme to compute cell means for the graphical display of moderational analyses: The internet version, Version 3.0. Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand. Retrieved from http://pavlov.psyc.vuw.ac.nz/paul-jose/modgraph/

Kalof, L., & Cargill, T. (1991). Fraternity and sorority membership and gender dominance attitudes. *Sex Roles, 25,* 417-423. doi: 10.1007/BF00292531

Kassing, L. R., Beesley, D., & Frey, L. L. (2005). Gender role conflict, homophobia, age, and education as predictors of male rape myth acceptance. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 27,* 311-328.

Keiller, S. W. (2010). Masculine norms as correlates of heterosexual men's attitudes toward gay men and lesbian women. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 11,* 38-52. doi: 10.1037/a0017540

Kerns, J. G., & Fine, M. A. (1994). The relation between gender and negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians: Do gender role attitudes mediate this relation? *Sex Roles, 31,* 297-307. doi: 10.1007/BF01544590

Kilianski, S. E. (2003). Explaining heterosexual men's attitudes toward women and gay men: The theory of exclusively masculine identity. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 4,* 37-56. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.4.1.37

Kimmel, M. S. (1997). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame and silence in the construction of gender identity. In M. M. Gergen & S. N. Davis (Eds.), *Toward a new psychology of gender* (pp. 223-242). Florence, KY: Taylor & Frances/Routledge.

Kingree, J. B., & Thompson, M. P. (2013). Fraternity membership and sexual aggression: An examination of mediators of the association. *Journal of American College Health, 61,* 213-221. doi: 10.1080/07448481.2013.781026

Kite, M. E., & Deaux, K. (1987). Gender belief systems: Homosexuality and the implicit inversion theory. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 11,* 83-96. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402.1987.tb00776.x

Kite, M. E., & Whitley, B. E., Jr. (1996). Sex differences in attitudes toward homosexual persons, behaviors, and civil rights: A meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 22,* 336-353. doi: 10.1177/0146167296224002

Kitzinger, C. (1996). Speaking of oppression: Psychology, politics, and the language of power. In E. D. Rothblum & L. A. Bond (Eds.), *Preventing heterosexism and homophobia* (pp. 3-19). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Kuk, L., & Banning, J. (2010). Student organizations and institutional diversity efforts: A typology. *College Student Journal, 44,* 354-361.

Kurdek, L. A. (1988). Correlates of negative attitudes toward homosexuals in heterosexual college students. *Sex Roles, 18,* 727-738. doi: 10.1007/BF00288057

Lambert, E. G., Ventura, L. A., Hall, D. E., & Cluse-Tolar, T. (2006). College students' views on gay and lesbian issues. *Journal of Homosexuality, 50,* 1-30. doi: 10.1300.J082v50n04_01

Lance, L. M. (2002). Heterosexism and homophobia among college students. *College Student Journal, 36,* 410-414.

Lease, S. H., Hampton, A. B., Fleming, K. M., Baggett, L. R., Montes, S. H., & Sawyer, R. J. II (2010). Masculinity and interpersonal competencies: Contrasting White and African American men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 11,* 195-207. doi: 10.1037/a0018092

Lefkowitz, E. S., Espinosa-Hernandez, G., Gillen, M. M., & Shearer, C. S. (2011, October). The female role norms scale: Measuring gendered attitudes in female and male emerging adults. Poster presented at the *Conference on Emerging Adulthood,* Providence, RI.

Levant, R. F., & Richmond, K. (2007). A review of research on masculinity ideologies using the Male Role Norms Inventory. *Journal of Men's Studies, 15,* 130-146. doi: 10.3149/jms.1502.130

Levant, R. F., Richmond, K., Majors, R. G., Inclan, J. E., Rosello, J.M., Heesacker, M., … Sellers, A. (2003). A multicultural investigation of masculinity ideology and alexithymia. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 4,* 91-99. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.4.2.91

Liang, C. T. H., & Alimo, C. (2005). The impact of white heterosexual students' interactions on attitudes towards lesbian, gay, and bisexual people: A longitudinal study. *Journal of College Student Development, 46,* 237-250. doi: 10.1353/csd.2005.0028

Lottes, I. L., & Kuriloff, P. J. (1994). The impact of college experience on political and social attitudes. *Sex Roles, 31,* 31-54. doi: 10.1007/BF01560276

MacDonald, A. P. (1976). Homophobia: Its roots and meanings. *Homosexual Counseling Journal, 3,* 23-33.

Mahalik, J. R. (2000). Gender role conflict in men as a predictor of self-ratings of behavior on the Interpersonal Circle. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychopathology, 19,* 276-292. doi: 10.1521/jscp.2000.19.2.276

Mahalik, J. R., Lagan, H. D., & Morrison, J. A. (2006). Health behaviors and masculinity in Kenyan and U.S. male college students. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 7,* 191-202. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.7.4.191

Martin, G. L., Hevel, M. S., Asel, A. M., & Pascarella, E. T. (2011). New evidence on the effects of fraternity and sorority affiliation during the first year of college. *Journal of College Student Development, 52,* 543-559. doi: 10.1353/csd.2011.0062

Martin, P. Y., & Hummer, R. A. (1989). Fraternities and rape on campus. *Gender & Society, 3,* 457-473. doi: 10.1177/089124389003004004

McCreary, D. R. (1994). The male role and avoiding femininity. *Sex Roles, 31,* 517-531. doi: 10.1007/BF01544277

McKinney, B. A., & McAndrew, F. T. (2000). Sexuality, gender, and sport: Does playing have a price? *Psi Chi Journal of Undergraduate Research, 5*, 152-158.

Moore, T. M., & Stuart, G. L. (2004). Effects of masculine gender role stress on men's cognitive, affective, physiological, and aggressive responses to intimate conflict situations.

Newman, B. S. (2002). Lesbians, gays, and religion: Strategies for challenging belief systems. *Journal of Lesbian Studies, 6,* 87-98. doi: 10.1300/J155v06n03_08

North American Interfraternity Conference. (n.d.). Fraternity stats at a glance. Retrieved from http://www.nicindy.org/press/

O'Donohue, W., & Caselles, C. E. (1993). Homophobia: Conceptual, definitional, and value issues. *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment, 15,* 177-195. doi: 10.1007/BF01371377

O'Neil, J. M. (1981). Patterns of gender role conflict and strain: Sexism and fear of femininity in men's lives. *Personnel & Guidance Journal, 60,* 203-210. doi: 10.1007/BF00287583

O'Neil, J. M. (2008). Summarizing 25 years of research on men's gender role conflict using the gender role conflict scale: New research paradigms and clinical implications. *The Counseling Psychologist, 36,* 358-445. doi: 10.1177/0011000008317057

O'Neil, J. M., & Egan, J. (1992). Men's gender role transitions over the life span: Transformations and fear of femininity. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 14,* 305-324.

Overby, L. M. (2014). Etiology and attitudes: Beliefs about the origins of homosexuality and their implications for public policy. *Journal of Homosexuality, 61,* 568-587. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2013.806175

Parrott, D. J., Adams, H. E., & Zeichner, A. (2002). Homophobia: Personality and attitudinal correlates. *Personality and Individual Differences, 32 (7),* 1269-1278. doi: 10.1016/S0191-8869(01)00117-9

Pascarella, E. T., Edison, M., Whitt, E. J., Nora, A., Hagedorn, L. S., & Terenzini, P. (1996). Cognitive effects of Greek affiliation during the first year of college. *NASPA Journal, 33*(4), 242-257.

Patton, W., & Mannison, M. (1993). Effects of a university subject on attitudes toward human sexuality. *Journal of Sex Education and Therapy, 19,* 93-107.

