

The Effect of Heteronormative Socialization on Beliefs, Attitudes, Perceptions, and Behaviors

by

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A Thesis

In

Sociology, Anthropology, and Social Work

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty  
of Texas Tech University in  
Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for  
the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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May, 2019

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## **Abstract**

This research examines the effects of heteronormative socialization on the formation of beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions of homosexuality and behaviors toward non-heterosexual people. Understanding these relationships is important because the physical and mental health of non-heterosexual people are impacted by attitudes and behaviors by others. Despite increasing academic attention to non-heterosexual populations, there are still a number of questions to be answered regarding these relationships. This work contributes to the literature and addresses these questions by examining the association between three primary socialization agents (religion, family, and peers) and beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions about homosexuality and behavior toward homosexuals. Furthermore, this research seeks to show the significant paths and their relative strength between variables. Data have been collected using a survey questionnaire (N=650) at a large university in the southwest United States. The discussion of findings includes the impact of socialization on beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of homosexuality and the likelihood and level of comfort interacting with LGBTQIA+ family members, friends, and acquaintances.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This research examines the relationship between heteronormative socialization and behavior towards non-heterosexual people. Further, it examines how heteronormative socialization shapes our perceptions, attitudes, and beliefs about non-heterosexual individuals. This relationship holds valuable social insight on the mistreatment of non-heterosexual and gender non-conforming individuals.

Heteronormative socialization is the process through which norms surrounding gender and sexuality are passed down from succeeding generations. Heteronormative socialization teaches that heterosexuality is the only natural and correct form of expressing sexuality. It further teaches that men and women have distinct, defined, and separate gender and sex roles. These norms are taught and passed down from generation to generation through socialization, “conveying indications to another person as to how he is to act” (Blumer, 1969). This study explores the relationship between this type of socialization and how it impacts interactions with non-heterosexual individuals. The more individuals are socialized into heteronormative values, the less they interact with those who deviate from these values.

As such, heteronormative socialization may lead to the mistreatment of those who deviate from prescribed gender norms, for example, sexual minorities (Coker, Austin, & Schuster, 2010; Saewyc, Skay, Reis, Pettingell, Bearinger, Resnick, et al., 2006; D’Augelli, Hershberger, & Pilkington, 1998). Sexual minorities face two forms of mistreatment: mistreatment at the hands of the heterosexual and gender conforming



majority and psychological harm from the internalization of gender norms inconsistent with their identity.

My study looks at sexual socialization, specifically socialization around homosexuality. I begin by reviewing previous research on sexual socialization in three areas: the family, religion, and peers. Previous research centers on implicit and explicit communication of positive messages, negative messages, and neutral messages on homosexuality. Socialization from the family, religion, and peers shapes an individual's beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions on homosexuality. I then discuss the theory in which my study is rooted. Finally, I detail the study at hand.

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review**

The process of sexual socialization is disorganized and chaotic. There is not a set plan in which individuals should learn about sexuality. Instead, individuals must navigate this topic throughout their lifetime. The significant others which an individual learns sexuality from can include immediate others such as parents, siblings, and relatives, or distant others such as teachers, peers, and religious officials. Previous research suggests that parents have the most influence, direct or indirect, on an adolescent's sexual socialization (Lefkowitz & Stoppa, 2006; Shtarkshall, Santelli, & Hirsch, 2007; D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1995; Harkness & Israel, 2018) and that sexual socialization takes place in the home and outside the home (Shtarkshall, Santelli, & Hirsch, 2007).

Socialization around sexuality typically involves a number of topics from dating and marriage to sexual behaviors and how to express sexuality (Lefkowitz & Stoppa, 2006). Methods of socialization includes religious values, mass media, and interacting with teachers and peers (Shtarkshall, Santelli, & Hirsch, 2007). Sexual socialization also includes messages about sexual orientation and sexual identity. Although, most research in the area of sexual orientation and identity focuses on the context of "coming out" (D'Augelli, Hershberger, & Pilkington, 1998; Chow & Cheng, 2010; Fields, 2001; Jadwin-Cakmak, Pingel, & Baurmeister, 2014; Perrin-Wallqvist & Lindblom, 2015; Hillier, 2002; Das, 2018).

## **The Family**

Literature on the family as a pathway for the transmission of cultural norms is vast. However, literature focusing on transmitting norms on homosexuality is not as great. The literature has established that mothers and fathers react to sexual norms and homosexuality differently (Moore, 2003; Amato, 1994; Caldwell, Rafferty, Reischl, De Loney, & Brooks, 2010; Pilkington & D'Augelli, 1995; Jadwin-Cakmak, Pingel, Harper, & Baurmeister, 2014), the child's sex and gender effect a parent's interaction (Solebello & Elliot, 2011; McGuffey, 2005; Fields, 2001), and that homosexual children interact with their family differently than non-homosexual children (Perrin-Wallqvist & Lindblom, 2015; Ohnstad, 2010).

Parents are able to communicate beliefs and ideas about sexuality through not only what they say, but by what they do not say (Lefkowitz & Stoppa, 2006). Often, parents do not explicitly communicate about sexuality and sex roles. Instead they rely on implicit communication through body language, comments, shows they watch, and the type of language they use (Jadwin-Cakmak, Pingel, Harper, & Baurmeister, 2014). Quite often, when thinking retrospectively, we glance over anything that is not explicitly shown to be homophobic or prejudice from parents.

### Parent's ideas about Homosexuality

A majority of baby boomer parents, individuals born between 1946 and 1964 with at least one child, said that they did not want to teach their children that homosexuality was acceptable or the norm (Fox, 1991). Of participants in this study, 62% described potential upset at the notion of their children coming out as homosexual (Fox, 1991).

