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PAC 255  
May 3, 1996  
THIS THESIS WAS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY OF MARSHALL UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN GENERAL/THEORETICAL PSYCHOLOGY.  
Scotty K. Caudill  
Eileen Baker  
Dept. of Psychology

Running Head: Religious Orientation and Homophobia

Religious Orientation and Homophobia: An Application  
of the Allport and Batson Conceptualizations

by

Scotty K. Caudill  
Eileen Baker  
Dept. of Psychology

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty  
of Marshall University in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the Master of Arts degree  
in General/Theoretical Psychology.

May 3, 1996





THIS THESIS WAS ACCEPTED ON May 3, 1996

as meeting the research requirement for the Master's degree.

Thesis Advisor

Helen E. Linsky  
Dept. of Psychology

Thesis Committee

Elaine Becker  
Dept. of Psychology

Stuart Thomas  
Dept. of Psychology

Helen E. Linsky  
Dept. of Psychology

Dean

Ronald Deutsch  
Graduate School

## Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
I. Abstract.....	5
II. Introduction.....	6
A. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic/Racial Prejudice	8
B. Religious Orientation.....	9
C. Religious Orientation, Ethnic/Racial Prejudice, and Prosocial Behavior.....	13
D. Religiosity and Homophobia.....	16
E. Religious Orientation and Homophobia.....	18
III. Method.....	20
A. Respondents.....	20
B. Apparatus.....	21
C. Procedure.....	23
IV. Results.....	25
A. Table 1.....	26
B. Measures of Religion.....	27
C. Table 2.....	28
D. Religious Orientation and Homophobia.....	29
E. Table 3.....	31
F. Table 4.....	32
G. Table 5.....	33
H. Table 6.....	36
I. Religious Orientation, Homophobia, and Social Desirability.....	37

## Table of Contents (continued)

V. Discussion.....	39
VI. References.....	46
Appendix A: Scale Used in Present Study.....	51
Appendix B: Religious Orientation Scale.....	63
Appendix C: Interactional (Quest) Scale.....	65
Appendix D: Index of Homophobia.....	66
Appendix E: Attitudes toward Gay Men and Lesbians Scale.....	69
Appendix F: Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.....	71
Appendix G: Validity Items used in Present Study....	74

## Abstract

This study elucidates the relationship between the intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest religious orientations and prejudice toward gay men and lesbians. Measures of the religious orientations, homophobia, social desirability, and demographic items were administered to 228 university student volunteers. As predicted, the intrinsic orientation correlated positively and significantly with homophobia even with social desirability controlled, and the quest orientation correlated negatively and significantly with homophobia, also with social desirability controlled. Contrary to prediction, however, the extrinsic orientation did not correlate significantly with homophobia. These findings support previous research suggesting that an intrinsic orientation does not obviate prejudicial attitudes toward all groups and that a quest orientation predicts a non-prejudiced attitude.

Religious Orientation and Homophobia: An Application  
of the Allport and Batson Conceptualizations

Scotty K. Caudill

INTRODUCTION

A cursory inspection of any textbook of history will reveal to the reader that prejudice (which shall be considered as negative and often unwarranted beliefs about a group and its members which is based on insufficient evidence [Lippa, 1990] and that result in a greater likelihood for discrimination) against certain groups has pervaded all societies since the chronicle of civilization began. It is very likely that prejudiced attitudes could be found even when the first two clans of early humans gazed across the plains at one another. No group has ever been safe from the prejudiced views of another, and it is not unreasonable to postulate that at some time each of us has harbored some amount of prejudice (Aronson, 1992). Ingroup/outgroup attitudes and the ethnocentrism that results make prejudiced attitudes inevitable in most situations (Allport, 1966). However, the extent to which prejudice and Christian church membership are positively related is both disturbing and thought-provoking to psychologists and religionists.

Many psychologists of religion (Allport, 1966; Allport & Ross, 1967; Allen & Spilka, 1967) have suggested that modern American Christianity teaches brotherhood and tolerance toward others. The following biblical mandates may be used

to support their view: "...Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself..." (Mark 12:31); "...as you would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise" (Luke 6:31); and "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged: condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned: forgive, and ye shall be forgiven...." (Luke 6:37). Given this, it can be interpreted that all persons should be treated with equality; Christians should be accepting of every person, regardless of race, creed, color, or even sexual orientation. However, this is not what has been found. It thus appears that the very social institution that espouses brotherhood and tolerance has in its midst followers and spokespersons whose practices do not follow such injunctions from the Bible.

The knowledge that church membership and prejudice are positively correlated is not new to psychologists. Early studies on the topic (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950) established that those who express affiliation to some Christian denomination score higher on measures of prejudicial attitudes such as anti-Semitism and ethnocentrism than do those who profess no religious association. Psychological research (Allen & Spilka, 1967; Allport & Ross, 1967; Gorsuch & Aleshire, 1974; Henley & Pincus, 1978) has consistently corroborated these early findings. Furthermore, this relationship remains even when educational level is controlled (Stouffer cited in Allport & Ross, 1967).

*Religious Affiliation and Ethnic/Racial Prejudice*

The relationship between Christian religiosity and prejudicial attitudes is probably the most thoroughly researched theme in the psychology of religion (Batson & Ventis, 1982). The type of prejudice that has been studied most frequently is that based on race or ethnicity. Gorsuch and Aleshire (1974) compiled a review of studies correlating Christian religiosity with ethnic prejudices. The results of these studies indicate that religiosity is positively correlated with prejudice toward such groups as African Americans, Jewish persons, Native Americans, and Hispanics, as well as with less social compassion and more favorable attitudes toward racial segregation (Gorsuch & Aleshire, 1974). Batson and Ventis (1982) report 13 studies in which the relationship between Christian church membership and racism or anti-Semitism is studied, 10 of which indicate a positive correlation between church membership and these prejudices.

However, studies in which Christian religiosity is operationalized as frequency of church attendance, not merely whether or not one is affiliated with a religious group, have shown an interesting trend: Those who attend church services most frequently and consistently are on the average less racially or ethnically prejudiced than those who are more irregular and infrequent in their church service attendance (Allport, 1966). In the review of research undertaken by



Gorsuch and Aleshire (1974), 20 out of 25 studies found that those who attend church services irregularly and infrequently are more prejudiced than either the nonattenders or the most frequent attenders. Of greater interest, studies have shown that the most frequent attenders are in many cases less prejudiced than those who do not attend church at all (Allport & Ross, 1967). Here we see a curvilinear relationship between Christian religiosity and ethnic prejudice that discredits the suggestion that the more religious a person is, the more prejudiced that person is likely to be. Thus, it is clear that a linear relationship exists only when religiosity is simply operationalized as whether or not one is affiliated with a church.

