LEADERSHIP TRAINING FOR A DIVERSE WORLD: A STUDY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THREE INTERVENTIONS WITH FRATERNITY AND SORORITY LEADERS

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LEADERSHIP TRAINING FOR A DIVERSE WORLD: A STUDY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THREE INTERVENTIONS WITH FRATERNITY AND SORORITY LEADERS

DISSERTATION

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

By

Kirsten A. Gonzalez

Lexington, Kentucky

Co-Directors: Dr. Sharon S. Rostosky, Professor of Counseling Psychology and Dr. Ellen D. B. Riggle, Professor of Political Science & Gender and Women's Studies

Lexington, Kentucky

2015

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

LEADERSHIP TRAINING FOR A DIVERSE WORLD: A STUDY OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THREE INTERVENTIONS WITH FRATERNITY AND SORORITY LEADERS

Lesbian and gay college students face heterosexist and homophobic attitudes and behaviors from their heterosexual peers (Burn, 2000; Fine, 2011; Franklin, 2000; Rankin, 2003; Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik, & Magley, 2008; Woodford, Howell, Silverschanz, & Yu, 2012; & Yost & Gilmore, 2011). Greek fraternity and sorority organizations can contribute to and influence the heterosexist and homophobic climate on college campuses. Greek organizations offer leadership opportunities, community engagement, and a sense of belonging, but these organizations can also perpetuate a climate of hostility and rejection of lesbian and gay peers (Case, 1996; Case, Hesp, & Eberly, 2005; DeSantis, 2007; Rankin et al., 2007; Windmeyer, 2005; Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998, 2001). As a result of the prejudice seen on college campuses, prejudice reduction interventions have been conducted with college students to reduce prejudiced attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals. Recent research indicates that reducing prejudice does not necessarily cultivate ally behaviors toward stigmatized outgroups (Pittinsky, 2012). Some research suggests that, compared to lower levels of prejudice, positive feelings (allophilia) toward minority groups better predict supportive behaviors toward those outgroups. Using an expanded positive-focused conceptual framework, the current study tested the impact of one empathic joy focused intervention and one values affirmation focused intervention on reducing prejudiced attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, cultivating positive feelings and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, fostering lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency, and cultivating attitudes toward social justice in a sample of fraternity and sorority college student leaders ($N = 106$). The current study also compared the effectiveness of these two positive focused interventions to a traditional anti-heterosexism prejudice reduction intervention (e.g., Blumenfeld, 1992). Findings from this study illustrated significant pre-intervention to post-intervention changes within the empathic joy and the anti-heterosexism intervention groups on positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, positive behavioral intentions toward lesbians and gay men, and positive attitudes toward social justice.
Implications of the research findings for future research on effective diversity training and social justice leadership development on college campuses, and particularly within Greek life, are discussed.

KEYWORDS: Allophilia, Attitudes, Values, Prejudice Reduction, Ally Development

Kirsten A. Gonzalez

November 1, 2015
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Chapter One: Introduction

Intergroup prejudice is a significant issue in the well-being of any community. In the United States there are many groups that are culturally stigmatized, including non-white/Caucasian racial and ethnic groups (e.g., Zarate, 2009), women (Glick & Hilt, 2000), people with physical disabilities (Dovidio, Pagotto, & Hebl, 2011) and sexual minority (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender: LGBT) groups (e.g., Hatzenbuehler, 2009). Prejudice maintains social inequalities and impacts the physical, mental, and emotional well-being of those who are stigmatized as well as those who engage in stigmatizing others (e.g., Ponterotto, Utsey, & Pedersen, 2006).

Background

Researchers and practitioners have primarily focused on prejudice reduction as a strategy for addressing the problem of interpersonal prejudice against stigmatized groups (Paluck & Green, 2009). A variety of methods and training models for prejudice reduction have been developed and tested, including semester-long college course interventions (e.g., Pettijohn & Walzer, 2008), workshops (e.g., Guth, Lopez, Clements, & Rojas, 2001), and panel discussions (e.g., Hussey & Bisconti, 2010). However, findings regarding the effectiveness of these prejudice reduction strategies have been mixed. Many strategies focus on creating “tolerance” as the outcome, which may not simultaneously create support for stigmatized groups (Pittinsky, 2012). Effectively addressing the problem of prejudice may require cultivating positive feelings and attitudes as a complement to reducing negative attitudes toward stigmatized outgroups (Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000). Research suggests that positive feelings and attitudes toward a group have different antecedents and consequences than negative feelings and
attitudes (Pittinsky, 2012). Therefore, actively promoting positive attitudes may be useful for creating positive intergroup relations, including ally behaviors. This strategy extends typical prejudice reduction strategies (Gulker & Monteith, 2013; Todd & Burgmer, 2013).

**Problem Statement**

A plethora of research has tested the impact of prejudice reduction interventions on reducing prejudiced attitudes, feelings, and behaviors without consensus regarding what effectively works in reducing prejudice toward stigmatized groups (Bezrukova, Jehn, & Spell, 2012; Paluck & Green, 2009). Additionally, most prejudice reduction interventions have targeted reducing negative feelings, attitudes, and behaviors without actively cultivating positive feelings and attitudes toward stigmatized groups. Research suggests that creating supportive environments that are free of stigma and prejudice necessitates an expanded, positive-focused conceptual framework. Past research has suggested that cultivating empathy and exploring values are two interventions that may effectively reduce prejudice and create positive feelings and attitudes toward stigmatized groups (Lehmiller, Law, & Tormala, 2010; Lillis & Hayes, 2007; Pittinsky & Montoya, 2009; Shih, Stotzer, & Gutierrez, 2013).

**Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of the current study was to test the effectiveness of three interventions designed to reduce prejudice and cultivate positive attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals in a group of fraternity and sorority college students. Fraternity and sorority college students were recruited because of the influence of Greek life on campus climate and culture. As one of the largest and most influential campus organizations that
aim to train leaders, it is vitally important to find effective ways to promote the
acceptance of lesbian and gay individuals in Greek organizations.

Using an expanded positive-focused conceptual framework, the current study
tested the impact of one empathy focused intervention and one values affirmation focused
intervention on cultivating positive feelings and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in
a sample of fraternity and sorority college students. The current study also compared the
effectiveness of these two positive focused interventions to a traditional prejudice
reduction intervention (e.g., Blumenfeld, 1992) that has been the primary focus of many
anti-heterosexism prejudice reduction efforts to date.

Study Significance

The current study is significant for two reasons. First, although a plethora of
research exists on the prejudiced feelings, attitudes, and behaviors of college fraternity
and sorority organizations that can contribute to the hostile climate for all sexual minority
students (e.g., Case, 1996; Case, Hesp, & Eberly, 2005; DeSantis, 2007; Rankin et al.,
2007; Windmeyer, 2005; Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998, 2001), virtually no research
exists on prejudice reduction efforts with the college fraternity and sorority populations.
Greek organizations offer leadership opportunities, community engagement, and sense of
belonging, but these organizations can also sometimes perpetuate a climate of hostility
and rejection of lesbians and gay men (Case, 1996; Case et al., 2005; DeSantis, 2007;
Rankin et al., 2007; Windmeyer, 2005; Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998, 2001). As a result
of fraternity and sorority influence over campus climate and culture, it is important to
find effective ways to promote the acceptance of diverse sexual identities in Greek
organizations.
Second, most prejudice reduction efforts have narrowly focused on reducing negative stereotypes and attitudes. A few have attempted to cultivate positive feelings and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. In the few studies that have assessed positive attitudes as the outcome (e.g., Probst, 2003), initial support suggests the necessity of considering an expanded framework that specifically focuses on positive feelings and attitudes as a mechanism for reducing stigma and prejudice. This approach may also improve intergroup relations by creating positive, active support for sexual minority groups. The current study is significant because it is one of the first systematic attempts to assess the use of positive-focused interventions to reduce prejudice and cultivate positive feelings and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Findings from the present study suggest important directions for the future of prejudice reduction research and intervention efforts.

This study is vitally important within the discipline of counseling psychology, as one of the core values of counseling psychologists is a focus on social justice (Packard, 2009). Of significance to the current study, the counseling psychology profession aims to address issues related to oppression and discrimination of all people with stigmatized identities, including sexual minority individuals (Asta & Vacha-Haase, 2013). Societal oppression necessitates that counseling psychologists understand their role as advocates and social justice allies (Fouad, Gerstein, & Toporek, 2006), as they consider how best to support individuals with stigmatized identities. The social justice work of counseling psychologists includes addressing and alleviating the suffering of all oppressed minorities while preventing future suffering (Fouad et al., 2006). In their prevention role, counseling psychologists seek to eradicate the source of discrimination and oppression at
the societal level as well as the individual and interpersonal levels (Gelso & Fretz, 2001; Romano & Hage, 2000).

The current study aims to alleviate the suffering of sexual minority college students through reducing prejudice and building allies within influential privileged members of the college campus community. Of importance to the current study and the work of counseling psychologists is the effort to engage privileged individuals in social justice issues (Goodman, 2011). Privileged people, by definition, have power and access to resources, which can help or hinder meaningful societal change (Goodman, 2011). Privileged allies are influential in decision-making processes, and can serve as role models for other privileged people in the support for equality (Goodman, 2011). Therefore, the current study is aligned with the mission of the counseling psychology discipline in its aim to reduce prejudice and build allies with privileged members of the college student population. This study targeted fraternity and sorority college student leaders with the hope that intervening with this privileged population would help create a safer and more supportive place for all lesbian and gay peers through reducing privilege and building allies.
Chapter Two: Literature Review

Experiences of Stigmatized College Students

In the United States, there are many groups that are culturally stigmatized. Of significance to the present study are the experiences of lesbian and gay college students who are often stigmatized because of their sexual orientation (e.g., Hatzenbuehler, 2009).

Lesbian and gay college students face unique challenges because their sexual orientation impacts the way their peers treat them (Rankin, 2005). Research indicates that university campuses can be and often are unsafe for lesbian and gay students because of the heterosexist and homophobic nature of the university setting (Burn, 2000; Fine, 2011; Franklin, 2000; Rankin, 2003; Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik, & Magley, 2008; Woodford, Howell, Silverschanz, & Yu, 2012; & Yost & Gilmore, 2011). The institutional environment is often perceived as being unsupportive of lesbian and gay students (Croteau & Kusek, 1992; Rankin, Weber, Blumenfeld, & Frazer, 2010). Many lesbian and gay college students report experiencing verbal and physical harassment and continuous discrimination as a result of their sexual orientation during their college years (Brown, Clarke, Gortmaker, & Robinson-Keilig, 2004; Rankin, 2003; Rankin et al., 2010).

In a study of 1,669 college students, faculty, and staff/administrators, Rankin (2003) found that almost a third of the sexual minority college student participants experienced harassment over the span of one year prior to the study. In this same group of students, 20% expressed feeling their physical safety was in jeopardy as a result of their sexual orientation or gender identity and 51% of participants reported hiding their sexual orientation and/or gender identity to protect against harassment and intimidation.
from heterosexual college students (Rankin, 2003). Almost half (43%) of the 1669 participants rated their campus climate as homophobic (Rankin, 2003).

Similarly, in a survey of over 5,000 sexual minority and heterosexual students, staff members, faculty members, and administrators, sexual minority participants indicated that they were significantly more likely to experience greater harassment and discrimination as a result of their sexual identity (83%) when compared to their heterosexual allies (12%) (Rankin et al., 2010). Rankin and colleagues (2010) also found that sexual minority respondents were significantly more likely to: (a) perceive or observe harassment, (b) be the target of derogatory comments, (c) be stared at, (d) be deliberately ignored or excluded, and (e) experience bullying. Also, respondents were significantly less likely to feel comfortable with their campus climate when compared to the heterosexual participants in the sample. Participants also contemplated leaving their institution, actively avoided areas on campus where sexual minority students hung out, and voiced feeling afraid to disclose their sexual identity because of negative repercussions (Rankin et al., 2010).

In a survey of 1,197 sexual minorities living in the United States, 92% of participants reported that society has become significantly more accepting of sexual minorities in the past 10 years (Pew Research Center, 2013). Similarly, evidence suggests that college climates are following this national trend where heterosexual college students are more accepting of sexual minority students (e.g., Rankin, Hesp, & Weber, 2013; Rankin et al., 2010). Despite evidence that suggests college climates are becoming more accepting, lesbian and gay young adults still experience hostile environments where they face verbal and physical harassment. These experiences may
be detrimental to the success of lesbian and gay college students, as some might elect to drop out or deny their sexual orientation for fear of repercussions. Much of the hostile college climate can be attributed to the heterosexist and homophobic culture that is perpetuated on college campuses.

**Heterosexism in College Students**

Heterosexism and homophobia contributes to the hostile climate for sexual minority students on college campuses. Heterosexism is defined as, “An ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship, or community” (Herek, 1990, p. 316). Heterosexism is pervasive and can be seen at the individual level, family level, institutional level, and the sociocultural level (Szymanski & Moffitt, 2012). As part of a heterosexist culture, campus services (including counseling, health, and academic services) are frequently tailored to heterosexual people and thus fail to recognize and address the needs of sexual minority students (Paul, 1996). Heterosexual individuals, through identifying with the dominant sexual identity group, possess a privileged status with unearned advantages and entitlements (Simoni & Walters, 2008). Members of the privileged group inaccurately and unconsciously assume that their status as a heterosexually privileged person is neutral, normal, and available to everyone (McIntosh, 1988).

Recent research has documented the presence of pervasive heterosexism on college campuses (Silverschanz, Cortina, Konik, & Magley, 2008). In a study of 3,347 students from a small public university (49% female, 90% White/European American, 89% heterosexual, 11% sexual minority), 58% of the sexual minorities in the sample reported experiencing instances of heterosexist harassment, defined as verbal or symbolic
behaviors that suggest animosity toward sexual minority individuals (Silverschanz et al., 2008). Silverschantz and colleagues further defined heterosexist harassment as being either personal experiences of direct acts of hostility (e.g., being called a “dyke”) or ambient experiences seen in the college environment (e.g., anti-lesbian or gay joke). Of the sexual minorities who reported experiencing heterosexist harassment, 53% experienced ambient forms and 47% experienced personal forms suggesting that heterosexism is seen in both personal encounters and within the college environment.

Much of the recent research on heterosexism in college campuses has focused on the use of derogatory comments such as “that’s so gay” as a way to put down others, especially other heterosexual individuals (Burn, 2000; Dickter, 2012; Woodford, Howell, Silverschanz, & Yu, 2012). The use of the phrase “that’s so gay” and calling someone a “fag” perpetuates a climate where bias against gay individuals is socially acceptable and encouraged (Burn, 2000).

Woodford and colleagues (2012) assessed sexual minority students’ reports of hearing “that’s so gay” to denote something bad or stupid. Almost half of the students (N = 114 students, 54% female, 73% white, 43% bisexual, 34% completely lesbian or gay, 23% mostly lesbian or gay) reported hearing the phrase “that’s so gay” in their college environment more than 10 times within the last year (Woodford et al., 2012). Students who heard the phrase “that’s so gay” felt more excluded from the university and experienced more negative physical health issues such as headaches and poor appetites (Woodford et al., 2012).

Some research indicates that heterosexist comments are heard even more frequently. Dickter (2012) found that heterosexual college students reported hearing
approximately 15 heterosexist comments a week designed to insult another heterosexual student or to inform others of a fundamental disagreement with homosexuality. In an older study, Rey and Gibson (1998) found that among 226 college students, 71% of the students reported making derogatory statements and 81% used offensive slurs such as “fag,” “queer,” and “dyke.” Similarly, personal accounts of heterosexist comments by 157 heterosexual college students (38 males, 119 females) indicated that heterosexist comments (e.g., making fun of gay men on television and using “faggot” as an insult to other heterosexual people) were used frequently by 66% of the males in the study (Burn, 2000). Burn’s research suggested that anti-gay prejudice and behavior is more frequently perpetrated by heterosexual male college students where prejudice against gay people serves to reinforce traditional masculinity that is defined by heterosexuality. Overall, research indicates that heterosexism is pervasive on college campuses and college men use heterosexist and homophobic language more often than college women to reinforce the heterosexual, traditional masculine norm.

Not only do heterosexual college students contribute to and reinforce a hostile climate for sexual minority students, they are also largely unaware of the role they play in creating that hostile climate. In the research on heterosexual college students’ perception of the campus climate, heterosexual people tend to feel more positively about their campus climate when compared to sexual minority individuals (Brown et al., 2004; Yost & Gilmore, 2011). The incongruence between the views of heterosexual and sexual minority individuals suggests that sexual minority college students are more aware of the heterosexism and homophobia prevalent in college communities (Yost & Gilmore, 2011).
In contrast, the heterosexual individuals do not have to be aware of the subtle role privilege plays in their life and in their perceptions of their campus.

**Homophobia in College Students**

Homophobia is defined as, “the fear of homosexuality and hatred of homosexuals or of any behavior, belief, or attitude of the self or others, which does not conform to rigid sex role stereotypes” (Hubbard & De Welde, 2003, p. 75). Homophobia is prevalent on college campuses. In a study of 489 college students (57% female, 40% white, 30% Asian, 14% Latino, 12% African American), 10% of the mixed-gender sample reported engaging in anti-gay behaviors within the two years prior to the study, including: (a) threatening to strike; (b) hitting, kicking or biting; (c) throwing objects; (d) chasing or following; (e) damaging property; (f) spitting; (g) striking with an object; or (h) robbing sexual minority individuals (Franklin, 2000). Most of the target individuals of anti-gay behaviors were gay men who were alone (Franklin, 2000).

In a study of 182 female and 84 male college students, participants were moderately homophobic and 10% of the males reported engaging in homophobic behaviors including: (a) spreading negative talk, (b) warning lesbian and gay students to keep away, (c) being rude, (d) changing seats, (e) staring to promote their disapproval, (f) yelling insults, (g) changing bathroom behavior, (h) verbally threatening, (i) telling anti-gay jokes, and (j) distancing oneself from a gay person (Roderick, McCammon, Long, & Allred, 1998). Similarly, 10% of female college students engaged in homophobic behaviors including: (a) spreading negative talk, (b) yelling insults, (c) telling anti-gay jokes, and (d) distancing oneself from a gay person (Roderick et al., 1998). This research suggests that, even though homophobic behaviors are prevalent in only a small
percentage of college students, these behaviors still exist and threaten the safety, security, and belonging of sexual minority college students.

Sexual minority college students experience heterosexism and homophobia on a daily basis with the exposure to derogatory comments directed at them and at others around them (Fine, 2011). Fine discovered that several sexual minority college students she interviewed depicted their sexual orientation as “other” or “marginal” suggesting that these college students adopted a heteronormative way of thinking. Several of Fine’s participants stressed the importance of peers getting to know them before they could disclose their sexual orientation so that they could build an identity separate from their sexual identity. For these sexual minority students, convincing peers to like them was imperative to their comfort in disclosing their sexual identities.

In a recent survey of a small liberal arts school on the east coast, Yost and Gilmore (2011) found that despite efforts to make the campus more accepting and inclusive of sexual minority students, many students on campus, “expressed clear hostility, anti-gay prejudice, and a desire to maintain the status quo in a way that would benefit the heterosexual . . . majority” (p. 1351). These findings indicate that sexual minority college students live in a society that constantly promotes heterosexism and homophobia. Heterosexual privilege allows heterosexual college students to perpetuate the belief that sexual minority individuals are “abnormal,” thus reinforcing the hostile climate for sexual minority college students. Not only is homonegativity seen in the broader college population, heterosexism and homophobia are also extremely prevalent in the Greek community where heterosexual college students demand conformity to the norms of the group.
Greek Organizations Influence Over Campus Climate

Research indicates that Greek life organizations may negatively impact the overall campus climate for sexual minority college students. Hinrich and Rosenberg (2002) studied the impact of the presence of Greek life organizations on students’ attitudes toward sexual minority individuals. Students who attended a university that did not have Greek organizations held significantly more positive attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals (92% of females and 86% of males were accepting of lesbians and gay men) when compared to the attitudes of students who attended universities with Greek organizations (82% of females and 59% of males were accepting of lesbians and gay men) (Hinrich & Rosenberg, 2002). These findings suggest that attitudes toward sexual minority students may be significantly more positive on college campuses that do not have Greek organizations. Not only do Greek organizations contribute to a hostile climate for sexual minority students, research (reviewed below) indicates that heterosexism and homophobia are major issues within Greek fraternities and sororities on college campuses that likely contribute to and reinforce a hostile climate.

Heterosexism/Homophobia in Greek Life College Students

Some research exists to document the experiences of sexual minority fraternity and sorority members or heterosexual members’ views of sexual minority members in college Greek organizations. With the exception of a few research studies (Case, 1996; Case et al., 2005; Rankin et al., 2007; Trump & Wallace, 2006), ethnography (DeSantis, 2007), and several anthologies (Windmeyer, 2005; Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998, 2001), most of what we know about the experiences of sexual minority fraternity and sorority members is informal and anecdotal in nature. Additionally, most of the studies on
heterosexism and homophobia in the Greek community are dated, and little research has
been published in the last five years on the subject.

**Heterosexism/homophobia according to sexual minority Greek members.**

Sexual minority individuals in college Greek fraternities and sororities have been
compared to sexual minority individuals in the armed forces who live in social worlds
where heterosexual people see homosexuality as threatening (Case, 1996). The “don’t
ask, don’t tell” mantra that the military adopts has long been a rule in the Greek
community regarding non-heterosexual orientations. In a study of over 500 sexual
minority college alumni, more than 70% of respondents indicated that they had
experienced homophobic and heterosexist attitudes while in college in their fraternity and
sorority chapters, usually through the use of derogatory jokes or comments (Case, 1996).
An updated study by Case and colleagues (2005), suggested that most sexual minority
participants (75% of men and 81% of women) believed that no one in the chapter knew
their sexual orientation and many sexual minority fraternity and sorority members
actively chose to hide their sexual orientation from their fraternity brothers and sorority
sisters (Case et al., 2005). In a more recent study of 414 sexual minority Greek members,
only 39% disclosed a sexual minority identity while attending college, and 29% disclosed
a sexual minority identity during recruitment events (Rankin et al., 2007). For those
lesbian and gay participants who came out to fraternity and sorority members while in
college, distinct differences existed for those members who involuntarily came out (i.e.,
members who were “outed” by other members of their organization) and those members
who voluntarily (i.e., members who voluntarily disclosed their sexual minority identity)
came out (Case et al., 2005). Forty percent of males and 32% of females who
involuntarily came out were met with a “somewhat negative” or a “very negative” response while only eight percent of males and 13% of females who voluntarily came out were met with a “somewhat negative” or a “very negative” response (Case et al., 2005). Those who came out voluntarily often disclosed their sexual minority identity to a few close confidants within their organization first before slowly coming out to the entire chapter (Windmeyer, 1998).

With respect to homophobic and heterosexist events within fraternity and sorority chapters, Case and colleagues (2005) found: (a) 74% of males and 71% of females encountered homophobic behaviors in their chapter, (b) 50% of males and 29% of females were exposed to derogatory remarks or jokes, (c) 12% of males and 12% of females saw heterosexism expressed in membership selection, and (d) 5% of males and 12% of females expressed that negative behavior such as ostracism and gossip were directed toward members who were labeled as being lesbian or gay. Rankin and colleagues (2007) found that 38% of sexual minority fraternity and sorority members were less satisfied with their Greek organization because of the heterosexual focus of social events. When Case and colleagues (2005) asked sexual minority participants what factors took away from the quality of the fraternity and sorority experience, 38% of males and 42% of females indicated that social events were designed for heterosexual couples, 30% of males and 31% of females shared that they were intimidated by homophobic remarks and attitudes, 45% of males and 31% of females stated that they felt they had to hide part of themselves and expressed difficulty in getting close to others, and 8% of males and 10% of females reported that fraternity and sorority members stopped talking to them once their sexual minority identity was known or suspected. Sexual minority
members also reported feeling afraid to confront their fraternity or sorority chapter if a potential new member with a sexual minority identity was going to be removed because of his/her sexual orientation, for fear of being questioned about their own sexual orientation (Case et al., 2005). Although uncommon, some Greek members reported leaving their organization because they were tired of experiencing homophobia within their organization. DeSantis (2007) interviewed a gay man who eventually left his fraternity because he was tired of lying about his gay identity. In this interview, the participant shared that he would never return to visit his fraternity because of the harsh behavior previous gay alumni had received when they visited the fraternity house after graduating. This participant also talked about an experience he witnessed over dinner one evening when several fraternity brothers were laughing about a news story about hate crimes against gay men (DeSantis, 2007). Several members expressed that the victims of the hate crimes deserved to be victimized (DeSantis, 2007). Heterosexism and homophobia in Greek life is also apparent in research conducted on members of the heterosexual Greek community.