A study of high-school-age children found that 55% of mothers and 71% of fathers never discussed about homosexuality with their sons, while 28% of mothers and 41% of fathers never discussed homosexuality with their daughters (Rosenthal & Feldman, 1999). A study of rural parents found that about 50% of parents reported discussing homosexuality with their children either not at all or not very much (Jordan, Price, & Fitzgerald, 2000). Another study looking at retrospective parent-child discourse found that parents and children infrequently discussed sexual minority issues due to the topic being perceived as taboo (Heisler, 2005).

Scholars have noted that among males, the relationship with their father has more of an effect than the relationship with their mother (Amato, 1994; Caldwell, Rafferty, Reischl, De Loney, & Brooks, 2010). This affects the way that males learn about how to act and “be a man.” It is often perceived that fathers will be more disapproving than mothers about having a child that is homosexual (Pilkington & D’Augelli, 1995). Solebello and Elliot (2011) found that fathers dealt with their children’s homosexuality in different ways based on the child’s sex; fathers were more comfortable with their daughters being homosexual than their sons. Roberts and Holt (1980) also found that fathers were more concerned with their sons not conforming to normative expressions of sexuality than their daughters.

A study conducted by Harkness and Israel (2018), using real-time observational data, found that of the 755 messages about sexuality observed between mother and child, approximately 60% were positive, 15% were negative, and the remaining 25% were neutral.

### Implicit Communication by Parents

A common implicit message communicated by parents is that their child is heterosexual or will be (Martin, 2009; Shibley, Hyde, & Jaffee, 2000; Swall & Swall, 2001). Roberts and Holt (1980) found that fathers were more concerned with their sons not conforming to normative expressions of sexuality than their daughters. Martin (2009) found that, among over 600 mothers, a majority assumed that their 3 – 6-year-old child was heterosexual and only talked about future romantic relationship as heterosexual. A study on tone when talking about sexuality found that adult children often recalled their parents using a negative tone when discussing sexual minorities (Goldfarb, Lieberman, Kwiatkowski, & Santos, 2016).

Parents may also implicitly communicate positive messages about sexual orientation. Lefkowitz and Stoppa (2006) showed that one mother in their study used a nonjudgmental and normalizing tone when talking about sexual minorities with her daughter. Another study found that parents implicitly communicated positive messages by intervening in anti-LGBTQIA social situations and through positive relationships with sexual minorities (Stotzer, 2008).

### Explicit Communication by Parents

Some studies have found that parents, especially mothers, will explicitly communicate positive messages about sexuality (Cohen & Kovalanka, 2011) In this study, 9 out of 10 mothers specifically taught their children a “full-range” of sexual orientation identities. Harkness and Israel (2018) noted that some mothers will challenge negative assumptions about sexual minorities by showing acceptance and tolerance for people in same-sex relationships.

40% of parent's in a study conducted by Roberts and Holt in 1980 reported warning their son to act like a "little man" and not a "sissy." Harkness and Israel (2018) noted that negative messages by mothers centered around conflicting religious views about sexual minorities, expressing negativity for people being "out," and assuming someone would be uncomfortable with sexual minorities. Martin (2009) found that mothers who are concerned with their child's non-normative gender behavior often worry about their child being homosexual and tend to actively teach their children that homosexuality is wrong and direct their children in a heterosexual lifestyle.

Fathers are more likely to react negatively to their homosexual sons than their homosexual daughters, e.g. violent reactions and violent language. This can be attributed to the fact that fathers typically feel accountable for their son's sexuality (Solebello & Elliot, 2011).

Parents are able to use neutral messages when communicate with their children about sexuality. These are message that do indicate a positive or negative message. Common topics when using neutral messages centered around the existence of sexual minorities and their identities. In all neutral instances, mothers did not convey their own beliefs when discussing sexual minority topics (Harkness & Israel, 2018).

#### A Child's Understanding of a Parent's View on Homosexuality

The effect of parental attitudes and reinforcements is evident in the research on "coming out." Many adolescents who identify as homosexual feel the need to lie to their parents before coming out (Perrin-Wallqvist & Lindblom, 2015). Chow and Cheng (2010) noted that family members can cause emotional and mental distress to

homosexual children. Lesbians reveal their sexual identity to their friends before they come out to their parents (Chow & Cheng, 2010).

There is a common theme among adolescent children who are not out to their parents. Many children feel that by coming out, their relationship with their parents will be ruined (Perrin-Wallqvist & Lindblom, 2015). Children who identify as lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB) often worry about what their parents will think of them when they disclose their sexual identity (Perrin-Wallqvist & Lindblom, 2015). According to Perrin-Wallqvist & Lindblom (2015), this idea comes from how the children perceive their parent's views on homosexuality. LGB children often worry that their parents will not love them anymore or that their relationship with their parents will drastically change. Children learned that there is an unspoken rule about being attracted to the opposite sex (Perrin-Wallqvist & Lindblom, 2015). When parents have homosexual children, they often feel responsible for their child's sexuality and parents blame themselves (Fields, 2001).

### **The Socialization, Social Control and the Content of "Morality"**

Religion and religious institutions play a vital role in the socialization and formation of morality in individuals. Shannahan (2010) posits that moral ideas can be taught through the context of religious holy books. Readers are immersed in and taught various way of acting through the acts of translating, reading, and interpreting holy literature. This leads to the individual "knowing" if an action is good or bad, right or wrong, sinful or not, eventually shaping the actor's belief system (Whitehead, 2014).