#### *Religious Orientation*

Yet another way to scrutinize the relationship between Christian religiosity and prejudice is to look at the different ways of being religious. Probably the most frequently studied religious orientations in respect to prejudice are the extrinsic (means) and intrinsic (end) orientations proposed by Allport (1966) and the quest (interactional) orientation suggested by Batson (1976). Taken together, the extrinsic, intrinsic, and quest orientations represent the three-dimensional conceptualization of religiosity proposed by Batson (Hilty, Morgan, & Hartman, 1985). Each of these religious orientations has been extensively studied and operationalized



through factor analysis to produce three classifications of religiousness (Batson & Ventis, 1982) with an independent scale to measure each. To understand the relationship between these three religious orientations and prejudice, it is important to understand the behavior and cognitive approach represented by each.

Since research had shown that not all religious persons are prejudiced, Allport (1966) believed it necessary to distinguish between the Christian churchgoer who was religious to serve "other, nonreligious ends, from those for whom religion is an end in itself--a final, not instrumental good" (p. 454). The extrinsic orientation to religion is represented by the churchgoer who is in church to serve self-centered, nonreligious or religious ends. The extrinsically oriented person accepts religion because it is a vehicle through which nonreligious or personal and social goals are more easily realized than by other means (Adorno et al., 1950). The extrinsic seeks, through religion, such personal goals as comfort, salvation, and social gain.

The various scales (Allport & Ross, 1967; Gorsuch & Venable, 1984) that have been designed, in part, to measure an extrinsic orientation to religiosity measure a motivation for religious involvement that is reflective of a self-centered and utilitarian need to achieve certain goals (Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990). Responses on these scales, according to Kirkpatrick (cited in Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990),

allow for the distinction of an extrinsic-social factor and an extrinsic-personal factor, which involves the use of religion for social gain and the use of religion for comfort and protection, respectively. According to Allport's conceptualization, the extrinsically motivated person should score relatively high on measures of prejudice, since the Christian position of tolerance and brotherhood are not internalized.

Allport's intrinsic orientation, on the other hand, is typical of the church member who has internalized the teachings of Christianity (or any religion for that matter) and attempts to guide all behavior according to such principles; religion is the master motive (Allport & Ross, 1967). Allport (cited in Hunt & King, 1971) believed the intrinsically oriented person to be one who has internalized above all the Christian urgings for brotherhood and tolerance. Gorsuch (1994) has revised Allport's conception of the intrinsic religious orientation to limit it to motivation: "Intrinsic religious commitment is the motivation for experiencing one's religious faith for the sake of the faith itself. The person's religion is an end unto itself, a goal pursued in the absence of external reinforcement" (p. 317). This revised definition retains the essence of the intrinsic orientation that Allport intended.

The various scales (e.g., Allport & Ross, 1967; Gorsuch & Venable, 1984) designed to measure this orientation tend to

measure what Donahue calls degree of religious commitment (cited in Kirkpatrick & Hood, 1990). Intrinsic religious commitment, as measured by the more recent Intrinsic/Extrinsic-Revised Scale (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989) is defined primarily as a person's motivation for behaving according to his or her religious beliefs and teachings (Gorsuch, 1994). In Allport's view, the intrinsically motivated person should score lower on measures of prejudice, due to the internalization of the Christian position of brotherhood and tolerance.

The quest orientation to religiosity represents yet another approach toward measuring religious involvement. Batson and Ventis (1982) suggest that religion as quest: involves honestly facing existential questions in all their complexity, while resisting clear-cut, pat answers. The individual who approaches religion in this way recognizes that he or she does not know, and probably never will know, the final truth about such matters. But still the questions are deemed important, and however tentative and subject to change, answers are sought (p. 150).

Among the existential questions faced by the quest oriented person are those of life's meaning and those about relations with others (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991b). The quest orientation is characterized by cognitive complexity, doubt, and tentativeness whereas the extrinsic and intrinsic

orientations are not (Batson & Ventis, 1982). Erich Fromm (cited in Batson & Ventis, 1982) hints at a quest orientation in his conception of the humanistic religion, a religious type whose theological views are not decided by the organized religions of the society but by the person him or herself. Although correlating positively with conflict and anxiety, the quest orientation, as suggested by Kojetin, McIntosh, Bridges, and Spilka (1987) may represent nonconformists "who stimulate cultural progress, one form of which is religious" (p. 114). This conception by Kojetin, et al. (1987) sounds much like that of Fromm. Logically, the quest oriented person should be more open to and accepting of the differences of others, and in turn score low on measures of prejudice.

The scales (Batson & Ventis, 1982; Batson & Schoenrade, 1991b) designed to measure the quest orientation to religiosity "measure the degree to which an individual's religion involves an open-ended, responsive dialogue with existential questions raised by the contradictions and tragedies of life" (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991b).

#### *Religious Orientation, Ethnic/Racial Prejudice, and Prosocial Behavior*

According to Allport (1966), the extrinsic orientation "provides a congenial soil for all forms of prejudice, whether racial, national, political, or religious" (p. 455). It is clear when reviewing the research (e.g., Allport &

Ross, 1967; Gorsuch & Aleshire, 1974; Herek, 1987) that a positive correlation does in fact exist between responses on scales designed to measure an extrinsic commitment and responses on scales measuring ethnic and racial prejudice. In their landmark study, Allport and Ross (1967) found that those who are extrinsically oriented toward religion scored significantly higher on measures of prejudice than those with an intrinsic orientation. The same results can be found in all 14 studies reported by Batson and Ventis (1982) that studied the relationship between ethnic/racial prejudice and the extrinsic/intrinsic orientations. This affirms Allport's contention that outgroups pay the price due to the extrinsic's failure to adopt the teachings of his or her religion, particularly teachings about universal brotherhood (cited in Hunt & King, 1971).

Although Allport (1966) predicted that the extrinsic orientation would be compatible with prejudice while the intrinsic orientation would rule out such behavior as prejudice and bigotry, recent research (Batson, 1976; Batson, Naifeh, & Pate, 1978; Griffin, Gorsuch, & Davis, 1987) has indicated that the latter may only appear to be true: The lower scores of the intrinsically religious may be the result of social desirability rather than pure tolerance.

Due to the general condemnation of racial/ethnic prejudices in this country, Batson, Naifeh, and Pate (1978) proposed that the intrinsically religious appear to be

tolerant only out of a desire to be seen as not prejudiced. Subjects of all backgrounds tend to choose the answers on questionnaires that make them look less prejudiced than they really are (Batson & Ventis, 1982). In a carefully conducted study addressing the issue of social desirability, Batson, Flink, Schoenrade, Fultz, and Pych (1986) found that the intrinsic orientation is negatively correlated to racial prejudice in an overt condition, but the correlation nearly disappears in a covert condition.

Further research also indicates that the intrinsic orientation is significantly correlated with political-religious prejudice in societies in which prejudice toward a specific group is not socially undesirable (Griffin, Gorsuch, & Davis, 1987). Instead of a relationship between the intrinsic orientation and racial/ethnic tolerance, there seems to be a relationship between the intrinsic orientation and merely the appearance of tolerance (Batson & Ventis, 1982). In addition, the intrinsic orientation has been shown to correlate positively with a "persistent" type of helping behavior that "is less attuned to the expressed needs of the person seeking aid" (Batson, 1976, p. 29). This rigidity in helping procedure reflects the rigidity of thought and perhaps the closed belief system (Kirkpatrick, 1993) of the fundamentalist Christian, and in fact fundamentalism has been shown to correlate highly with the intrinsic orientation (Batson, 1976). Indeed, both the extrinsic and intrinsic



orientations seem to show an egoistic rather than altruistic motivation to help others (Batson et al., 1989).