Patton, L. D., Shahjahan, R. A., & Osei-Kofi, N. (2010). Introduction to the emergent approaches to diversity and social justice in higher education special issue. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 43,* 265-278. doi: 10.1080/10665684.2010.496692

Petersen, J. L., & Hyde, J. S. (2010). A meta-analytic review of research on gender differences in sexuality, 1993-2007. *Psychological Bulletin, 136,* 21-38. doi: 10.1037/a0017504

Pettijohn II, T. F., & Walzer, A. S. (2008). Reducing racism, sexism, and homophobia in college students by completing a psychology of prejudice course. *College Student Journal, 42,* 459-468.

Phoenix, A., Frosh, S., & Pattman, R. (2003). Producing contradictory masculine subject positions: Narratives of threat, homophobia and bullying in 11-14 year old boys. *Journal of Social Issues, 59,* 179-195. Doi: 10.1111/1540-4560.t01-1-00011

Pleck, J. H. (1995). The gender role strain paradigm: An update. In R. F. Levant & W. S. Pollack (Eds.), *A new psychology of men* (pp. 129-163). New York, NY: Basic Books.

Polimeni, A. M., Hardie, E., & Buzwell, S. (2000). Homophobia among Australian heterosexuals: The role of sex, gender role ideology, and gender role traits. *Current Research in Social Psychology, 5,* 47-62.

Ragsdale, K., Porter, J. R., Mathews, R., White, A., Gore-Felton, C., & McGarvey, E. L. (2012). "Liquor before beer, you're in the clear": Binge drinking and other risk behaviours among fraternity/sorority members and their non-Greek peers. *Journal of Substance Use, 17,* 323-339. doi: 10.3109/14659891.2011.583312

Raja, S., & Stokes, J. P. (1998). Assessing attitudes towards lesbians and gay men: The Modern Homophobia Scale. *Journal of Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Identity, 3,* 113-134.

Rankin, S. (2003). *Campus Climate for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people: A national perspective.* National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Washington, DC.

Rankin, S., Hesp, G., & Weber, G. (2013). Experiences and perceptions of gay and bisexual fraternity members from 1960 to 2007: A cohort analysis. *Journal of College Student Development, 54,* 570-590. doi: 10.1252/csd.2013.0091

Ray, R. (2012). Fraternity life at predominantly White universities in the US: The saliency of race. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 36,* 320-336. doi: 10.1080/01419870.2012.676201

Ray, R., & Rosow, J. A. (2012). The two different worlds of Black and White fraternity men: Visibility and accountability as mechanisms of privilege. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 41,* 66-94. doi: 10.1177/0891241611431700

Rey, A. M., & Gibson, P. R. (1997). Beyond high school: Heterosexuals' self-reported anti-gay/lesbian behaviors and attitudes. In M. B. Harris (Ed.), *School experiences of gay and lesbian youth: The invisible minority* (pp. 65-84). Binghamton, NY: Harrington Park Press/The Haworth Press.

Rhoads, R. A. (1995). Whales tales, dog piles, and beer goggles: An ethnographic case study of fraternity life. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 26,* 306-323. doi: 10.1525/aeq.1995.26.3.05x0935y

Robinson, D. T., Gibson-Beverly, G., & Schwartz, J. P. (2004). Sorority and fraternity membership and religious behaviors: Relation to gender attitudes. *Sex Roles, 50,* 871-877. doi: 10.1023/B:SERS.0000029104.87813.d5

Rogers, A., McRee, N., & Arntz, D. L. (2009). Using a college human sexuality course to combat homophobia. *Sex Education, 9,* 211-225. doi: 10.1080/14681810903059052

Schellenberg, E. G., Hirt, J., & Sears, A. (1999). Attitudes toward homosexuals among students at a Canadian university. *Sex Roles, 40,* 139-152. doi: 10.1023/A:1018838602905

Scher, M., Canon, H. J., & Stevens, M. A. (1988). New perspectives on masculinity in the college environment. *New Directions for Student Services, 42,* 19-34. doi: 10.1002/ss.37119884204

Schope, R. D., & Eliason, M. J. (2004). Sissies and tomboys: Gender role behaviors and homophobia. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services, 16,* 73- 97. doi: 10.1300/J041v16n02_05

Schmitt, M. T., & Branscombe, N. R. (2001). The good, the bad, and the manly: Threats to one's prototypicality and evaluations of fellow in-group members. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 37,* 510-517. doi: 10.1006/jesp.2001.1476

Scott-Sheldon, L. A. J., Carey, K. B., & Carey, M. P. (2008). Health behavior and college students: Does Greek affiliation matter? *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 31,* 61-70. doi: 10.1007/s10865-007-9136-1

Sidani, J. E., Shensa, A., & Primack, B. A. (2013). Substance and hookah use and living arrangement among fraternity and sorority members at US colleges and universities. *Journal of Community Health, 38,* 238-245. doi: 10.1007/s10900-012-9605-5

Sirin, S. R., McCreary, D. R., & Mahalik, J. R. (2004). Differential reactions to men and women's gender role transgressions: Perceptions of social status, sexual orientation, and value dissimilarity. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 12,* 119-132. doi: 10.3149/jms.1202.119

Smith, K. T. (1971). Homophobia: A tentative personality profile. *Psychological Reports, 29,* 1091-1094.

Spanierman, L. B., Neville, H. A., Liao, H., Hammer, J. H., & Wang, Y. (2008). Participation in formal and informal campus diversity experiences: Effects on students' racial democratic beliefs. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 1,* 108-125. doi: 10.1037/1938-8926.1.2.108

Stark, L. P. (1991). Traditional gender role beliefs and individual outcomes: An exploratory analysis. *Sex Roles, 24,* 639-650. doi: 10.1007/BF00288419

Stevens, J. P. (2009). *Applied multivariate statistics for the social sciences* (5th ed.). New York: Routledge.

Stevenson, M. R., & Medler, B. R. (1995). Is homophobia a weapon of sexism? *The Journal of Men's Studies, 4,* 1-8.

Stotzer, R. L., & Shih, M. (2011). The relationship between masculinity and sexual prejudice in factors associated with violence against gay men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 13,* 136-142. doi: 10.1037/a0023991

Swank, E., & Raiz, L. (2010). Attitudes toward gays and lesbians among undergraduate social work students. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work, 25,* 19-29. doi: 10.1177/0886109909356058

Talley, A. E., & Bettencourt, B. A. (2008). Evaluations and aggression directed at a gay male target: The role of threat and antigay prejudice. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 38,* 647-683. doi: 10.1111/j.1559-1816.2007.00321.x

Theodore, P. S., & Basow, S. A. (2000) Heterosexual masculinity and homophobia: A reaction to the self? *Journal of Homosexuality, 40,* 31-48. doi: 10.1300/J082v40n02_03

Thompson, E. H., & Pleck, J. H. (1986). The structure of male role norms. *American Behavioral Scientist, 29,* 531-543. doi: 10.1177/000276486029005003

Trump, J., & Wallace, J. A. (2006). Gay males in fraternities. *Oracle: The Research Journal of the Association of Fraternity Advisors, 2,* 8-28.