Most religions classify homosexuality as “unnatural,” “ungodly,” and “impure” (Yip, 2005). Within the Christian religion, it is widely believed that the Bible explicitly or implicitly condemns homosexuality through discourse on heterosexual marriage (Yip, 2005). Similarly, in the Islamic faith, the Quran condemns homosexuality in discourse on heterosexual marriage (Yip, 2005). Individuals who see God as wrathful or interpret the bible literally are more likely to oppose homosexuality (Froese, Bader, & Smith, 2008; Hill, Moulton, & Burdette, 2004; Perry, 2015; Whitehead, 2010, Whitehead, 2014; Whitehead & Perry, 2016; Ellison, Wolfinger, & Ramos-Wada, 2013).

So how does the act of interpreting holy texts lead to the formation of a hierarchical moral system? Love (1997) conducted a study at a Catholic college where students engaged in a system of morals. The students at this college engaged in a number of activities that are considered sinful and as morally wrong choices according to the Catholic church doctrine, including using birth control, having premarital sex, and homosexual behavior. Interview data showed that the students chose to ignore the Catholic church’s teaching on birth control and premarital sex, but called upon church doctrine to substantiate their view on homosexuality. A majority of students considered homosexuality to be unnatural, immoral, indecent, and obscene (Love, 1997).

Although followers invoke church doctrine, within religious institutions there are a wide array of views on homosexuality resulting in a range of followers with views that span a wide range from negative, moderate, or positive (Moon, 2014). The key difference creating the range of views is the interpretation of holy literature. For example, in the Jewish faith, each denomination views homosexuality differently. The Orthodox Jewish



faith view homosexuality as an illness and not as a conscious objection of God's laws, while reform Judaism accepts and supports homosexuals in their temple (Moon, 2014).

Individuals who attend religious activities are more likely to view homosexuality as negative (Perry & Whitehead, 2016b; Sherkat, Mattias, & Creek, 2010; Whitehead, 2010; Whitehead 2014; Froese, Bader, & Smith, 2008; Ellison, Wolfinger, & Ramos-Wada, 2013). Whitehead (2013) posits that this association is driven by negative messages and cues on homosexuality within religious activities. Individuals who are more religiously devout and see their faith as important are more likely to hold negative views of homosexuality (Perry & Whitehead, 2016b).

Religion and religious beliefs continues to be one of the strongest predictors of attitudes on homosexuality (Perry & Whitehead, 2016a; Perry & Whitehead, 2016b; Sherkat et al., 2010, Sherkat, Mattias, & Creek, 2011; Whitehead, 2014; Perry, 2015).

Research on religious societies found that people who are not religious can be influenced by the dominant religious culture (Adamczyk & Felson, 2006). Out of fear for divine punishment, religious individuals may encourage others in society to adopt anti-homosexual views and institute intolerant policies (Regnerus & Smith, 1998). Edwards (2013) found that religious Christians often felt that they were superior to homosexuals, including non-religious homosexuals. This superiority stems from the idea that heterosexuality is normal and homosexuality is deviant (Edwards, 2013).

## **Peers**

Peers are a vital part of socialization. Peers are the most frequent sources of sexuality (Wallmyr & Welin, 2006) and are powerful influence on attitudes and

behaviors (Adamczyk & Felson, 2006). Outside of the family, individuals spend a large amount of time with their peers and as age increases so do interactions with peers (Larson, Reed, & Richards, 1991). Peer feedback and its importance increases during adolescences, ultimately affecting individual's self-evaluation and identity (Hergovich, Sirsch, & Felinger, 2004).

Older adolescents have more positive views of homosexuality (Horn, 2006) and are more willing to stay friends with someone who is homosexual (Poteat, Espelage, & Koenig, 2009); Toomey (2012) suggests that this relationship is due to older adolescents being cognizant of heteronormative expectations.

#### Pressure from Peers

Adolescents often feel pressure from their peers to maintain a certain image. In a majority of high schools across the United States, school mates are expected to be heterosexual and conform to heteronormative views (Kimmel & Mahler, 2003) Perrin-Wallqvist and Lindblom (2015) found that in schools, peers expect one another to be heterosexual. Adolescents in the study felt the need to fit in and have the same sexual orientation as their peers (Perrin-Wallqvist & Lindblom, 2015).

#### Male Peers & Peer Pressure

Research has shown that male adolescents construct their masculine identity through their peers and that males face more pressure to conform to their peers than do females (Renold, 2001; Witt, 2000). Among male peers, homosexuality is seen as subordinate to heterosexuality (Connell, 2005). Males will use homophobic language to distance themselves from homosexuality (Mora, 2012) and avoid being seen as lacking masculinity (Mora, 2012; Plummer, 2001).

Many male adolescents will construct their masculinity in opposition of homosexuality, girls and women, and femininity (Nilan, 2000; Thorne, 1995). Pascoe (2007) found an exacerbated form of this same masculinity formation among high school boys where they formed their identity in direct opposition of the “fag” identity.

Male peers will police each other for the heterosexual tendencies as a means to promote heterosexuality (Chambers, Tincknell, & Van Loon, 2004). Those peers who do not conform to a normative gender role by performing heterosexuality are often sanctioned by their peers through mocking and being called gay (Pascoe, 2007). This mocking and accusation of being gay based on performing heterosexuality shows the importance of being heterosexual among male peers (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009).

Male peers create a hierarchy among themselves to dominate those who are not as heterosexual as themselves. Males participated and competed in compulsive heteronormativity to avoid being called gay or fag (Pascoe, 2007). By winning in this “competition,” boys can challenge the identity of other boys who are not as successful in the completion by calling them fag or other derogatory terms associated with homosexuality. By competing and winning in this competition, boys were essentially trying to safeguard themselves and their identity from being called a fag (Pascoe, 2007). Mora (2012) found that males within a male peer group will use homophobic language to distance themselves from the identity challenge of being called fag. This fag identity was seen as less because some males see homosexuality as lacking masculinity (Mora, 2012; Plummer, 2001).