**Heterosexism/homophobia according to heterosexual Greek members.**

Research conducted on heterosexual fraternity and sorority members also depicts a homophobic, heterosexist, and homonegative environment. In a case study of five heterosexual fraternity men, Hesp and Brooks (2009) found that fraternity members acknowledged that their governing body, The National Interfraternity Council, perpetuated a homophobic atmosphere, and members perceived that other heterosexual members in the fraternity community would never be open to sexual minority diversity trainings or education. In a much earlier study (Rhoads, 1995), fraternity members
commented that other heterosexual members of their fraternity would likely not come out as gay because they knew how badly they would be mistreated for doing so. Case (1996) found that homophobia was pervasive throughout all aspect of fraternity and sorority life, including during recruitment or membership selection events. If a potential new member was suspected of being gay or lesbian, fraternities and sororities often would deny membership into their organization (Case, 1996).

In his ethnographic research, DeSantis (2007) observed the pervasive homophobia of fraternities, noting that, “applications have been rejected . . . because a rushee talked like a girl, or dressed like a fag, associated with feminine men, walked like a queer, [or] avoided fights or conflicts” (p. 55). Similarly, if a new member was suspected of being gay or lesbian during the new member period, before initiation into the organization, fraternity and sorority members were also likely to dismiss the new member from their chapters (Case, 1996). Thus, homophobia and heterosexism are seen in both the overt and covert acts of heterosexual fraternity and sorority members when heterosexual members go to extreme measures to prevent open sexual minority individuals from joining their chapters.

Also, research has shed light on how gender and sexual orientation are intertwined and perpetuate heterosexism and homophobia. Some research indicates that heterosexual male students are significantly more likely to distance themselves from sexual minority students when compared to heterosexual female students (Hinrichs & Rosenberg, 2002). Research also indicates that fraternity men are significantly more homophobic compared to sorority women (Windmeyer, 2005).
Fraternity men have been shown to dislike gay men specifically because of their perceived lack of masculinity (Rhoads, 1995).

Heterosexual college students have also been shown to discriminate against gender non-conforming individuals. Research suggests that effeminate men and masculine women are not as accepted as feminine women and masculine men (Metzger, Williams, Chen, Chartier, & Wright, 2007). In a study of 150 Greek and non-Greek college students, participants were shown pictures of fictional students with “average gender presentation,” “extreme gender presentation,” and “non-traditional gender presentation” and were asked to determine the likelihood that the students in the image would be invited to join a fraternity or sorority (Metzger et al., 2007). All participants (both Greek and non-Greek) were significantly more likely to select the “extreme gender presentation” depicting extremely feminine or masculine individuals when compared to the typical male/female depicted by the “average gender presentation” category or the masculine females and effeminate males in the “non-traditional gender presentation” category for Greek membership (Metzger et al., 2007). These results suggest that hyper-masculine males and hyper-feminine females are significantly more likely to be accepted into Greek organizations when compared to students with other gender presentations.

In his anthology, Windmeyer observed that fraternity men struggle with having a gay fraternity brother, and their resistance continues to be a large obstacle to sexual minority acceptance in Greek life (2005). Heterosexism and homophobia negatively impact sexual minority college students and sexual minority Greek life members, but also negatively impact heterosexual fraternity and sorority members.
Negative effects of heterosexism/homophobia on all Greek members. In Windmeyer and Freeman’s (1998) anthology, *Out on Fraternity Row: Personal Accounts of Being Gay in a College Fraternity*, the authors discussed the negative effect of homophobia on both the privileged heterosexual group and the oppressed sexual minority group. Even though heterosexism and homophobia severely impact the college climate, educational efforts often do not address issues of homophobia (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). Homophobia and heterosexism are pervasive in all aspects of Greek life. However, males in fraternities are especially susceptible to homophobic and heterosexist behavior. Sexism and homophobia coupled with other forms of prejudice often support many of the negative behaviors associated with fraternity living, including substance abuse, date rape, violence, and harassment (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). Windmeyer and Freeman (1998) explained that homophobia prevents fraternity brothers from forming close friendships or showing affection for a fraternity brother because they are afraid of being labeled as gay. Homophobia forces heterosexual fraternity members’ to assert their heterosexuality through gay bashing and derogatory language (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). Lastly, homophobia results in the creation of hazing rituals where fraternity men drink excessive amounts of alcohol and use drugs before they can touch other men (Freeman, 2005; Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). Research indicates that homophobia can often lead to acts of hazing in men’s organizations like fraternities (Freeman, 2005). Homophobia and heterosexism foster a belief in fraternity men that anyone who is gay is inferior and permits heterosexual members to haze any member who is perceived as being gay (Freeman, 2005). Hazing is used to assert masculinity and demonstrate heterosexuality. Freeman (2005) posited that fraternities often engage in
activities that involve calling new members derogatory names (e.g., “faggot”) and forcing them to be in close contact with other members’ genitalia. This is designed to cause discomfort in the new members and to assert masculinity, for these activities are designed to serve as punishment while perpetuating the idea that homosexuality is abhorrent (Freeman, 2005). Similarly, heterosexism pressures fraternity men to have sex with women and fraternity members who do not have sex with women are seen as inferior or labeled as gay (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998).

Although homophobia and heterosexism are more prevalent in fraternity life, sorority women are not exempt from perpetuating heterosexist and homophobic behavior and from suffering the negative effects of a hostile climate (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998). Windmeyer and Freeman (1998) posit that homophobia is used to assert superiority over lesbian or bisexual women and often leads to heterosexual sorority members denying membership or removing lesbian or bisexual women from the organization. Homophobia also prevents sorority women from communicating with each other about sexuality and does not allow for a sense of a strong, positive, community within the sisterhood (Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998).

Theoretical Formulations of the Problem

Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) explains heterosexism and homophobia with an emphasis on prejudice and discrimination at multiple levels including: (a) the policy level, (b) the institutional level, and (c) relationships between members both within the dominant group and outside of the dominant group (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Group-based social inequality is perpetuated through discrimination that is used to favor the dominant groups over the subordinate groups (Pratto, Sidanius, &
Levin, 2006). This favoritism is maintained through legitimizing myths, defined as social ideologies, values, beliefs, attitudes, and stereotypes shared by dominant members of society (Pratto et al., 2006). Prejudice and discrimination against sexual minority individuals is illustrated by legitimizing myths including the belief that same-sex attraction is immoral as well as the belief that lesbians and gay men want “special rights” (Seelman & Walls, 2010). Heterosexual Greek members assert their dominance through the tendency to deny sexual minority individuals entrance into their Greek organizations, through homophobic and heterosexist comments and jokes, and through ostracism of sexual minority individuals within and outside of the organization.

The Dynamic Social Impact Theory (Latane, 1981, 1996) explains how key influential people in close physical proximity exacerbate the struggles of sexual minority individuals by modeling heterosexist and homophobic attitudes, feelings, beliefs, values, and behaviors within fraternities and sororities and on the larger university campus. Latane (1996) theorized that location and proximity results in clusters of attitudes and beliefs. Thus, clusters of negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay students have been predicted based on college students’ dormitories (Bowen & Bourgeois, 2001). The Dynamic Social Impact Theory is useful for understanding group-based attitudes in Greek organizations. Members of Greek organizations often live in close proximity to each other and are pushed to live together and adopt the norms of the group to fit in (DeSantis, 2007). The Dynamic Social Impact Theory (Latane, 1996) explains how the close proximity of individual members perpetuates similar beliefs among members. Although some fraternity or sorority members may be privately affirming of sexual minorities, they will publicly adopt the views of the entire chapter, especially when
influential members are vocal in their views. Some lesbian and gay Greek members for instance, reported feeling afraid to confront their fraternity or sorority chapter when a potential new member with a sexual minority identity was going to be removed because of his/her sexual orientation for fear of being questioned about their own sexual orientation (Case et al., 2005; Windmeyer, 2005). According to the Dynamic Social Impact Theory, changing the attitudes and behaviors of campus student leaders, in this case students in Greek organizations, can help to change the campus culture to be more accepting and affirmative of sexual minority peers. Of importance to the health and well-being of sexual minority Greek members and sexual minority non-Greek students are strong heterosexually identified leaders in the Greek communities and on campus who support and affirm diverse sexual identities. It is important, then, to intervene in established “units” where students have an influence over each other through close proximity and interaction.

**Theoretical Solutions to the Problem**

Prejudice has long been studied in the field of psychology and recent research has begun to explore effective strategies for reducing prejudice. Prejudice, as defined by Paluck and Green (2009) is, “a negative bias toward a social category of people with cognitive, affective, and behavioral components” (p. 340). According to Paluck and Green, prejudice can be seen through negative attitudes, feelings, and actions toward an individual or group of people belonging to a social group. Prejudice results from people's tendency to create mental categories of social groups as part of inherent mental processing of sensory stimuli, which then inform negative social interactions with members of those groups (Wheeler & Fiske, 2005). Prejudice can also include
stereotypes about groups of people that are factually inaccurate and rigid (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999). Similarly, prejudice can be overt through discrimination and harassment or can be covert through social distancing behaviors (Swim, Ferguson, & Hyers, 1999). Research has shown that prejudice can also manifest in the form of implicit unconscious bias or intentional explicit bias (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1999). A broad view of prejudice includes negative attitudes toward a group, negative emotions toward a group, intolerance, discrimination, and stereotyping (Paluck & Green, 2009). Prejudice is experienced cognitively, emotionally, and behaviorally and prejudice studies have assessed several different constructs in an attempt to better understand prejudice and to reduce violence, inequality, and discrimination (Paluck & Green, 2009).

Prejudice takes a variety of forms and can be directed toward several different minority groups. Prejudice is seen today in a variety of settings toward multiple different social groups including racial minorities (Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 1997), lesbian and gay individuals (Herek, 2000), women (Glick & Hilt, 2000), the elderly (Cuddy, Norton, & Fiske, 2005), people with physical disabilities (Dovidio et al., 2011) and people with mental health issues (Corrigan, Edwards, Green, Diwan, & Penn, 2001). Researchers attempting to eliminate prejudice on college campuses have tested the effectiveness of several prejudice reduction interventions with members from privileged groups.

**Prejudice reduction.** Prejudice reduction strategies have been defined as, “causal pathways from interventions (e.g., a peer conversation, a media program, an organizational policy, or a law) to reduced levels of prejudice” (Paluck & Green, 2009, p. 341).
There is consensus regarding some generally effective prejudice reduction strategies (for recent reviews of the literature, see Bezrukova et al., 2012; Paluck & Green, 2009).

Research suggests that an experiential component within the prejudice reduction strategy is needed to effectively reduce prejudice (Cognitive Experiential Self-Theory, CEST; Epstein, 1994). According to Epstein, people process information in two distinct ways, through an automatic, intuitive, experiential path, and through a verbal, analytical and rational path. One mode of processing is affect related whereas the other mode of processing is affect free (Epstein, 1994). Research indicates that learning knowledge through reading a textbook is fundamentally different from learning through experience (Epstein, 1994). The experiential system informs people’s response to emotionally significant events where emotional experiences lead people to search unconsciously for other similar experiences in their memory system. The recalled feelings then influence processing of information as well as thoughts and actions (Epstein, 1994). Behavior is seen as a complex interaction between the experiential and the rational system and the experiential system can be more powerful than the rational system in producing change (Epstein, 1994). The experiential system is the dominant system for processing information that informs behavioral responses (Guth, Lopez, Rojas, Clements, & Tyler, 2005). The CEST is useful in understanding how learning best occurs through these different paths. Components of this theory are seen in recent prejudice reduction efforts where several researchers have attempted to modify or reduce prejudice by utilizing strategies aimed at targeting both of these pathways.
Additionally, many prejudice reduction strategies are based on different forms of contact designed to counteract (or counter-argue) negative attitudes (Dovidio et al., 2011). The Common Ingroup Identity Model (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993) theorizes that re-categorization of two separate groups (the ingroup and the outgroup) into one larger group changes the categorization patterns of ingroup members’ from an “us” and “them” mentality to a “we” mentality. This facilitates more positive ingroup attitudes toward an outgroup. Also, working toward common goals is associated with more positive interactions among members of subgroups who see themselves as part of one superordinate group (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005).

The extended contact hypothesis (Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997) suggests that simply knowing that a member of the ingroup has a positive friendship with a member of the outgroup effectively reduces intergroup prejudice among other ingroup members. Extended contact has been found to facilitate a reduction in perceived ignorance about outgroup members, heightened awareness of positive outgroup behaviors, increased inclusion of the outgroup when considering the self, and positive outgroup evaluations by ingroup members (Eller, Abrams, & Zimermann, 2011).

Extended contact is also associated with positive attitudes toward an outgroup (i.e., immigrants), increased trust, and reduced threat perceptions (Dhont & Van Hiel, 2011).

Vicarious contact, such as observing similar ingroup members interacting with outgroup members, is associated with increased knowledge and understanding of behaviors that facilitate positive intergroup interactions (Dovidio et al., 2011). Mazziotta, Mummendey, and Wright (2011) found that observing a positive interaction between members of the ingroup and outgroup was associated with higher levels of
positive intergroup attitudes when compared to control conditions. Imagined positive contact by ingroup members with a member of an outgroup resulted in lowered intergroup anxiety and was associated with more positive ratings of outgroup members by ingroup members (Turner, Crisp, & Lambert, 2007).

Perspective taking, “the active contemplation of others’ psychological experiences,” has been found to be effective in improving automatic and explicit interracial evaluations, behavioral pulls to approach interracial interactions, and behaviors in intergroup situations (Todd et al., 2011, p. 1028). Perspective taking improved automatic interracial evaluations without blinding participants to differences in racial experiences (Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, & Galinsky, 2011). Perspective taking has also been found to facilitate ingroup recognition and acknowledgement of discrimination against racial outgroups, and is associated with increased support for affirmative action (Todd, Bodenhausen, & Galinsky, 2012).

Motivational mindsets (Migacheva & Tropp, 2012) suggest that learning-oriented ingroup individuals might be primed to learn and gain experience from intergroup interactions in order to reduce anxiety about the interaction while cultivating interest in the outgroup. This strategy targets both negative and positive feelings and attitudes. The potential of the above reviewed strategies to benefit from specifically cultivating positive feelings and attitudes suggests a need to examine and add to the current conceptual framework for prejudice reduction.

**Focusing on the positive.** Prejudice reduction research has yielded many encouraging findings, yet there is still a need for further expansion of the conceptualization of “prejudice reduction” and further development of intervention
strategies. For example, although contact has been found to be effective in reducing prejudice in many studies (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), some participants in contact-based prejudice reduction interventions have only experienced a reduction in their level of prejudice when they viewed contact with other dissimilar individuals as “important” (van Dick et al., 2004). Bezrukova and colleagues (2012) suggested that the efficacy of contact-based efforts to reduce prejudice may be impacted by institutional support, equal status, shared goals between group members, development of norms that prioritize positive interactions, and personalized contact. Without these conditions, contact may not always be effective in significantly reducing prejudice, especially over time without specific demand functions. Similarly, implicit techniques to reduce prejudice have resulted in changes in implicit levels of prejudice, but application to real life experiences and interactions with outgroup members needs further research and validation (e.g., Lai, Hoffman, & Nosek, 2013).

Many prejudice reduction studies conceptualize prejudice and its indicators as unidimensional. For example, the outcome measures used in many studies assume that prejudice functions on a unidimensional scale with negative feelings on one end and positive feelings on the other (e.g., Eller et al., 2011). Recent research critiques this one-dimensional focus as positive and negative attitudes as two distinct and independent constructs (Pittinsky & Simon, 2007). For example, positive attitudes (and not a reduction in negative attitudes) have been found to better predict positive behavioral intentions of ingroup members toward outgroup members (Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011a). This finding suggests that current prejudice reduction efforts may be limited by assuming a unidimensional structure of affective states in predicting prejudice.
It is important to understand the role of interventions in cultivating positive affect and how positive affect is associated with significant and long-lasting changes in intergroup attitudes and behavioral intentions toward outgroup members. Many prejudice reduction studies discuss findings in the context of cultivating more positive outgroup attitudes without directly measuring changes in positive attitudes. For example, Dhont and Van Hiel’s (2011) study of the impact of extended contact discussed cultivating positive outgroup attitudes without measuring positive attitudes toward outgroup members. Other studies have explicitly attempted to cultivate and measure changes in positive feelings and attitudes toward a stigmatized outgroup. For example, Probst (2003) found that exposure to new information increased positive attitudes toward individuals with disabilities, older workers, racial minorities, and members of the LGBTQ community.

An expanded focus on the systematic study of cultivating positive attitudes to create positive, active support for stigmatized outgroups may be an important complement to the reduction of negative feelings and attitudes. Different psychological processes may underlie reducing negative prejudiced attitudes and cultivating positive intergroup attitudes. Positive feelings and attitudes may facilitate more positive interactions between groups in general, reducing perceived group differences such that group differences and boundaries become less important in social interactions (Johnson & Fredrickson, 2005). Similarly, positive feelings may reduce conflict and negative feelings between members of the ingroup and the outgroup (Dovidio, Gaertner, Isen, & Lowrance, 1995).
Pittinsky and Simon’s Two-Dimensional Model of Intergroup Attitudes (TDMIA; 2007) posits three assumptions: (a) intergroup attitudes have two dimensions, positive allophilia (or “love of the other”) and negative prejudice, that are largely independent of each other; (b) positive and negative attitudes have distinct antecedents; and, (c) positive and negative attitudes impact behaviors differently. Pittinsky and Simon (2007) base their argument on operant conditioning where positive stimuli are reinforced (attraction) and negative stimuli are punished (repulsion; see Festinger, 1954). In this framework, ingroup perception of the value and benefit of intergroup relationships is an important antecedent to intergroup liking and friendship.

Pittinsky (2012) has also argued that reducing “hate” toward a group does not simultaneously increase love or affection (allophilia) for that group. Therefore, efforts to promote positive intergroup relations should reduce prejudice while also promoting and cultivating allophilia. Recognizing the distinct contributions of both reducing prejudice and increasing positive feelings and attitudes toward outgroup members suggests the utility of an expanded framework that includes embracing and valuing differences and positive interactions.

Having positive feelings and attitudes toward a stigmatized outgroup may increase willingness to engage in positive behaviors toward or to support beneficial policies for those groups. For example, Pittinsky and colleagues (2011) found that positive attitudes toward Hispanic/Latinos and African Americans were a better predictor of positive behavioral intentions toward those groups than were negative attitudes toward those groups. In a sample of 202 heterosexual individuals, Fingerhut (2011) found that both positive attitudes and low prejudice were significantly associated with supportive
behaviors toward LGBT individuals. Further research is needed to determine the specific connection between attitudes and behaviors and whether positive attitudes are sufficient for positive behavioral change toward outgroup members.

What Can We Learn From Allies?

An ally has been defined as, “a person who is a member of the ‘dominant’ or ‘majority’ group who works to end oppression in his or her personal and professional life through support of, and as an advocate for, the oppressed population” (Washington & Evans, 1991, p. 195). Allies have more positive attitudes about stigmatized (oppressed) groups in addition to fewer negative attitudes, support policies to benefit an oppressed group, and actively engage in behaviors to support that group (e.g., Fingerhut, 2011). Understanding how allies become allies and how they benefit from being allies may suggest a more comprehensive understanding of positive attitude cultivation as a factor in prejudice reduction.

Studies of allies have found some common experiences suggesting possible intervention points for creating and maintaining positive attitudes. Some of these intervention points overlap with current prejudice reduction efforts; however meaningful differences suggest how they may add to current strategies. Thus, insights based on the ally development literature may inform prejudice reduction intervention efforts. Research on prejudice reduction and ally building has highlighted the benefits of exposure to new information about discrimination, privilege, and oppression (Broido, 2000; Todd et al., 2011), new learning experiences and perspectives (Caldwell & Vera, 2010), and self-exploration specifically related to privileged personal positions (Case, 2012).
People may become allies through experiences with diverse others, supporting contact-based approaches as intervention points (Allport, 1954; Dovidio et al., 2011; Munin & Speight, 2010). While most research on contact as an intervention in prejudice reduction has focused on short-term or limited contact, allies report that prolonged exposure to diverse people over several years was crucial to the development of their ally identity (Munin & Speight, 2010). Allies have reported that developmentally critical childhood experiences, including participation in community service, exposure to different neighborhoods, parent-facilitated exposure to injustices in society, and prolonged experiences in school, helped them develop a critical understanding of “Otherness” and facilitated their ally identity (Munin & Speight, 2010).

Ally development may also include exploration of core values leading to a greater understanding of and desire for fairness and equality (Broido, 2000). Allies report more self-confidence and less concern with what others might think or say in response to their ally identity. Many allies also engaged in activism because they believe in advocating for social justice values and human rights (e.g., Hubbard et al., 2013).

Allies report higher levels of empathy and compassion for others who are not like them (Munin & Speight, 2010). Sympathetic empathy may improve positive attitudes toward members of an outgroup (Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003). Pittinsky (2012) has argued that empathic joy, which includes positive feelings such as happiness and pride in reaction to “another person’s experience of something pleasant, desirable, or beneficial” (p. 126), can help build allophilia in support of stigmatized outgroups. Pittinsky and Montoya (2009) found that empathic joy, when compared to sympathy, was correlated with higher levels of support for and feelings of connection with members of
minority groups. Cultivating empathic joy may increase positive emotions and reduce intergroup conflict, simultaneously reducing prejudice while increasing ally behaviors.

**Cultivating Positive Feelings and Attitudes**

Extending the ally development literature, I propose the following set of strategies for increasing positive feelings and attitudes toward stigmatized outgroups: (a) increasing knowledge and understanding; (b) focusing on values; (c) understanding privilege and its role in oppression; and (d) cultivating empathy and empathic joy.

**Increasing knowledge and understanding.** Studies of prejudice reduction and ally development have found that one consistently effective strategy is introducing knowledge about an outgroup and attempting to increase understanding of the outgroup’s experiences (e.g., Verkuyten & Thijs, 2013). Facilitating knowledge and understanding as a means of confronting negative stereotypes may reduce negative attitudes. Knowledge that also includes positive information about groups may help to create new narratives that support positive feelings and attitudes.

One example of this type of intervention is Liebkind and colleagues use of written narratives to change attitudes toward an outgroup and encourage future intergroup contact (Liebkind, Mahonen, Solares, Solheim, & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2014). In a three-session intervention, the first focused on individual relationships, the second focused on peer groups and peer influence on attitudes regarding intergroup relationships, and the third focused on the prevalence of intergroup relationships in society. At the beginning of each session, participants were exposed to important conceptual knowledge about a targeted outgroup, including definitions of key concepts including attitudes, prejudice, and culture. Then, participants were given narratives about intergroup friendships and
encouraged to dialogue about the narratives. Similar to prejudice reduction efforts using vicarious contact (e.g., Mazziotta et al., 2011), participants read stories about intergroup contact that developed into friendship between ingroup and outgroup members. In the stories, initial prejudice toward outgroup members was reduced based on new understandings after a friendship developed with an outgroup member who was similar to the storyteller in some way.

The novel approach in Liebkind and colleagues’ (2014) study was the intentional focus on positive intergroup relationships during all phases of the study. Facilitators intentionally avoided conversations about negative intergroup experiences. This activity reinforced positive narratives about intergroup relationships and broke habits of relying on negative narratives. These findings suggest that knowledge and understanding can be used to complement narratives of prejudice and discrimination by supporting the creation of new positive narratives.