Tucker, E. W., & Potocky-Tripodi, M. (2006). Changing heterosexuals' attitudes toward homosexuals: A systematic review of the empirical literature. *Research on Social Work Practice, 16,* 176-190. doi: 10.1177/1049731505281385

Twenge, J. M. (1997). Attitudes toward women, 1970-1995: A meta-analysis. *Psychology of Women Quarterly, 21,* 35-51. doi: 10.1111/j.1471-6402. 1997.tb00099.x

United States Census Bureau. (2010). *School enrollment in the United States: 2010.* Retrieved April 16th, 2012, from http://www.census.gov/hhes/school/

Vandello, J. A., Bosson, J. K., Cohen, D., Burnaford, R. M., & Weaver, J. R. (2008). Precarious manhood. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95(6),* 1325-1339. doi: 10.1037/a0012453

Vincent, W., Parrott, D. J., & Peterson, J. L. (2011). Effects of traditional gender role norms and religious fundamentalism on self-identified heterosexual men's attitudes, anger, and aggression toward gay men and lesbians. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 12,* 383-400. doi: 10.1037/a0023807

Waterman, A. D., Reid, J. D., Garfield, L. D., & Hoy, S. J. (2001). From curiosity to care: Heterosexual student interest in sexual diversity courses. *Teaching of Psychology, 28,* 21-26. doi: 10.1207/S15328023TOP2801_05

Weston, R., & Gore, P. A., Jr. (2006). A brief guide to structural equation modeling. *The Counseling Psychologist, 34,* 719-751. doi: 10.1177/0011000006286345

Whitley, B. E., Jr. (2001). Gender-role variables and attitudes toward homosexuality. *Sex Roles, 45,* 691-721. doi: 10.1023/A:1015640318045

Whitley, B. E., Jr., & Ægisdóttir, S. (2000). The gender belief system, authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Sex Roles, 42,* 947-967. doi: 10.1023/A:1007026016001

Whitley, B. E., Jr., Childs, C. E., & Collins, J. B. (2011). Differences in Black and White American college students' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Sex Roles, 64,* 299-310. doi: 10.1007/s11199-010-9892-1

Whitley, B. E., Jr., & Lee, S. E. (2000). The relationship of authoritarianism and related constructs to attitudes toward homosexuality. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 30,* 144-170. doi: 10.1111/j.1559-1816.2000.tb02309.x

Wilkinson, W. W. (2004). Authoritarian hegemony, dimensions of masculinity, and male antigay attitudes. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 5,* 121-131. doi: 10.1037/1542-9220.5.2.121

Worthington, R. L., Navarro, R. L., Savoy, H. B., & Hampton, D. (2008). Development, reliability, and validity of the Measure of Sexual Identity Exploration and Commitment (MOSEIC). *Developmental Psychology, 44,* 22-33. doi: 10.1037/0012-1649.44.1.22

Wright, E. (1996). *Torn togas: The dark side of Greek life.* Minneapolis, MN: Fairview.

Wright, L. W., Jr., Adams, H. E., & Bernat, J. (1999). Development and validation of the Homophobia Scale. *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment, 21,* 337-347. doi: 10.1023/A:1022172816258

Yeung, K.T., & Stombler, M. (2000). Gay and Greek: The identity paradox of gay fraternities. *Social Problems, 47,* 135-152. doi: 10.1525/sp.2000.47.1.03x0283w

Appendix A

E-Mail Cover Letter

Dear Prospective Participant,

I would very much appreciate your involvement in my current study on male college student attitudes towards diverse groups. To be eligible for participation in this study, you must be a male, heterosexual, full time college student in at least your second year of study and a consenting adult over the age of 18. Your participation is anticipated to take no longer than 20 minutes.

If you agree to participate in this study, you can use the following link to bring you to where you will begin the study: LIST SURVEYMONKEY WEBLINK

Should you have any questions or encounter any issues, please contact me at ALD508@Lehigh.edu. If another contact is necessary, you may also contact my dissertation chair, Dr. Grace Caskie, at Caskie@Lehigh.edu.

Thank you,
Aubrey DeCarlo, B.A., doctoral student
Lehigh University

Appendix B

Informed Consent

You are invited to be in a research study investigating college men's attitudes about diverse groups. Please read this information before beginning your participation in this research.

This research is being conducted by: Aubrey DeCarlo, Counseling Psychology doctoral student, Lehigh University, under the direction of Dr. Grace Caskie, Associate Professor, Lehigh University.

Background Information: The purpose of this study is to investigate heterosexual male college student attitudes towards diverse groups with the ultimate goal of having better information for conceptualizing and planning student extracurricular activities. If you agree to participate in this research, you will be asked to complete a demographic characteristics measure and several attitudes measures to assess your views on various issues.

Risks and Benefits: Some psychological discomfort, such as anxiety or negative thoughts, may occur during and/or after participation in this research as you consider what your attitudes are about the topics of interest. However, we believe that the benefits of gaining this information to benefit future student extracurricular activities will outweigh these potential risks. You will receive no compensation for your participation in this research.

Confidentiality: All data from this study will be kept confidential - no email addresses will be collected and IP addresses will be deleted. In any report of this research that may be published, no information will be released that would make it possible for any individual respondent to be identified. All research data will be securely stored and accessible only to the researchers.

Voluntary Nature of the Study: Your participation in this study is completely voluntary, and you have the right to discontinue participation at any time by closing your Internet browser and exiting the study.

Contacts and Questions: The primary researcher is Aubrey DeCarlo; if you have any questions or concerns about this research, please contact her at ALD508@Lehigh.edu. This research is conducted under the advisement of Dr. Grace Caskie, who may be contacted at Caskie@Lehigh.edu.

Questions or Concerns: If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researchers, **you are encouraged** to contact to Susan Disidore or Troy Boni at (610) 758-3021 (email: inors@lehigh.edu) of Lehigh University's Office of Research and Sponsored Programs. All reports or correspondence will be kept confidential.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information and had the opportunity to contact the researchers to address any questions or concerns I may have. By proceeding to the next page and moving forward with this study, I am giving my consent to participate in this research.

Appendix C

Demographic Questionnaire

1. Are you a student at (Lafayette College/Lehigh University/Moravian College)?
    a. Yes
    b. No
2. Are you a member of a Greek life organization (i.e., a fraternity):
    a. Yes
    b. No
3. Please indicate your year in college (second, third, fourth, fifth plus)
4. Please indicate your major/field of study (open ended)
5. What is your age (open ended– minimum 18)
6. What is your gender:
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Other (please specify)
7. What is your race/ethnicity:
    a. African American/Black
    b. Asian/Pacific Islander
    c. Caucasian
    d. Hispanic/Latino/Latina – Black
    e. Hispanic/Latino/Latina – White
    f. Native American/American Indian
    g. Bi-Racial (please specify)
    h. Multi-Racial (please specify)
    i. Other
8. Please indicate your sexual orientation:
    a. Exclusively Heterosexual
    b. Mostly Heterosexual
    c. Bisexual
    d. Mostly Gay
    e. Exclusively Gay
    f. Asexual
    g. Other (please specify)
9. What is your religion?
    a. Christian
    b. Jewish
    c. Muslim
    d. Buddhist
    e. Other religion (please specify)
    f. Non-religious (Atheist, Agnostic, Humanist, etc.)
10. Please indicate which of the following extracurricular activities you participate in (you may choose as many as apply to you):
    a. Sports (official or intramural)
    b. Community service

    c. Personal interest clubs (religious club, chess club, ski club, etc.)
    d. Student government
    e. Other (please list)
11. Please indicate your perceived political standpoint:
    a. Extremely Conservative
    b. Conservative
    c. Slightly Conservative
    d. Middle
    e. Slightly Liberal
    f. Liberal
    g. Extremely Liberal
12. Please note the number of courses that you have completed that addressed gender issues (open ended)
13. Please note the number of courses that you have completed that address sexual orientation and/or other diversity issues (open ended)
14. Please note the number of multicultural workshops and/or trainings that you have completed (open ended)

Appendix D

Anti-Femininity subscale from the Male Role Norm Scales

(Thompson & Pleck, 1986; used by permission)

After each statement, please indicate the number that best indicates how much you disagree or agree with the statement.

1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Somewhat disagree, 4 = Neither agree nor disagree, 5 = Somewhat Agree, 6 = Agree, 7 = Strongly agree

1. It bothers me when a man does something I consider "feminine."
2. A man whose hobbies are cooking, sewing, and going to the ballet probably wouldn't appeal to me.
3. It is a bit embarrassing for a man to have a job that is usually filled by a woman.
4. Unless he was really desperate, I would probably advise a man to keep looking rather than accept a job as a secretary.
5. If I heard about a man who was a hairdresser and a gourmet cook, I might wonder how masculine he was.
6. I think it's extremely good for a boy to be taught to cook, sew, clean the house, and take care of younger children.
7. I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a male friend of mine cried over a sad love scene in a movie.