### **Demographic Effects on Views of Homosexuality**

Previous research has shown that females are more likely than males to hold positive views of homosexuality (Whitehead, 2014; Sherkat et al., 2010; Adolfsen, Iedema, & Keuzenkamp, 2010; Herek & Capitanio, 1995). As level of education increases, so do positive views on homosexuality (Herek & Capitanio, 1995) Individuals with more liberal political ideologies, as compared to conservative ideologies, are more likely to hold positive views of homosexuality (Sherkat et al., 2010; Sherkat et al., 2011; Herek & Capitanio, 1995). African Americans typically hold more negative views of homosexuality than whites (Sherkat et al., 2010; Whitehead, 2013; Herek & Capitanio, 1995). Also, as age increases, views on homosexuality become more negative (Perry & Whitehead 2016b; Whitehead 2014; Sherkat et al., 2010; Sherkat et al., 2011).

## **Chapter 3**

### **Theoretical Framework**

#### **The Creation of a Heteronormative Society**

In this section, I discuss how a heteronormative society comes to exist. I begin this section by setting the framework by which heteronormative socialization becomes the norm. Utilizing micro interactionist theories, including symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) and primary socialization (Berger & Luckmann, 1966), I explain the process of heteronormative socialization in society by emphasizing three socialization agents - religion, family, and peers - which help create a lasting social effect on homosexuality, beliefs and perceptions as well as stigma (Goffman, 1963). Then I translate this effect to interacting with homosexuals and focus on how stigma is incorporated into our everyday life, i.e. habitus (Bourdieu, 1990). I conclude this chapter with how people choose to present themselves by applying Goffman's (1959) theory of dramaturgy.

#### **Heteronormative Socialization**

Heteronormative socialization is the process through which ideas about sex and sexuality are passed successively from one generation to the next. Specifically, heteronormative socialization teaches that the only correct form of sexuality is heterosexuality. This process becomes entrenched through socialization, specifically primary socialization. Berger and Luckmann (1966) posit that primary socialization happens during childhood and is not finished until the child begins to question their objective reality.

The individual, however, is not born a member of society. He is born with a predisposition towards sociality, and he becomes a member of society. In the life of every individual, therefore, there is a temporal sequence, in the course of which he is inducted into participation in the societal dialectic. (Berger & Luckmann, 1966, p. 149)

Children are born into a social reality in which they have no control over (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Instead, language, values, and ideas are transferred to children through mediators, and significant others, such as family and peers as well as religious institutions. During this process, children create an extreme emotional attachment to significant others. This important attachment is needed to transmit ideas without question. Once a child begins to question the generalized other, primary socialization ends (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).

Through primary socialization, parents are able to teach their children that they should be heterosexual. As a consequence, children either do not learn about alternative forms of expressing sexuality or learn that homosexuality is immoral, sinful, and wrong. As previously mentioned, parents transmit these norms explicitly through language and action as well as implicitly.

### **Socialization's Lasting Effects - Beliefs, Perceptions, and Attitudes Towards Homosexuality**

In the previous section I discussed the process of socialization. In this section I will focus on the lasting effects of socialization; the creation of meaning, i.e. perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes towards homosexuality. I utilize habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) and symbolic interactionism (Blumer, 1969) to explain this process.

The acquisition of norms directly translates to the formation of beliefs and attitudes. When an individual has internalized the norm, it has become a part of their reality. Bourdieu (1990) posits that an individual incorporates experiences and social interaction into their habitus. As an individual interacts with significant others, they learn what actions are appropriate. Bourdieu (1990) also states that weight is given to earlier life experiences. Although meanings are constantly being renegotiated, an individual will always have the experiences of primary socialization at the root of their actions.

Habitus converges with symbolic interaction through the idea that the meaning of things is constantly being renegotiated through social interaction. With every new experience and every new situation, we renegotiate what we believe. This process never ceases. An individual's habitus is personal to them, yet it is shaped by common, social forces. These forces come from structures within our society and contribute to the habitus in many ways. For example, structures, or institutionalized patterns of behavior, provide a frame within which people act. It is a form of social control that we do not often notice until we push against it and it pushes back.

A perception is the result of observing an action. Beliefs and attitudes do not require an action to exist. Blumer (1969) posits that meaning comes from social interaction. This social interaction can also be understood as observing a social interaction. During this process, an individual instantly forms a perception based on their primary socialization.

## **Sexual Stigma**

Goffman (1963) says that there are negative effects of interacting. One of these negative effects is stigma. Stigma is “an attribute that is deeply discrediting” (Goffman, 1963, p. 3). According to Goffman, there are three types of stigma:

First, the abominations of the body - the various physical deformities. Next, are the blemishes of individual character perceived as weak will, domineering or unnatural passions, treacherous and rigid beliefs, and dishonesty, these being inferred from a known record of, for example, mental disorder, imprisonment, addiction, alcoholism, homosexuality, unemployment, suicidal attempts, or radical political behavior. Finally, there are the tribal stigma of race, nation, and religion, these being stigma that can be transmitted through lineages and equally contaminate all members of a family (Goffman, 1963, p. 4)

Goffman’s second type of stigma directly addresses to homosexuality. “Sexual stigma is attached to any non-heterosexual behavior, identity, relationship, or community” (Teliti, 2015). Through heteronormative primary socialization, children begin to learn that homosexuality is a stigma. Homosexuality is not inherently wrong. Individuals learn that homosexuality is wrong through the acquisition of morals. Homosexuality a negative value is prevalent norm taught in many cultures. This type of stigma can be seen manifested in the Defense of Marriage Act, sodomy laws, and the “don’t ask, don’t tell” policy. Although all of these have been repealed in the last several years, there is a lasting effect that has been transmitted from the previous generation to the current. These lasting effects are seen in the lack of policy throughout the United



States to protect sexual minorities from discrimination at work, in housing, and at local businesses.