The third and final religious orientation to be addressed in the present research, the quest (interactional) orientation, appears to correlate negatively with racial and ethnic prejudice without exception. Furthermore, this orientation is not positively correlated with social desirability (Spilka, Kojetin, & McIntosh, 1985), as is the intrinsic orientation. According to McFarland (1989), the quest orientation is consistent with a general non-discriminatory attitude. The first study to address the relationship between the quest orientation and racial prejudice (Batson, Naifeh, & Pate, 1978) found a negative correlation between these two variables even with social desirability controlled. Batson (1976) also found that the quest oriented person responds to a victim's definitions of his or her own needs when offering help. These results indicate that this orientation is representative of the type of person who respects the differences and lifestyles of others, one who is truly without contempt or bigotry and is less self-centered.

#### *Religiosity and Homophobia*

The relationship between religion and racial or ethnic prejudice has been studied extensively, while the relationship between religion and prejudice against non-racial minorities has been somewhat neglected. Prejudice

against gay men and lesbians has been particularly ignored while research focused primarily upon the diagnosis, cause, and cure of homosexuality (Morin cited in Larsen, Reed, & Hoffman, 1980). Now, as the gay rights movement owns a prominent position in national politics, as more gay men and lesbians "come out of the closet," and as science begins to fully stress the non-pathological models of homosexuality, it becomes imperative that attitudes toward this group be examined more closely.

Research has shown conclusively that attitudes in general toward the gay and lesbian community are negative (Alston, 1974). Until recently, however, few studies have actually addressed the correlates of these negative attitudes (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993). As can be expected given such biblical condemnations of homosexuality as "Thou shalt not lie with mankind as with womankind: it is abomination" (Leviticus 18:22), religiosity, when operationalized as church affiliation, has been found to correlate positively with negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Those who attend church most frequently (Larsen, Reed, & Hoffman, 1980), those who are classified as fundamentalist (Maret, 1984), and those belonging to more traditionally conservative Christian denominations (Kunkel & Temple, 1992; Alston, 1974) demonstrate higher levels of negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians than do those who have no religious affiliation.



*Religious Orientation and Homophobia*

If the literature on the relationship between religious affiliation and homophobia is sparse, then it may be said that the literature on the relationship between religious orientation and homophobia is almost nonexistent. Again, the prejudice studied in relation to the extrinsic, intrinsic, and quest orientations has focused primarily on racial or ethnic prejudice. Compounding the situation, the research that has been conducted that correlates the tri-dimensional conception of religiosity with prejudice toward gay men and lesbians has been somewhat conflicting.

Herek (1987), studying the attitudes of white, heterosexual college students by questionnaire, found that the intrinsically religious were more prejudiced against gay men and lesbians than were the extrinsically religious. McFarland (1989) also found that the intrinsic orientation correlated positively with measures of homophobia whereas the extrinsic orientation did not. In contrast, Kirkpatrick (1993) found that the intrinsic orientation was not significantly correlated to homophobia. Both McFarland (1989) and Kirkpatrick (1993) found the quest orientation to be negatively correlated with prejudice against gay men and lesbians.

The finding that an intrinsic orientation correlates positively with homophobia while not correlating with ethnic or racial prejudice leads to a more complex psychological

consideration: Accepting and tolerating gay men and lesbians creates a dilemma for the Christian individual.

Specifically, they are faced with the commands of brotherhood on the one hand and condemnations of homosexuality on the other. Resolution of this dilemma should rest in part on the individual, with his or her personal views, and the individual's chosen church, with its particular system of beliefs (Herek, 1987).

The present research is an attempt to elucidate the relationship between the extrinsic, intrinsic, and quest orientations to religiosity and prejudice against gay men and lesbians. Based on the limited research in this area as well as general attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, the following hypotheses are made:

- 1) The extrinsic orientation will correlate positively with prejudice against gay men and lesbians. This hypothesis is made because of the positive relationship found between this religious orientation and ethnic/racial prejudice.
- 2) The intrinsic orientation will correlate positively with prejudice against gay men and lesbians. This result will be found even with social desirability controlled due to the relative social undesirability of tolerance toward gay men and lesbians.
- 3) The quest orientation will be negatively correlated with prejudice against gay men and lesbians even with social desirability controlled since such an orientation represents

the opposite of religious dogmatism (McFarland, 1987).

## Method

### Respondents

Respondents were 228 undergraduate and graduate psychology students at Marshall University, volunteering for the study in exchange for academic credits. Those aged 17 to 25 represented 86% of the total sample, those aged 26 to 34 represented 8% of the total sample, those aged 35 to 43 represented 4% of the total sample, and those aged 44 to 60 represented 2% of the total sample. Respondents' data were included in the final analysis only if 1) they reported a heterosexual sexual orientation (i.e., a response of no greater than one), 2) they reported at least a moderate personal importance of religion (i.e., a response less than three), and 3) their responses on the validity items suggested non-random selection of responses (i.e., a score greater than 17 out of a possible 28). Based on these criteria, data for 9 respondents were deleted because of sexual orientation, data for 24 were deleted because of no personal importance of religion, and data for 6 were deleted because of unsatisfactory scores on validity items. Data for 3 more respondents were not included because they did not properly fill out their answer sheet. This left a total sample of 186 respondents (48 males and 138 females).

## Apparatus

Each respondent was given a booklet of questionnaires described as measuring "the social attitudes of individuals based upon their religious, moral, and philosophical values." The entire booklet is in Appendix A. Each booklet, with a total of 114 items, contained the following scales:

- 1) An 11-item demographic scale containing questions about the respondent's age, sex, father's educational level, mother's educational level, frequency of church service attendance, race, annual household income, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, personal importance of religion, and academic major (See items 103-114 in Appendix A).

- 2) The Allport and Ross (1967) 20-item Religious Orientation Scale (ROS). Allport's version of the scales has demonstrated KR-20 reliability coefficients of .91 for the intrinsic subscale and .85 for the extrinsic subscale (Donahue 1985), suggesting that this scale is indeed an accurate measure of intrinsic and extrinsic orientations.

The ROS items are displayed in Appendix B.

- 3) The Batson and Schoenrade (1991b) 12-item Quest (Interactional) Scale. This scale has demonstrated Cronbach's alphas of .75 to .82, indicating satisfactory internal consistency (Batson and Schoenrade, 1991b). This scale is psychometrically equivalent to the original six-item interactional scale, which demonstrated loadings ranging from

.95 to .99 on the Batson religion as quest factor (Spilka, Kojetin, & McIntosh, 1985), suggesting that this scale is indeed an accurate measure of a quest orientation. The items from the Quest Scale are displayed in Appendix C.