Appendix E

Anti-Masculinity subscale from the Female Role Norms Scale

(Lefkowitz et al., 2011; used by permission)

After each statement, please indicate the number that best indicates how much you disagree or agree with the statement.

1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Somewhat disagree, 4 = Neither agree nor disagree, 5 = Somewhat agree, 6 = Agree, 7 = Strongly agree

1. It bothers me when a woman does something that I consider "masculine."
2. A woman whose hobbies are fishing, fixing cars, and watching sports probably wouldn't appeal to me.
3. It is a bit embarrassing for a woman to have a job that is usually filled by a man.
4. Unless she was really desperate, I would probably advise a woman to keep looking rather than accept a job as a construction worker.
5. If I heard about a woman who was a firefighter and a hunter, I might wonder how feminine she was.
6. I think it's extremely good for a girl to be taught to mow the lawn and fix things around the house.
7. I might find it a little silly or embarrassing if a female friend of mine shouted at the television during a football game.

Appendix F

Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale

(Herek, 1988; used by permission)

After each statement, please indicate the number that best indicates how much you disagree or agree with the statement.

1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Somewhat disagree, 4 = Neutral, 5 = Somewhat agree, 6 = Agree, 7 = Strongly agree

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society.

2. A woman's homosexuality should not be a cause for job discrimination in any situation.

3. Female homosexuality is detrimental to society because it breaks down the natural divisions between the sexes.

4. State laws regulating private, consenting lesbian behavior should be loosened.

5. Female homosexuality is a sin.

6. The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.

7. Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.

8. Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.

9. Female homosexuality is an inferior form of sexuality.

10. Lesbians are sick.

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

12. I think male homosexuals are disgusting.

13. Male homosexuals should not be allowed to teach school.

14. Male homosexuality is a perversion.

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

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

17. I would not be too upset if I learned that my son were a homosexual.

18. Homosexual behavior between two men is just plain wrong.

19. The idea of male homosexual marriages seems ridiculous to me.

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

Appendix G

The Homophobia Scale

(Wright et al., 1999; used by permission)

This questionnaire is designed to measure your thoughts, feelings, and behaviors with regard to homosexuality. It is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Answer each item by indicating the number after each question as follows:

1 = Strongly disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree

1. Gay people make me nervous.
2. Gay people deserve what they get.
3. Homosexuality is acceptable to me.
4. If I discovered a friend was gay I would end the friendship.
5. I think homosexual people should not work with children.
6. I make derogatory remarks about gay people.
7. I enjoy the company of gay people.
8. Marriage between homosexual individuals is acceptable.
9. I make derogatory remarks like "faggot" or "queer" to people I suspect are gay.
10. It does not matter to me whether my friends are gay or straight.
11. It would not upset me if I learned that a close friend was homosexual.
12. Homosexuality is immoral.
13. I tease and make jokes about gay people.

14. I feel that you cannot trust a person who is homosexual.

15. I fear homosexual persons will make sexual advances towards me.

16. Organizations which promote gay rights are necessary.

17. I have damaged property of gay persons, such as "keying" their cars.

18. I would feel comfortable having a gay roommate.

19. I would hit a homosexual for coming on to me.

20. Homosexual behavior should not be against the law.

21. I avoid gay individuals.

22. It does not bother me to see two homosexual people together in public.

23. When I see a gay person I think, “What a waste.”

24. When I meet someone, I try to find out if he/she is gay.

25. I have rocky relationships with people that I suspect are gay.

Appendix H

Modern Homophobia Scale

(Raja & Stokes, 1998; used by permission)

This questionnaire asks about homosexuality. Please keep in mind that there are no right or wrong answers. Answer each item as carefully as you can. If you are not sure how to answer a question, take your best guess. For the purpose of this questionnaire, please assume that "gay" refers to homosexual men, and that "lesbian" refers to homosexual women. In the blank preceding each statement, please place a number that corresponds with the degree to which you agree or disagree with the statement. Use this scale:

1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree

1. I wouldn't mind going to a party that included gay men
2. I am comfortable with the thought of two men being romantically involved
3. I would not mind working with a gay man
4. I don’t think it would negatively affect our relationship if I learned that one of my close relatives was gay
5. I would be sure to invite the same-sex partner of my gay male friend to my party
6. I won’t associate with a gay man for fear of catching AIDS
7. I would remove my child from a class if I found out the teacher was gay
8. It’s all right with me if I see two men holding hands
9. I welcome new friends who are gay

10. Physicians and psychologists should strive to find a cure for male homosexuality
11. Male homosexuality is a psychological disease
12. Gay men should undergo therapy to change their sexual orientation
13. Gay men could be heterosexual if they really wanted to be
14. I am tired of hearing about gay men's problems
15. I would not vote for a political candidate who was openly gay
16. Gay men should be allowed to be leaders in religious organizations
17. Marriages between two gay men should be legal
18. I don't mind companies using openly gay male celebrities to advertise their products
19. Hospitals shouldn't hire gay male doctors
20. Gay men should not be allowed to join the military
21. Gay men want too many rights
22. Movies that approve of male homosexuality bother me
23. Lesbians who adopt children do not need to be monitored more closely than heterosexual parents
24. Teachers should try to reduce their student's prejudice toward lesbians
25. Marriages between two lesbians should be legal
26. I am tired of hearing about lesbians problems
27. Lesbians should not be allowed to join the military
28. School curricula should include positive discussions of lesbian topics
29. I would not vote for a political candidate who was openly lesbian
30. Lesbians are incapable of being good parents
31. Lesbians should be allowed to be leaders in religious organizations

32. Employers should provide health care benefits to the partners of their lesbian employees
33. Lesbians are as capable as heterosexuals of forming long-term romantic relationships
34. If my best female friend was dating a woman it would not upset me
35. I wouldn't mind going to a party that included lesbians
36. I don't mind companies using openly lesbian celebrities to advertise their products
37. I would be sure to invite the same-sex partner of my lesbian friend to my party
38. I would not mind working with a lesbian
39. I don't think it would negatively affect our relationship if I learned that one of my close relatives was a lesbian
40. Movies that approve of female homosexuality bother me
41. It all right with me if a see two women holding hands
42. I welcome new friends who are lesbian
43. I am comfortable with the thought of two women being romantically involved
44. Lesbians should undergo therapy to change their sexual orientation
45. Physicians and psychologists should strive to find a cure for female homosexuality
46. Female homosexuality is a psychological disease

Appendix I

Debriefing Statement

Thank you again for participating in this research. The full purpose of this study is to examine traditional gender role attitudes, as well as attitudes towards gay men and lesbians, among fraternity-affiliated and independent male college students; this purpose was not fully disclosed at the beginning of the research to prevent biased answering. Previous research has demonstrated that men have higher adherence to traditional gender roles (Kerns & Fine, 1994; Stark, 1991) and greater levels of negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (LG; e.g., Gormley & Lopez, 2010; Wright, Adams, & Bernat, 1999) in comparison to women, but little is known about how these variables are related for college men and how they may differ for those who are members of a fraternity in comparison to those who are not members of a fraternity. Should you have any questions or concerns about this study or your participation, please contact the primary researcher, Aubrey DeCarlo, at ALD508@Lehigh.edu, or my doctoral advisor Dr. Grace Caskie at Caskie@lehigh.edu. You may also contact Susan Disidore or Troy Boni at (610) 758-3021 (email: inors@lehigh.edu) of Lehigh University's Office of Research and Sponsored Programs. If you experience any psychological discomfort from participation in this research and require counseling, please contact the National Suicide Prevention Lifeline at 1-800-273-8255, or visit http://www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org/