### **Interacting With Homosexuals**

Goffman's (1959) presentation of the self also focuses on how we learn things through social interaction. Goffman uses a dramaturgical approach to socialization and posits that individuals act according to the audience that is in front of them. An individual takes the audience's reactions into account when putting on a performance. The actor will perform for the audience and change their performance based on their perception of the audience's reaction (Goffman, 1959). An individual who typically interacts in a negative way with homosexuals might be forced to change their interaction based on the setting they are in and the actors in the setting (Goffman, 1959). For example, it would be highly unlikely that an actor could get away using homophobic slurs in an office setting or at a café. The actor would be confronted with negative reactions from the audience and change their performance. However, among homophobic peers, the individual will interact negatively with homosexuals.

Habitus helps an individual translate what they know into new situations and experiences. We draw on our habitus in unfamiliar experiences to give us an idea of how to act or define a new situation. We try to find a commonality between the experiences we have had and the new experience we face. We translate the norms and socialization that we have into our new setting. Sometimes a person's habitus is ill-prepared for a new situation and those around them will act more harshly. This in turn renegotiates and reconstructs the habitus.

Goffman and Bourdieu's ideas converge to help an actor who does not have the skills to interact with an actor they have never encountered. An actor will draw on their habitus and change their behavior based on the reaction of others, functioning the best they can until they see the audience's reaction and adjust their own actions. From these experiences, actors become adept at transporting the props and acting skills that they used in one setting and translating those in a new setting they know nothing about.

### **Social Learning**

Social learning is a process that is ongoing (Blumer, 1969; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Bourdieu, 1990). As we move through life, we are constantly reinterpreting and renegotiating norms, values, and symbols. Bourdieu (1990) posits that an intrinsic part of who we are is unconscious. This is our habitus and we go through life developing our habitus based on our social situations. Our habitus is the culmination of our learned experiences through social interaction. He further states that our habitus is renegotiated and reinterpreted based on our interactions within the social world. The culmination of our learned experiences helps us portray what we want to those around us. This dramaturgical process is Goffman's contribution to social interaction. He posits that we select what we want to portray to others. We do this to create a certain image of ourselves based on the situation that we are in.

### **Socialization, Religion, and the Intergenerational Transmission of Heteronormativity**

I theorize that the largest influence on a person's heteronormative socialization comes from vertical socialization, especially from parents by the socialization they teach

and force upon their children. Vertical socialization is the intergenerational socialization between parents and children. The culture that parents have is transferred to children during everyday life. The comments that parents make about different things lead children to learn how to act. Parents create subtle cues and they influence an individual's perception of homosexuality.

Religion is a major social force in the creation of moral values of a society. This happens through the messages and translations of holy literature. The teachings of the church in the United States are incorporated into the beliefs of followers and influences their everyday life. This religious doctrine becomes the moral standard by which people live and judge others. Through this internalization process, we see religion embedded in and affecting the totality of social life. Consequently, people who do not go to church begin to follow the practices of the church in an indirectly by responding to the judgements of others.

Direct internalization of morals from the church happens because the people around us have power and influence over us. Without power and influence, the church's moral values would not be widespread in society. People who do not attend church can still have the same values as someone who attends church. This happens because the majority of people have been socialized with elements that have been largely from the church.

In the case of the morality surrounding sexuality, many of the heteronormative beliefs, and subsequent judgements of behavior, have been codified into law. The power of formalized social control has not only the power to judge and label non-heterosexuals

deviant and criminal, but to also dent basic human rights and benefits through marginalization and rendering marginal persons powerless.

Direct socialization by the church happens through the use of symbols and people of the church. Those with power over us are able to influence us. Thus, we tailor our behavior to please them and, in turn, internalize the values they promote.

For example, the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) implemented by President Clinton in 1996 mandated that marriage could only be between a man and a woman based on religious doctrine. Nothing else was legally recognized in the United States. This had a significant effect on society's view of homosexuality. Because a person in power upheld religious doctrine by saying that homosexuality was wrong through the implementing of this policy, others in the society internalized this belief.

Religious beliefs and values are reinforced not only by the family and church and other people around us, but also by the media. The images on television, in movies, and the music industry help to portray heterosexuality. There is an absence of accurate portrayals of homosexual relationships, homosexual characters, and a homosexual identity. This creates the image that homosexuals are "other." Homosexuality is often placed in opposition of heterosexuality in a binary fashion. Homosexuality in media can be anything that heterosexuality is not. Therefore, when someone who is heterosexual sees this, they believe that anyone who is homosexual is unlike like them and different in every way. This creates the image that because homosexual is the opposite of heterosexual, it is therefore bad.

People who engage in homosexuality vary greatly demographically. The media continue to show homosexuals primarily as white, thin, wealthy and culturally beautiful

(Linneman, 2008; Roy, 2012; Madžarević & Soto-Sanfiel, 2018). However, when we look around in everyday life, we can clearly see that people, regardless of sexuality, differ from each other demographically. Within homosexual communities, we find different races, ethnicities, socioeconomic statuses, different interests, different religions, etc. Homosexuality and homosexual communities cannot all be painted with the same brush or in the same stroke. This is only one characteristic of a person and one characteristic of a community.