4) A scale measuring attitudes toward gay men and lesbians consisting of the Hudson and Ricketts (1980) 25-item Index of Homophobia and six items from Herek's (1987) Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale. The Index of Homophobia has demonstrated a coefficient alpha value of .90 and a low standard error of measurement value of 4.75 (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980), making this scale one of the better measures of "the responses of fear, disgust, anger, discomfort, and aversion that individuals experience in dealing with gay people" (p. 358). The items from Herek's (1987) scale were included to expand the definition of homophobia used by Hudson and Ricketts (1980) in the construction of their scale. The items from the Index of Homophobia and the Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale are displayed in Appendices D and E, respectively.

5) The Marlowe-Crowne (1964) 33-item Social-Desirability Scale. This scale has demonstrated a test-retest reliability coefficient of .88 (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964), making this scale a satisfactory measure of social desirability. The items from this scale are displayed in Appendix F.

6) Seven validity items designed to indicate respondents whose responses were random and without regard to the purpose

of the study. These items are displayed in Appendix G.

The wording of items 8 ("congenial" replaced with "pleasant") and 9 ("compromise" replaced with "risk") on the Religious Orientation Scale (ROS) were changed in order to make the language clearer to respondents. The items from each of the scales were intermixed to disguise any discernible pattern, with the demographics items placed at the end of the questionnaire.

#### *Procedure*

A pilot study was conducted to determine the amount of time required to complete the questionnaire booklet.

Approximate time to complete was 25 minutes.

Questionnaire booklets were administered to respondents in groups of 8 to 20. Respondents were asked to read each item thoroughly, and to answer each item as honestly as possible. Anonymity and confidentiality were stressed, as well as the importance of honesty in responding to the items. Instructions were given on how to properly fill in the computer-scored answer sheets.

With exception to the demographics items, responses to items were made on a 4-point Likert-type scale with a response of 1 corresponding to Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time, a response of 2 corresponding to Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time, a response of 3 corresponding to Agree/True of me Some of the time, and a response of 4 corresponding to Strongly Agree/True of me All



of the time. The use of the 4-point scale was chosen in order to facilitate machine reading of the computer sheets.

The appropriate items were reversed and a total score was computed for each individual scale. Scores could range from 31 to 124 on the homophobia scale, from 9 to 36 on the intrinsic scale, from 11 to 44 on the extrinsic scale, from 12 to 48 on the quest scale, and from 33 to 132 on the social desirability scale. The higher the score on each scale, the stronger the negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, the stronger the religious orientation, or stronger social desirability.

For the demographics items, respondents were asked to select the response that was most representative of themselves or their parents by filling in the corresponding circle on the answer sheet. All responses were made on computer scored answer sheets.

Respondents were informed of the true purpose of the study after all had finished responding to the items. An explanation of each of the religious dimensions was included. Respondents were also asked to state any questions or make any comments they had about the study and/or the questionnaire.

# Results

Mean responses to, standard deviations for, and the alphas for the religious orientation measures, the homophobia measures, and the social desirability scale are reported in

Table 1.

INT	25.54	5.34	.83
EXT	25.11	4.25	.87
QST	27.68	5.61	.78
HOX	22.33	20.43	.96
SOD	78.32	8.95	.87

Values only (n = 491)

Scale	M	SD
INT	21.87	5.68
EXT	23.42	4.56
QST	29.89	5.89
HOX	92.28	21.14
SOD	78.74	12.12

Female only (n = 332)

Scale	M	SD
INT	25.52	4.32
EXT	24.93	4.43
QST	27.23	5.47
HOX	95.71	22.27
SOD	78.95	9.65

Note. INT = Intrinsic scale, EXT = Extrinsic scale, QST = Quest scale, HOX = Homophobia scale, and SOD = Social desirability scale.



Table 1  
Scale Means, Standard Deviations, and Alphas

All Respondents ( <u>N</u> = 186)			
Scale	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	Alpha
INT	25.54	5.04	.82
EXT	25.11	4.26	.62
QST	27.68	5.61	.78
HOM	88.31	20.63	.96
SOD	78.93	9.78	.81

  

Males only ( <u>n</u> = 48)		
Scale	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
INT	24.67	5.69
EXT	25.42	4.56
QST	29.19	5.85
HOM	92.25	21.10
SOD	78.74	12.13

  

Females only ( <u>n</u> = 138)		
Scale	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>
INT	25.92	4.82
EXT	24.93	4.13
QST	27.23	5.47
HOM	86.71	20.37
SOD	78.95	8.69

Note. INT = Intrinsic scale, EXT = Extrinsic scale, QST = Quest scale, HOM = Homophobia scale, and SOD = Social Desirability scale.

*Measures of Religion*

As expected, the intrinsic orientation was positively correlated with church service attendance,  $r(184) = .71$ ,  $p < .0001$  and personal importance of religion,  $r(184) = .66$ ,  $p < .0001$ . The extrinsic orientation was negatively correlated with church service attendance,  $r(186) = -.15$ ,  $p < .05$  and personal importance of religion,  $r(186) = -.14$ ,  $p < .05$ . The quest orientation was also negatively correlated with church service attendance,  $r(185) = -.37$ ,  $p < .0001$  and personal importance of religion,  $r(185) = -.32$ ,  $p < .0001$ .

Regarding the 3 religious orientations, intrinsic was negatively correlated with extrinsic,  $r(186) = -.17$ ,  $p < .05$  and quest,  $r(186) = -.39$ ,  $p < .0001$ . Quest and extrinsic were positively correlated,  $r(186) = .26$ ,  $p < .001$ . Actual correlations between each measure are presented in Table 2.

Table 2  
Pearson Correlations Between Measures of Religion

All Respondents (N = 186)					
	INT	EXT	QST	FREQ	IMP
INT	--	-.17*	-.39****	.71****	.66****
EXT		--	.26***	-.15*	-.14*
QST			--	-.37****	-.32****
FREQ				--	.45****
IMP					--

  

Males only (n = 48)					
	INT	EXT	QST	FREQ	IMP
INT	--	-.01	-.36*	.68****	.67****
EXT		--	.04	-.12	-.16
QST			--	-.37**	-.31*
FREQ				--	.48***
IMP					--

  

Females only (n = 138)					
	INT	EXT	QST	FREQ	IMP
INT	--	-.25**	-.40****	.73****	.67****
EXT		--	.35****	-.25***	-.26**
QST			--	-.37****	-.32****
FREQ				--	.45****
IMP					--

Note. INT = Intrinsic scale; EXT = Extrinsic scale; QST = Interactional (quest) scale; FREQ = Frequency of church service attendance; IMP = Personal importance of religion.  
 \* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .0001$ .

An analysis of variance was computed to determine if there were sex differences within the religious orientations. Results indicate that males ( $M = 29.19$ ) score significantly higher on the quest orientation than do females ( $M = 27.23$ ),  $F(1, 183) = 4.38, p < .05$ . No other sex differences appeared for the measures of religious orientation.