**Focusing on values.** Cultivating and reinforcing positive values such as compassion and connection may be useful in reducing prejudice and promoting positive feelings toward outgroups. For example, Rokeach (1971) used a values-focused intervention to heighten white college student participants’ awareness of inconsistencies in their values as related to their support for equality for African American individuals. After the intervention, students in the study were significantly more likely to join the NAACP, enroll in an ethnic studies program, and express support for equal rights for African Americans.

Lehmiller, Law, and Tormala (2010) used a personal values writing exercise to reduce prejudice toward sexual minorities. Participants in their study ranked 11 values
(e.g., sense of humor, relations with family and friends, spontaneity, social skills) according to importance and picked their top value. Participants then wrote a story about why that value was significant for them. In the post-intervention measures, some participants (i.e., those who did not affirm relations with family and friends) experienced a significant decrease in prejudice toward sexual minorities (Lehmiller et al., 2010).

Activating and re-affirming a commitment to values that are personally important as related to positive intergroup relations may enhance the connections between values, positive feelings, and attitudes toward outgroups. Facilitating the creation of positive narratives about stigmatized outgroups and intergroup interactions through values-affirmation exercises may be an effective strategy for creating positive feelings and attitudes in addition to reducing prejudice.

**Understanding and using privilege.** An understanding of the similarities and differences between groups includes understanding how privilege operates to benefit some people while actively disadvantaging others (Denissen & Saguy, 2014). Providing privileged individuals with opportunities to understand the impact of their privilege, and empowering them to use their privilege to effect positive change (e.g., Stewart, Latu, Branscombe, & Denney, 2010) may help to cultivate positive feelings and attitudes toward outgroups. People with privilege can use positive narratives to answer the question, “How can privilege be used to model positive attitudes and behaviors for other privileged people?” (Nagda, 2006).

Stewart and colleagues (2012) suggest that the privilege of ingroup members may be used to intervene and create positive change for outgroups. Seventy-seven White college students were asked to read a statement describing the shortage of African
American faculty at their university resulting from discrimination. Participants then read about White privilege, including the advantages that people who are White experience and the disadvantages that non-White individuals experience. After learning about privilege, participants wrote letters asking administrators at their university to hire more African American professors. Participants’ exposure to their privileged status, coupled with their belief that they could effectively create change, resulted in significantly improved attitudes toward racial minorities. Exercises that help privileged individuals become aware of their privilege and its impact on others, as well as how they may effectively use their privilege to influence positive changes to counteract discrimination, may facilitate positive feelings and attitudes toward outgroups.

**Empathy.** Cultivating empathy toward outgroups decreases prejudice and increases ally behaviors. Prompting a member of the ingroup to take the perspective of an individual from the outgroup leads to more empathic feelings toward individuals from that outgroup (Shih, Stotzer, & Gutierrez, 2013). While many interventions have used a “sympathetic empathy” framework (imagining negative stereotyping and prejudice), one alternative approach is to build empathy by imagining positive feelings and responses associated with the experiences of the outgroup members. Pittinsky and Montoya (2009) found that members of the ingroup who experienced “empathic joy” for members of the outgroup reported significantly higher levels of support for and connection with members of that outgroup. Pittinsky (2012) argued that efforts to cultivate empathic joy should be studied independently of efforts to cultivate sympathy because of the independence of these two feeling states.
Exposure to positive, first-person narratives of outgroup members about the benefits and personal growth they experience may help ingroup members develop empathy and imagine positive interactions with outgroup members. Ingroup members may be introduced to positive stories about outgroup members, emphasizing commonalities in experiences between groups while also highlighting differences in societal treatment of the groups (c.f., Saguy, Tausch, Dividio, & Pratto, 2009). A possible intervention point is having ingroup participants imagine the positive experiences of an outgroup member disclosing an outgroup identity (e.g., a sexual minority identity) to other ingroup members. A positive focus on acceptance and support in response to this disclosure reinforces empathic joy. The narrative structure highlights both commonalities (what can be imagined to be similar experiences) and differences (what can be imagined to be different). These narrative structures may then be used to imagine positive outcomes for outgroup members and how they can be supported, including imagining possible ally behaviors.

The Current Study

The study described below attempts to advance the literature on prejudice reduction by testing the effectiveness of two positive-focused interventions using empathic joy and values to cultivate positive feelings and attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals. The effect of these two positive-focused interventions was compared to a traditional anti-heterosexism treatment-as-usual (TAU) intervention.

Based on the theoretical frameworks reviewed above, cultivating positive feelings and attitudes toward stigmatized lesbian and gay groups may be an effective complement to current prejudice reduction efforts. Theoretically, a focus on reducing negative
feelings while simultaneously cultivating positive affect toward lesbians and gay men may optimize outcomes. Positive feelings and attitudes may act independently of negative feelings and attitudes and thus indicate conceptually different types of interventions. For example, increasing empathic joy and allophilia for lesbians and gay men while also reducing prejudice may extend the impact on positive intergroup relations. Privileged individuals with positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men may engage in social change at all levels of the socio-ecological system. Ally behavior, including role modeling positive feelings and attitudes, is important to eliminating cultural stigma (Latane, 1996). Positive feelings, attitudes, and behaviors may also lead to positive outcomes for those with privilege, including personal growth and increased well-being (Rostosky, Black, Riggle, & Rosenkrantz, 2015).

Empathic joy may be an important component to creating positive cultural narratives that transform stigma surrounding lesbians and gay men and contribute to an increase in positive intergroup relations. Interventions to increase empathic joy for lesbians and gay men may be an effective approach to prejudice reduction.

Understanding the utility of positive feelings and attitudes fundamentally expands approaches to the problem of prejudice. Efforts to facilitate positive feelings and to promote positive cultural narratives may have a recursive and synergistic effect on positive intergroup relations. The development and testing of specific, theory-driven hypotheses is an important next step in designing and delivering optimally effective interventions.

**Research questions.** The following primary research question guided the focus of this study: Which interventions are effective in reducing prejudice attitudes toward
lesbian and gay individuals, cultivating positive allophilia attitudes for lesbian and gay individuals, and changing lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency in university fraternity and sorority leaders? Since the development of social justice attitudes and values is a central concern about which we have few empirical findings, an additional exploratory research question was also posed: Which interventions are effective in cultivating significant changes in attitudes toward social justice in university fraternity and sorority leaders?

**Research hypotheses.** It was hypothesized that:

1. Consistent with previous research (e.g., Brodio, 2000; Guth et al., 2005; Pittinsky, 2012; Rye & Meaney, 2009), participants in the empathic joy intervention group, the values clarification intervention group, and the anti-heterosexism intervention group would experience a significant reduction in negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention.

2. Consistent with the two-dimensional model of us-and-them relations (Pittinsky, 2012), participants in the empathic joy intervention and the values clarification intervention groups would demonstrate a significant increase in positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention.

3. Aligned with Pittinsky’s (2012) research, participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group would not experience a significant increase in positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbian and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention.
4. Consistent with previous research (Blumenfeld, 1992; Fingerhut, 2011; Pittinsky & Montoya, 2009; Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011), participants in all treatment groups would demonstrate significant increases in lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency from pre-intervention to post-intervention.
Chapter Three: Method

Study Design

The current quasi-experimental study assessed the effectiveness of three interventions in reducing negative attitudes and increasing positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, increasing lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency, and attitudes toward social justice ally behaviors in self-identified college student fraternity and sorority leaders. The study used a pre-post design and consisted of three interventions including two positive focused interventions and one TAU anti-heterosexism intervention. The participants received the empathic joy intervention, the values clarification intervention, or the anti-heterosexism intervention.

Participants

Participants in the study (N = 106) were self-identified fraternity and sorority leaders enrolled in a small, private liberal arts college in the southern United States (see Table 3.1, Table 3.2, Table 3.3, and Table 3.4, pages 59-62). The study sample consisted of 76.4% females (n = 81) and 23.6% males (n = 25). The age range for all participants was 18-21 years old. The average age of participants was 18.63 years old (SD = 0.609). With respect to race, 92.5% of the sample identified as Caucasian, 0.9% identified as Asian American/Pacific Islander, and 0.9% identified as Hispanic/Latino. Six participants (5.7%) chose not to disclose their racial identity. With respect to sexual orientation, 97.3% of participants identified as heterosexual, 0.9% identified as gay men, 0.9% identified as bisexual, and 0.9% chose not to disclose their sexual orientation. With respect to year in school, 84% of the participants were freshman in college and 12.2%
were sophomores in college, 1.9% identified as juniors in college, and 1.9% chose not to disclose their year in college.

Regarding majors, participants identified their majors as Accounting (2.8%); Accounting & Finance (2.8%); Acting (1%); Anthropology (1%); Biochemistry (1%); Biology (1%); Biology & Political Science (1%); Business (2%); Business Management (2%); Communications (3.8%); Communication Design (4.7%); Dance & Dance Studies (1%); Economics (2%); Elementary Education (1%); Elementary & Special Education (3.8%); English (2%); Entrepreneurship (1%); Exercise Science (1%); Environmental Studies & Cinema (1%); Exercise Science & Public Health (1%); Finance (9.4%); Finance & Marketing (2%); Independent Meteorology (1%); International Business (3.8%); Journalism (2%); Marketing (7.5%); Marketing & Art (1%); Marketing & Entrepreneurship (1%); Physical Education & Health (1%); Political Science (2.9%); Psychology (7.5%); Public Health (3.9%); Sport & Event Management (2%); Strategic Communications (9.5%); and Undecided (8.6%).

With respect to location of their hometown, 68.9% of participants in the sample indicated that their hometown was located in the East, 14.2% in the Southeast, 11.3% in the Midwest, 4.7% in the West, and 0.9% chose not to identify the region of their hometown. Additionally, 75.5% described their hometown as suburban, 12.3% as rural, 6.6% as urban, 4.7% as metropolitan and 0.9% chose not to disclose their hometown location.

Regarding religion, participants in the sample identified their religion as Catholic (42.7%), Jewish (12.5%), Presbyterian (8.7%), No Religion (6.8%), Agnostic (4.9%), Church of Christ (4.9%), Episcopal (4.9%), Non-Denominational Christian (4.1%),
Protestant (3.1%), Atheist (2.1%), Lutheran (2.1%), Methodist (2.1%), and Catholic and Jewish (1.1%). Additionally, 37.7% described their religious or spiritual preference as important, 34.9% as neutral, 11.3% as unimportant, 10.4% as very unimportant, 3.8% as very important, and 1.9% chose not to answer about importance of religion. When asked about frequency of attendance at religious services, 47.2% reported that they attend religious services less than once a month, 23.6% reported that they never attend religious services, 19.8% reported that they attend religious services 1-3 times per month, 6.6% reported that they attend service once a week, 0.9% reported that they attend services more than once a week, and 1.9% chose not to describe their frequency of attendance at religious services.

Regarding political affiliation, 31.1% of participants described their political affiliation as neutral, 19.8% as liberal, 18.9% as slightly conservative, 17% as conservative, 9.5% as slightly liberal, 2.8% as extremely liberal, and 0.9% chose not to describe their political affiliation.

With respect to leadership experience in their fraternity or sorority, 79.2% of participants reported no leadership experience in their Greek organization, 11.3% of participants reported less than six months of leadership experience in their Greek organization, 1.9% of participants reported six months to one year of leadership experience in their Greek organization, 2.8% of participants reported one year of leadership experience in their Greek organization, 2.8% of participants reported two years of leadership experience in their Greek organization, 2.8% of participants reported four years of leadership experience in their Greek organization, and 1% of participants chose not to report their leadership experience in their Greek organization.
significance, approximately 96.2% of the participants were new members in their Greek organizations and had joined their fraternity/sorority approximately three weeks before the research study. All participants self-identified as student leaders and described their leadership experiences in middle and high school. Some examples of these leadership experiences included: (a) leader for high school freshman, (b) captain of the tennis team, (c) key club vice president, (d) peer facilitator, (e) assistant manager at a clothing store, (f) girl scout, and (g) student body president.

Measures of Independent and Dependent Variables

**Demographic questionnaire (Appendix A).** Participants responded to questions about 1) their age, 2) hometown state and county, 3) number of credits currently enrolled in, 4) major, 5) sex, 6) ethnic/racial identity, 7) sexual identity, 8) year in college, 9) religious affiliation, 10) a rating of religious or spiritual importance, 11) how often participants attended religious services, 12) political views, 13) Greek organizational affiliation, and 14) years of leadership experience. Participants also responded to an open ended question about other leadership experiences. Participants also answered questions about region of the country their hometown was located in as well as if their hometown was urban, rural, suburban, or metropolitan.

**Dependent Variable Measures**

**The Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale.** The Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale (ATLG-R; Herek, 1997; see Appendix B) (ATLG-R) is a 10-item, five-point Likert scale that assesses heterosexual attitudes toward gay men and lesbians (e.g., “I think gay men are disgusting”). Participants responded to 10 statements, with responses ranging from one (*strongly disagree*) to five (*strongly agree*). Four items
were reverse-scored. The mean total scale score is the average of the item scores. Lower scores indicated more tolerant and less prejudiced attitudes and higher scores indicated more negative attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals (Herek, 1997). Previous studies have reported that higher scores on the ATLG-R has been correlated with high religiosity, minimal contact with gay and lesbian individuals, support of traditional gender-role norms and policies that do not support equality for sexual minorities (Herek, 1994; 2009; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; 1999a; 1999b). Previous studies have also reported moderately high internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach’s alpha) of .85 (Herek, 1997). The internal consistency coefficients across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .84$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .83$ (Post-Intervention).

**The Modern Homonegativity Scale.** The Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS; Morrison & Morrison, 2003; see Appendix C) is a 12-item, five-point Likert scale that assesses modern homonegativity (e.g., “Many gays and lesbians use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges”). Participants responded to 12 statements, with responses ranging from one (strongly disagree) to five (strongly agree). Three items on the scale were reverse-scored. The mean total scale score is the average of the item scores. Lower scores indicated a lower level of modern homonegativity and higher scores indicated a higher level of modern homonegativity. Previous studies have reported that higher scores on the MHS have been correlated with political conservatism, religiosity, and sexism (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). Previous studies have also reported moderately high internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach’s alpha) of .93 (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). The internal consistency coefficients across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .91$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .93$ (Post-Intervention).
The Allophilia Scale. To assess positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, the Allophilia Scale (Pittinsky et al., 2011b; see Appendix D) was used. The Allophilia Scale is a 17-item, five-point Likert scale that assesses “liking or love of” gay men and lesbians (e.g., “In general, I have positive attitudes about lesbians and gays.”). Participants responded to 17 statements, with responses ranging from one (strongly disagree) to five (strongly agree). The Allophilia Scale measures five attitude dimensions including affection (positive feelings, four items), comfort (feeling at ease, three items), kinship (believing in a close personal connection, three items), engagement (seeking interactions, four items), and enthusiasm (feeling impressed and inspired, three items).

Although I was mainly interested in the full scale scores, the total scale score (i.e., response to all scale items were summed) and the mean of the subscale scores were calculated and used. Given the lack of research using this measure, it was important to collect information about both the full scale and the subscales. However, the focus of this study was the full scale scores. Lower scores indicated less positive affection toward lesbians and gay men, comfort with lesbians and gay men, kinship with lesbians and gay men, engagement with lesbians and gay men, enthusiasm for lesbians and gay men, and attitudes toward lesbian and gay men. Higher scores indicate more positive affection toward lesbians and gay men, comfort with lesbians and gay men, kinship with lesbians and gay men, engagement with lesbians and gay men, enthusiasm for lesbians and gay men, and attitudes toward lesbian and gay men (Fingerhut, 2011; Pittinsky et al., 2011b). Previous studies have also reported high internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach’s alpha) of $\alpha = .97$ (Fingerhut, 2011).
The internal consistency coefficients for the Affection Subscale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .96$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .97$ (Post-Intervention). The internal consistency coefficients for the Comfort Subscale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .90$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .92$ (Post-Intervention). The internal consistency coefficients for the Kinship Subscale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .86$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .88$ (Post-Intervention). The internal consistency coefficients for the Engagement Subscale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .92$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .95$ (Post-Intervention). The internal consistency coefficients for the Enthusiasm Subscale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .89$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .93$ (Post-Intervention). The internal consistency coefficients for the composite scale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .96$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .97$ (Post-Intervention).

**Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Competency Scale.** The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Competency Scale (LGSJS; Kizer, 2011; see Appendix E) is a 28-item, seven-point Likert scale that examines competency for lesbian and gay affirming social justice (e.g., “I feel confident talking about lesbian and gay affirming social justice with people who have different viewpoints than my own”). Participants responded to 28 statements, with responses ranging from one (*strongly disagree*) to seven (*strongly agree*). The LGSJS measures four factors of lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency including Self-Efficacy (eight items), Attitudes (seven items), Actions (six items), and Awareness (seven items). Eight items were reversed scored. Although I was mainly interested in the full scale scores, both the total scale score (i.e.,
response to all scale items were summed) and the mean of the subscale scores were calculated and used. Given the lack of research using this measure, it was important to collect information about both the full scale and the subscales. However, the focus of this study was the full scale scores.

Lower scores indicated a lower level of lesbian and gay affirming social justice self efficacy, lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes, lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions, lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness, and lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency. Higher subscale scores indicated a higher level of lesbian and gay affirming social justice self efficacy, lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes, lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions, lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness, and lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency.

Previous studies have also reported high internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach’s alpha) of $\alpha = .91$ for the LGSJS Self Efficacy Subscale, $\alpha = .91$ for the LGSJS Attitudes Subscale, $\alpha = .87$ for the LGSJS Actions Subscale, $\alpha = .70$ for the LGSJS Awareness Subscale (Kizer, 2011). The internal consistency coefficients for the LGSJS Self Efficacy Subscale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .93$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .93$ (Post-Intervention). The internal consistency coefficients for the LGSJS Attitudes Subscale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .82$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .85$ (Post-Intervention). The internal consistency coefficients for the LGSJS Actions Subscale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .88$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .91$ (Post-Intervention). The internal consistency coefficients for the LGSJS Awareness Subscale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .82$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .85$ (Post-Intervention).
points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .77$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .80$ (Post-Intervention). The internal consistency coefficients for the composite scale across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .92$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .93$ (Post-Intervention).

**The Attitudes Toward Social Justice Scale.** The Attitudes Toward Social Justice Scale (ATSJS; Kizer, 2011; see Appendix F). The ATSJS is an eight-item, seven-point Likert scale that examines attitudes toward social justice (e.g., “When I notice social injustice in my environment, I feel the responsibility to speak up”). Participants responded to eight statements, with responses ranging from one (*strongly disagree*) to seven (*strongly agree*). One item was reverse-scored. The mean total scale score was calculated. Lower scores indicated less positive attitudes toward social justice and higher scores indicated more positive attitudes toward social justice.

Previous studies have also reported high internal consistency coefficients (Cronbach’s alpha) of $\alpha = .90$ for the ATSJS (Kizer, 2011). The internal consistency coefficients for the ATSJS across the two time points for this study ranged from $\alpha = .90$ (Pre-Intervention) to $\alpha = .93$ (Post-Intervention). For descriptive statistics, see Table 3.5 (page 63).

**Independent Variable (Interventions)**

In this study, I assessed the effectiveness of three brief interventions aimed at reducing prejudice and cultivating positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in Greek fraternity and sorority college students. The aim of this study was to use an expanded positive-focused conceptual framework focused on empathic joy and values to test the effectiveness of two interventions on cultivating positive feelings and attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals and a TAU anti-heterosexism intervention in
decreasing prejudiced attitudes and increasing positive attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals. In SPSS, the empathic joy intervention group as coded 1, the values clarification intervention group was coded 2, and the anti-heterosexism intervention was coded 3.

**Empathic joy intervention (Appendix G).** Participants in the empathic joy intervention participated in a two-hour workshop that began with participant completion of the pre-test surveys. Then, participants were presented with an overview and discussion of the goals for the training. First, participants were divided up into smaller groups of five. Next, participants were told that they would be learning more about their leadership skills and they would be exploring skills related to connecting with people and communicating with people who were not like them. Participants were also told that, during the training, they would explore their own internal thoughts and feelings related to connecting with people unlike them so that they could better cultivate relationships with people unlike them and expand their social network. Lastly, participants were told that, during the training, they would explore possible barriers to cultivating relationships with people unlike them.

Participants engaged in a discussion of group norms to establish ground rules for the training (Harris, 2009; Appendix G). All participants self-identified as student leaders before the training began. Participants completed a Lifelines values clarification activity (Flanders et al., 1994; Harris, 2009) to reaffirm their leadership values. Participants were given a sheet of paper with a horizontal line running down the middle. Participants were told that this line represented their lives and they were told to recall memorable formal or informal leadership positions they held throughout their life. They
were told that these experiences could be formal or informal leadership experiences where they served in a leadership capacity. Participants were given five minutes to complete the Lifelines exercise and were then told to think of a peak leadership experience in their life to date that was positive and profound on some level. Participants were instructed to remember a “scene” rather than a phase of their life and were given the example: “I remember the first executive council meeting that I ran.” Then, participants responded to a series of questions on a worksheet including: (a) what was happening during this experience?, (b) What was good about the experience?, (c) What did the experience give you?, (d) What made this a special and outstanding experience?, and (e) How can you experience this again? Participants shared their leadership experience in small group and large group discussions as a way to clarify and affirm their leadership values.

Next, participants listened to a 10-minute presentation of Pittinsky’s (2012) seven “Bold Steps” leaders can take to be more effective leaders in “Us-and-Them” relations. Participants listened to the seven “Bold Steps” including: (a) use accountability to avoid the in-group out-group leadership trade off; (b) demonstrate acceptance; (c) hold governments accountable for coexistence; (d) move from an affinity for “us” to allophilia for “them;” (e) win hearts and minds, not just bellies; (f) connect the world for good; and (g) practice positive us-and-them religious leadership. Participants engaged in a large group discussion about these “Bold Steps” and how these steps related to their roles as leaders within their Greek organization and on their college campus. The discussion of these “Bold Steps” served to explore the strategies that participants could use to more effectively cultivate relationships with people who were different from them.
Importantly, participants in the empathic joy intervention group experienced a group-specific intervention where interactions with one marginalized outgroup were the focus of the intervention. Participants were primed to feel empathic joy by being told that one group of individuals who are often neglected during discussions of experiences in Greek life are lesbian and gay students. Participants were told that they were going to hear a story of a gay or lesbian college student and were primed for empathy by being asked to put themselves in the college student’s shoes and imagine how it felt for that student to experience happiness and support within his/her Greek organization. Participants were also told to imagine how being in a Greek organization impacted the student’s life. Participants were encouraged to close their eyes and put themselves in the student’s shoes as they listened to the story. Participants were then read a narrative adapted from Windmeyer (2005), and Windmeyer and Freeman, (1998, 2001) about the positive experiences of a lesbian/gay Greek member disclosing a sexual minority identity to their brothers/sisters, and their chapter. This portion of the training was designed to cultivate empathic joy for lesbians and gay men in Greek organizations. After the narrative was read, participants engaged in small and large group discussions about their reactions to the story and answered the questions: (a) “How can you build off of these “Bold Steps” to engage in more effective leadership in your own life?” and (b) “Specifically, how can you use the story you just heard to engage in more effective leadership in your own life?”

Participants were then instructed to explore within their small group common problems in their Greek community on several levels, including: (a) the individual participant level, (b) the chapter level within their Greek organization, (c) the campus
community level within their university community, and (d) the broader community level within their geographic community. Participants were told to consider the seven “Bold Steps” in their identification of current problems. Then, participants were told to brainstorm an “ideal” community, paying special attention to what they learned about effective leadership. Participants then drew their ideal community on a sheet of poster paper and shared their drawing with other participants in a large group setting.

Participants were asked to develop an action plan for using the information learned in the workshop to be more effective leaders in their own lives and were asked to specifically identify two concrete steps that they plan to take as a result of the information learned in the training. At the end of the training, participants were thanked for the participation and completed the post-test surveys.