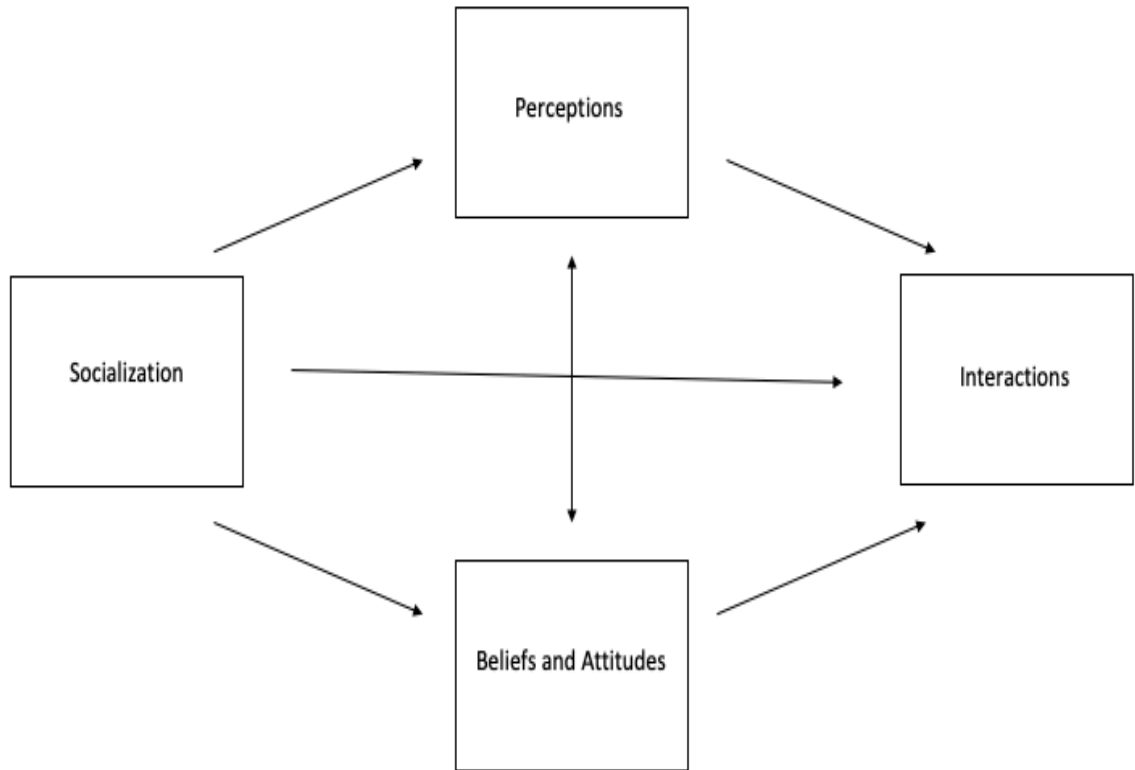
Some peers use these gender roles and heteronormative ideas as leverage to make people conform to normative ideas about sexuality. This is done through language and the meanings we assign to words. Peers are able to influence someone's behavior by leveraging homophobic slurs in a way that challenges someone's identity when it is not yet wholly formed. Even when someone's identity is fairly secure, peers are still able to use language to reshape a person's identity. This reshaping of identity is not done in an inward fashion. Instead, it is done through renegotiation of one's self based on our peers and our own understanding of things.

Homosexuality is often created in opposition to heterosexuality, children are raised, dressed, and trained to act reflect normative gender roles. From a young time in children's lives they are taught that boys like blue and girls like pink. This translates into children's clothing. Babies with a penis wear blue or another color that is considered masculine and babies with a vagina wear pink or another color that is considered feminine. Females are freer than males to cross the "gender divide" when it comes to behavior and clothing (Thorne, 1995).

Wearing anything outside of normative expectations might lead to being called homosexual, regardless of actual sexual orientation. These are all based on the gender and sex roles imposed on us from birth. They have translated into a fear of being assumed to be homosexual. We all actively leverage these gender roles to reflect that we understand normative values.

From an early age, we are taught by our parents and peers that heterosexuality is the only acceptable expression of sexuality. Religious experiences also teach us that homosexuality is morally wrong and therefore is an unacceptable lifestyle and identity. This understanding of sexuality results in individuals only associating with those who comply with sexuality norms. This means that individuals will use their knowledge of sexuality during their everyday interactions.

Figure 1 is an illustration of my theoretical model of the effects of heteronormative socialization on the level of interaction with homosexuals.



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**Figure 1: Theoretical Model**

**Hypotheses**

Based on my theoretical model, I hypothesize that socialization from religious experiences and the family will increase the negative attitudes and beliefs as well as perceptions that individuals have of homosexuality. These two institutions teach that heterosexuality is normal and the only appropriate way to express sexuality. This means that an individual is less likely to interact with a non-heterosexual person. I hypothesize that an individual who is heavily influenced by peers will be more likely to have positive views of homosexuality and non-heterosexuals and increase the likelihood that an

individual interacts with a non-heterosexual person in a positive way e.g. going to dinner or sharing a cup of coffee with them.

### Hypotheses

H1: Heteronormative religious experiences will result in fewer interactions with homosexuals.

H2: Heteronormative religious experiences will result in an indirect path that reduces interaction with homosexuals. The relationship between heteronormative religious experiences and interactions with homosexuals will be mediated through beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions.

H3: Higher religious importance will result in fewer interactions with homosexuals.

H4: Higher religious importance will result in an indirect path that reduces interaction with homosexuals. The relationship between religious importance and interactions with homosexuals will be mediated through beliefs and attitudes.

H5: Heteronormative family socialization will result in fewer interactions with homosexuals.

H6: Heteronormative family socialization will result in an indirect path that reduces interaction with homosexuals. The relationship between heteronormative family socialization and interactions with homosexuals will be mediated through beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions.