#### *Religious Orientation and Homophobia*

Using stepwise regression analysis, it was found that the scales and combination of scales that predicted the greatest amount of variance in homophobia scores differed between all respondents, males alone, and females alone. Overall, the quest scale predicted the most variance in homophobia scores,  $R^2 = .20$ . Addition of the intrinsic scale to the model resulted in a significant increase in the amount of variance explained,  $R^2 = .27$ , while addition of the extrinsic scale did not result in any increase. For males, the quest scale predicted the most variance in homophobia scores,  $R^2 = .21$ . Addition of the extrinsic scale to the model resulted in a significant increase in the amount of variance explained,  $R^2 = .29$ , as well as addition of the intrinsic scale,  $R^2 = .34$ . For females, the intrinsic scale predicted the most variance in homophobia scores,  $R^2 = .23$ . Addition of the quest scale resulted in a significant increase in the amount of variance explained,  $R^2 = .32$ . The extrinsic scale did not predict a significant amount of variance in homophobia scores for females. Table 3

summarizes stepwise regression analysis for religious orientation scales predicting homophobia for all respondents, Table 4 for males, and Table 5 for females.

TABLE 4

Variable	B	SE	β	R <sup>2</sup>
Step 1				.29
QST	1.46	.25	.44	
Step 2				.27
QRT	1.21	.27	.38	
EST	-1.23	.26	-.27	
Step 3				.38
INT	3.24	.28	.49	
EXT	6.89	.32	.74	
QST	-1.20	.27	-.23	

Note. R<sup>2</sup> = .29 for Step 1; .27 for Step 2; .38 for Step 3.

QST = Q-Scale; QRT = Q-Religious; EST = Extrins; INT = Intrinsic; EXT = Extrinsic.

QST = Q-Scale; QRT = Q-Religious; EST = Extrins; INT = Intrinsic; EXT = Extrinsic.

Table 3

Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for Religious Orientation Scales Predicting Homophobia for All Respondents (N = 186)

Variable	B	SE B	F	R <sup>2</sup>
Step 1				.20
QST	-1.66	.25	44.56****	
Step 2				.27
INT	1.21	.29	18.04****	
QST	-1.21	.26	21.20****	
Step 3				.28
INT	1.24	.28	19.03****	
EXT	0.50	.32	2.46	
QST	-1.30	.27	23.57****	

Note. df = (1, 181) for Step 1; df = (2, 180) for Step 2; df = (3, 179) for Step 3. INT = Intrinsic; EXT = Extrinsic; QST = Quest. \*\*\*\*p < .0001.

Table 4

Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for Religious  
Orientation Scales Predicting Homophobia for Male Respondents  
(n = 47)

Variable	B	SE B	F	R <sup>2</sup>
Step 1				.21
QST	-1.65	.47	12.21***	
Step 2				.29
QST	-1.69	.45	13.79***	
EXT	1.28	.58	4.83*	
Step 3				.34
QST	-1.35	.47	8.16**	
INT	0.95	.49	3.78	
EXT	1.26	.57	4.93*	

Note. df = (1, 46) for Step 1; df = (2, 45) for Step 2; df = (3, 44) for Step 3. INT = Intrinsic; EXT = Extrinsic; QST = Quest. \* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .



Table 5

Summary of Stepwise Regression Analysis for Religious Orientation Scales Predicting Homophobia for Female Respondents (n = 131)

Variable	B	SE B	F	R <sup>2</sup>
Step 1				.23
INT	2.01	.32	38.55****	
Step 2				.32
QST	-1.25	.31	16.72****	
INT	1.43	.34	17.80****	

Note. df = (1, 130) for Step 1; df = (2, 129) for Step 2.

INT = Intrinsic; EXT = Extrinsic; QST = Quest.

\*\*\*\* $p < .0001$ . The variable EXT did not meet the  $p < .15$  significance level for entry into the model.



*All respondents.* As predicted, the intrinsic orientation correlated significantly and positively with homophobia,  $r(185) = .42$ ,  $p < .0001$  and the quest orientation correlated significantly and negatively with homophobia,  $r(186) = -.45$ ,  $p < .0001$ . Contrary to prediction, however, the extrinsic orientation was not correlated significantly with homophobia. Column 2 of Table 6 presents the correlations between the religious orientations and homophobia.

Correlations between the measures of religious orientation and homophobia were calculated separately for males and females. These results are also presented in Column 2 of Table 6. An analysis of variance revealed no significant sex differences on homophobia scores in general.

*Males.* The intrinsic orientation correlated significantly and positively with homophobia,  $r(48) = .39$ ,  $p < .01$ , and the quest orientation correlated significantly and negatively with homophobia,  $r(48) = -.46$ ,  $p < .001$  for males. The correlation between the extrinsic orientation and homophobia for males was positive yet failed to reach a statistically significant level,  $r(48) = .26$ ,  $p < .08$ .

*Females.* All religious orientations correlated significantly with homophobia: The intrinsic orientation correlated positively with homophobia,  $r(133) = .47$ ,  $p < .0001$ , the extrinsic orientation correlated negatively with homophobia,  $r(135) = -.18$ ,  $p < .05$ , and the quest

orientation also correlated negatively with homophobia,  $r(134) = -.48, p < .0001$ , for females.

Desirability, Homophobia, and Homophobia with Social

Desirability Controlled

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Table 6  
Correlations of Religious Orientations with Social  
Desirability, Homophobia, and Homophobia with Social  
Desirability Controlled

Religious Orientation	Social Desirability	Homophobia	Homophobia with Social Desirability Controlled
All Respondents ( $N = 186$ )			
INT	.20**	.42****	.40****
EXT	-.14*	-.03	-.04
QST	-.25***	-.45****	-.41****
Males only ( $n = 48$ )			
INT	.20	.39**	.39**
EXT	-.07	.26	.27
QST	-.19	-.46***	-.49***
Females only ( $n = 138$ )			
INT	.24**	.47****	.44****
EXT	-.16	-.18*	-.17
QST	-.27***	-.48****	-.42****

Note. INT = Intrinsic; EXT = Extrinsic; QST = Quest.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ . \*\*\*\* $p < .0001$ .

*Religious Orientation, Homophobia, and Social Desirability*

All measures of religious orientation correlated significantly with social desirability. The intrinsic orientation correlated positively,  $r(185) = .20$ ,  $p < .01$ , the extrinsic orientation correlated negatively,  $r(186) = -.14$ ,  $p < .05$ , and the quest orientation also correlated negatively with social desirability,  $r(186) = -.25$ ,  $p < .001$ . These results are reported in Column 1 of Table 6.

Previous studies (Batson, Naifeh, & Pate, 1978) have shown that correlations among the religious orientations and measures of racial prejudice are affected by controlling for social desirability. In the present study, social desirability was controlled through the use of partial correlations to see what effect, if any, there would be on correlations between religious orientation and homophobia. Column 3 of Table 6 presents the correlations between the measures of religious orientation and homophobia with social desirability controlled.

*All respondents.* As predicted, controlling for the effect of social desirability through the use of partial correlations resulted in no significant change in the intrinsic orientation-homophobia relationship. The correlation between the two variables remained significant and positive,  $r(178) = .40$ ,  $p < .0001$ . This correlation did, however, actually become weaker upon the removal of social desirability from the model. The quest orientation

correlated significantly and negatively with homophobia with social desirability controlled,  $r(178) = -.41$ ,  $p < .0001$ .