Values clarification intervention (Appendix H). Participants in the values clarification intervention participated in a two-hour workshop that began with participant completion of the pre-test surveys. Participants in the values clarification intervention experienced an identical training to the empathic joy intervention with the omission of the empathic joy exercise. In contrast to the previous intervention, participants in the values clarification intervention group experienced a non-group specific intervention. Participants interactions with any marginalized outgroup were the focus of the intervention.

Anti-heterosexism intervention (Appendix I). Participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention participated in a two-hour long prejudice-reduction workshop modeled on Blumenfeld’s (1992) suggestions for conducting anti-heterosexism workshops. As in the other two treatment conditions, the workshop began with
participants being divided up into smaller groups of five. Participants completed the pre-
test surveys. After the surveys were completed, participants engaged in a discussion of
group norms to establish ground rules for the training (Harris, 2009; see Appendix I).
Participants were then told the training goals of the workshop including: (a) heighten
awareness, (b) dispel myths/share factual information, (c) share personal histories and
journeys, (d) support individual efforts to interrupt homophobia and heterosexism, (e)
emphasize value for developing a greater sense of community where all people are
treasured and supported, and (f) have some fun. Participants were also told of several
working assumptions of the workshop including: (a) homophobia is a devastating and
insidious form of oppression; (b) homophobia, as well as many other forms of
oppression, is pervasive throughout the society we live in; (c) it is not our fault, we are
not to blame, but we must accept responsibility for it within ourselves; (d) individuals
and organizations can and do grow and change; (e) working to end homophobia is a
lifelong process; (f) homophobia hurts all people; and (g) a true sense of community,
where all people are valued and supported, is a goal worth working toward (Blumenfeld,
1992). These group norms, goals, and working assumptions served as an introduction to
the training, while setting boundaries, and normalizing the discomfort and reducing
defensiveness that some participants may experience during the training.

Participants listened to a brief presentation of terminology including terminology
related to identity and social dynamics such as privilege and oppression, sex and
sexuality terminology including sexual orientation and “coming out” terminology, and
gender identity and expression terminology (adapted from Blumenfeld, 1992; LGBT
Resource Center at the University of California Riverside, 2015; Michigan State
University Extension, 2003; The Leaven Center, 2003; Trans-academics.org, 2009; UC Davis Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer Intersex Asexual Resource Center, 2015; Unitarian Universalist Association, 2014). There was a brief question and answer period after the discussion of LGBT terminology.

Next, participants identified and discussed LGBT myths and facts. An example of a myth was “I don’t know any gay or lesbian people” (Blumenfeld, 1992; Texas Women’s University Counseling Center, 2015; University of Buffalo Counseling Services, 2013). Participants volunteered to read each of the myths to the large participant group. After discussing LGBT myths, participants were provided with facts that documented the experiences of LGBT people with discrimination and prejudice specifically on college campuses within Greek organizations (Blumenfeld, 1992; Case, 1996; Case, Hesp & Eberly, 2005; Rankin et al., 2007). An example of one of the facts was, “In a study of over 500 lesbian and gay college alumni, more than 70% of respondents indicated that they had experienced homophobic and heterosexist attitudes while in college in their fraternity and sorority chapters, usually through the use of derogatory jokes or comments” (Case, 1996). Participants volunteered to read each of the facts to the large participant group. There was a brief question and answer period after the facts presentation.

Participants then completed a role-play “Coming Out Stars” activity (Pierce, n.d.) to simulate the coming out process that lesbian and gay individuals often experience. Participants were each given one of four colored stars and told that the star represents their world with them in the center and those things and people most important to them at each point of the star. Participants were asked to write their name in the center of the star
and then were told to write their best friend on the first point, an important community such as a religious community or a fraternity or sorority on the second point, a specific family member on another point, a dream job on the fourth point, and their hopes and dreams on the last point (Pierce, n.d.). Participants were then instructed to stand in a circle and told that they are now a gay man or a lesbian woman and are about to begin their coming out process. They were told not to talk for the rest of the activity. Then, participants completed a simulation where difficulties related to coming out were dependent on the color of their star. For example, participants who were given a red star were told that coming out to their friend, “was met with anger and disgust. This friend who had been by your side in the past tells you that being gay or lesbian is wrong and they can’t associate with anyone like that. If you have a red star, please tear off this side and drop it to the ground, this friend is no longer a part of your life” (Pierce, n.d.). Participants who were given a blue star were told that coming out to their friend, “your friend has no problem with it. They have suspected it for some time now and thank you for being honest with them. Luckily, they act no different toward you and accept you for who you are” (Pierce, n.d.).

Participants completed the simulation and responded to a series of discussion questions including: (a) “What did you feel as you went through this activity?”; (b) “Were you surprised by anything you heard or felt during the activity?”; (c) “Did any of these stories resonate with you as a coming out process?”; (d) “Does this change how you view the coming out process?”; and (e) “What new insights do you have regarding coming out?” Participants’ discussion focused on the reality of the coming out process.
and the potential struggles of those individuals who identify as lesbian and gay face when they disclose a sexual minority identity.

Participants were given a worksheet with possible steps to take when supporting a friend, sister, or brother who comes out as lesbian or gay (Blumenfeld, 1992; GLSEN, 2013). Participants took turns reading each of the nine suggested steps which included:

(a) offer support but don’t assume your friend needs any help; (b) be a role model of acceptance; (c) appreciate the friend’s courage; (d) listen, listen, listen; (e) assure and respect confidentiality; (f) ask questions that demonstrate understanding, acceptance, and compassion; (g) remember that the personal has not changed; (h) challenge traditional norms; and (i) seek out knowledge and be a resource (Blumenfeld, 1992; GLSEN, 2013). A brief question and answer period followed after the steps to take when supporting a friend, brother, or sister who comes out as lesbian or gay.

Lastly, participants identified an action plan related to using the information learned in the workshop. Participants shared in a large group the two steps they planned to take as a result of the training. At the end of the training, participants were thanked for their participation and completed the post-test surveys.

Procedures

Recruitment. To recruit participants, scripted e-mail invitations were sent out to all fraternity and sorority presidents at a small, private liberal-arts college in the southern United States (See Appendix J). These presidents were told that self-identified leaders of their organizations could participate in a study of the effectiveness of one of three diversity leadership trainings. They were told that these trainings would teach their members how to communicate effectively and work with diverse populations. They were
also told that participants of the training would learn how, as Greek leaders, they could transform their organization through engaging in meaningful community activities. The presidents were also informed that participation in these trainings was voluntary and that participants could withdraw from the study at any point in time during the training. Interested presidents passed along the training information and determined fraternity or sorority member interest in participating in the training. Six Greek organizations (three fraternities and three sororities) consented to participate in the training. The trainings were organized by organization and each organization signed up for a training time with me. To determine the treatment for each organization, all fraternity and sorority names were placed in a random drawing to determine assignment to treatment group. This process ensured randomization of participant groups to treatment groups and resulted in one fraternity and one sorority assigned to each treatment group by design (empathic joy intervention, values clarification intervention and anti-heterosexism intervention).

Two weeks before the intervention, information was sent to the participating organizations about the time and location of the study. The organizations assigned to the empathic joy intervention group, the values clarification intervention group, and the anti-heterosexism intervention group were given a date, location, and time for the workshop.

**Informed consent.** After participants in each group arrived to their assigned location where the study was held, they were provided with an informed consent form. The informed consent form detailed the purpose of the study and included all portions of research ethics in accordance with the American Psychological Association (APA) guidelines for conducting research with human subjects and the Office of Research Integrity at both the host institution as well as the institution where the data were
collected. Participants were given information about the study including why they were invited to take part in the research, the study purpose, the location and duration of the study, what they would be asked to do in the study, the possible risks and benefits, information about the study being voluntary, and information about incentives for participating in the study. Participants were told that their responses to surveys and their participation in the study was confidential and were also told that their identifying information would not be linked to their survey responses in any way. Participants were given the opportunity to ask any questions regarding the study, study procedures, or the informed consent form before agreeing to participate. Once they agreed to participate by signing the informed consent, participants completed the demographic questionnaire and a hard copy of the pre-intervention surveys (see Appendices E-J).

**Workshop procedure.** I facilitated all workshops. Participants in the empathic joy intervention group engaged in a workshop focused on effective leadership aimed at cultivating empathic joy for lesbian and gay individuals. Participants in the values clarification intervention group engaged in the workshop focused on effective leadership aimed at cultivating relationships with diverse groups of people. Participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group engaged in a workshop focused on reducing prejudice and discrimination against lesbian and gay individuals while increasing awareness of lesbian and gay issues. At the end of each of the three workshops, participants completed a hard copy of the post-intervention assessments and were thanked for their time before being dismissed.
Table 3.1 Participant Demographics across Groups (N = 106)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Empathic Joy Intervention</th>
<th>Values Clarification Intervention</th>
<th>Anti-Heterosexism Intervention</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>n = 51 (48.1%)</td>
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<td>Sex</td>
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<td>82%</td>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>37.2%</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>60.8%</td>
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Table 3.2 Participant Demographics across Groups Continued (N = 106)

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<th>Anti-Heterosexism</th>
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<td>Intervention</td>
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<td>Intervention</td>
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<td>Anti-Heterosexism</td>
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<td>Intervention</td>
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<td>n = 51 (48.1%)</td>
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Table 3.4 Participant Demographics across Groups Continued \((N = 106)\)

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<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Empathic Joy Intervention</th>
<th>Values Clarification Intervention</th>
<th>Anti-Heterosexism Intervention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participants</td>
<td>(n = 29) ((27.4%))</td>
<td>(n = 51) ((48.1%))</td>
<td>(n = 26) ((24.5%))</td>
</tr>
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<td>Leadership Experience</td>
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<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
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<td>0%</td>
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### Table 3.5 Descriptive Statistics

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<td>1-7</td>
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Chapter Four: Results

I explored the effect of the empathic joy intervention, values clarification intervention, and the anti-heterosexism intervention in reducing negative attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals, cultivating positive allophilia attitudes for lesbian and gay individuals, cultivating lesbian and gay affirming social justice, and cultivating attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors. I used an experimental design to analyze significant differences in outcomes for the two intervention groups and the TAU group.

Preliminary Checks

Power analysis. Power is assessed to determine if statistical significance is detectable in the data (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). In this study, Soper’s (2015) statistical sample size calculator was used to determine the necessary sample size needed per group (two treatment interventions and a control TAU group) for the desired effect size. Using a 0.80 power level, a .05 Type 1 error rate, and anticipating a medium effective size, \( f^2 = .50 \) (Serdahely & Ziemba, 1984), the statistical power analysis indicated that a sample size of 51 participants per group was needed (Soper, 2015). After screening the data, the empathic joy intervention group had 29 participants, the values clarification intervention group had 51 participants, and the anti-heterosexism treatment-as-usual control group had 26 participants. The empathic joy intervention group and the anti-heterosexism TAU control group sample sizes did not meet the required 51 minimum recommendation, which may have impacted the ability to detect significant differences between groups. These problematic small sample sizes will be discussed in the Discussion section.
Test of assumptions. Prior to testing the hypotheses, the data were cleaned and the normality assumptions were examined. The data were first screened for univariate outliers. The data were converted to standardized z-scores. As suggested by Tabachnick and Fidell (2007), six cases were identified as univariate outliers with z-scores > +/- 3.29 ($p < .01$), and were removed from the data set. Additionally, 12 cases were removed because of random responding. After these univariate outliers were deleted, a check for multivariate outliers was completed using Mahalanobis Distance. No multivariate outliers were detected.

Next, skewness and kurtosis statistics were explored for each scale to assess for normality of the distribution. Z-scores of all dependent variables were calculated to assess for normality of the distribution (Laerd, 2013). All z-scores fell within ±2.58, indicating normal distribution (Laerd, 2013), with the exception of the post-intervention ASL Affection subscale, which was negatively skewed.

Pre ATLG scale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.493 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -1.015 (standard error = 0.465). Post ATLG scale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.492 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.953 (standard error = 0.465). Pre MHS scale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.109 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.983 (standard error = 0.465). Post MHS scale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.169 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of –1.081 (standard error = 0.465).

Pre ASL Affection subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.286 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.199 (standard error = 0.465). Post ASL
Affection subscale scores were not normally distributed with a skewness of -0.617 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.006 (standard error = 0.465). Post ASL Affection subscale scores were negatively skewed. Pre ASL Comfort subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.120 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.467 (standard error = 0.465). Post ASL Comfort subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.536 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.058 (standard error = 0.465). Pre ASL Kinship subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.341 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.165 (standard error = 0.465). Post ASL Kinship subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.159 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.255 (standard error = 0.465). Pre ASL Engagement subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.189 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of 0.054 (standard error = 0.465). Post ASL Engagement subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.289 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.756 (standard error = 0.465). Pre ASL Enthusiasm subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.039 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of 0.536 (standard error = 0.465). Post ASL Enthusiasm subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.346 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.126 (standard error = 0.465). Pre ASL composite scale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.103 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.158 (standard error = 0.465). Post ASL composite scale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.084 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.623 (standard error = 0.465).
Pre LGSJS Self Efficacy subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.075 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.265 (standard error = 0.465). Post LGSJS Self Efficacy subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.288 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.365 (standard error = 0.465). Pre LGSJS Attitudes subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.279 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -1.066 (standard error = 0.465). Post LGSJS Self Efficacy subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.394 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -1.154 (standard error = 0.465). Pre LGSJS Actions subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.569 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.525 (standard error = 0.465). Post LGSJS Actions subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.324 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.795 (standard error = 0.465). Pre LGSJS Awareness subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.155 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.953 (standard error = 0.465). Post LGSJS Awareness subscale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.404 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.500 (standard error = 0.465). Pre LGSJS composite scale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.226 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.407 (standard error = 0.465). Post LGSJS composite scale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of 0.076 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.786 (standard error = 0.465).

Pre ATSJ scale scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.395 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of 0.295 (standard error = 0.465). Post ATSJ scale
scores were normally distributed with a skewness of -0.235 (standard error = 0.235) and kurtosis of -0.613 (standard error = 0.465).

**Preliminary Analyses**

**Demographic checks.** Demographic checks were completed to assess for differences between participants in the empathic joy intervention, the values clarification intervention, and the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention. Preliminary frequency distributions, Chi-square analyses, and an analysis of variance (ANOVA) were used to check for significance differences in participant groups that would need to be controlled for during the primary analyses.

Chi-square analyses were used to determine group differences on the nominal variables. The analyses revealed no statistically significant group differences ($p > .05$) in the distribution of participants by sex, race, sexual orientation, regional area of hometown, religiosity, or political affiliation. One-way ANOVAs demonstrated that no statistically significant differences in age ($p > .05$) existed between the empathic joy group ($M = 18.59, SD = 0.628$), the values clarification group ($M = 18.65, SD = 0.522$), or the anti-heterosexism treatment-as-usual group ($M = 18.64, SD = 0.757$). Additionally, no statistically significant differences in year in school ($p > .05$) existed between the empathic joy group ($M = 1.14, SD = 0.351$), the values clarification group ($M = 1.18, SD = 0.438$), or the anti-heterosexism treatment-as-usual group ($M = 1.16, SD = 0.421$).

**Initial attitude and social justice competency checks.** In addition to performing checks on participants’ demographics, one-way ANOVAs were conducted on attitude and social justice competency variables to test for significant differences between groups
before the interventions were conducted. In the one-way ANOVAs, the dependent variables were attitudes (ATLG, MHS, five ASL subscales and composite scale; ATSJS), and social justice competency (four LGSJS subscales and composite scale); the independent variable was the treatment group. The one-way ANOVAs revealed no significant differences ($p > .05$) between treatment groups on the pre-test dependent variables.

Table 4.1 (see page 90) displays the pre-test mean scores for negative and positive attitudes, lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency, and attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors. Pre-test scores on the ATL-G-R and the MHS suggested that participants possessed low prejudiced attitudes toward sexual minorities at the beginning of the study. These findings suggest that participants had fairly tolerant attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals when they entered the study. Pre-test scores of the Allophilia Scale suggested that participants possessed moderately positive attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals. Descriptive statistics also suggested that participants possessed moderately high lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy, moderate lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes, low lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions, and moderately high lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness, as measured by the LGSJS. Pre-test scores also suggested that participants possessed moderately positive attitudes toward social justice (ATSJS).

**Correlations.** Table 4.2 (see page 91) presents the correlations among the dependent variables for both pre and post-tests. Bivariate correlations show that the dependent variables were significantly correlated with each other in the expected directions.
**Data Analytic Plan**

Given the study design, multiple Two-Factor Mixed Design Repeated Measures Analysis of Variance (ANOVAs) were used. Repeated measures ANOVAs were used for between-subject and within-subject effects to test group differences on negative attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals (ATLG-R & MHS), positive attitudes toward lesbian and gay individuals (AS-A, AS-C, AS-K, AS-ENG, AS-ENT, AS-T), lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency (LGSJ-SE, LGSJ-AT, LGSJ-AC, LGSJ-AW, LGSJ-T), and attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors (ATSJS). Repeated measures ANOVAs were used because participants were tested on the outcome variables over two time points (pre-intervention and post-intervention) in three treatment groups: the empathic joy intervention group, the values clarification intervention group, and the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group. The Two-Factor Mixed Design had one within-subjects factor and one between-subjects factor. The within-subjects factor was over time (pre-intervention and post-intervention). The between-subjects factor was the intervention (empathic joy intervention group, values clarification intervention group, or anti-heterosexism intervention group). The general linear model (GLM) repeated measures function of SPSS version 21 was used to perform the analyses. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests. All results are displayed in Tables 4.3 and 4.4 (see pages 92-93).

**Hypothesis One: Negative Attitude Differences Among All Groups**

Regarding negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was also homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of
covariance matrices ($p = .279$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was no statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men as measured by the ATLG, $F(2, 103) = 0.110, p = .896$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.002$. With respect to the main effect of time, there was not a statistically significant difference in negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men as measured by the ATLG at the different time points, $F(1, 103) = 0.431, p = .513$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.004$. With respect to the main effect of group, there was not a statistically significant difference in negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men as measured by the ATLG between intervention groups, $F(2, 103) = 0.151, p = .860$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.003$. All three interventions had small effects on the negative attitudes outcome variable.

With respect to the MHS, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). Homogeneity of covariances was not found, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .000$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was a statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men as measured by the MHS, $F(2, 103) = 3.167, p = .046$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.058$.

There was not a statistically significant effect of time on negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men for the empathic joy intervention group, $F(1,28) = 2.109, p = .079$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.070$. There was also not a statistically significant effect of time on negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men for the values clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = .159, p = .346$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.003$. For both the empathic joy and values
clarification intervention groups, there was a small effect of the intervention on the negative attitude outcome variable. There was, however, a statistically significant effect of time on negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 24) = 3.069, p = .046, \text{partial } \eta^2 = 0.109$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men were significantly reduced at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.269, SE = 0.154, p = .046$). For the anti-heterosexism intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the negative attitude outcome variable.

**Hypotheses Two and Three: Positive Allophilia Attitude Differences Among All Groups**

With respect to positive allophilia attitudes, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was also homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .799$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was a statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men $F(2, 103) = 3.213, p = .044, \text{partial } \eta^2 = 0.059$.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 37.374, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.572$. For the empathic joy intervention group, positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men were significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 8.103, SE = 1.326, p = .000$). For the empathic joy intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the positive attitudes outcome variable.
There was also a statistically significant effect of time on positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men for the values clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = 12.542, p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.201$. For the values clarification intervention group, positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men were significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 4.118, SE = 1.163, p = .001$). For the values clarification intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the positive attitudes outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 27.159, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.521$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men were significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 7.846, SE = 1.506, p = .000$). For the anti-heterosexism intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the positive attitudes outcome variable.

**Affection.** With regard to the positive attitudes affection subscale, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was also homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .337$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was no statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on affection toward lesbians and gay men $F(2,103) = 2.242, p = .111$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.042$. The main effect of time showed a statistically significant difference in affection toward lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention $F(1, 103) = 19.136, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.157$. 
Specifically, affection toward lesbians and gay men improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.217$, $SE = 0.050$, $p = .000$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on affection toward lesbians and gay men for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 8.162$, $p = .008$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.226$. For the empathic joy intervention group, affection toward lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.207$, $SE = 0.072$, $p = .008$). For this intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the affection outcome variable.

There was not a statistically significant effect of time on affection toward lesbians and gay men for the values-clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = 1.814$, $p = .184$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.035$. For the values-clarification intervention group, affection toward lesbians and gay men was not significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.098$, $SE = 0.073$, $p = .184$). For this intervention group, there was a small effect of the intervention on the affection outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on affection toward lesbians and gay men for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 11.313$, $p = .002$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.312$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, affection toward lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.346$, $SE = 0.103$, $p = .002$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the affection outcome variable.

**Comfort.** With regard to the positive attitudes comfort subscale, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was also homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of
covariance matrices ($p = .937$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was no statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on comfort with lesbians and gay men

$F(2,103) = 2.537, p = .084$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.047$. The main effect of time showed a significant difference in comfort with lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention $F(1, 103) = 20.00, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.163$. Specifically, comfort with lesbians and gay men improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.312$, $SE = 0.070$, $p = .000$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on comfort with lesbians and gay men for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 10.489, p = .003$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.273$. For the empathic joy intervention group, comfort with lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.402$, $SE = 0.124$, $p = .003$). For the intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the comfort outcome variable.

There was not a statistically significant effect of time on comfort with lesbians and gay men for the values-clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = 1.155, p = .288$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.023$. For the values-clarification intervention group, comfort with lesbians and gay men was not significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.111$, $SE = 0.103$, $p = .288$). For the intervention group, there was a small effect of the intervention on the comfort outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on comfort with lesbians and gay men for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 12.909, p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.341$. For the anti-heterosexism treatment-as-usual intervention group,
comfort with lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.423, SE = 0.118, p = .001$). For the intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the comfort outcome variable.

**Kinship.** With regard to the positive attitudes kinship subscale, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was also homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .506$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was no statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on kinship with lesbians and gay men $F(2, 103) = 1.071, p = .347$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.020$. The main effect of time showed a statistically significant difference in kinship with lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention $F(1, 103) = 43.154, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.295$. Specifically, kinship with lesbians and gay men improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.493, SE = 0.075, p = .000$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on kinship with lesbians and gay men for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 16.302, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.368$. For the empathic joy intervention group, kinship with lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.563, SE = 0.139, p = .000$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the kinship outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on kinship with lesbians and gay men for the values-clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = 9.763, p = .003$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.163$. For the values-clarification intervention group, kinship with lesbians and gay
men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.353$, $SE = 0.113$, $p = .003$). For this intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the kinship outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on kinship with lesbians and gay men for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 25.314$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.503$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, kinship with lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.564$, $SE = 0.112$, $p = .000$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the kinship outcome variable.

**Engagement.** With regard to the positive attitudes engagement subscale, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was also homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .904$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was no statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on engagement with lesbians and gay men $F(2,103) = 2.373$, $p = .098$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.044$. The main effect of time showed a statistically significant difference in engagement with lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention $F(1, 103) = 58.960$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.364$. Specifically, engagement with lesbians and gay men improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.464$, $SE = 0.060$, $p = .000$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on engagement with lesbians and gay men for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 28.667$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.506$. For the empathic joy intervention group, engagement with lesbians and gay
men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention \((M = 0.603, SE = 0.113, p = .000)\). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the engagement outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on engagement with lesbians and gay men for the values-clarification intervention group \(F(1, 50) = 13.645, p = .001\), partial \(\eta^2 = 0.214\). For the values-clarification intervention group, engagement with lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention \((M = 0.309, SE = 0.084, p = .001)\). For this intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the engagement outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on engagement with lesbians and gay men for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group \(F(1, 25) = 17.695, p = .000\), partial \(\eta^2 = 0.414\). For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, engagement with lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention \((M = 0.481, SE = 0.114, p = .000)\). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the engagement outcome variable.