Table 1

Frequency Distribution of Participants by Demographic Characteristics

Demographic	Frequency	Percent
Greek Status		
Greek	43	43.9
Independent	55	56.1
Total	98	100.0
Year		
Unknown	1	1.0
Sophomore	25	25.5
Junior	43	43.9
Senior	28	28.6
Fifth Year Undergraduate	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0
Race		
African American/Black	9	9.2
Asian/Pacific Islander	1	1.0
Caucasian	72	73.5
Hispanic/Latino/Latina – Black	2	2.0
Hispanic/Latino/Latina - White	11	11.2
Bi-Racial	2	2.0
Other	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0
Sexual Orientation		
Exclusively Heterosexual	91	92.9
Mostly Heterosexual	7	7.1
Total	98	100.0
Religion		
Buddhism	2	2.0
Christianity	49	50.0
Judiasm	9	9.2
Other	5	5.1
Non-Religious	33	33.7
Total	98	100.0
Political Standpoint		
Extremely Conservative	1	1.0
Conservative	17	17.3
Slightly Conservative	18	18.4
Middle	16	16.3
Slightly Liberal	18	18.4
Liberal	25	25.5
Extremely Liberal	3	3.1
Total	98	100.0

Table 2
Sexual Orientation, Race, Religion, and Political Standpoint for Greek and Independent Participants

Demographic	Greek	Independent
Sexual Orientation		
Exclusively Heterosexual	42	49
Mostly Heterosexual	1	6
Total	43	55
Race		
African American/Black	3	6
Asian/Pacific Islander	0	1
Caucasian	30	42
Hispanic/Latino/Latina – Black	1	1
Hispanic/Latino/Latina - White	7	4
Bi-Racial	2	0
Other	0	1
Total	43	55
Religion		
Buddhism	1	1
Christianity	20	29
Judiasm	5	4
Other	4	1
Non-Religious	13	20
Total	43	55
Political Standpoint		
Extremely Conservative	0	1
Conservative	7	10
Slightly Conservative	12	6
Middle	4	12
Slightly Liberal	10	8
Liberal	9	16
Extremely Liberal	1	2
Total	43	55

Table 3
Ranges for Male Role Norms Scale (MRNS; Thompson & Pleck, 1986) and Female Role Norms Scale (FRNS; Lefkowitz et al., 2011)

(A) Entire MRNS used in study

Citation	Measure	Participants	Score Range (by type reported)	Utilized Measures Of Similar Constructs
Blazina, C., Eddins, R., Burridge, A., & Settle, A. G. (2007). The relationship between masculinity ideology, loneliness, and separation-individuation difficulties. *Journal of Men's Studies, 15*, 101-109. doi: 10.3149/jms.1501.101	Entire MRNS	Male college students from Southwest, n =179	Range (total score) = 38-169, *M* = 104.85, *SD* = 25.14	No
Gallagher, K. E., Parrott, D. J. (2011). What accounts for men's hostile attitudes toward women? The influence of hegemonic male role norms and masculine gender role stress. *Violence Against Women, 17*, 568-583. doi: 10.1177/1077801211407296	Entire MRNS	Male heterosexual participants recruited at Southeastern university, n = 376	Ranges (by subscale, total) Status: range = 11-77, *M* = 53, *SD* = 11. Toughness: range = 12-56, *M* = 36, *SD* = 9. Antifemininity: range = 7-49, *M* = 26, *SD* = 9	No

(table continues)

Table 3, continued

Jakupcak, M., Tull, M. T., & Roemer, L. (2005). Masculinity, shame, and fear of emotions as predictors of men's expressions of anger and hostility. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 6*, 275-284. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.6.4.275	Entire MRNS	Male undergraduate/graduate students and college employees from Eastern university, n = 204	Range (total score)= 37-160, *M* = 96.49, *SD* = 24.98	No
Lease, S. H., Hampton, A. B., Fleming, K. M., Baggett, L. R., Montes, S. H., & Sawyer, R. J. II (2010). Masculinity and interpersonal competencies: Contrasting White and African American men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 11*, 195-207. doi: 10.1037/a0018092	Entire MRNS	Male undergraduate and grad college students and non-students, n = 173	No ranges reported. White men: Tough: M = 4.24, SD = 1.02. Status: M=4.28, SD = 1.03. Antifemininity: M=3.71, SD=1.26. African-American men: Tough: M=4.25, SD=.98. Status: M=4.81, SD=1.11. Antifemininity: M=3.68, SD = 1.12	No
Locke, T. F., Newcomb, M. D., & Goodyear, R. K. (2005). Childhood experiences and psychosocial influences on risky sexual behavior, condom use, and HIV attitudes-behaviors among Latino males. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 6*, 25-38. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.6.1.25	Entire MRNS	Young male Latino community members, N= 349	No information reported	No

(table continues)

Table 3, continued

Noar, S. M., & Morokoff, P. J. (2002). The relationship between masculinity ideology, condom attitudes, and condom use: Stage of change; A structural equation modeling approach. *International Journal of Men's Health*, *1*, 43-58.	Entire MRNS	Male college students, n = 272	No ranges reported. Subscales: Tough: M = 3.13, SD = .59. Status: M=3.09, SD = .59. Antifemininity: M=2.88, SD=.67.	No
Parrott, D. J. (2009). Aggression toward gay men as gender role enforcement: Effects of male role norms, sexual prejudice, and masculine gender role stress. *Journal of Personality, 77*, 1137-1166. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.2009.00577.x	Entire MRNS	Male heterosexual college students from large southeastern university, n = 164	Ranges (by subscale, total) Status: range=13-75, M=53, SD=11. Toughness: range=12-56, M=36, SD=8. Antifemininity: range=7-43, M=27, SD=8	Yes, used Attitudes Toward Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988)
Parrott, D. J., Gallagher, K. E., Vincent, W., & Bakeman, R. (2010). The link between alcohol use and aggression toward sexual minorities: An event-based analysis. *Psychology of Addictive Behaviors, 24*, 516-521. doi:10.1037/a0019040	Entire MRNS	Male heterosexuals from southeastern US, n=199	No ranges reported. Perpetrators: Tough: M = 4.90, SD = 1.06. Status: M=5.19, SD = 1.01. Antifemininity: M=4.03, SD=1.32. Nonperpetrators: Tough: M=4.13, SD=1.00. Status: M=4.71, SD=1.06. Antifemininity: M=3.01, SD = 1.04	Yes, Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988)

(table continues)

Table 3, continued

Parrott, D. J., Peterson, J. L., & Bakeman, R. (2011). Determinants of aggression toward sexual minorities in a community sample. *Psychology of Violence, 1,* 41-52. doi: 10.1037/a0021581	Entire MRNS	Male heterosexuals from southeastern US, n=199	Ranges reported but do not make sense (e.g., range for Antifemininity is 1-6.1, meaning of all 199 participants the highest score is a 6?)	Yes, Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988)
Parrott, D. J., Peterson, J. L., Vincent, W., & Bakeman, R. (2008). Correlates of anger in response to gay men: Effects of male gender role beliefs, sexual prejudice, and masculine gender role stress. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 9,* 167-178. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.9.3.167	Entire MRNS	Male heterosexual college students, n = 135	Range (by subscale, total) Status: range = 17-77, M=52, SD=13. Toughness: range=13-54, M=32, SD=9. Antifemininity: range=7-41, M=22, SD=9	Yes, Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988)
Shearer, C. L., Hosterman, S. J., Gillen, M. M., & Lefkowitz, E. S. (2005). Are traditional gender role attitudes associated with risky sexual behavior and condom-related beliefs? *Sex Roles, 52,* 311-324. doi: 10.1007/s11199-005-2675-4	Entire MRNS	Male and female college students from large public Northeastern university, n=154	No ranges reported. Women: Tough: M = 23.18, SD = 7.11. Status: M=35.72, SD = 11.50. Antifem.: M=20.29, SD=8.13. Men: Tough: M=31.96, SD=7.46. Status: M=45.43, SD=12.87. Antifemininity: M=23.79, SD = 7.13	No