H7: Heteronormative peer socialization will result in fewer interactions with homosexuals.



H8: Non-heteronormative peer socialization will result in an indirect path that increases interaction with homosexuals. The relationship between peer socialization and interaction with homosexuals will be mediated through beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Methodology**

The sampling technique used in this study is convenience sampling. The target population of this study was self-identifying heterosexual college students from all race/ethnicities who were of any age. Respondents were recruited from sociology courses and a university wide announcement system at a large University in Texas. Data were collected from 897 respondents. Respondents were screened for their self-identified sexual orientation. Only self-identified heterosexuals were used in the study. The original sample size, before screening, was 679 respondents. After screening for sexual orientation, the sample size was 604 respondents.

Subjects were recruited through two recruitment strategies. The first strategy involved gaining permission from several sociology instructors to recruit their students. After an agreement was reached, an oral script was presented at the beginning of each class. The oral script included the subject of the research, guidelines to maintain anonymity, and instructions on how to access the survey. Then, the URL to the survey was provided to all students. The second recruitment strategy used a university wide announcement system. Weekly postings were made for one month. The postings included the subject of the research, a synopsis, and detailed description of the study.

Data were collected through a self-administered online survey software, SurveyMonkey. Respondents were asked to complete 76-questions. At the beginning of the questionnaire, an information sheet was presented to potential participants informing them that participation in the study was completely voluntary. Instructions on how to withdraw from participation at any time and that if they wished to withdraw, they could

simply close the window and their responses would not be recorded. Contact information was given to participants at the bottom of the information sheet. Contact information was provided for the researcher, the primary investigator, and the Human Research Protection Program (HRPP).

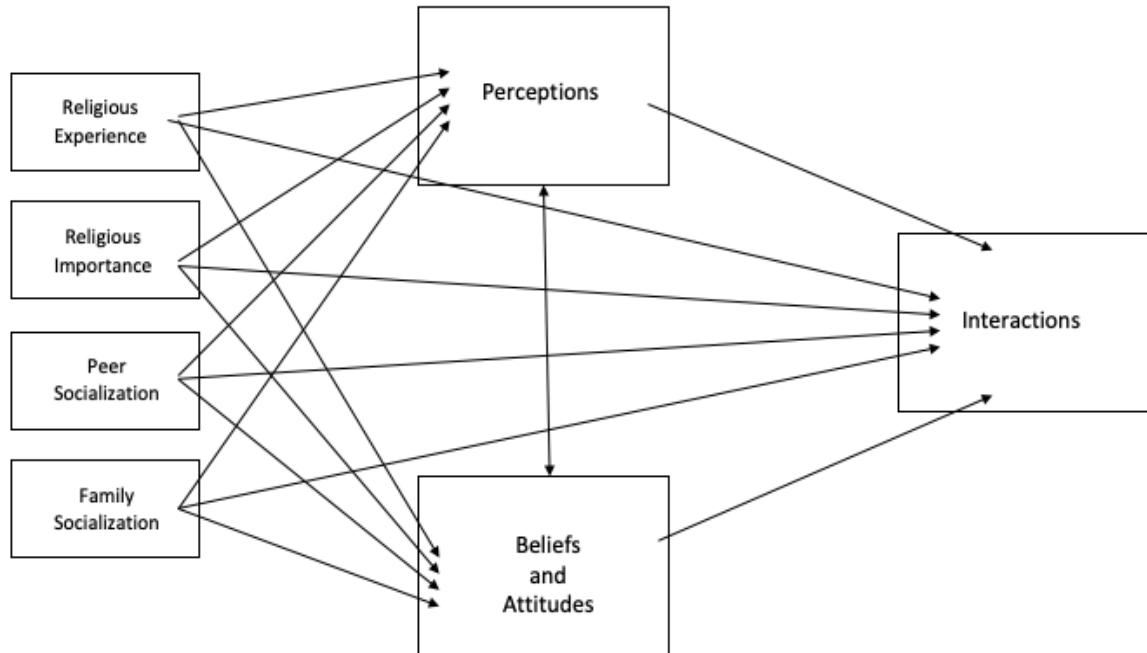
Students enrolled in sociology courses were compensated for their participation in the form of bonus points in the class. Instructors agreed to award five extra points to each student who completed the survey. For students who did not wish to participate, they were allowed to write a 2-page paper on a topic of the instructor's choice for the same amount of extra credit. Respondents who were recruited from the university announcement did not receive any form of compensation.

A description of the sample is available in Figure 2. The average age of respondents in the sample is 20 years old with a standard deviation of 4 years. Approximately 54% of the sample was female and the remaining 46% were male. 58% of respondents are non-Hispanic white, 8.7% are African American, 24.3% are Hispanic, and 9% are another race. Approximately 14.5% of the sample is liberal, 12% leans liberal, 31.4% are middle of the road, 14.6% lean conservative, and 27.5% are conservative.