**Enthusiasm.** With regard to the positive attitudes enthusiasm subscale, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance \((p > .05)\). There was also homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices \((p = .473)\). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant \((p > .05)\). There was no statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on enthusiasm toward lesbians and gay men \(F(2,103) = 1.512, p = .225\), partial \(\eta^2 = 0.029\). The main effect of time showed a statistically significant difference in enthusiasm toward lesbians and gay men from pre-
intervention to post-intervention $F(1, 103) = 48.727, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.321$.

Specifically, engagement with lesbians and gay men improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.516, SE = 0.074, p = .000$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on enthusiasm toward lesbians and gay men for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 19.249, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.407$. For the empathic joy intervention group, enthusiasm toward lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.655, SE = 0.149, p = .000$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the enthusiasm outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on enthusiasm toward lesbians and gay men for the values-clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = 12.176, p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.196$. For the values-clarification intervention group, enthusiasm toward lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.366, SE = 0.105, p = .001$). For this intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the enthusiasm outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on enthusiasm toward lesbians and gay men for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 21.171, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.459$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, enthusiasm toward lesbians and gay men was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.526, SE = 0.114, p = .000$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the enthusiasm outcome variable.
Hypothesis Four: Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Competency

Differences Among All Groups

Consistent with previous research (Fingerhut, 2011; Pittinsky & Montoya, 2009; Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011a), I hypothesized that participants in the empathic joy intervention group, the values clarification intervention group, and the anti-heterosexism intervention group would demonstrate significant increases in lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency from pre-intervention to post-intervention.

Regarding lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was not homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .001$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was a statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice $F(2, 103) = 5.678, p = .005$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.099$. The main effect of time showed a statistically significant difference in lesbian and gay affirming social justice from pre-intervention to post-intervention $F(1, 103) = 39.376, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.227$. Specifically, lesbian and gay affirming social justice was significantly improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 7.907, SE = 1.260, p = .000$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 17.485, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.384$. For the empathic joy intervention group, lesbian and gay affirming social justice was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M =$
10.00, \( SE = 2.391, p = .000 \)). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency outcome variable.

There was not a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice for the values-clarification intervention group \( F(1, 50) = 1.603, p = .211, \) partial \( \eta^2 = 0.031 \). For the values-clarification intervention group, lesbian and gay affirming social justice was not significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention (\( M = 2.490, SE = 1.967, p = .211 \)). For this intervention group, there was a small effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group \( F(1, 25) = 58.787, p = .000, \) partial \( \eta^2 = 0.702 \). For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, lesbian and gay affirming social justice was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention (\( M = 11.231, SE = 1.465, p = .000 \)). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency outcome variable.

**Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Self-Efficacy.** With regard to the lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy subscale, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance (\( p > .05 \)). There was not homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices (\( p = .014 \)). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant (\( p > .05 \)). There was no statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-
efficacy $F(2,103) = 2.869, p = .061$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.053$. The main effect of time showed a statistically significant difference in lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy from pre-intervention to post-intervention $F(1, 103) = 12.763, p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .110$. Specifically, lesbian and gay social just self-efficacy was significantly improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.323$, $SE = 0.090$, $p = .001$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay social justice self-efficacy for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 4.145, p = .026$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.129$. For the empathic joy intervention group, lesbian and gay social just self-efficacy was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.431$, $SE = 0.212$, $p = .051$). For this intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy outcome variable.

There was not a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay social just self-efficacy for the values-clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = .151, p = .350$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.003$. For the values-clarification intervention group, lesbian and gay social just self-efficacy was not significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.047$, $SE = 0.120$, $p = .699$). For this intervention group, there was a small effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay social just self-efficacy for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 17.805, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.416$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, lesbian and gay social just self-efficacy was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to
pre-intervention ($M = 0.490, SE = 0.116, p = .000$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy outcome variable.

**Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Attitudes.** With regard to lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .570$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was not a statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes $F(2,103) = 0.671, p = .513$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.013$. The main effect of time showed no statistically significant difference in lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes from pre-intervention to post-intervention $F(1, 103) = 0.571, p = .452$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.006$. Specifically, lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes were not significantly improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.046, SE = 0.062, p = .452$).

There was not a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 1.716, p = .201$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.058$. For the empathic joy intervention group, lesbian and gay social just attitudes were not significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.118, SE = 0.090, p = .201$). For this intervention group, there was a small effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes outcome variable.
There was not a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes for the values-clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = 0.169, p = .683$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.003$. For the values-clarification intervention group, lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes were not significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.039, SE = 0.095, p = .683$). For this intervention group, there was a small effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes outcome variable.

There was not a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 0.295, p = .592$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.012$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes were not significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.060, SE = 0.111, p = .592$). For this intervention group, there was a small effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes outcome variable.

**Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Actions.** With regard to the lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions subscale, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .374$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was no statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions $F(2,103) = 1.182, p = .311$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.022$. The main effect of time showed a statistically significant difference in lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions from pre-
intervention to post-intervention $F(1,103) = 32.856$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.242$.

Specifically, lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions were significantly improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.499$, $SE = 0.087$, $p = .000$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay social just actions for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 11.415$, $p = .002$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.290$. For the empathic joy intervention group, lesbian and gay social just actions were significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.638$, $SE = 0.189$, $p = .002$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay social just actions for the values-clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = 8.750$, $p = .005$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.149$. For the values-clarification intervention group, lesbian and gay social just actions were significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.340$, $SE = 0.115$, $p = .005$). For this intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 13.180$, $p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.345$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions were significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.519$, $SE = 0.143$, $p = .001$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions outcome variable.
Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Awareness. With regard to the lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness subscale, there was homogeneity of variances, as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance ($p > .05$). There was homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .229$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was a statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness $F(2,103) = 5.157$, $p = .007$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.091$. The main effect of time showed a statistically significant difference in lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness from pre-intervention to post-intervention $F(1, 103) = 19.772$, $p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.161$. Specifically, lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness was significantly improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.287$, $SE = 0.064$, $p = .000$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 4.168$, $p = .026$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.130$. For the empathic joy intervention group, lesbian and gay social justice awareness was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.271$, $SE = 0.133$, $p = .051$). For this intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness outcome variable.

There was not a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness for the values-clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = 0.300$, $p = .293$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.006$. For the values-clarification intervention group, lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness was not significantly improved at post-
intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.050, SE = 0.092, p = .586$). For this intervention group, there was a small effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 32.908, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.568$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group, lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness was significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.538, SE = 0.094, p = .000$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness outcome variable.

**Attitudes Toward Social Justice Differences Among All Groups**

As part of the exploration of this study, I sought to explore which of the three interventions effectively cultivated significant changes in attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors from pre-intervention to post-intervention in a sample of university fraternity and sorority leaders.

No homogeneity of variances was found using Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance for the pre-intervention scores ($p = .034$). There was homogeneity of variances as assessed by Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance post-intervention ($p > .05$). There was homogeneity of covariances, as assessed by Box’s test of equality of covariance matrices ($p = .454$). The assumption of sphericity was met as Mauchly’s Test of Sphericity was not significant ($p > .05$). There was no statistically significant interaction between the intervention and time on attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors as measured by the ATSJS, $F(2, 103) = 1.644, p = .198$, partial $\eta^2 =$
Regarding the main effect of time, there was a statistically significant difference in attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors as measured by the ATSJS at the different time points, $F(1, 103) = 42.103, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.290$. Specifically, attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors were significantly improved from pre-intervention to post-intervention ($M = 0.404, SE = 0.062, p = .000$).

There was a statistically significant effect of time on attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors for the empathic joy intervention group $F(1, 28) = 20.769, p = .000$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.426$. For the empathic joy intervention group, attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors were significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.530, SE = 0.116, p = .000$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors outcome variable.

There was also a statistically significant effect of time on attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors for the values-clarification intervention group $F(1, 50) = 9.807, p = .003$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.164$. For the values-clarification intervention group, attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors were significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.275, SE = 0.088, p = .003$). For this intervention group, there was a medium effect of the intervention on the attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors outcome variable.

There was a statistically significant effect of time on attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors for the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention group $F(1, 25) = 13.031, p = .001$, partial $\eta^2 = 0.343$. For the anti-heterosexism TAU
intervention group, attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors were significantly improved at post-intervention compared to pre-intervention ($M = 0.409, SE = 0.113, p = .001$). For this intervention group, there was a large effect of the intervention on the attitudes toward social justice and social justice ally behaviors outcome variable.
Table 4.1 Summary of Means by Treatment Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Scale Range</th>
<th>Empathic Joy Intervention Group</th>
<th>Values Clarification Intervention Group</th>
<th>Anti-Heterosexism Intervention Group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-Intervention</td>
<td>Post-Intervention</td>
<td>Pre-Intervention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATLG-R MHS</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>1.81 (0.703)</td>
<td>1.75 (0.603)</td>
<td>1.75 (0.722)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS-A</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>2.35 (0.623)</td>
<td>2.26 (0.639)</td>
<td>2.07 (0.762)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS-C</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>3.98 (0.654)</td>
<td>4.19 (0.752)</td>
<td>4.186 (0.707)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS-K</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>3.61 (0.850)</td>
<td>4.01 (0.753)</td>
<td>3.902 (0.828)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS-ENG</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>2.529 (0.784)</td>
<td>3.092 (0.890)</td>
<td>2.693 (0.993)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS-ENT</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>3.207 (0.821)</td>
<td>3.810 (0.834)</td>
<td>3.451 (0.888)</td>
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<tr>
<td>AS-T</td>
<td>17-119</td>
<td>3.126 (0.875)</td>
<td>3.782 (0.803)</td>
<td>3.386 (0.852)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGSJ-SE</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>4.362 (1.123)</td>
<td>4.793 (0.954)</td>
<td>4.760 (1.244)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGSJ-AT</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>5.636 (1.010)</td>
<td>5.754 (1.013)</td>
<td>5.678 (1.087)</td>
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<tr>
<td>LGSJ-AC</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>2.121 (0.961)</td>
<td>2.759 (1.189)</td>
<td>2.412 (1.189)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGSJ-AW</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>5.069 (0.757)</td>
<td>5.340 (0.873)</td>
<td>5.373 (0.992)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATSJS</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>4.733 (0.951)</td>
<td>5.263 (1.015)</td>
<td>4.968 (0.938)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. ATLG-R (Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Revised Scale); MHS (Modern Homonegativity Scale); AS-A (The Allophilia Scale, Affection Subscale); AS-C (The Allophilia Scale, Comfort Subscale); AS-K (The Allophilia Scale, Kinship Subscale); AS-ENG (The Allophilia Scale, Engagement Subscale); AS-ENT (The Allophilia Scale, Enthusiasm Subscale); AS-T (The Allophilia Scale, Total Composite Scale); LGSJ-SE (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Self Efficacy Subscale); LGSJ-AT (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Attitudes Subscale); LGSJ-AC (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Actions Subscale); LGSJ-AW (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Awareness Subscale); LGSJ-T (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice, Total Composite Scale); ATSJS (The Attitudes Toward Social Justice Scale).
Table 4.2 Correlations among Dependent Variables

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
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<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
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<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
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<td>ATLG-R</td>
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<td>-0.655</td>
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<td>-0.158</td>
<td>-0.570</td>
<td>-0.608</td>
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<tr>
<td>MHS</td>
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<td>0.716</td>
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<td>0.622</td>
<td>0.674</td>
<td>0.744</td>
<td>0.621</td>
<td>0.723</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.513</td>
<td>0.731</td>
<td>0.722</td>
<td>0.873</td>
<td>0.652</td>
<td>0.624</td>
<td>0.268</td>
<td>0.572</td>
<td>0.717</td>
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<tr>
<td>AS-C</td>
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<td>0.650</td>
<td>0.871</td>
<td>0.623</td>
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<td>0.391</td>
<td>0.554</td>
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<td>AS-K</td>
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<td>0.621</td>
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<td>0.474</td>
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<td>0.403</td>
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<td>AS-EN</td>
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<td>-0.528</td>
<td>-0.769</td>
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<td>-0.633</td>
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<td>AS-T</td>
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<td>-0.906</td>
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<td>LGJS-SE</td>
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<td>-0.616</td>
<td>-0.714</td>
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<td>LGJS-AC</td>
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<td>-0.388</td>
<td>-0.236</td>
<td>-0.301</td>
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<td>LGJS-AW</td>
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<td>-0.482</td>
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<td>LGJS-T</td>
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<td>-0.587</td>
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<td>-0.614</td>
<td>-0.728</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATJS</td>
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<td>-0.625</td>
<td>-0.535</td>
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<td>-0.650</td>
<td>-0.504</td>
<td>-0.637</td>
<td>-0.773</td>
<td>-0.555</td>
<td>-0.379</td>
<td>-0.649</td>
<td>-0.778</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. *p < .05; **p < .001. Pre-test scores are above diagonal and post-test scores are below diagonal. ATLG-R = Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Revised Scale; MHS = Modern Homonegativity Scale; AS-C = The Allophilia Scale, Comfort Subscale; AS-K = The Allophilia Scale, Kinship Subscale; AS-ENG = The Allophilia Scale, Engagement Subscale; AS-ENT = The Allophilia Scale, Enthusiasm Subscale; AS-T = The Allophilia Scale, Total Composite Scale; LGJS-SE (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Self Efficacy Subscale); LGJS-AT (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Attitude Subscale); LGJS-AC (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Actions Subscale); LGJS-AW (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Awareness Subscale); LGJS-T (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice, Total Composite Scale); ATJS (The Attitudes Toward Social Justice Scale).
Table 4.3 Summary of Results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treatment</th>
<th>Negative Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men</th>
<th>Positive Attitudes toward Lesbians and Gay Men (AS)</th>
<th>Lesbian and Gay Social Justice Behaviors (LGSJ)</th>
<th>Attitudes Toward Social Justice (ATSJS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ATLGR</td>
<td>MHS</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empathic Joy Intervention</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values Clarification Intervention</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Heterosexism Intervention</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* Y (Yes). ATLGR (Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Revised Scale); MHS (Modern Homonegativity Scale); AS-A (The Allophilia Scale, Affection Subscale); AS-C (The Allophilia Scale, Comfort Subscale); AS-K (The Allophilia Scale, Kinship Subscale); AS-ENG (The Allophilia Scale, Engagement Subscale); AS-ENT (The Allophilia Scale, Enthusiasm Subscale); AS-T (The Allophilia Scale, Total Composite Scale); LGSJ-SE (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Self Efficacy Subscale); LGSJ-AT (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Attitudes Subscale); LGSJ-AC (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Actions Subscale); LGSJ-AW (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Awareness Subscale); LGSJ-T (The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice, Total Composite Scale); ATSJS (The Attitudes Toward Social Justice Scale).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>Empathic Joy Intervention Group</th>
<th>Values Clarification Intervention Group</th>
<th>Anti-Heterosexism Intervention Group</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$F$ (df1,29)</td>
<td>$\eta^2$</td>
<td>$p$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Post</td>
<td>0.342</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>.563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATLG-R</td>
<td>2.109</td>
<td>0.070</td>
<td>.079$^*$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHS</td>
<td>8.162</td>
<td>0.226</td>
<td>.008$^*$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Post</td>
<td>10.489</td>
<td>0.273</td>
<td>.003$^*$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS-C</td>
<td>16.302</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-Post</td>
<td>28.667</td>
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<td>AS-ENG</td>
<td>19.249</td>
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<td>Pre-Post</td>
<td>37.374</td>
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<td>Pre-Post</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LGSJ-T</td>
<td>20.769</td>
<td>0.426</td>
<td>.000$^{**}$</td>
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</table>

**Note:** *p<.05; **p<.001; $^*$ denotes one tailed test. ATLG-R = Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Revised Scale; MHS = Modern Homonegativity Scale; AS-A = The Allophilia Scale, Affection Subscale; AS-C = The Allophilia Scale, Comfort Subscale; AS-K = The Allophilia Scale, Kinship Subscale; AS-ENG = The Allophilia Scale, Engagement Subscale; AS-ENT = The Allophilia Scale, Enthusiasm Subscale; AS-T = The Allophilia Scale, Total Composite Scale; LGSJ-SE = The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Self Efficacy Subscale; LGSJ-AT = The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Attitudes Subscale; LGSJ-AC = The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Actions Subscale; LGSJ-AW = The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Awareness Subscale; LGSJ-T = The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Scale, Total Composite Scale; ATSJS = The Attitudes Toward Social Justice Scale.
Chapter Five: Discussion

According to the Pew Research Center (2015), the millennial generation is significantly more accepting (73%) of same-sex marriage when compared to Generation X (59%), the Baby Boomer generation (45%), or the Silent generation (39%). While polls show that young adults are overall more accepting of sexual minority individuals (e.g., Pew Research Center, 2013, 2015) the college campus environment can be and often still is a hostile climate for lesbian and gay college students (Rankin et al., 2010). Greek organizations on college campuses often perpetuate a hostile and unaccepting climate for lesbian and gay students that is harmful to the success and well-being of both Greek and non-Greek lesbian and gay students on campus as well as heterosexual students within and outside of these organizations.

Given the prejudice and discrimination toward sexual minority students on college campuses documented in the literature, many researchers have attempted to answer the crucial question regarding what effectively works to reduce prejudice toward sexual minority individuals. To date, there is no firm consensus about what strategies enact long-term positive attitudinal and behavioral changes (Paluck & Green, 2009). This limitation in the current literature supports the need for continued exploration of effective strategies for enacting positive attitudinal and behavioral changes toward lesbians and gay men in heterosexual peers.

Although several prejudice reduction interventions and workshops have been conducted with college student populations (e.g., Henderson & Murdock, 2011; Hodson, Choma, & Costello, 2009; Rye & Meaney, 2009), only one group of researchers (Hussey & Bisconti, 2010) intervened to reduce prejudice toward sexual minorities with female
students belonging to two sororities. It is possible that the paucity of prejudice reduction intervention research with fraternities and sororities is due to the Greek life on college campuses being difficult, if not impossible to penetrate. The Greek system has been described as “secretive” and research on this system often focus on alcohol consumption and attendance at social engagements (DeSantis, 2007). When research is conducted with Greek organizations, often the findings are largely negative, and the organizations object to the publication of anything that may reflect negatively upon them (e.g., Rhoads, 1995).

This defensiveness was observed during implementation of the current research study. Many fraternity member participants expressed concern over how their responses would be used and how the findings would be tied to their specific fraternity chapter. Even with reassurances that their data would not in any way be linked to their name or their chapter affiliation, some participants chose not to participate or intentionally left a significant portion of the survey questions blank. As a result of this wariness, researchers face difficulties in engaging fraternities and sororities in any research or prejudice reduction efforts.

The current study is the first to test the effectiveness of three prejudice reduction interventions with sorority and fraternity college students. Given the research suggesting that college students from universities with Greek organizations hold significantly greater negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men than students attending universities without Greek organizations (Hinrich & Rosenberg, 2002), it is vitally important that students within Greek organizations are targeted for prejudice reduction efforts on college campuses.
This study used a quasi-experimental design to test the effectiveness of three interventions aimed at reducing negative prejudiced attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, increasing positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, increasing lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency, and increasing positive attitudes toward social justice. The interventions included empathic joy focused activities, values clarification activities, and a multicultural training focused on information related to lesbians and gay men. Fraternity and sorority student leaders at a small, private liberal arts college in the southern region of the United States were randomly assigned to one of these three intervention groups. Pre-intervention data and post-intervention data were collected to determine significant between-subjects and within-subjects effects.

**Summary of Primary Findings**

**Negative attitude differences among all groups.** It is important to note that participants possessed lower levels of negative prejudiced attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (ATLG-R & MHS) pre-intervention. These findings suggest that participants held fairly tolerant attitudes toward sexual minorities at the start of the intervention. These low levels of negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men observed in all treatment groups pre-intervention may account for the lack of significant change from pre-intervention to post-intervention. These findings were not consistent with previous literature that suggested fraternities and sororities are largely homophobic and heterosexist (e.g., Case, 1996; Case et al., 2005; DeSantis, 2007; Rankin et al., 2007; Windmeyer, 2005; Windmeyer & Freeman, 1998, 2001). It is possible that the recent attention to legislation promoting equality for sexual minority individuals may have
produced a societal shift where young adults are currently adopting less prejudiced views of lesbians and gay men.

The hypothesis that participants in the empathic joy, values-clarification, and anti-heterosexism intervention groups would demonstrate a significant reduction in level of prejudiced attitudes from pre-intervention to post-intervention was not supported. Participants in the empathic joy intervention group and the values clarification intervention group did not demonstrate a significant change in negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention. Participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group did demonstrate a significant reduction in negative prejudiced attitudes from pre-intervention to post-intervention.

**Positive attitude differences among all groups.** Participants possessed moderately high levels of affection toward lesbians and gay men (AS-A) pre-intervention; average levels of comfort with lesbians and gay men (S-C) pre-intervention; moderately negative attitudes toward kinship with lesbians and gay men (AS-K) pre-intervention; neutral attitudes toward engagement with lesbians and gay men (AS-ENG) pre-intervention; neutral attitudes regarding enthusiasm toward lesbians and gay men (AS-ENT) pre-intervention; and neutral levels of positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (AS-T) pre-intervention.

Participants’ pre-intervention results were surprising because they were inconsistent with previous research findings. Early studies (e.g., Case, 1996) suggest that heterosexual college students hold heterosexist and homophobic attitudes that contribute to a hostile environment for lesbian and gay college students. More recent literature (e.g., Rankin et al., 2007) suggests that heterosexual college students still demonstrate
homophobia and heterosexism through gay jokes and derogatory slurs. Participants in the current sample held fairly neutral attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, which is inconsistent with previous literature suggesting that college students hold fairly negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

The incongruence between previous findings and the findings in the present study could be explained by two important factors. First, these previous studies are fairly dated. Recent polls show that societal acceptance of sexual minorities has greatly increased over the last 10 years (Pew Research Center, 2013). Recent research also suggests that heterosexual college students are more accepting of sexual minority students (e.g., Rankin, Hesp, & Weber, 2013; Rankin et al., 2010). More updated literature is needed to further explore the current state of heterosexual college students’ attitudes toward sexual minority peers.

Additionally, many past research studies conceptualize prejudiced attitudes on a one-dimensional scale. Frequently, outcome measures used in studies of prejudice assume that prejudice functions on a unidimensional scale with negative feelings on one end and positive feelings on the other (e.g., Eller et al., 2011). As a result, many prejudice reduction studies discuss findings in the context of cultivating more positive outgroup attitudes without directly measuring changes in positive attitudes. For example, Dhont and Van Hiel (2011) discussed cultivating positive outgroup attitudes without measuring positive attitudes toward outgroup members. Very few studies have explicitly attempted to cultivate and measure changes in positive feelings and attitudes toward a stigmatized outgroup. The present study systematically studied changes in both negative and positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. These findings suggest that
participant attitudes toward lesbians and gay men were neutral at the beginning of the study in that participants held neither high levels nor low levels of positive attitudes.

The hypothesis that participants in the empathic joy intervention group and the values clarification intervention group would demonstrate a significant increase in level of positive allophilia attitudes from pre-intervention to post-intervention was supported. Participants in the empathic joy intervention group demonstrated significant positive changes in affection toward lesbians and gay men, comfort with lesbians and gay men, kinship with lesbians and gay men, engagement with lesbians and gay men, enthusiasm for lesbians and gay men, and positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention with medium to large effects of the intervention on changes in positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men.

Participants in the values clarification intervention group demonstrated significant positive changes in kinship with lesbians and gay men, engagement with lesbians and gay men, enthusiasm for lesbians and gay men, and positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men with medium effects of the intervention on changes in positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. Participants in the values clarification group did not, however, demonstrate significant positive changes in affection toward lesbians and gay men and comfort with lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention.