Again, the extrinsic orientation did not correlate significantly with homophobia for all respondents.

**Males.** Controlling for social desirability for males failed to alter the significantly positive correlation between the intrinsic orientation and homophobia. The correlation between the quest orientation and homophobia became more strongly negative  $r(47) = -.49$ ,  $p < .001$ . The positive correlation between the extrinsic orientation and homophobia failed to reach a statistically significant level at  $p < .08$ .

**Females.** All three religious orientations remained significantly correlated with homophobia with social desirability controlled. The correlation between the intrinsic orientation and homophobia became more strongly positive,  $r(131) = .44$ ,  $p < .0001$ . The negative correlation between the extrinsic orientation became weaker,  $r(131) = -.17$ ,  $p < .06$ , although not significantly so. Finally, the negative correlation between the quest orientation and homophobia became stronger,  $r(131) = -.42$ ,  $p < .0001$ . An analysis of variance revealed no significant sex difference on social desirability scores.

## religion, heterosexism, Discussion

The results of this study give support to a conceptualization of three separate and distinct approaches to a religious life. The intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest orientations all seem to differ with respect to the behavioral consequences that appear in those who approach their religious life in any of these ways. Individual and group attitudes toward gay men and lesbians seem to be influenced by these orientations as well.

What, exactly, it means to be intrinsically, extrinsically, or quest oriented to religion is a question this study did not address. However, there is no disputing the fact that an intrinsic orientation is strongly related to more frequent church service attendance and the level of importance that one places on his or her religious life. The quest oriented person appears to be one who places little importance on institutionalized religion and may seek his or her own answers to questions about relationships with others. Those respondents who scored high on the extrinsic orientation seem to approach institutionalized religion in much the same way as the quest oriented person, yet the relationship between the two orientations and homophobia is very different, as demonstrated by the correlations. This, coupled with the low internal consistency of the extrinsic scale for this sample, gives rise to concerns that something is being measured other than an extrinsic orientation to



religion. Nevertheless, I will continue to refer to what the extrinsic scale measures as an extrinsic orientation to religion. The intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest orientations to religion remain very valuable to the psychology of religion despite the shortcomings of the scales designed to measure them.

The hypotheses that an intrinsic orientation would correlate positively with homophobia and that a quest orientation would correlate negatively with homophobia were supported for this sample. The results were consistent with the findings of McFarland (1989) and Herek (1987), who found that an intrinsic orientation to religion correlates positively with homophobia. They were also consistent with McFarland's (1989) findings that a quest orientation to religion correlates negatively with prejudice against gay men and lesbians. However, the hypothesis was also made that an extrinsic correlation would be positively correlated with homophobia. This hypothesis was not supported.

No previous studies were found that attempted to introduce the concept of social desirability to the study of religious correlates of homophobia. However, the hypothesis that the positive correlation between the intrinsic orientation and homophobia would exist even with social desirability in the model was supported. Similar to the results of Batson, Naifeh, and Pate (1978) in their study of religious orientation and racial prejudice, the correlation



between a quest orientation and homophobia became slightly smaller yet remained negative even when social desirability was controlled.

An unforeseen relationship that appeared in this study was the decrease in the correlation between the intrinsic orientation and homophobia when social desirability was controlled. If social desirability is an influence, then responses by individuals on a measure of prejudice should be geared to make those individuals look good in the eyes of society; logic would dictate that the correlation would increase. An explanation for this finding requires speculation.

Previous studies indicate that an intrinsic orientation is correlated positively with fundamentalism (McFarland, 1989; Kirkpatrick, 1993). Fundamentalists typically represent very close-knit and collectivist groups, and it is important for each member to express and preserve the values of their group (Ellison & Musick, 1993). Therefore, those individuals scoring high on the intrinsic orientation may be fundamentalists who are behaving in ways and holding beliefs that are considered appropriate by their group. They are behaving in and believing in group desirable ways. They are condemning homosexual sexual orientations because homosexual behavior is condemned by the religious group they are affiliated with--their reference group.

Griffin, Gorsuch, and Davis (1987) found very similar

results on the island of St. Croix when studying religious orientation among Seventh-Day Adventists and prejudice against Rastafarians: Seventh-Day Adventists with an intrinsic orientation demonstrated prejudicial attitudes toward Rastafarians because group norms sustained such prejudice. In the present study, those with a quest orientation and those with an intrinsic orientation may simply be "responding according to the norms and values of different reference groups" (Kirkpatrick, 1993, p. 266) in forming and sustaining their attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. This provides one explanation as to why the correlation between the intrinsic orientation and homophobia decreased when social desirability was controlled. I would speculate that within some religious groups, i.e., the more fundamentalistic churches, that researchers would find a much stronger and significant effect of social desirability on the religion-homophobia relationship than was found in this study. Whatever the reasons for this, it still remains that the intrinsically oriented individuals in this sample indicate that they respond to homosexuality with discomfort (and perhaps discrimination), whereas the quest oriented individuals indicate a lack of negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. Future studies should seek to reveal why one biblical mandate (brotherhood and tolerance versus condemnation of homosexuality) is chosen over the other in response to this psychological dilemma.

It should be stressed at this point that not all intrinsically oriented individuals hold negative attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. At the same time, it should not be impossible to find homophobic extrinsics and questers as well. This study, of course, deals with group-focused results.

Unfortunately, this study suffers from many of the shortcomings shared by other studies on religion and prejudice. Sampling only college students does not give a view of the religious orientations of more diverse age groups. If differences exist in religious orientation and homophobia among different age groups, then many studies, by the nature of their subjects, fail to reveal them. Studies of this type also suffer from the problems of measuring behavior with paper and pencil. What someone reports on a questionnaire and how that person actually behaves may be two different things. In the future, studies of religious orientation and homophobia with more covert behavioral measures of homophobia may reveal more about actual attitudes rather than reported behavior.

A final shortcoming of this study is one of sample bias. Most of the volunteers for this study were females. Males represented only 25 % ( $n = 48$ ) of the final sample size. Such an unequal proportion between males and females in this study could lead to problems of interpretation for the entire sample. The results of this study reflect female responses

more than male responses. Future studies should ensure equality between males and females.

Another suggestion for researchers who study religion and homophobia in the future is that they use the more recent Religious Life Inventory (RIS) and Doctrinal Orthodoxy Scale developed by Batson and colleagues (see Batson and Ventis, 1982) in combination with the Religious Orientation Scale used by Allport and Ross (1967). Such a combination takes into account such things as importance of authority figures for the extrinsically oriented, orthodox Christian beliefs for the intrinsically oriented, and readiness to face existential questions for the quest oriented. Batson and Ventis (1982) give explicit instructions for obtaining scores on Religion as Means (extrinsic), Religion as End (intrinsic) and Religion as Quest (quest) for these combined scales.

Yet another suggestion for future study is to determine what it means to be a "low," "moderate," or "high" scoring individual on a particular religious orientation in respect to homophobia. I.e., how substantial are the differences in homophobia for individuals scoring at different points along the continuums of intrinsicness, extrinsicness, or questness? Research should also seek to find with homophobia, as did Allport and Ross (1967) with ethnic and racial prejudice, what exactly the attitudes are of those who score high on all measure of religious orientation (indiscriminately proreligious).