(table continues)

Table 3, continued

Thompson, E. H., Jr., & Cracco, E. J. (2008). Sexual aggression in bars: What college men can normalize. *Journal of Men's Studies, 16*, 82-96. doi: 10.3149/jms.1601.82	Entire MRNS	Males (primarily college students), n = 264	No ranges, means, or standard deviations reported	No
Vincent, W., Parrott, D. J., & Peterson, J. L. (2011). Effects of traditional gender role norms and religious fundamentalism on self-identified heterosexual men's attitudes, anger, and aggression toward gay men and lesbians. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 12*, 383-400. doi: 10.1037/a0023807	Entire MRNS	Male heterosexuals, n = 241 (from above-described sample of Parrott, Gallagher, Vincent, & Bakeman, 2010)	Range (by subscale, total) Status: range = 23-77, M=52.7, SD=11.8. Toughness: range=8-56, M=34.1, SD=8.5. Antifemininity: range=7-43, M=22.2, SD=8.2	Yes, Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (Herek, 1988)
Wilkinson, W. W. (2004). Authoritarian hegemony, dimensions of masculinity, and male antigay attitudes. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 5*, 121-131. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.5.2.121	Entire MRNS	Male heterosexual undergraduate college students from midwestern public university, n=159.	No ranges reported. Subscales: Tough: M = 4.15, SD = 0.91. Status: M=4.42, SD =0.85. Antifemininity: M=3.70, SD=1.19.	No

(table continues)

Table 3, continued,

(B) Partial MRNS used in study

Citation	Measure	Participants	Score Range (by type reported)	Utilized Measures Of Similar Constructs
Blashill, A. J., & Powlishta, K. K. (2009). The impact of sexual orientation and gender role on evaluations of men. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 10,* 160-173. doi: 10.1037/a0014583	Anti-femininity subscale of MRNS	Male heterosexual college students from private Midwestern University, n = 177	No range reported: Mean = 4.14, SD = 1.07	Yes, used ATG subscale of ATLG (Herek, 1988) scale
Boone, T. L., & Duran, A. (2009). Sexual prejudice among heterosexual college men as a predictor of condom attitudes. *Sex Roles, 61,* 167-177. doi: 10.1007/s11199-009-9626-4	Anti-femininity subscale of MRNS	Male college students from Southwest, n =100	Range (by subscale, total) = 7-49, *M*=26.7, *SD*=8.2	No
Davies, M. (2004). Correlates of negative attitudes toward gay men: Sexism, male role norms, and male sexuality. *The Journal of Sex Research, 41,* 259-266.	Toughness subscale of MRNS	Male and female undergraduate college students in England, n = 517	Range (by subscale, total) = 7-49, *M*=26.77, *SD*=10.30	No

(table continues)

Table 3, continued

Holz, K. B., & DiLalla, D. L. (2007). Men's fear of unintentional rape: Measure development and psychometric evaluation. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity, 8,* 201-214. doi: 10.1037/1524-9220.8.4.201	Entire MRNS given to participants, but only Anti-femininity and Rationality/Status subscales of MRNS used in data analysis	Male undergraduate college students at midwestern, n =328	Range (by subscale, total) Status: range = 12-42, *M*=28.36, *SD* = 5.99. Antifemininity: range = 7-47, *M*=25.34, *SD*=8.32	No
Migliaccio, T. (2009). Men's friendships: Performances of masculinity. *Journal of Men's Studies, 17, 226-241.* doi: 10.3149/jms.1703.226	Only used 9 selected questions from MRNS, not entire measure or any entire subscale	Male grade school teachers and military personnel	No ranges - *M* and *SD* reported for each of the 9 selected items (means range from 2.4 to 4.7, *SD*s range from 1.33-1.95)	No
O'Loughlin, R. E., Duberstein, P. R., Veazie, P. J., Bell, R. A., Rochlen, A. B., Fernandez y Garcia, E., & Kravitz, R. L. (2011). Role of the gender-linked norm of toughness in the decision to engage in treatment for depression. *Psychiatric Services, 62,* 740-746. (table continues)	Modified toughness subscale of MRNS	Males and females from the 2008 California BRFSS survey, n = 391.	None reported/not applicable	No

Table 3, continued

Whitley, B. E. Jr., Childs, C. E., & Collins, J. B. (2011). Differences in Black and White American college students' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. *Sex Roles, 64,* 299-310. doi: 10.1007/s11199-010-9892-1	Anti-Femininity and Status subscales of MRNS	Male and female participants recruited from college campus in midwest, n = 120	Changed Likert scale so it ranged from -4 to +4. Only reported means. White participant means: Men: status = .79, Antifemininity = -.15, Women: status=.09, Antifemininity = -1.64. Black participant means: Men: status = 1.25, Antifemininity=-.12, Women: status=1.25, Antifemininity=-1.08

(C) Entire FRNS used in study

Citation	Measure	Participants	Score Range (by type reported)	Utilized Measures Of Similar Constructs
Lefkowitz, E. S., Espinoza-Hernandez, G., Gillen, M. M., & Schearer, C. S. (2011, October). The female role norms scale: Measuring gendered attitudes in female and male emerging adults. Poster presented at the Conference on Emerging Adulthood, Providence, RI.	Entire FRNS	Male and female college students, n = 443	No information reported	Yes, used anti-Femininity subscale of MRNS

(table continues)

Table 3, continued

(D) Partial use of MRNS and partial use of FRNS

Citation	Measure	Participants	Score Range (by type reported)	Utilized Measures of Similar Constructs
Gillen, M. M., & Lefkowitz, E. S. (2006). Gender role development and body image among male and female first year college students. *Sex Roles, 55,* 25-37. doi: 10.1007/s11199-006-9057-4	Anti-Femininity subscale of MRNS, Anti-Masculinity subscale of FRNS	Male and female first year college students in northeast, n = 434	No range, *M*, or *SD* reported (only correlations with other measures)	No

Table 4

Correlation Matrix and Sample Descriptives for MRNS, FRNS, ATL, ATG, The Homophobia Scale, MHS-G, and MHS-L

	MRNS	FRNS	ATL	ATG	HS	MHS-G	MHS-L
MRNS	1.000						
FRNS	.625	1.000					
ATL	.486	.533	1.000				
ATG	.600	.600	.898	1.000			
HS	.649	.611	.866	.914	1.000		
MHS-G	.601	.594	.897	.932	.946	1.000	
MHS-L	.610	.601	.884	.905	.918	.953	1.000
Mean	3.16	2.50	2.13	2.46	50.85	43.20	45.99
SD	1.23	0.96	1.23	1.43	17.84	19.92	19.66
Skewness	0.23	0.91	1.94	1.27	1.39	1.39	1.21
Kurtosis	-0.44	1.41	4.02	1.31	2.50	1.83	1.33

Note. All coefficients are significant at $p < .01$.