The hypothesis that participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group would not experience a significant increase in positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention was not supported. Participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group demonstrated significant positive changes in
affection toward lesbians and gay men, comfort with lesbians and gay men, kinship with lesbians and gay men, engagement with lesbians and gay men, enthusiasm for lesbians and gay men, and positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men from pre-intervention to post-intervention with large effects of the intervention on changes in positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. This finding is inconsistent with the two-dimensional model of us-and-them relations (Pittinsky, 2012), which posits that different psychological processes may underlie reducing negative prejudiced attitudes and cultivating positive intergroup attitudes.

These findings suggest that the empathic joy intervention and the anti-heterosexism intervention were the effective treatments in cultivating positive allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in the sample of fraternity and sorority college student leaders when compared to the values clarification intervention. The values clarification intervention was effective in cultivating positive allophilia attitudes but did not demonstrate as large of an effect of the intervention on positive attitudes from pre-intervention to post-intervention. Given the literature that suggests a rational and experiential pathway when processing new information (see Epstein, 1994), it is possible that both the empathic joy intervention and the anti-heterosexism interventions had larger effects on the positive change in allophilia attitudes toward lesbians and gay men because of the experiential components within these interventions. The empathic joy intervention utilized a positive narrative where participants experienced the positive responses to the “coming out” process. The anti-heterosexism intervention utilized a “coming out” simulation activity where participants experienced the negative responses to the coming out process. In contrast, the values clarification intervention did not utilize an
experiential component as part of the intervention. Research indicates that the experiential system can be more powerful than the rational system in producing change (Epstein, 1994), as the experiential system is the dominant system for processing information that informs behavioral responses (Guth et al., 2005). More powerful effects of the empathic joy intervention and the anti-heterosexism intervention can be explained by this phenomenon.

Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Competency differences among all groups. Regarding lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency, participants reported neutral levels of lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy (LGSJ-SE) pre-intervention; slightly positive lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes (LGSJ-AT) pre-intervention; low commitment to lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions (LGSJ-AC) pre-intervention; moderately high levels of lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness (LGSJ-AW) pre-intervention, and average levels of lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency (LGSJ-T) pre-intervention. Fraternity and sorority participants held moderately neutral attitudes toward lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency before the intervention, which suggests that they may be aware of social injustice toward lesbians and gay men but may not have felt confident or have had the self-efficacy to address these injustices either through words or actions. These findings were consistent with previous literature that suggests that college students are often not comfortable to speak up in support of lesbian and gay peers (Case et al., 2005).

The hypothesis that participants in the empathic joy intervention group, the values clarification intervention group, and the anti-heterosexism intervention group would
demonstrate significant increases in lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency from pre-intervention to post-intervention was partially supported.

The hypothesis that participants in the empathic joy intervention group would demonstrate significant increases in lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency from pre-intervention to post-intervention was partially supported. Participants in the empathic joy intervention group demonstrated significant positive changes regarding commitment to lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions, and significant positive changes in lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency. This finding was consistent with the literature suggesting that cultivating positive attitudes may also cultivate positive behavioral intentions toward lesbians and gay men (e.g., Fingerhut, 2011; Pittinsky & Montoya, 2009; Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011a). These findings suggest that participants in this intervention group may have understood that their role as leaders within their community necessitates advocacy for groups on campus who are marginalized, including lesbian and gay peers.

Participants in the empathic joy intervention group did not demonstrate significant positive changes on measures of lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy, lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes, or lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness. Participants in the empathic joy intervention group may not have demonstrated significant positive changes in lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy, attitudes, or awareness because the intervention activities were focused on the role of the participants as community leaders and less focused on the experiences of discrimination and oppression of lesbians and gay men.
The hypothesis that participants in the values clarification intervention group would demonstrate significant increases in lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency from pre-intervention to post-intervention was partially supported. Participants in the values clarification intervention group demonstrated significant positive changes regarding commitment to lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions. As the focus of this intervention was clarifying personal values related to leadership and exploring the role of a community leader, positive changes regarding commitment to lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions were expected. As in the empathic joy intervention group, many of the intervention activities in the values clarification intervention group focused on the role of the participants as community leaders. Participants may have understood that their leadership necessitates advocacy for groups on campus who are marginalized, including lesbian and gay peers.

Participants in the values clarification intervention group did not demonstrate significant positive changes on measures of lesbian and gay affirming social justice self-efficacy, lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes, lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness, or lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency. Meaningful change requires a combination of rational and experiential learning activities where affect is heightened in the experiential learning pathway (Epstein, 1994). As in Epstein’s (1994) theory, participants may not have demonstrated meaningful change because the values clarification intervention lacked experiential activities targeting the emotional learning pathway.

The hypothesis that participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group would demonstrate significant increases in lesbian and gay affirming social justice
competency from pre-intervention to post-intervention was partially supported. Participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group demonstrated significant positive changes regarding lesbian and gay affirming social justice self efficacy, commitment to lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions, lesbian and gay affirming social justice awareness, and significant positive changes in lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency. These findings were consistent with the literature on the effectiveness of anti-heterosexism interventions (e.g., Blumenfeld, 1994) on changing attitudes and behavioral intentions to support marginalized groups such as lesbians and gay men.

Participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group did not demonstrate significant positive changes on lesbian and gay affirming social justice attitudes. Participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group demonstrated slightly positive attitudes toward lesbian and gay affirming social justice before the intervention, which may account for the lack of significant change after the intervention.

**Attitudes Toward Social Justice differences among all groups.** Participants’ attitudes toward social justice (ATSJ) were neutral pre-intervention, which suggests that participants held neither positive nor negative attitudes at the start of the intervention. This finding was consistent with previous literature that suggests people from privileged groups (including heterosexual individuals) are less likely to advocate for equality and empowerment of marginalized groups when compared to individuals from oppressed groups (Goodman, 2000).

The hypothesis that participants in the empathic joy intervention group, the values clarification intervention group, and the anti-heterosexism intervention group would demonstrate significant changes in attitudes toward social justice from pre-intervention to
post-intervention was supported. Participants in all three intervention groups demonstrated significant positive changes in general attitudes toward social justice. This finding is consistent with the literature that suggests a positive association between changing attitudes and changing behavioral intentions (e.g., Fingerhut, 2011; Pittinsky & Montoya, 2009; Pittinsky, Rosenthal, & Montoya, 2011a). It is possible participants in all three trainings recognized that their role as leaders requires a commitment to social justice and to using their privilege as community leaders to advocate for marginalized groups.

**Implications for Effective Interventions**

The current study was the first to compare a positive-focused intervention with a traditional anti-heterosexism TAU intervention. Findings from this study suggest that a positive empathic joy focused intervention effectively cultivates positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, positive behavioral intentions toward lesbians and gay men through affirming social justice competency, and positive attitudes toward social justice. These findings suggest the possibility of creating effective change through targeting positive emotional pathways. The findings of the current study suggest that an empathic joy-focused intervention is an effective alternative to the traditional anti-heterosexism treatment-as-usual intervention. Both interventions utilized rational and experiential learning pathways (e.g., Epstein, 1994) to produce meaningful change but, in theory, targeted different emotional pathways. Relying on the literature that explores “ingredients” or factors that are the strongest contributors in therapeutic outcome-based research (e.g., Duncan, 2015), the current study produced a rigorous test to explore what
combination of factors effectively reduced prejudice and improved intergroup attitudes in a sample of fraternity and sorority leaders.

The current study demonstrated that using empathic joy while also clarifying values as part of prejudice reduction intervention strategies produced meaningful positive changes in positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, positive behavioral intentions through lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency, and positive attitudes toward social justice. Priming for empathic joy resulted in a positive focus on acceptance and support of marginalized outgroups which can then inform positive ally behaviors in support of that marginalized outgroup. In the present study, having fraternity and sorority college student leaders imagine the positive experience of support and validation after disclosing a sexual minority identity yielded positive attitudinal changes and behavioral support for lesbians and gay men.

Activating and re-affirming a commitment to values that are personally important as related to positive intergroup relations enhanced the connections between values, positive feelings, and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men in the sample of fraternity and sorority college student leaders. Facilitating the creation of positive narratives about stigmatized outgroups and intergroup interactions through values-affirmation exercises was an effective strategy for creating positive feelings and attitudes in addition to reducing prejudice toward lesbians and gay men.

Although both the empathic joy and the anti-heterosexism TAU interventions were effective in producing meaningful attitudinal and behavioral change, I observed different behavioral responses of the participants during these interventions. Participants in the empathic joy intervention group demonstrated significantly less defensive and
hostile reactions to the intervention when compared to the anti-heterosexism intervention group. Participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group struggled with the knowledge and facts presented to them related to the discrimination of lesbians and gay men in college fraternities and sororities. Additionally, participants in the anti-heterosexism group struggled with understanding their own privilege and demonstrated hostility and defensiveness during the intervention activities. For example, participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group joked and laughed during the “coming out stars” activity.

In contrast, participants in the empathic joy intervention group demonstrated less defensiveness and hostility in response to the intervention exercises. Participants expressed happiness and support for lesbians and gay men when engaged in the empathic joy exercise of hearing the positive reactions in response to a fictional sorority woman and fraternity man disclosing their sexual minority identities to their Greek organizations. Participants in the empathic joy intervention group appeared to demonstrate less defensiveness and feelings of personal attack when compared to participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention group.

Although no data were collected to imply causality between the interventions and these observed behavioral differences, it is important to note that there were significant differences in the responses of participants in these two intervention groups. It is possible that these differences could be a product of random chance and not be at all connected to the interventions themselves. It is also possible that these differences further support the underlying differences of interventions that cultivate positive attitudes versus the interventions that elicit difficult emotions. Future studies should directly test
these hypotheses about the role of positive and negative emotions, empathy, and social justice outcomes.

Although the values clarification intervention was effective in cultivating positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, a commitment to lesbian and gay affirming social justice actions, and attitudes toward social justice, the effect size of the intervention on these outcome variables was small to moderate when compared to the effect of the other intervention groups. As mentioned previously, the values clarification intervention primarily utilized rational learning intervention exercises without an experiential learning component. Epstein (1994) posited that both learning strategies are needed for effective change. Findings from the current study support Epstein’s (1994) theory. As the empathic joy intervention relied on the same exercises as the values-clarification intervention exercises with the addition of an empathy-inducing activity, it is likely that future prejudice reduction efforts must include an experiential learning activity targeting the emotional pathway to produce meaningful gains in prejudice reduction.

Unexpectedly, findings from this study support Blumenfeld’s (1992) research that suggests anti-heterosexism TAU interventions are effective in targeting prejudice. The anti-heterosexism intervention was effective in increasing positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, increasing positive behavioral intentions toward lesbians and gay men through affirming social justice competency, and increasing positive attitudes toward social justice. According to Epstein (1994), interventions are only effective when they target both rational and experiential learning pathways. It is likely that the anti-heterosexism intervention was effective in producing meaningful change because of the “coming out stars” intervention exercise that targeted the experiential learning pathway.
Unfortunately, without a manipulation check to explore what emotion was being triggered, it is unclear what underlying emotion participants experienced in the present study. Future studies should directly explore the role of different emotions in prejudice reduction interventions.

Given that significant changes were observed on the outcome variables for all three of the treatment groups from pre-intervention to post-intervention, one possible alternate explanation for these findings is that these changes could be the product of a demand function (e.g., Orne, 1962). Participants in all of the intervention groups were informed that they would be participating in a study to test the effectiveness of three intervention workshops at improving intergroup attitudes and relationships. As a result, participants could have changed their answers on the post-intervention surveys to comply with the goals of the intervention. Even though findings from the current study could be a product of the demand function, it is important to recognize that personal change is often at least partially a result of demand function (Riggle, Gonzalez, Rostosky, & Black, 2014). Although the goal of any prejudice reduction strategy is to produce meaningful long-term attitudinal and behavioral change, demand functions may be the first step in cultivating positive change within any ingroup.

Implications for Intervention Work With Fraternity Organizations

One of the unique challenges I observed during the implementation of the current study was the difficulty present in working with the fraternity organizations. Male participants in each of the three intervention groups struggled with the intervention exercises and appeared to operate under their own pre-established group norms. These
pre-established group norms appeared to interfere with their ability to meaningfully participate in the intervention exercises.

As an observation, many of the male participants in each of the three intervention groups struggled to participate in their respective interventions. In one group, the “pledge educator” of the fraternity escorted the male participants to the study location in a single file line. He promptly dropped the participants off and stated that he would return to pick them up in approximately two hours. Once the participants had entered the study location and their pledge educator had left, participants were quick to challenge the norms I established. For example, I arranged the chairs in smaller circles of five participants before participants arrived for the study. When these participants arrived, they immediately began to rearrange the chairs into a large circle and informed me that they would be participating as a large group. Sexism was being played out right in front of me and I felt powerless to stop the altered group dynamics.

Pharr’s (1988) Feminist Theory supports my experience and documents the relationship between patriarchy, sexism, and homophobia. According to Pharr (1988), patriarchy is defined as, “an enforced belief in male dominance and control” (p. 8). Therefore, sexism is a system stemming from patriarchy (Pharr, 1988). As participants were rearranging the chairs in the study location, they were actively initiating their male dominance and their control over me as a female facilitator.

Another group of male participants struggled to participate in the intervention activities and challenged each other when they felt one participant was becoming too vulnerable. For example, in a discussion of whether group members felt comfortable being “different” from other members in their fraternity, one participant expressed feeling
supported by his fraternity and never “judged.” Another fraternity member responded, “what are you going to do come out as gay to us now or something?” and participants responded by laughing. These participants were operating under their own group norms while performing their traditional masculine gender norms.

According to Pharr (1988), heterosexism perpetuates the belief that the world must be a heterosexual world were heterosexual identities are given ultimate power and privilege. The accusation of “coming out as gay” functioned as a way for one fraternity member to force the other fraternity member to conform to society’s view of heterosexual attraction (Pharr, 1988). This accusatory question also functioned as a way to voice betrayal of the male gender role norms and expectations. This fraternity member’s comment served as a way to perform his masculine gender role while effectively putting this gender norm on the other fraternity member. This comment also served as a way to bully this member who was starting to deviate from his masculinity back into behaviors that are acceptable and support their pre-established group norms.

As most members in Greek organizations are privileged with respect to race, class, and sexual orientation, their gender and Greek affiliation are the most salient aspects of their identities (DeSantis, 2007). As part of their privilege, fraternity members believe that being White, heterosexual, and masculine is normative, and group sameness is integral to the organization (DeSantis, 2007). Fraternity men are often held to rigid gender performances where they unconsciously confirm to rigid gender scripts (DeSantis, 2007). These gender scripts, particularly for fraternity men, are focused on hyper masculinity where strength, fearlessness, and aggressiveness are desired qualities
(Rhoads, 1996). As a result, gay men and anyone who defies these traditional gender norms are seen as not masculine and are therefore rejected (Rhoads, 1996).

As a result of these gender role norms, male participants in the current study likely entered the study feeling defensive and not open to participating, especially as intervention activities required participants to let go of these traditional gender performances and scripts. The defensiveness of these male participants suggests that these traditional gender role norms and expectations would likely not dissolve in the short span of two and a half hours. Future prejudice reduction interventions must consider these gendered performances when designing the intervention.

Additionally, past research on effective prejudice reduction strategies (e.g., Nelson & Krieger, 1997) suggests that the efficacy of prejudice reduction strategies is largely dependent on the lack of perceived difference between intervention facilitators and participants. This finding coupled with my experiences of sexism with the current study’s male participants suggests that a male facilitator who is perceived as being very similar to fraternity participants may be a necessary component of future intervention efforts in the Greek community. A male facilitator would allow for the creation of new gender scripts for participants in the intervention where an exploration of personal prejudice and male vulnerability may be more normative and accepted. Future prejudice reduction intervention efforts with fraternity members should involve a male facilitator to counteract these pre-established masculine gender role norms and scripts.

It is important to specifically target fraternity men in future prejudice reduction efforts on college campuses because of the unique masculine gender role norms and sexism perpetuated by fraternity organizations. Of note, 13 of the 18 cases that were
removed from the sample were male participants. These participant surveys were removed because their responses indicated random answering where participants drew vertical lines down the surveys or omitted answers to most of the survey questions. As a result of these unique challenges in working with college students in fraternities, it is recommended that future prejudice reduction interventions utilize a mixed gender sample to break down and eliminate pre-established group norms that interfere with participation.

**Limitations and Directions for Future Research**

Several limitations of the present study exist that should be taken into consideration when developing future research in the field of prejudice reduction interventions. To begin, sample sizes of the empathic joy intervention group \((n = 29)\) and the anti-heterosexism intervention group \((n = 26)\) resulted in low statistical power for detecting significant differences (e.g., Soper, 2015). Although the impact of the intervention on the outcome variables was powerful enough to produce statistically significant differences pre-intervention to post-intervention, a larger sample size may have provided more information about the efficacy of these two interventions. Future research studies should replicate the current study with a larger sample size to meet the minimum requirements to produce enough statistical power.

Additionally, a measure of social desirability to control for socially desirable responding may be warranted in future studies. It is possible that participants reported low levels of negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men at pre-intervention because they were responding in socially desirable ways. Similarly, it is possible that participants responded favorably to the measure of positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men to portray themselves in a more favorable light. Thus, participant responses to the pre-
intervention and post-intervention surveys may not have accurately reflected their own attitudes, feelings, and beliefs. Future research should incorporate a measure of social desirability to test and control for socially desirable responding.

Thirdly, participants in the present study were six of 16 fraternity and sorority organizations who self-selected to participate. Ten fraternity and sorority organizations did not respond to attempts to contact them. It is possible that the participants from the six organizations that did respond to the recruitment e-mail held more favorable attitudes and behavioral intentions toward lesbians and gay men because of their interest in the intervention topics. It is possible that the results of the current study could be reflective of a group of participants who were already affirming of lesbians and gay men. Furthermore, participant responses may not depict the attitudes, feelings, beliefs, and behaviors of all participants in Greek fraternities and sororities.

Fourth, the current study relied on experiential activities that elicited emotional responses from participants. Two out of the three interventions involved an experiential activity that elicited an emotional response. Absent in the current study is the presence of a manipulation check to explore what emotion was triggered through these experiential activities. Past studies targeting emotions as an intervention strategy (e.g., Batson, 1991; Batson et al., 1997) frequently use manipulation checks to determine the impact of the intervention on eliciting an emotional reaction. In these studies, ingroup participants would complete an empathy measure as a manipulation check. The empathy measure included a list of 24 adjectives (including sympathetic, compassionate, soft-hearted, warm, tender, moved) describing emotional states that assess empathy. After identifying
their emotional state, participants reported on a Likert type scale (1 = not at all, 7 = extremely) how much they experienced the emotion.

In theory, the empathic joy intervention targeted positive emotions (e.g., Pittinsky, 2012; Pittinsky & Simon, 2007) whereas the anti-heterosexism TAU intervention, like most traditional prejudice-reduction interventions, targeted self-conscious emotions including guilt and shame (e.g., Gausel & Brown, 2012). Past research suggests eliciting guilt and shame may hinder empathic feelings toward outgroups and thus may interfere with positive behavioral changes of ingroup members toward outgroups (e.g., Hitchcock, 2002). Given that the anti-heterosexism intervention was effective, it is possible that the intervention elicited empathy, as opposed to guilt and shame. Future studies should include an empathy manipulation check to further explore the underlying emotions that are triggered in response to these two intervention exercises. This information will help to uncover the underlying emotional pathways that should be the target of future prejudice reduction interventions.

Fifth, participants completed pre-intervention and post-intervention surveys on the same day in the same two and a half hour sitting. As a result, it is unclear whether participant responses on post-intervention surveys actually reflect a meaningful change in attitudes and behaviors toward lesbians and gay men. Participants were informed that they would be completing a pre-intervention survey and a post-intervention survey and many participants recognized that the pre-intervention and post-intervention surveys were identical. It is possible that participants completed the pre-intervention and post-intervention surveys in too short of a timeframe, which may have impacted the study findings. Future studies should incorporate more time (e.g., a few weeks) between pre-
intervention surveys and post-intervention surveys by having participants complete the pre-intervention surveys 1-2 weeks before they participate in the intervention.

Additionally, collecting data on long-term attitudinal and behavioral changes was beyond the scope of the current study. As a result, the long-term impact of the intervention on reducing negative attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, increasing positive attitudes toward lesbians and gay men, increasing positive lesbian and gay affirming social justice competency, and increasing attitudes toward social justice is unknown. Future research should test the long-term impact of these brief two and a half hour long interventions at several time points beyond the intervention session. Given the difficulty that sometimes arises in recruiting participants to complete follow up surveys (e.g., Riggle et al., 2014), future research should continue to explore effective strategies for collecting follow up survey data.

Lastly, a significant limitation was the background of the sample. Most participants were White college students from suburban hometowns in the eastern United States. Additionally, participants in the study were recruited from a small, private, liberal arts college in the southern region of the United States. Given that participants were relatively homogenous, it is possible that findings from the current study may not be generalizable to the entire population of college students in fraternities and sororities in the United States. Future research should explore attitudinal and behavioral differences among students belonging to fraternities and sororities in different geographic regions of the United States, and in different educational institutions (i.e., public versus private institutions). Additionally, future research should explore meaningful attitudinal and behavioral differences of social fraternities and sororities that are comprised of students
from different racial or ethnic backgrounds (i.e., fraternities and sororities at Historically Black Colleges).

**Recommendations for University Campuses**

Findings from the current study suggest that cultivating empathic joy and clarifying values are effective strategies in increasing positive attitudes and behaviors of ingroup leaders toward lesbians and gay men. Future studies should replicate the current study and continue to empirically test the use of these positive focused interventions in improving intergroup relationships. Of significance will be continuing to explore how prejudice reduction interventions work to reduce negative attitudes and cultivate positive attitudes. Understanding these differences will be important to further exploring the separability of positive and negative attitudes (Pittinsky & Simon, 2007). Additionally, future studies should continue to explore how best to create acceptance and affirmation in social organizations on college campuses like fraternities and sororities that are influential over the campus climate and culture. Creating a safe and affirming space within Greek organizations for lesbians and gay men is paramount to student success and well-being. As students often seek out fraternities and sororities for their leadership opportunities, it will be vitally important to continue to explore how best to create allies for stigmatized outgroups within these organizations. Below are recommendations that are suggested for Greek organizations, student affairs staff, and psychologists.

**Greek organizations.** Findings from this study point to the need for fraternity and sorority college students as community leaders to continuously engage in leadership diversity trainings that will help prepare them as leaders to address social justice related issues within their community. Participation in leadership diversity trainings is vitally
important, as many fraternity and sorority college students become community, national, and world leaders after college. For example, 39% of United States Senators and 24% of United States Congressmen are Greek (North-American Interfraternity Conference (NIC), n.d.). Additionally, 50% of the Top 10 Fortune 500 CEOs are fraternity men and 44% of all United States Presidents held fraternity membership (NIC, n.d.). Given this strong leadership presence, all Greek members should be actively involved in leadership diversity trainings throughout their time in college.

Members of Greek organizations should participate in leadership diversity trainings throughout their four years in college, not just one time during their pledge process. Of note, most of the participants who participated in the current study were new members who had only belonged to their Greek organization for approximately two to three weeks. Intervening with new members is important, but equally important is intervening with all members of the organization including sophomores, juniors, and seniors in college. Cultural norms will not begin to change until all members of the Greek culture are exposed to new knowledge and information about privilege, oppression, and the experiences of lesbian and gay peers.

Many participants in the anti-heterosexism intervention had never been exposed to basic terminology regarding sexuality and were largely unaware of the discrimination and oppression experienced by lesbians and gay men in college. Although recent polls suggest that the millennial generation is significantly more accepting of sexual minorities (Pew Research Center, 2015), the students I worked with from the millennial generation were largely uninformed regarding sexual minority issues and experiences. These
observations further support the need for continuous exposure and training regarding these issues.