Two final suggestions for future research in this area are to take a closer look at gender differences and to look at other factors influencing homophobia. For example, what factors lead to stronger homophobia in females, specifically intrinsically oriented females? Finally, results of this study indicate that religious orientation accounts for only one-third of the variance in homophobia (34%). Future research should focus on variables other than religious orientation in order to discover if there are variables that account for more variance in homophobia (i.e., authoritarianism, sex-role identification, stereotypes).

Clearly, the limited, correlational nature of this study precludes the making of any conclusions about the causes of the presence or absence of homophobia with regard to religious orientation. It does, however, allow for a deeper understanding of the relationships between these variables. Understanding the correlates of homophobia brings us one step closer to understanding its nature. By understanding the nature of homophobia, the goal of designing programs to combat it will become more accessible.



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Appendix A

Scale Used in Present Study

Thank you for participating in this research project for Marshall University. We are studying the social attitudes of individuals based upon their religious, moral, and philosophical values. By responding to the following questionnaires as honestly as you can, and by giving us your true opinion on each item, you will be contributing a great deal to the current body of knowledge regarding the relationship between values and social attitudes. Please DO NOT put your name on any of the papers or answer sheet. Responses on these questionnaires will be totally confidential. There is NO WAY for us to know your name. Fill in the circle corresponding to your choice.

Item 1 through 103 are to be answered according to the way in which you personally feel about each statement. Your task is to rate your agreement or disagreement with each statement by filling in the circle that corresponds to the following:

- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
- 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
- 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
- 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time

Please begin.

1. God wasn't very important for me until I began to ask questions about the meaning of my own life.

- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
  - 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
  - 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
  - 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time
2. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
  3. I would be comfortable if I found myself attracted to a member of my own sex.
  4. The church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships.
  5. The growing number of lesbians indicates a decline in American morals.
  6. I like to gossip at times.
  7. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my neighbor was homosexual.
  8. As I grow and change, I expect my religion also to grow and change.
  9. I would feel comfortable working closely with a female homosexual.
  10. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
  11. Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.
  12. If I spread my arms I can easily fly across the sky like a bird.

Please turn page and continue

- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
  - 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
  - 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
  - 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time
13. If a member of my sex made an advance toward me I would be offended.
  14. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
  15. I would enjoy attending social functions at which homosexuals were present.
  16. It is important for me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and meditation.
  17. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
  18. The prayers I say when I am alone carry as much meaning and personal emotion as those said by me during services.
  19. I would feel at ease talking to a homosexual person at a party.
  20. If I saw two men holding hands in public I would feel disgusted.
  21. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.
  22. My life experience have led me to rethink my religious convictions.

Please turn page and continue



- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
  - 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
  - 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
  - 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time
23. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.
  24. I would be upset if I learned that my brother or sister was homosexual.
  25. Female homosexuality in itself is no problem, but what society makes of it can be a problem.
  26. I would feel comfortable knowing that my clergyman was homosexual.
  27. I died and was buried at an early age.
  28. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.
  29. Although I am a religious person I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affairs.
  30. It would not bother me to walk through a predominately gay section of town.
  31. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.
  32. It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties.
  33. If a member of my sex made an advance toward me I would feel flattered.

Please turn page and continue



- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
  - 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
  - 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
  - 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time
34. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
  35. If I were to join a church group I would prefer to join a Bible study group rather than a social fellowship.
  36. It would disturb me to find out that my doctor was homosexual.
  37. Questions are far more central to my religious experience than are answers.
  38. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.
  39. Quite often I have been keenly aware of the presence of God or the Divine Being.
  40. I read literature about my faith (or church).
  41. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my boss was homosexual.
  42. I always try to practice what I preach.
  43. The insects in my brain drive me crazy when they move around.
  44. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.

Please turn page and continue

- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
- 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
- 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
- 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time
45. If a member of my sex made a sexual advance toward me I would feel angry.
46. Occasionally I find it necessary to risk my religious beliefs in order to protect my social and economic well-being.
47. I am always careful about my manner of dress.
48. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
49. I would feel that I had failed as a parent if I had a child who was gay.
50. What religion offers me most is comfort when sorrows and misfortune strike.
51. I would feel nervous being in a group of homosexuals.
52. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas different from my own.
53. I sometimes walk out into the moonlight and howl because I am a wolf.
54. If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, I attend church.
55. One reason for my being a church member is that such membership helps to establish a person in the community.

Please turn page and continue

- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
  - 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
  - 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
  - 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time
56. I would feel uncomfortable knowing that my son's male teacher was homosexual.
57. I have never intensely disliked someone.
58. I enjoy talking to lions at the zoo, especially those that talk back.
59. I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relation to the world.
60. I would feel disappointed if I learned that my child was homosexual.
61. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life.
62. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
63. Although I believe in my religion, I feel there are many more important things in my life.
64. I would feel uncomfortable being seen in a gay bar.
65. Female homosexuality is a threat to many of our basic social institutions.
66. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.

Please turn page and continue

- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
  - 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
  - 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
  - 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time
67. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
68. I would feel comfortable working closely with a male homosexual.
69. I am constantly questioning my religious beliefs.
70. The purpose of prayer is to secure a happy and peaceful life.
71. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
72. I would feel comfortable if a member of my sex made an advance toward me.
73. It doesn't matter so much what I believe so long as I lead a moral life.
74. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
75. I am older than my grandparents are.
76. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my spouse or partner was attracted to members of his or her sex.
77. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
78. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.

Please turn page and continue

- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
  - 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
  - 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
  - 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time
79. If a man has homosexual feelings, he should do everything he can to overcome them.
  80. A primary reason for my interest in religion is that my church is a pleasant social activity.
  81. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
  82. Male homosexuality is a perversion.
  83. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
  84. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my best friend of my sex was homosexual.
  85. I was not very interested in religion until I began to ask questions about the meaning and purpose of my life.
  86. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
  87. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
  88. I find religious doubts upsetting.
  89. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my daughter's teacher was a lesbian.
  90. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.
  91. I pray chiefly because I have been taught to pray.
  92. I enjoy talking with the moon at midnight.

Please turn page and continue



- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
  - 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
  - 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
  - 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time
93. I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years.
94. The primary reason of prayer is to gain relief and protection.
95. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.
96. For me, doubting is an important part of what it means to be religious.
97. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
98. Just as in other species, male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human men.
99. I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.
100. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only get what they deserve.

**(Please turn your answer sheet to Side 2 and continue)**

101. I would feel comfortable knowing that I was attractive to members of my sex.
102. There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.

Please turn page and continue

- 1 Strongly Disagree/Not True of me All of the time
- 2 Disagree/Not True of me Some of the time
- 3 Agree/True of me Some of the time
- 4 Strongly Agree/True of me All of the time

103. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.

For items 104 through 114, select the response that is most representative of you or your parents.