Table 5
Mean Ratings (and Standard Deviations) for the MRNS, FRNS, ATL, ATG, The Homophobia Scale, MHS-G, and MHS-L for Greek and Independent Participants

Measure	Greek Status		Mean Difference
	Greek (n = 43)	Independent (n = 55)	
MRNS	3.49 (1.06)	2.91 (1.31)	0.58
FRNS	2.98 (0.97)	2.12 (0.78)	0.86
ATL	2.16 (1.22)	2.11 (1.25)	0.05
ATG	2.58 (1.36)	2.37 (1.49)	0.21
HS	53.44 (17.82)	48.82 (17.75)	4.62
MHS-G	44.91 (19.26)	41.87 (20.50)	3.04
MHS-L	49.16 (19.44)	43.51 (19.65)	5.65

Table 6

Univariate Results from the Hierarchical Regression for Attitudes Towards Lesbians Subscale

	Model 1			Model 2		
Predictor	*b*	*β*	*p*	*b*	*β*	*p*
MRNS	.25	.25	.022	.00	.00	.997
FRNS	.48	.38	.001	.85	.67	<.001
Greek status (GS)				.60	.24	.009
MRNS x GS				.39	.31	.083
FRNS x GS				-.46	-.23	.123
	Value		*p*	Value		*p*
R^2	.32		<.001	.40		<.001

Table 7
Univariate Results from the Hierarchical Regression for Attitudes Towards Gay Men Subscale

	Model 1			Model 2		
Predictor	*b*	*β*	*p*	*b*	*β*	*p*
MRNS	.43	.37	<.001	.21	.18	.265
FRNS	.55	.37	<.001	.90	.61	<.001
Greek status (GS)				.62	.21	.011
MRNS x GS				.33	.23	.155
FRNS x GS				-.41	-.17	.194
	Value		*p*	Value		*p*
R^2	.44		<.001	.50		<.001

Table 8
Univariate Results from the Hierarchical Regression for The Homophobia Scale

	Model 1			Model 2		
Predictor	*b*	*β*	*p*	*b*	*β*	*p*
MRNS	6.33	.44	<.001	2.45	.17	.267
FRNS	6.24	.34	.001	12.13	.66	<.001
Greek status (GS)				4.98	.14	.079
MRNS x GS				6.53	.36	.020
FRNS x GS				-10.17	-.35	.007
	Value		*p*	Value		*p*
R^2	.49		<.001	.55		<.001

Table 9

Univariate Results from the Hierarchical Regression for the Modern Homophobia Scale - Gay

	Model 1			Model 2		
Predictor	*b*	*β*	*p*	*b*	*β*	*p*
MRNS	6.07	.38	<.001	2.25	.14	.388
FRNS	7.42	.36	<.001	12.93	.63	<.001
Greek status (GS)				8.10	.20	.016
MRNS x GS				5.96	.29	.070
FRNS x GS				-7.25	-.22	.098
	Value		*p*	Value		*p*
R^2	.44		<.001	.50		<.001

Table 10

Univariate Results from the Hierarchical Regression for the Modern Homophobia Scale - Lesbian

	Model 1			Model 2		
Predictor	*b*	*β*	*p*	*b*	*β*	*p*
MRNS	6.12	.38	<.001	2.91	.18	.266
FRNS	7.36	.36	<.001	11.59	.57	<.001
Greek status (GS)				4.87	.12	.145
MRNS x GS				5.11	.26	.119
FRNS x GS				-6.28	-.19	.152
	Value		*p*	Value		*p*
R^2	.45		<.001	.48		<.001

Table 11

Number of Courses Addressing Gender, Courses Addressing Sexual Orientation/Diversity, and Multicultural Workshops Attended for Greek and Independent Participants

Type of Class	Greek	Independent
# of Classes that Addressed Gender Issues		
0	23	24
1	11	18
2	5	9
3	1	3
4	1	0
6	2	0
8	0	1
Total	43	55
# of Classes that Addressed Sexual Orientation/Diversity Issues		
0	25	36
1	11	13
2	3	4
3	2	1
4	1	0
5	1	7
Total	43	55
# of Multicultural Workshops Attended		
0	25	43
1	10	6
2	5	2
3	1	3
4	2	1
Total	43	55

Table 12
Extracurricular Activities for Greek and Independent Participants

Extracurricular Activity	Greek	Independent
Sports		
Participation	33	39
No Participation	10	16
Total	43	55
Community Service		
Participation	27	16
No Participation	16	39
Total	43	55
Personal Interest Clubs		
Participation	25	24
No Participation	18	31
Total	43	55
Student Government		
Participation	2	3
No Participation	41	52
Total	43	55
Other Extracurricular Activities (e.g., music, ROTC)		
Participation	7	6
No Participation	36	49
Total	43	55

Table 13
Participant Majors

Major	Number of Participants
Accounting	4
Africana Studies	1
Behavioral Neuroscience	3
Biochemistry	2
Bioengineering	2
Biology	4
Biopsychology	1
Business/Business Management	2
Chemical Engineering	4
Civil Engineering	2
Computer Science	1
Economics	7
Electrical Engineering	2
Engineering (not specified)	3
Environmental Engineering	2
Finance	2
Geology	1
Marketing	1
Material Science	1
Mechanical Engineering	8
Music Performance	1
Neuroscience	4
Not Disclosed	1
Nursing	1
Physics	1
Political Science	2
Psychology	3
Secondary Education	1
Dual Major - Engineering	12
Dual Major - Other	19

Table 14
Political Standpoint and Religion by Sexual Orientation

Demographic	Exclusively Heterosexual	Mostly Heterosexual
Political Standpoint		
Extremely Conservative	1	0
Conservative	17	0
Slightly Conservative	16	2
Middle	15	1
Slightly Liberal	17	1
Liberal	23	2
Extremely Liberal	2	1
Total	91	7
Religion		
Buddhism	2	0
Christianity	46	3
Judiasm	8	1
Other	5	0
Non-Religious	30	3
Total	91	7