Additionally, many of the male participants and some of the female participants were defensive and struggled with the information presented in the trainings. It may be difficult to intervene with this special population in a two and a half hour timeframe. Future prejudice reduction intervention work with this population should consider the defensiveness and hostility of some of the participants when designing the intervention. Participants in Greek organizations may be less defensive in response to a prejudice reduction intervention if it was designed as an intervention spanning six to eight weeks as opposed to an intervention lasting for a few hours on one day. Utilizing a series of brief interventions allows for time to build rapport and trust between the facilitator and the participants, which may aid in minimizing the defensiveness and hostility of participants.

**University administration.** Given that the Greek community is so “secretive” (DeSantis, 2007) and wary of research that may reflect negatively on their community, it is important that student affairs staff and the university administration fully support and back Greek participation in prejudice reduction interventions and leadership diversity trainings. Of significance, I attempted to recruit participants at three universities without success. As I was unable to recruit fraternity and sorority organizations at each of these three institutions, I reached out to the student affairs staff to assist with recruitment of these Greek organizations. Most of the student affairs staff were noncommittal and were not interested in supporting the current study. When I recruited participants at a fourth university, I started with recruiting the student affairs staff. Obtaining support from those staff members was crucial to obtaining participants for the current study. Without the
support of the student affairs staff, the six Greek organizations that participated in the current study may not have invested the time and energy into participating.

According to the Social Dominance Theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), prejudice and discrimination exist at multiple levels within society including: (a) the policy level, (b) the institutional level, and (c) the individual level (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Student affairs staff and university administrators, at an institutional level, either reinforce prejudice and discrimination with their lack of support of this intervention work, or actively combat prejudice and discrimination through their support of this intervention work. Reducing prejudice and improving intergroup relations necessitates a cultural shift where all levels of the socio-ecological system recognize and actively work to counteract the prejudice and discrimination of oppressed minority groups. University administrators and Student affairs staff must recognize the importance of targeting Greek organizations to change systemic oppression.

It is recommended that all student affairs staff support intervention work with fraternities and sororities on college campuses through including diversity leadership workshops and prejudice reduction interventions as required programming. Specifically, all members of Greek organizations should be required to participate in these trainings every semester they are enrolled in college and active in their Greek organization. Without the support of administrators and student affairs staff, this cultural shift will not happen. It is up to the leaders at the university level to begin to enact this systemic change.
Counseling psychologists. One of the core values of counseling psychologists is a focus on social justice (Packard, 2009) where the counseling psychology profession aims to address issues related to oppression and discrimination of all people with stigmatized identities, including sexual minority individuals (Asta & Vacha-Haase, 2013). One way to counteract societal oppression is to model allyship while cultivating allies in leadership positions who can enact societal change. It is the role of psychologists, as social change agents, to bridge the gap between ally building and leadership development. Therefore, it is recommended that psychologists continue to rely on empathy building and values clarification exercises as they facilitate prejudice reduction interventions with Greek organizations. Facilitating awareness of privilege and oppression of marginalized groups should also be included in this ally building work. It will be important for counseling psychologists to continue providing their expertise on effective prejudice reduction strategies as they conduct interdisciplinary work with college students.
Appendix A

Demographic Questionnaire

ID # ____________________________

What is your current age? ________

What state and county are you from: ______________________

What region of the country is your hometown located? (pick one)
- West
- Midwest
- East
- Southeast
- Southwest

Is your hometown: (pick one)
- Urban (inner city)
- Rural (country)
- Suburban
- Metropolitan (large city)

How many credits are you currently enrolled in? ________

What is your major? ______________________

Which of the following describes your sex:
- Female
- Male
- Other (please specify) ______________________

Which of the following describes your ethnic or racial identity? (check all that apply)
- African-American/Black
- Asian-American/Pacific Islander
- American Indian/Native American
- European-American/Caucasian/White
- Hispanic/Latino/a or South American
- Middle Eastern/Arab
- Other (please specify) ______________________

Which of the following best describes your sexual identity? (check all that apply)
- Heterosexual or Straight
- Lesbian
- Gay Man
- Bisexual
☐ Other (please specify)____________________

What is your year in college?
☐ Freshman
☐ Sophomore
☐ Junior
☐ Senior
☐ Other (please specify)____________________

What is your religious affiliation?
☐ Agnostic
☐ Atheist
☐ Baptist
☐ Buddhist
☐ Catholic
☐ Church of Christ
☐ Episcopal
☐ Jewish
☐ Lutheran
☐ Methodist
☐ Muslim
☐ Non-denominational Christian
☐ Presbyterian
☐ None
☐ Other (please specify)____________________

To what extent does your religious or spiritual preference play an important role in your life?
☐ Very Important
☐ Important
☐ Neutral
☐ Unimportant
☐ Very Unimportant

How often do you attend religious services?
☐ More than once a week
☐ Once a week
☐ 1-3 times per month
☐ Less than once a month
☐ Never
Rate your political views on a scale of 1 to 7, where 1 indicates extremely liberal political views and 7 indicates extremely conservative political views.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extremely Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Slightly Neutral</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Slightly Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>Extremely Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Slightly Neutral</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>Slightly Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td>Extremely Liberal</td>
<td>Liberal</td>
<td>Conservative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What Greek organization are you affiliated with? ______________________

How many years of leadership experience within your fraternity or sorority do you have?

- None
- Less than 6 months
- 6 months - 1 year
- 1 year
- 2 years
- 3 years
- 4 years

What other leadership positions have you held? ______________________

_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
_________________________________________________________________
Appendix B

The Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Revised Scale

Please read each of the following statements and rate them according to how accurately they describe your attitudes and beliefs. Please respond honestly and answer every question by circling your answer below.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree Somewhat
3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
4 = Agree Somewhat
5 = Strongly Agree

I think gay men are disgusting.

1 2 3 4 5

Male homosexuality is a perversion.

1 2 3 4 5

Male homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in men.

1 2 3 4 5

Sex between two men is just plain wrong.

1 2 3 4 5

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

1 2 3 4 5

I think lesbians are disgusting.

1 2 3 4 5

Female homosexuality is a perversion.

1 2 3 4 5

Female homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in women.

1 2 3 4 5

Sex between two women is just plain wrong.

1 2 3 4 5

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

1 2 3 4 5
Appendix C

The Modern Homonegativity Scale

Please read each of the following statements and rate them according to how accurately they describe your attitudes and beliefs. Please respond honestly and answer every questions by circling your answer below.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Don’t Know
4 = Agree
5 = Strongly Agree

Many gays and lesbians use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.

1 2 3 4 5

Gays and lesbians seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.

1 2 3 4 5

Gays and lesbians do not have all the rights they need.

1 2 3 4 5

The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.

1 2 3 4 5

Celebrations such as “Gay Pride Day” are ridiculous because they assume that an individual’s sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.

1 2 3 4 5

Gays and lesbians still need to protest for equal rights.

1 2 3 4 5

Gays and lesbians should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people’s throats.

1 2 3 4 5
1 = Strongly Disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Don’t Know  
4 = Agree  
5 = Strongly Agree

If gays and lesbians want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.

1 2 3 4 5

Gays and lesbians who are “out of the closet” should be admired for their courage.

1 2 3 4 5

Gays and lesbians should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.

1 2 3 4 5

In today’s tough economic times, American tax dollars shouldn’t be used to support gay men’s and lesbian women’s organizations.

1 2 3 4 5

Gays and lesbians have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

1 2 3 4 5
Appendix D

The Allophilia Scale

Please read each of the following statements and rate each according to how accurately they describe your attitudes and beliefs about gays and lesbians. Please respond honestly and answer every question by circling your answer below.

1 = Strongly Disagree  2 = Disagree  3 = Neutral  4 = Agree  5 = Strongly Agree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In general, I have positive attitudes about gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I respect gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel positively toward gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am at ease around gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am comfortable when I hang out with gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel like I can be myself around gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel a sense of belonging with gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel a kinship with gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like to be more like gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am truly interested in understanding the points of view of gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am motivated to get to know gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To enrich my life, I would try to make more friends who are gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am interested in hearing more about the experiences of gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am impressed by gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel inspired by gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am enthusiastic about gays and lesbians.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E

The Lesbian and Gay Affirming Social Justice Competency Scale

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements.

1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Tend to Disagree
4 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 = Tend to Agree
6 = Agree
7 = Strongly Agree

I feel confident talking about lesbian and gay social justice with people who have different viewpoints than my own.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I feel confident to challenge institutional policies that are overtly anti-gay.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

If I heard a family member making anti-gay remarks, I would be confident in my ability to confront that family member.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I am motivated to have conversations with my family about gay and lesbian social injustice.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I do not feel I have the ability to advocate for lesbian and gay social justice.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I feel confident to challenge institutional policies that are covertly anti-gay.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I am confident in my ability to help reduce lesbian and gay social injustice through my involvement in community organizations.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
1 = Strongly Disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Tend to Disagree  
4 = Neither Agree nor Disagree  
5 = Tend to Agree  
6 = Agree  
7 = Strongly Agree

I feel it is within my power to help bring about systemic changes on behalf of gay men and lesbians.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Gay men should not hold leadership positions in places of religious worship.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

One's ability to adopt should not be based on one’s sexual orientation.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Lesbians should not hold leadership positions in places of religious worship.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Lesbians and gay men should have the right to legally marry individuals of the same sex.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I am bothered by gay men and lesbians using the word "marriage" to describe their legal unions.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Lesbians and gay men should keep their sexual orientation private while in the workplace.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I think that gay men and lesbians should not be able to express affection in public.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

I have volunteered with gay rights organizations in the past.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
1 = Strongly Disagree
2 = Disagree
3 = Tend to Disagree
4 = Neither Agree nor Disagree
5 = Tend to Agree
6 = Agree
7 = Strongly Agree

I have attended gay rights rallies in the past.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I have contacted my political leaders on gay rights issues.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I plan on attending a gay rights rally in the near future.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I currently volunteer part of my time to assist with gay and lesbian social justice advocacy causes.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I have sought out training about lesbian and gay social justice issues.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I do not allow people to use gay slurs in my presence.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7

Gay and lesbian teens are especially vulnerable to homelessness and suicide.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7

Gay men and lesbians often feel they have to hide their sexual orientation for fear of discrimination.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I believe gay slurs are okay to use among friends.
1  2  3  4  5  6  7
Lesbian and gay couples currently have the ability to adopt children just as easily as heterosexual couples.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

There is privilege associated with being heterosexual in this society.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Violence against gay and lesbian individuals is a problem in the United States.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Appendix F

The Attitudes Toward Social Justice Scale

Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements.

1 = Strongly Disagree  
2 = Disagree  
3 = Tend to Disagree  
4 = Neither Agree nor Disagree  
5 = Tend to Agree  
6 = Agree  
7 = Strongly Agree

When I notice social injustice in my environment, I feel the responsibility to speak up.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

It is my duty to actively advocate for marginalized groups.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I am passionate about advocating for marginalized groups.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I feel it is important to advocate politically on behalf of marginalized groups.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

If I see someone being harassed in a public place based on his/her membership in a marginalized group, I feel inclined to intervene for that individual.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I feel upset when I see someone act in a discriminatory manner toward a member of a marginalized group.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I would attend a rally supporting equal rights for marginalized groups.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7

I am indifferent about social justice issues that do not directly concern my social group.

1  2  3  4  5  6  7
Appendix G

**Timeline of Empathic Joy Intervention**

25 minutes: Complete Pre-Test Surveys

5 minutes: Introductions

5 minutes: Review/Discussion of Group Norms

10 minutes: Lifelines Values Clarification Exercise and Process Questions Discussion

10 minutes: 7 Bold Steps Presentation

10 minutes: Empathic Joy Exercise and Discussion

25 minutes: Ideal Community Exercise and Discussion

20 minutes: Steps to Take as Allies & Closing Discussion

25 minutes: Complete Post-Test Surveys

Total: 135 minutes
Leadership Training for a Diverse World: Group Norms

- Affirm one another.

- Give others space. All should participate in the discussions but no one should monopolize them.

- Give everyone a respectful hearing; no one interrupting one another.

- No putdowns of ourselves or others.

- Everything that happens in the training is confidential. Do not repeat anything that is said here outside of this group.

- Volunteer yourself but do not volunteer other people.

- Everybody has a right to pass.
**Purpose:** To affirm accomplishments in life so far and to define values and set major life goals for the future.

0  ___________________________  Now
Lifelines Exercise Process Questions in Groups
After you write your lifeline, think of one peak leadership experience in your life to date. This is a time that was positive and profound on some level. Make sure you remember a ‘scene’ rather than a phase of your life. For example, “I remember my first committee meeting that I ran,” is much better than, “I remember serving as social chair.” The latter, is too broad. First answer these questions about your chosen peak leadership experience, then, in small groups share:

What was happening?

What was good about this?

What did it give you?

What made this a special and outstanding experience?

How can you experience this again?
Seven Bold Steps for Effective Leaders (Pittinsky, 2012)

Step 1: Use accountability to avoid the ingroup/outgroup leadership trade-off.

Step 2: Demonstrate acceptance.

Step 3: Hold governments accountable for coexistence.

Step 4: Move from an affinity for “us” to allopilia for “them.”

Step 5: Win hearts and minds, not just bellies.

Step 6: Connect the world for good.

Step 7: Practice positive us-and-them religious leadership.
Script: So as we are considering Pittinsky’s research, one group of individuals who are often neglected when we talk about experiences in Greek life are lesbian and gay students. As you listen to Johnny’s story, I want you to put yourself in Johnny’s shoes and imagine how it felt for Johnny to experience happiness and support within his fraternity. I also want you to imagine how being in a fraternity impacted Johnny’s life. So, close your eyes and put yourself in his shoes as you listen to his story:

Johnny’s Story

The first week of school my freshman year, during one of the dorm floor meetings, several of the guys on my floor asked, “Are you going to the row?” I was unsure about fraternity life but decided to attend rush events to give it a try. Going through rush was an easy decision after my first night on the row. There were 12 fraternities on campus, and I rushed half of them. One fraternity, however, was different. The brothers spent most of their energy trying to get to know me. With no hesitation, I chose them and they chose me on bid night a week later. Overwhelming and thrilling, my college life had begun, and to my shock I was going to be a fraternity man. Next came the big question. Being gay had not come up during rush, and I managed not to lie to anyone. Still, I knew I should probably tell the brothers and I decided to come out to the fraternity after pledge semester. I was hanging out with one of my pledge brothers in his room one afternoon and I was finally ready to tell someone. I blurted, “So, Matt, I want you to know that I’m gay.” “I know,” he responded without a pause. He smiled and shook his head. I was a little shocked as I hadn’t expected that reaction. “Johnny, I knew you were gay the first day you rushed.” We both started laughing and Matt went on to tell me how he values all brothers gay or straight. He had a lot of respect for those brothers who came out in a fraternity. Of course when you tell one brother, news spreads like wildfire. All the other brothers seemed to know within a day. All reactions were positive. Several brothers approached me to ask a variety of questions. Some of these candid inquiries frankly blew me away: “Johnny you’re gay and that’s cool. So can you help me get girls now?” Another asked, “Hey Johnny, I’m going on a date with this hot girl, and I need your advice on what to do on the date.” There was much humor and learning through the process but nothing had changed in their perception of my ability to be a good brother. Through my experience, I learned that fraternities can be wonderful opportunities to show that gay men and straight men can be not only friends but brothers. My fraternity had become a family, a true brotherhood to me. That is the power of brotherhood and the power of living your life openly and honestly on the row.

Kelly’s Story

The first weekend of school coincided with rush. That week, I attended several activities with one sorority in particular. I had never considered joining a sorority, but the prospect of meeting people while attending parties, going on Mardi Gras boat cruises, and swimming at the beach appealed to me. At the end of rush week, I was offered a bid and I felt as if I’d found a great organization of which to be a part. I loved being involved in
my sorority, but after I was initiated, I became more and more uneasy about how my sisters would react if they found out about me. During sophomore year, as part of the sisterhood committee, I planned a retreat at a cabin in the mountains. One of the fall retreat traditions centered on each sister bringing a song describing her life, playing it, and telling everyone what it means to her. The previous year, everyone except me had opened up and talked about personal things. I knew this would be the perfect time for me to come out to my sorority as a whole. After I played my song, I explained to them that my life was perfect because I was in love with my girlfriend of 5 months, Hellen. A wave of relief had washed over me because I had finally told my sisters I was a lesbian. Libby, who was one of my close sisters smiled and hugged me. I was shaking. As happy as I was that everything was now out in the open, I was worried that some of the younger sisters would not accept my orientation. But Libby smiled, assured me that everything would be fine, and I felt a thousand times better. A week after the retreat, I found a note from one of the juniors in my sorority in my mailbox that read, “I understand how hard it was to share everything with the chapter, and I’m really happy you did.” Every bit of reassurance I received made me feel I had made the right decision about coming out to my sisters. As I look back, coming out to my sorority was definitely a positive experience. I spent over a year worrying about what they would think, only to find that most of them already knew and didn’t care. Not only did they not change the way they treated me socially, but they also treated me fairly in leadership roles. That spring, I was elected president for the coming year and I was excited to be voted onto the executive board. Their actions toward me and one another reflect what sisterhood is supposed to be all about and I’m proud to call them my sisters and my friends.

Group Discussion Questions: How can you build off of these “bold steps” to engage in more effective leadership in your own life?

Specifically, how can you use the story you just heard to engage in more effective leadership in your own life?
Imagine a Better Greek Community: Group Discussion

Questions

In your small groups, brainstorm and identify common problems within the Greek community. Problems may be identified at the individual level, the chapter level, the campus community level, or the broader community level.

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Now that you have identified the problems within your community, what would an ideal Greek community look like? After brainstorming, draw your ideal community on the poster sheet given to your group.

What steps need to be taken to get from the lives and people in your communities now to have a better community? What are short-term and long-term solutions to the problems? Be as concrete as possible about a few of these steps.
Appendix H

**Timeline of Values Clarification Intervention**

25 minutes: Complete Pre-Test Surveys

5 minutes: Introductions

5 minutes: Review/Discussion of Group Norms

10 minutes: Lifelines Values Clarification Exercise and Process Questions Discussion

10 minutes: 7 Bold Steps Presentation and Discussion

25 minutes: Ideal Community Exercise and Discussion

20 minutes: Steps to Take as Allies & Closing Discussion

25 minutes: Complete Post-Test Surveys

Total: 125 minutes
Appendix I

Timeline of Anti-Heterosexism Prejudice Reduction Intervention

25 minutes: Complete Pre-Test Surveys

5 minutes: Introductions

5 minutes: Review/Discussion of Group Norms, Training Goals, Working Assumptions

10 minutes: LGBTQ Terminology Presentation and Discussion

20 minutes: LGBTQ Myths/Facts Presentation and Discussion

25 minutes: Coming Out Stars Activity

15 minutes: Steps to Take as Allies & Closing Discussion

25 minutes: Complete Post-Test Surveys

Total: 130 minutes
**Leadership Training for a Diverse World Group Norms:**

- Affirm one another.
- Give others space. All should participate in the discussions but no one should monopolize them.
- Give everyone a respectful hearing; no one interrupting one another.
- No putdowns of ourselves or others.
- Everything that happens in the training is confidential. Do not repeat anything that is said here outside of this group.
- Volunteer yourself but do not volunteer other people.
- Everybody has a right to pass.

**Training Goals:**

- Heighten awareness.
- Dispel myths/share factual information.
- Share personal histories and journeys.
- Support individual efforts to interrupt homophobia and heterosexism.
- Emphasis value for developing a greater Sense of Community where all people are treasured and supported.
- Have some fun.

**Working Assumptions:**

- Homophobia is a devastating and insidious form of oppression.
- Homophobia, as well as all the many forms of oppression, is pervasive throughout the society we live in.
- It is not our fault, we are not to blame, but we must accept responsibility for it within ourselves.
- Individuals and organizations can and do grow and change.
- Working to end homophobia is a lifelong process.
- Homophobia hurts all people.
- A true sense of community, where all people are valued and supported, is a goal worth working toward.
Identity and Social Dynamics:

LGBTQI – A common abbreviation for the lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersexed community; additional letters sometimes included are another “Q” for questioning, “A” for ally, “SA” for straight ally, “S” for same-gender loving, “TS” for two-spirit, or “S” for supportive.

Ally - a person of one social identity group who stands up in support of members of another group; typically a member of a dominant group standing beside member(s) of a group being discriminated against or treated unjustly.

LGBT Ally -- an individual who is accepting and supportive of people who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, and/or transgender, and who works to reflect their support in their personal beliefs, language, and behaviors; allies also take action to combat homophobia, biphobia, transphobia, heterosexism, and gender-based discrimination within themselves, others, and in societal institutions.

Privilege - Privilege operates on personal, interpersonal, cultural, and institutional levels and gives advantages, favors, and benefits to members of dominant groups at the expense of members of target groups. In the United States, privilege is granted to people who have membership in one or more of these social identity groups: White people; Able-bodied people; Heterosexuals; Males; Christians; Middle or owning class people; Middle-aged people; English-speaking people. Privilege is characteristically invisible to people who have it. People in dominant groups often believe that they have earned the privileges that they enjoy or that everyone could have access to these privileges if only they worked to earn them. In fact, privileges are unearned and they are granted to people in the dominant groups whether they want those privileges or not, and regardless of their stated intent.

Unlike targets of oppression, people in dominant groups are frequently unaware that they are members of the dominant group due to the privilege of being able to see themselves as persons rather than stereotypes.

Heterosexual Privilege - actual or promised societal benefits accorded to individuals who identify as heterosexual.

Social Power - Access to and availability of resources needed to get what you want and to influence others.

Oppression – The systematic subjugation of a group of people by another group with access to social power, the result of which benefits one group over the other and is maintained by social beliefs and practices.
Prejudice – A conscious or unconscious negative belief about a whole group of people and its individual members.

Discrimination – the use of societal or institutional power and privilege to act on prejudiced beliefs or attitudes to deny members of a less powerful social group access to societal resources; can include both individual acts of hatred or injustice and institutional denials of privileges normally accorded to other groups. Ongoing discrimination creates a climate of oppression for the affected group.

Stereotype – A preconceived or oversimplified generalization about an entire group of people without regard for their individual differences. Though often negative, can also be complimentary. Even positive stereotypes can have a negative impact, however, simply because they involve broad generalizations that ignore individual realities.

Homophobia - The fear and hatred of those who love and sexually desire those of the same sex. Homophobia, which has its roots in sexism, includes prejudice, discrimination, harassment, and acts of violence brought on by that fear and hatred. The irrational hatred and fear of LGBT people. In a broader sense, any disapproval of LGBT people at all, regardless of motive. Homophobia includes prejudice, discrimination, harassment, and acts of violence brought on by fear and hatred. It occurs on personal, institutional, and societal levels. Homophobia is closely linked with transphobia and biphobia.

Heterosexism - The system of advantages bestowed on heterosexuals. It is the institutional response to homophobia that assumes that all people are or should be heterosexual and therefore excludes the needs, concerns, and life experiences of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals. The assumption that all people are or should be heterosexual. Heterosexism excludes the needs, concerns, and life experiences of lesbian, gay and bisexual people while it gives advantages to heterosexual people. It is often a subtle form of oppression which reinforces realities of silence and invisibility.

Heteronormative - The assumption, in individuals or in institutions, that everyone is heterosexual, and the practices, on the personal, social, or institutional levels, based on that assumption; i.e. the reinforcement of heterosexuality as the norm and therefore as normal.

Sex and Sexuality:

Sexual Orientation - describes the pattern of a person’s sexual attractions based on gender. Sexual attraction and romantic attraction are often lumped together as if they are the same. That is not always the case. Also the direction of an individual’s emotional, physical, and/or sexual attraction to others, which may be toward people of the same gender/sex, another gender/sex, or multiple genders/sexes; research has shown that sexual orientation exists on a continuum, rather than as a set of distinct categories.

Gay - generally refers to a man who is attracted to men. Sometimes refers to all people who are attracted to people of the same sex; sometimes "homosexual" is used for this also, although this label is seen by many today as a medical term that should be retired from common use.
Bisexual - persons who are capable of feeling attracted to and engaging in relationships with others regardless of biological sex; this attraction does not have to be equally split between genders and there may be a preference for one gender over others.