104. Your sex is 1) male 2) female.

105. Your age is 1) 17-25 2) 26-34 3) 35-43 4) 44-60  
5) 60+

106. Your father's educational level is 1) Elementary school  
2) High school graduate 3) Some college 4) College  
graduate 5) Graduate school

107. Your mother's educational level is 1) Elementary school  
2) High school graduate 3) Some college 4) College  
graduate 5) Graduate school

108. How often do you attend church services?  
1) Never 2) Once or twice a year 3) Once a month  
4) Once a week 5) Two or more time a week

109. Your race is 1) Caucasian/White 2) African American  
3) Hispanic American 4) Native American 5) Other

Please turn page and continue



110. What is your annual household income (or parent's income)? 1) Less than \$10,000 2) \$11,000-\$20,000  
3) \$21,000-\$60,000 4) \$61,000-\$100,000 5) More than \$100,000
111. Your religious affiliation is 1) Christian 2) Jewish  
3) Islam 4) Other 5) No religious affiliation
112. Would you consider your sexual orientation to be  
1) Heterosexual (Only opposite sex partners)  
2) Homosexual (Only same sex partners)  
3) Bisexual (Partners of either sex)
113. How would you rate the importance of religion to you?  
1) Extremely important 2) Moderately important 3) Not important at all.
114. Your college major is best classified as:  
1) A physical science (chemistry, physics, mathematics, etc.)  
2) A biological science (biology, botany, zoology, etc.)  
3) A social science (history, psychology, economics, etc.)  
4) Humanities (art, languages, literature, etc.)  
5) Other (one not fitting the above classifications).

Appendix B (continued)

Religious Orientation Scale (Allport & Ross, 1967).

Extrinsic Items

1. Although I believe in my religion, I feel there are many more important things in my life.
2. It doesn't matter so much what I believe so long as I lead a moral life.
3. The primary reason of prayer is to gain relief and protection.
4. The church is most important as a place to formulate good social relationships.
5. What religion offers me most is comfort when sorrows and misfortune strike.
6. I pray chiefly because I have been taught to pray.
7. Although I am a religious person I refuse to let religious considerations influence my everyday affairs.
8. A primary reason for my interest in religion is that my church is a pleasant social activity.
9. Occasionally I find it necessary to risk my religious beliefs in order to protect my social and economic well-being.
10. One reason for my being a church member is that such membership helps to establish a person in the community.
11. The purpose of prayer is to secure a happy and peaceful life.

Appendix B (continued)

Intrinsic Items

12. It is important for me to spend periods of time in private religious thought and meditation.
13. If not prevented by unavoidable circumstances, I attend church.
14. I try hard to carry my religion over into all my other dealings in life.
15. The prayers I say when I am alone carry as much meaning and personal emotion as those said by me during service.
16. Quite often I have been keenly aware of the presence of God or the Diving Being.
17. I read literature about my faith (or church).
18. If I were to join a church group I would prefer to join a Bible study group rather than a social fellowship.
19. My religious beliefs are what really lie behind my whole approach to life.
20. Religion is especially important to me because it answers many questions about the meaning of life.

Appendix C

Interactional (Quest) Scale (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991b).

1. I was not very interested in religion until I began to ask questions about the meaning and purpose of my life.
2. I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relation to the world.
3. My life experiences have led me to rethink my religious convictions.
4. God wasn't very important for me until I began to ask questions about the meaning of my own life.
5. It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties.
6. For me, doubting is an important part of what it means to be religious.
7. I find religious doubts upsetting. (-)\*
8. Questions are far more central to my religious experience than are answers.
9. As I grow and change, I expect my religion also to grow and change.
10. I am constantly questioning my religious beliefs.
11. I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years. (-)
12. There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.

Note: \*(-) indicates a response that is to be reverse-scored.

Appendix D

Index of Homophobia (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980).

This questionnaire is designed to measure the way you feel about working or associating with gays and lesbians. It is not a test, so there are no right or wrong answers. Answer each item as carefully and accurately as you can by filling in the circle that corresponds to the following:

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

Please begin.

1. I would feel comfortable working closely with a male homosexual.
2. I would enjoy attending social functions at which homosexuals were present.
3. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my neighbor was homosexual. (-)\*
4. If a member of my sex made a sexual advance toward me I would feel angry. (-)
5. I would feel comfortable knowing that I was attractive to members of my own sex.
6. I would feel uncomfortable being seen in a gay bar. (-)
7. I would feel comfortable if a member of my sex made an advance toward me.



8. I would be comfortable if I found myself attracted to a member of my own sex.
9. I would feel disappointed if I learned that my child was homosexual. (-)
10. I would feel nervous being in a group of homosexuals. (-)
11. I would feel comfortable knowing that my clergyman was homosexual.
12. I would be upset if I learned that my brother or sister was homosexual. (-)
13. I would feel that I had failed as a parent if I had a child who was gay. (-)
14. If I saw two men holding hands in public I would feel disgusted. (-)
15. If a member of my sex made an advance toward me I would be offended. (-)
16. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my daughter's teacher was a lesbian.
17. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my spouse or partner was attracted to members of his or her sex. (-)
18. I would feel at ease talking to a homosexual person at a party.
19. I would feel uncomfortable if I learned that my boss was homosexual. (-)



20. It would not bother me to walk through a predominantly gay section of town.
21. It would disturb me to find out that my doctor was homosexual. (-)
22. I would feel comfortable if I learned that my best friend of my sex was homosexual.
23. If a member of my sex made an advance toward me I would feel flattered.
24. I would feel uncomfortable knowing that my son's male teacher was homosexual. (-)
25. I would feel comfortable working closely with a female homosexual.

Note: \*(-) indicates a response that is to be reverse-scored. Positively worded items were reverse-scored for purposes of this study, while negatively worded items were not. Items 12, 18, 19, 20, 21 reflect substitutions suggested by the authors.

Appendix E

Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scales (Herek, 1987).

1. Lesbians just can't fit into our society.
2. A woman's homosexuality should not be cause for job discrimination. (-)\*
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 is itself not a 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. (-)
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 a male homosexual marriage seems ridiculous to me.
20. Male homosexuality is merely a different kind of lifestyle that should not be condemned. (-)

Note: \*(-) indicates a response that is to be reverse-scored. Items 6, 7, 8, 14, 15, & 16 were used in this study.

Appendix F

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964).

1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.
2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
4. I have never intensely disliked someone.
5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.
6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.
8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.
9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.
10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
11. I like to gossip at times.
12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.

15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
17. I always try to practice what I preach.
18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud mouthed, obnoxious people.
19. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.
20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.
21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
22. At time I have really insisted on having things my own way.
23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.
24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.
25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.
26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.
28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.



30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.
32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only get what they deserved.
33. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.



Appendix G

Validity Items

1. If I spread my arms, I can easily fly across the sky like a bird.
2. I died and was buried at an early age.
3. The insects in my brain drive me crazy when they move around.
4. I sometimes walk out into the moonlight and howl because I am a wolf.
5. I enjoy talking to lions at the zoo, especially those that talk back.
6. I am older than my grandparents are.
7. I enjoy talking with the moon at midnight.