Figure 1
Simple Slope Plot for MRNS and The Homophobia Scale

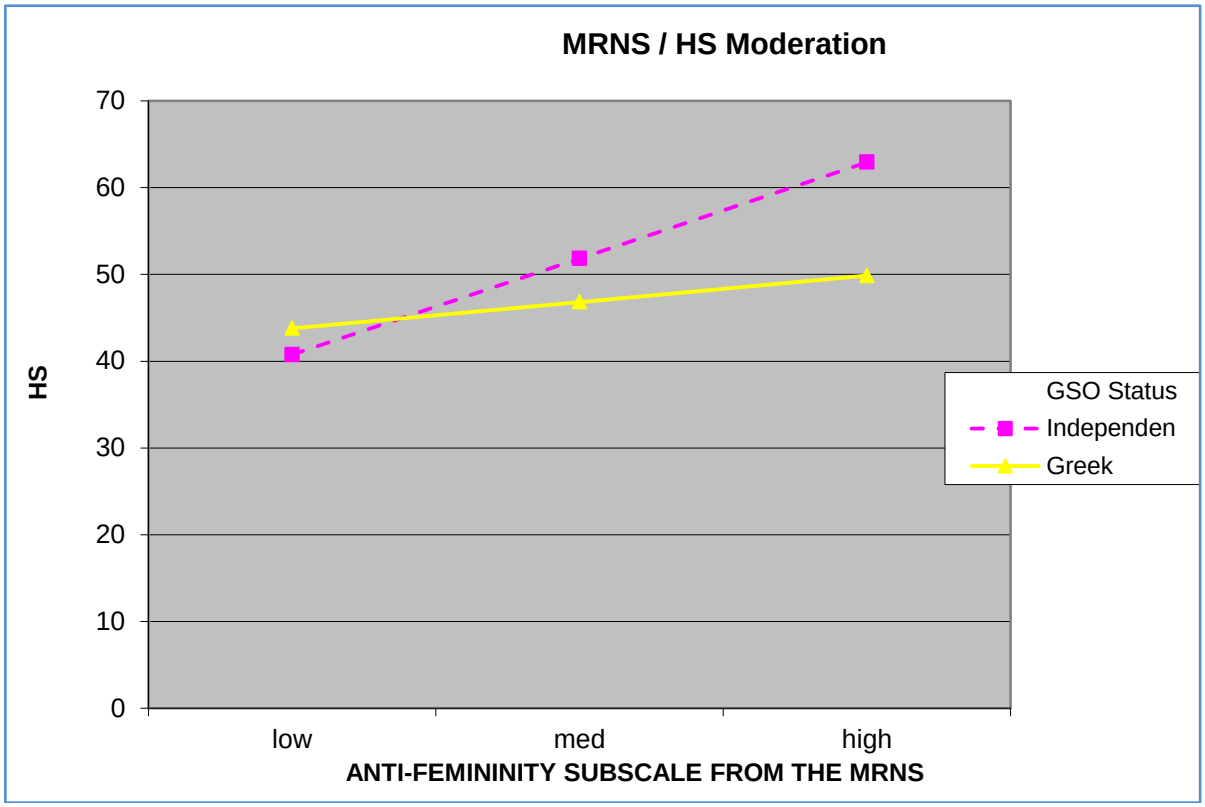

Figure 2

Simple Slope Plot for FRNS and The Homophobia Scale

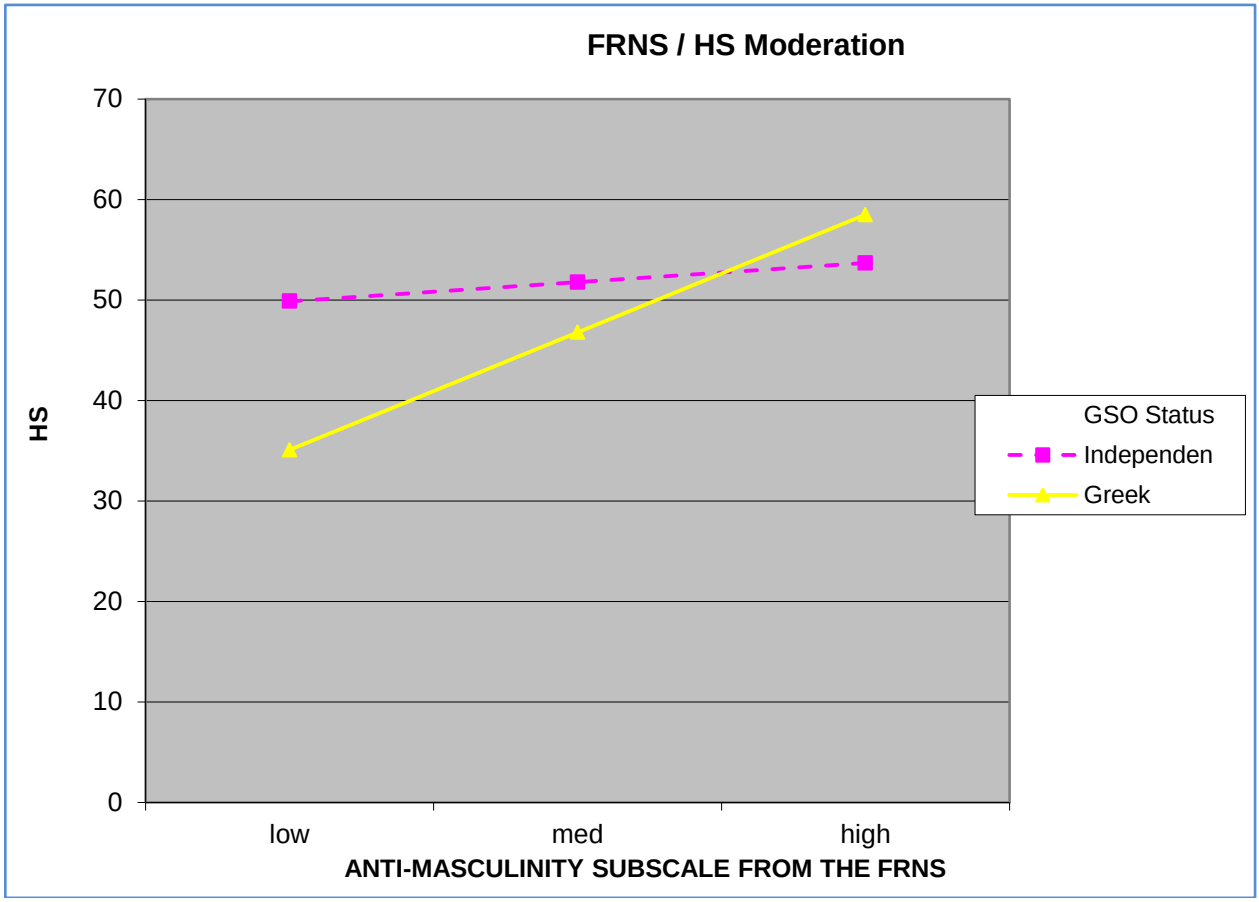

Figure 3
Scatterplot for MRNS and The Homophobia Scale

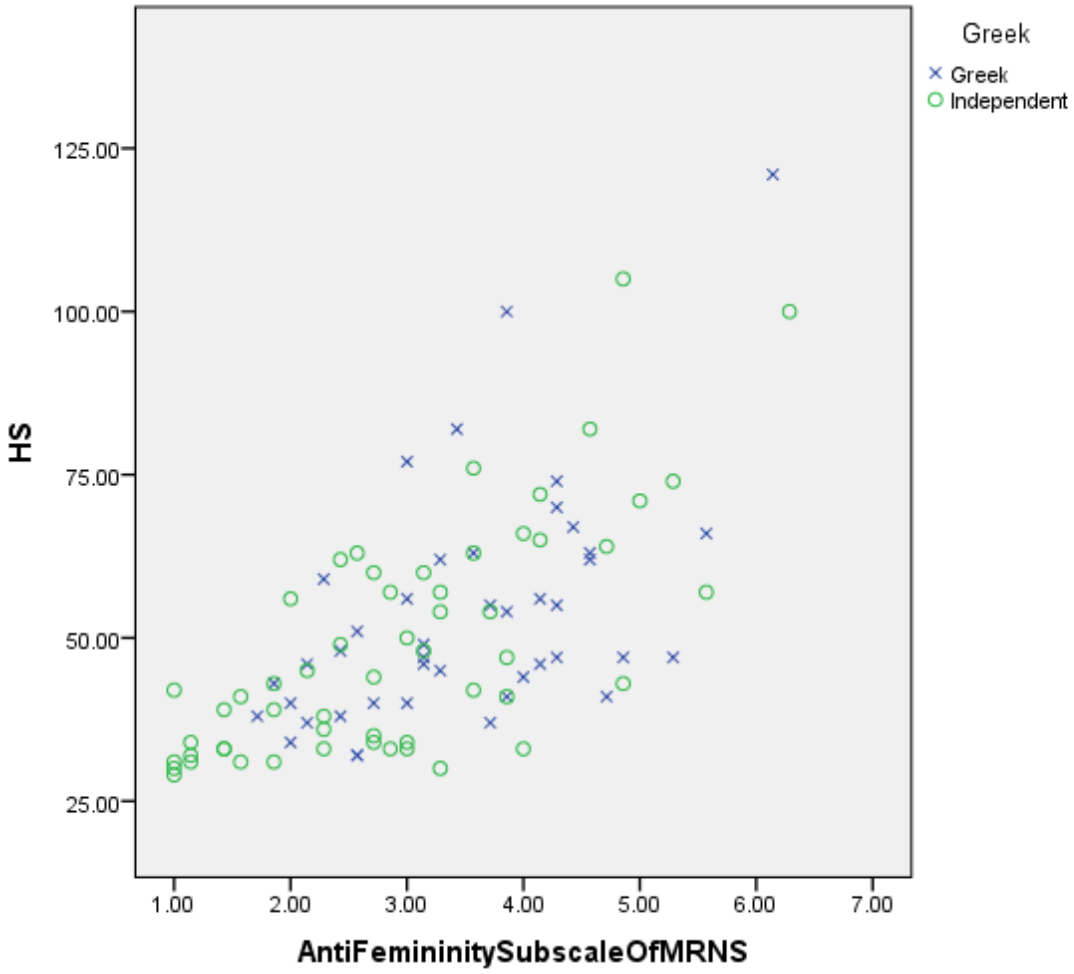

Figure 4
Scatterplot for FRNS and The Homophobia Scale