Lesbian - a woman who is attracted to women. Sometimes also or alternately "same gender-loving woman" or "woman loving woman."

Straight - a man who is exclusively attracted to women or a woman who is exclusively attracted to men; also sometimes generally used to refer to people whose sexualities are societally normative. Alternately referred to as “heterosexual.”

Pansexual - attracted to people regardless of gender. Sometimes also or alternately "omnisexual."

Queer - similar to pansexual, queer can be an identity label meaning that a person is attracted to people of many genders; however, queer is a multi-faceted word with more than one definition and use, and is viewed as offensive by some people.

Asexual - not sexually attracted to anyone and/or no desire to act on attraction to anyone. Does not necessarily mean sexless. Asexual people sometimes do experience affectional (romantic) attraction.

Questioning - a term used to describe someone who is unsure of or exploring their sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

Coming Out - “Coming out” describes voluntarily making public one's sexual orientation or gender identity. Terms also used that correlate with this action are: "Being out" which means not concealing one's sexual orientation or gender identity, and "Outing," a term used for making public the sexual orientation or gender identity of another who would prefer to keep this information secret.

Gender Identity and Expression:

Biological sex - attributes such as anatomy, chromosomes, and hormones that is usually assigned at birth and inform whether a person is male, female, or intersex.

Intersex - People who naturally (that is, without any medical intervention) develop primary or secondary sex characteristics that do not fit neatly into society's definitions of male or female. Many visibly Intersex people are mutilated in infancy and early childhood by doctors to make their sex characteristics conform to their idea of what normal bodies should look like. Intersex people are relatively common, although the society's denial of their existence has allowed very little room for intersex issues to be discussed publicly.
**Gender** - The expression or behavior of a person qualified by society as masculine, feminine, androgynous or any mix thereof. Fundamentally different than biological sex or, in the case of intersex people, the sex assigned at birth.

**Gender Identity** - a person’s internal sense of being a man, a woman, neither of these, both, and so on; one’s inner sense of being. Everyone has a gender identity.

**Gender Expression** - the ways in which a person manifests masculinity, femininity, both, or neither through appearance, behavior, dress, speech patterns, preferences, and more.

**Transgender** - used most often as an umbrella term, some commonly held definitions 1. Someone whose behavior or expression does not match their assigned sex. 2. A gender outside of the man/woman binary. 3. The condition of having no gender or multiple genders. 4. Some definitions include people who perform gender or play with it.

**Cisgender** - a gender identity, or performance in a gender role, that oneself and/or society deems to match a person’s assigned sex at birth. The prefix cis- means "on this side of" or "not across." A term used to call attention to the privilege of people who are not transgendered.

(Courtesy of Blumenfeld, 1992; Green, 2012; LGBT Resource Center at the University of California Riverside, 2015; Michigan State University Extension, 2003; The Leaven Center, 2003; Trans-academics.org, 2009; UC Davis Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender Queer Intersex Asexual Resource Center, 2015; Unitarian Universalist Association, 2014)
Myth or Fact? Setting the Record Straight

**Myth 1:** I don’t know any gay or lesbian people.  
**Fact:** You probably don’t know any who are out to you, although a significant percentage of the population is gay or lesbian.

**Myth 2:** Being gay is contagious.  
**Fact:** Most lesbian and gay individuals were raised by straight parents. Sexual orientation is most likely determined by genetics.

**Myth 3:** Lesbian and gay individuals are abnormal and sick.  
**Fact:** According to the American Psychological Association, “It is no more abnormal or sick to be gay than to be left handed.” People who are lesbian and gay are considered normal in most of the world’s cultures. It is homophobia that should be cured. Research has shown that identifying as gay or lesbian is not associated with emotional or social problems. Objective scientific research over the past 35 years has consistently shown that being gay or lesbian, in and of itself, is not associated with emotional or social problems.

**Myth 4:** Lesbian and gay and ally political organizations are asking for “special rights” and are a threat to heterosexual marriage.  
**Fact:** Lesbian and gay people want the same rights as heterosexual Americans including the right to live and work in an atmosphere free of discrimination, the right to be protected from violence and harassment, and the right to form life-long, committed partnerships. There is no evidence to support the belief that same-sex marriages would undermine heterosexual marriages.

**Myth 5:** Lesbian and gay people sexually molest children.  
**Fact:** The overwhelming majority of child molestation cases- 90 to 95 percent- involve heterosexual men and are committed against females under the age of 18. A child molester who abuses boys is not usually gay-many will abuse children of either gender.

**Myth 6:** People are gay because they were sexually abused.  
**Fact:** Most people who were sexually abused do not take on a gay identity. Gay and lesbian people, just as straight people, may have been abused, but this has no relation to their sexual orientation. Straight women who have been sexually abused by men may have difficulty relating to men, but this does not mean they are lesbians.

**Myth 7:** Gay people could change if they want to.  
**Fact:** Research has repeatedly shown this is not true-that sexual orientation is something we are born with. Examples of people who claim to have changed their orientation usually indicate someone who has changed their behavior in response to internal or external pressure to be straight. This is often at great cost to self, because basic feelings
haven’t changed. Sexual orientation emerges for most people in early adolescence without any prior sexual experience. Some people report trying over many years to change their sexual orientation from gay to straight with no success. For these reasons, psychologists don’t consider sexual orientation for most people to be a conscious choice that can be voluntarily changed.

**Myth 8:** If a friend tells you he or she is gay or lesbian, then that friend is coming on to you.

**Fact:** Being gay involves more than a person’s sexual activity. When friends “come out” (reveal their sexual orientation) to you, they are essentially inviting you to know them as whole people. If a gay or lesbian person chooses to come out to you, then that person has decided to share part of his or her identity with you. Such a disclosure means that this friend trusts you, not that he or she would like to become sexually involved with you.

**Myth 9:** If you have friends who are gay or lesbian that must mean that you are also gay.

**Fact:** Liking or loving someone who is gay or lesbian does not make you gay any more than liking someone who is Catholic or Jewish makes you Catholic or Jewish.

**Myth 10:** AIDS is a gay disease.

**Fact:** AIDS is caused by a virus. Viruses infect all kinds of people, regardless of their sexual orientation. Worldwide, the majority of HIV transmission occurs through heterosexual contact. AIDS is spread through the exchange of bodily fluids, such as blood, semen and breast milk. Some people have contracted AIDS from sharing intravenous needles. While AIDS has been contracted by a large number of gay men in the United States, it has also been contracted by heterosexual men and women as well as children and even infants. Associating with gay or lesbian individuals does not mean that you will get AIDS.

(Courtesy of Blumenfeld, 1992; Texas Women’s University Counseling Center, 2015; & University of Buffalo Counseling Services, 2013)

**Checking the Facts**

In a study of over 500 lesbian and gay college alumni, more than 70% of respondents indicated that they had experienced homophobic and heterosexist attitudes while in college in their fraternity and sorority chapters, usually through the use of derogatory jokes or comments (Case, 1996).

In a study of over 500 lesbian, gay, and bisexual alumni, most participants (75% of men and 81% of women) believed that no one in the chapter knew their sexual orientation and many lesbian, gay, and bisexual fraternity and sorority members actively chose to hide their sexual orientation from their fraternity brothers and sorority sisters (Case et al., 2005).

In a study of 414 lesbian, gay, and bisexual Greek members, only 39% disclosed a sexual minority identity while attending college, and 29% disclosed a sexual minority identity during recruitment events (Rankin et al., 2007).
Out of more than 500 participants, 40% of males and 32% of females who involuntarily came out to their fraternity or sorority were met with a “somewhat negative” or a “very negative” response (Case et al., 2005).

In a study of over 500 lesbian, gay, and bisexual Greek alumni (a) 74% of males and 71% of females encountered homophobic behaviors in their fraternity or sorority chapter, (b) 50% of males and 29% of females were exposed to derogatory remarks or jokes, (c) 12% of males and 12% of females saw heterosexism expressed in membership selection, and (d) 5% of males and 12% of females expressed that negative behavior such as ostracism and gossip were directed toward members who were labeled as being lesbian or gay (Case et al., 2005).

In a study of 414 participants, Rankin and colleagues (2007) found that 38% of lesbian, gay, and bisexual fraternity and sorority members were less satisfied with their Greek organization because of the heterosexual focus of social events.

When Case and colleagues (2005) asked over 500 lesbian and gay participants what factors took away from the quality of the fraternity and sorority experience, 38% of males and 42% of females indicated that social events were designed for heterosexual couples, 30% of males and 31% of females shared that they were intimidated by homophobic remarks and attitudes, 45% of males and 31% of females stated that they felt they had to hide part of themselves and expressed difficulty in getting close to others, and 8% of males and 10% of females reported that fraternity and sorority members stopped talking to them once their lesbian or gay identity was known or suspected.

(Courtesy of Blumenfeld, 1992; Case, 1996; Case, Hesp & Eberly, 2005; & Rankin et al., 2007)
COMING OUT” STARS
Materials Needed: Blue, Yellow, Red, and Green paper stars; and pen/pencils for each participant
Length of time: About 20 minutes, depending on size of group
Size of group: Any

Let each person pick either a **BLUE, GREEN, RED, or YELLOW** star and then read the following to them:

Imagine that this star represents your world, with you in the center and those things or people most important to you at each point of the star. So we’ll begin by writing your name in the center of the star, making it your very own star! Then, pick a side of the star to begin with. Chose a friend who is very close to you. Someone you care about very much. A best friend or a close friend, it doesn’t matter. Write their name on this side of the star.

Next, think of a community that you belong to. It could be a religious community, your neighborhood, a fraternity or sorority, or just a group of friends. Take the name of this group that you are a part of and write it on the next side of the star moving clockwise.

Now, think of a specific family member. Someone that you have always turned to for advice or maybe who knows how to cheer you up when you’re sad. A mother, father, aunt, or uncle … any family member who has made a large impact in your life. Please write their name on the next side of the star.

What job would you most like to have? It could be anything from president to dentist. Whatever your career aspiration is, write it on the next side.

Lastly, what are some of your hopes and dreams? Maybe you want to be a millionaire, maybe you want the perfect family. Think of a few of your hopes and dreams and write them on the last side of your star.

*Have everyone stand up in a circle. Explain that each person is now gay or lesbian and each are about to begin their coming out process. Tell them that they cannot talk for the rest of this activity.*

You decide that it will be easiest to tell your friends first, since they have always been there for you in the past and you feel they need to know.

- If you have a **BLUE** star, your friend has no problem with it. They have suspected it for some time now and thank you for being honest with them. Luckily, they act no different toward you and accept you for who you are.
- If you have a **GREEN or YELLOW** star, your friends are kind of hesitant. They are a little irritated that you have waited so long to tell them, but you are confident that soon they will understand that being gay or lesbian is just a part
of who you are … you just need to give them some time. Please fold back this side of your star.

- If you have a RED star, you are met with anger and disgust. This friend who has been by your side in the past tells you that being gay or lesbian is wrong and they can’t associate with anyone like that. **If you have a red star, please tear off this side and drop it to the ground, this friend is no longer a part of your life.**

With most of you having such good luck with your friends, you decide that your family probably deserves to know. So, you turn to your closest family member first so that it will be a little easier.

- If you have a YELLOW star, the conversation does not go exactly how you planned. Several questions are asked as to how this could have happened, but after some lengthy discussion this person who is close to you seems a little more at ease with it. **Fold this side of your star back, as they will be an ally, but only with time.**
- If you have a BLUE star, you are embraced by this family member. They are proud that you have decided to come out and let you know that they will always be there to support you.
- If you have a GREEN or RED star, your family member rejects the thought of being related to a person who is gay or lesbian. Much like some of your friends, they are disgusted and some of you are thrown out of your house or even disowned. You are now part of the 42% homeless youth who identify as gay or lesbian. **If you have a Green or red star, please tear off this side and drop it to the ground.**

Having told your friends and family, the wheels have started to turn and soon members of your community begin to become aware of your sexual orientation.

- If you have a YELLOW or BLUE star, your sexual orientation is accepted by your community. They continue to embrace you like anyone else and together you celebrate the growing diversity in your community.
- If you have a GREEN star, you are met with a mixed response. Some accept you and some don’t know what to think. You remain a part of the community, and with time, will fit in as you once did. **If you have a Green star, please fold back this side.**
- If you have a RED star, your community reacts with hatred. They tell you that someone like you doesn’t belong in their community. Those who had supported you in your times of need no longer speak to you or acknowledge you. **If you have a red star, tear this side off and drop it to the ground.**

You have heard that rumors have started circulating at work regarding your sexual orientation. In the past, you have made it a point to confront these rumors as soon as they began, but now you’re not sure if that will do more harm than good. But, unfortunately, you don’t have the chance.
• If you have a **BLUE** star, your coworkers begin to approach you and let you know that they have heard the rumors and that they don’t care, they will support you. Your bosses react the same way letting you know that you do good work and that’s all that matters.

• If you have a **YELLOW** star, your workplace has become quite interesting. Everyone seems to think that you are gay or lesbian, even though you haven’t mentioned it to anyone or confirmed any of the rumors. Some people speak to you less, but the environment has not seemed to change too drastically. **If you have a Yellow star, please fold back this side.**

• If you have a **RED** or **GREEN** star, you continue to work as though nothing is happening, ignoring the rumors that have spread throughout your workplace. One day, you come in to find that your office has been packed up. You are called into your boss’ office and she explains that you are being fired. When you ask why, she tells you that lately your work has been less than satisfactory and that she had to make some cutbacks in your area. **If you have a red or Green star, please tear off this side and drop it to the ground.**

Now … your future lies ahead of you as a gay man or lesbian. Your hopes and dreams, your wishes for the perfect life … for some of you these are all that remain.

• If you have a **YELLOW, BLUE, or GREEN** star, these hopes and dreams are what keep you going. Most of you have been met with some sort of rejection since beginning your coming out process, but you have managed to continue to live a happy and healthy life. Your personal hopes and dreams become a reality.

• If you have a **RED** star, you fall into despair. You have been met with rejection after rejection and you find it impossible to accomplish your lifelong goals without the support and love of your friends and family. You become depressed and with nowhere else to turn, many of you begin to abuse drugs and alcohol. Eventually, you feel that your life is no longer worth living. **If you have a red star, please tear it up and drop the pieces to the ground. You are now part of the 40% of suicide victims who are gay or lesbian.**
Steps to Take When a Friend, Sister, or Brother Comes Out as Lesbian or Gay

1. **Offer support but don’t assume your friend needs any help.** Your friend may be completely comfortable with their sexual orientation and may not need help dealing with it or be in need of any support. It may be that your friend just wanted to tell someone, or just simply to tell you so you might know them better. Offer and be available to support your friends as they come out to others.

2. **Be a role model of acceptance.** Always model good behavior by using inclusive language and setting an accepting environment by not making assumptions about people’s sexual orientation. Addressing other’s biased language and addressing stereotypes and myths about lesbian and gay people also position you as a positive role model. By demonstrating that you are respectful of lesbian and gay people and intolerant of homophobia, lesbian and gay college students are more likely to see you as a supportive person.

3. **Appreciate the friend’s courage.** There is often a risk in telling someone something personal, especially sharing for the first time one’s sexual orientation, when it is generally not considered the norm. Consider someone’s coming out a gift and thank them for giving that gift to you. Sharing this personal information with you means that the person respects and trusts you.

4. **Listen, listen, listen.** One of the best ways to support a friend is to hear him/her out and let him/her know you are there to listen. One of the simplest yet most important ways to be an ally is to listen. Like all college students, LGBT students need to feel comfortable expressing themselves. If a friend comes to talk to you about being harassed, feeling excluded or just about their life in general, keep in mind that you may be the only person they feel safe speaking to. Be there to listen.

5. **Assure and respect confidentiality.** The friend told you and may or may not be ready to tell others. Effective allies will respect their friends’ confidentiality and privacy. Someone who is coming out may not want everyone to know. Assume that the person only told you and just wants you to know, unless they indicate otherwise. Informing others can create an unsafe environment for the person.

6. **Ask questions that demonstrate understanding, acceptance and compassion.** Some suggestions are: – Have you been able to tell anyone else? – Has this been a secret you have had to keep from others or have you told other people? – Do you feel safe? Supported by the people in your life? – Do you need any help of any kind? Resources or someone to listen? – Have I ever offended you unknowingly?

7. **Remember that the person has not changed.** They are still the same person you knew before the disclosure; you just have more information about them, which might improve your relationship. Let the friend know that you feel the same way about them as you always have and that they are still the same person. If you are shocked, try not to let the surprise lead you to view or treat the friend any differently.

8. **Challenge traditional norms.** You may need to consider your own beliefs about sexual orientation. Do not expect people to conform to societal norms about sexual orientation. Effective allies acknowledge how homophobia and
heterosexism may affect their efforts to be an ally to LGBT people. They continuously work to recognize and challenge their own biases.

9. **Seek out knowledge and be a resource.** Effective allies periodically brush up on LGBT-related language and current issues facing the LGBT community. An effective ally will also know when and how to refer friends to outside help. Elon University's Gender & LGBTQIA Center is in Moseley 211 (http://www.elon.edu/e-web/students/lgbtq/)

**Closing Discussion Question**
Now that you have all of this information, what are 2 actions you plan to take as an ally to lesbian and gay individuals? (write in your steps below)

1. 

2. 
Appendix J

Recruitment Script

Dear ____________________:

My name is Kirsten Gonzalez and I am a fourth year Counseling Psychology doctoral candidate at the University of Kentucky. I am reaching out to you as I am offering an exciting free leadership training opportunity for members of your chapter.

As part of my dissertation, I have developed three leadership trainings specifically designed for fraternities and sororities and am offering to facilitate one of these trainings with interested members of your chapter including new members and members of exec. I believe this training would be a great opportunity for your new members in particular to get involved during their new member period and engage in leadership development and training that could transform their time in college and their role in your organization.

The leadership training would positively impact your Greek organization because it will teach your members how to communicate effectively and work with diverse populations. They will learn how, as Greek leaders, they can transform their organization through engaging in meaningful community activities. As a direct result, members can reference this training on their resumes/CVs, highlight its impact on their leadership skills in job or graduate school interviews, and be a more informed leader for Greek life. Additionally, this training opportunity is an excellent program that will impress your Nationals.

The training lasts approximately 2 hours and could easily be conducted at your chapter house or at another location on campus. I am targeting February 7th-9th as possible days that I will be on campus and able to facilitate the trainings.

Please let me know if you are interested in having me conduct my training with your members. I am also more than happy to schedule a time to talk over the phone about this exciting opportunity for your members.

Thank you for your time and I will look forward to hearing from you soon. Please let me know if you are interested in having your members participate in this training. Please let me know at your earliest convenience so that I can begin to plan for the trainings. Also, please let me know if this is something you are not interested in so that I can remove you from my contact list!

Sincerely,

Kirsten Gonzalez
References


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doi:10.1080/07448481.2012.673519


Curriculum Vitae
Kirsten A. Gonzalez

EDUCATION:

Education Specialist, Counseling Psychology
University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY  December 2013

Master of Arts, Clinical Psychology
Towson University, Towson, MD  May 2011

Bachelor of Arts, Psychology
Elon University, Elon, NC  May 2009

PROFESSIONAL RESEARCH EXPERIENCE:

University of Kentucky PRISM (Psychosocial Research Initiative on Sexual Minorities) Lab, Lexington, KY
Research Team Member  August 2011 - present

Towson University Gender and Sexual Identity Lab, Towson, MD
Research Team Member  August 2011 – August 2013

Towson University Alcohol Tobacco and Other Drug (ATOD) Prevention Center, Towson, MD
Graduate Assistant  August 2009 – May 2011

Friends Research Institute, Baltimore, MD
Research Assistant  September 2009 – May 2010

Elon University Educational Psychology Research Lab, Elon, NC
Undergraduate Research Assistant  September 2008 – May 2009

PUBLICATIONS (PEER REVIEWED):

doi:10.1080/15538605.2014.933468

doi:10.1080/15538605.2014.853638


**MANUSCRIPTS IN PREPARATION:**


**PRESENTATIONS:**


Gonzalez, K. A. (April, 2010). *Positive psychology and minority experience: Framing research within intersectional theory.* Poster presented at Towson University’s Student Research Scholarship Expo. Towson, MD.

Gonzalez, K. A., & Galupo, M. P. (March, 2010). *Friendship characteristics and cross-race friendships among racial minority and white adults.* Poster presented at the College of William and Mary’s 9th Annual Graduate Research Symposium. Williamsburg, VA.

Gonzalez, K. A. (February, 2010). *Friendship characteristics: Comparison of cross-orientation friendships between heterosexual and sexual minority adults.* Paper presentation at Towson University’s 16th Annual Multicultural Conference. Towson, MD.
PROFESSIONAL TEACHING EXPERIENCE:

Eastern Kentucky University Counseling Center, Richmond, KY  
Instructor  
January 2014 – May 2015

University of Kentucky Department of Educational, School, and Counseling Psychology, Lexington KY  
Instructor  
August 2011 – May 2014

Towson University Psychology Department, Towson, MD  
Graduate Teaching Assistant  
August 2010 – December 2010

Elon University Sociology Department, Elon, NC  
Undergraduate Teaching Assistant  
August 2008 – December 2008

PROFESSIONAL CLINICAL EXPERIENCE:

Towson University Counseling Center, Towson, MD  
Doctoral Psychology Intern  

Eastern Kentucky University Counseling Center, Richmond, KY  
Counselor  
August 2014 – May 2015

Eastern Kentucky University Counseling Center, Richmond, KY  
Psychology Doctoral Trainee  
August 2013 – May 2014

Lexington Veterans Affairs Medical Center (Family Therapy Program), Lexington, KY  
Psychology Doctoral Trainee  
August 2013 – December 2013

University of Kentucky Counseling Center: Consultation and Psychological Services Lexington, KY  
Psychology Doctoral Trainee  
August 2012 – May 2013

University of Maryland Baltimore, Division of Adolescent Medicine, Baltimore, MD  
Research Assistant Intern  
August 2010 – May 2011

University of Maryland Baltimore, Division of Adolescent Medicine, Baltimore, MD  
Certified Oraquick & Clearview Rapid HIV Tester & Counselor, Level 1  
August 2010 – May 2011

Montgomery General Hospital Mental Health and Addictions Floor (Inpatient Psychiatric Facility), Olney, MD  
Mental Health Worker  
May 2007 – August 2008
PROFESSIONAL SERVICE EXPERIENCE:

University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY  
Microteaching Leader  
August 2012

Association for Women in Psychology, Philadelphia, PA  
On-Site Issues/Volunteer/AV Committee  
August 2010 – May 2011

ADDITIONAL PROFESSIONAL TRAINING:

- An Introduction to Dialectical Behavior Therapy Skills Groups - Eastern Kentucky University, Richmond, KY (2014)
- An Introduction to Psychodrama - University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY (2012)
- UKCAN/Safe Zone Ally Training - University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY (2012)

INVITED WORKSHOP FACILITATOR:


INVITED SPEAKER:


PEER-REFEREED JOURNAL REVIEWER:

Sexuality and Culture  
Journal of GLBT Family Studies

HONORS & AWARDS:

Dissertation Year Fellowship Recipient (Competitive), University of Kentucky (2014-2015)
Lyman T. Johnson Graduate Fellowship, University of Kentucky (2011-2014)
Recipient of the Psychology Department Distinguished Graduating Masters Degree Recipient
Award (Competitive), Towson University (2011)
Graduated Cum Laude in Psychology, Elon University (2009)
President’s List (three semesters), Elon University (2006-2009)
Dean’s List (two semesters), Elon University (2006-2007)
Psi Chi, National Honor Society in Psychology, Elon University (2007-present)
Pi Gamma Mu, International Honor Society in Social Sciences, Elon University (2008-present)

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS:

American Psychological Association (2010 – present)
Association for Women in Psychology (2010)
Eastern Psychological Association (2009)

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