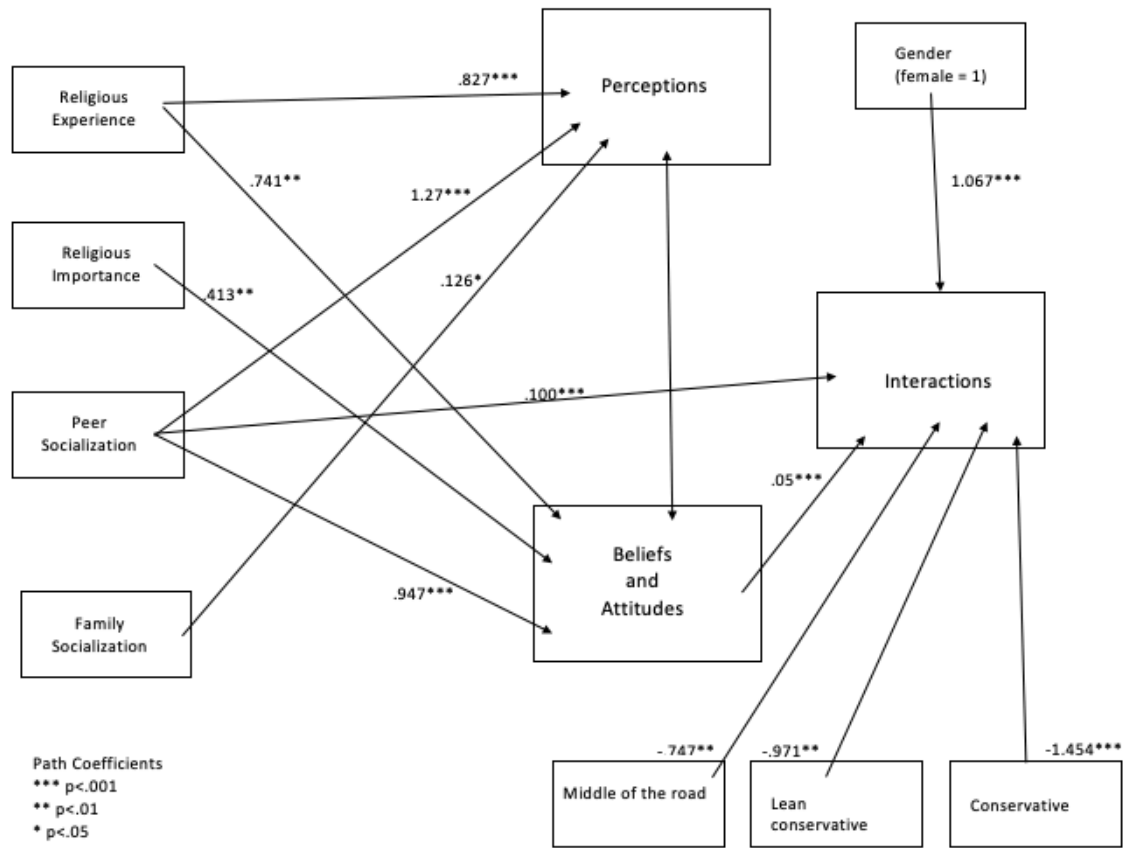
Sample Characteristics				
	F	%	MEAN	ST. DEV.
AGE			20	4
GENDER				
MALE	275	45.61		
FEMALE	328	54.39		
RACE/ETHNICITY				
NON-HISPANIC WHITE	348	58.00		
AFRICAN AMERICAN	52	8.67		
HISPANIC	146	24.33		
OTHER	54	9.00		
POLITICAL VIEWS				
LIBERAL	86	14.43		
LEAN LIBERAL	72	12.08		
MIDDLE OF THE ROAD	187	31.38		
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	87	14.60		
CONSERVATIVE	164	27.52		

**Figure 2: Sample Characteristics**

The amount of interaction with homosexuals is the dependent variable in a path model that includes religious experience, religious importance, peer socialization, and family socialization which controls for age, gender, race and ethnicity, as well as political views (see figure 3).



**Figure 3: Final Model**



**Figure 4: Reduced From Path Diagram**

**Dependent variable**

The dependent variable for this study (“interaction”) is the amount of interaction a person has with someone who identifies as non-heterosexual. The variable is measured using a thirteen-item scale (see figure 5). A code of 1 indicates that the respondent has experienced a given interaction while a code of zero indicates that the respondent has not. The dependent variable can range from a minimum score of 0 to a maximum score of 13. A higher score reflects more interaction with homosexuals and a lower score indicates less interaction with homosexuals.

Cronbach's alpha = 0.77; N = 600; Mean= 6.44; s=2.57; Range = 0 – 13

1. I have gone to see a movie at the movie theater with a homosexual
2. I have had dinner with a homosexual
3. I am friends with a person who has been in a homosexual relationship
4. I have attended a homosexual wedding
5. I have shared a house, apartment, dorm, or other form of housing with a homosexual
6. I have attended a gay pride event to enjoy the celebration
7. In the past month, I have used a homophobic slur (fag, dyke, etc.)\*
8. In the past month, I have approached a homosexual to tell them something negative about their sexuality\*
9. I have voted in opposition of homosexual rights (marriage equality, adoption privileges, etc.)\*
10. I have committed physical violence against a homosexual\*
11. I have invited a homosexual into my home
12. I have hugged a homosexual
13. I have discussed homo-romantic relationships with a homosexual

*NOTE. Items with an asterisk are reverse coded.*

## **Figure 5: Dependent Variable**

### **Independent Variables**

#### Peer socialization

Peer socialization is the respondent's friends' attitudes on homosexuality. Each respondent was asked to rate, on a Likert scale, how much they agreed with a statement on how they perceived their friends' thoughts on not being heterosexual. This was measured using a four-item scale (see figure 6). The possible responses for the first 3 questions are: [1] Strongly agree, [2] Agree, [3] Somewhat Agree, [4] Somewhat Disagree, [5] Disagree, and [6] Strongly Disagree. The possible responses for the final question are [1] Never, [2] Seldom, [3] Occasionally, and [4] Often. The 4-point Likert scale was reweighted to a 6-point scale. The minimum possible score for the peer socialization scale was 4 and the maximum possible score was 24. A higher score

indicates that friends are more open and more positive towards homosexuality/homosexuals. A lower score indicates that friends are less open and more negative towards homosexuality/homosexuals.

Cronbach's alpha = 0.79; N = 591; Mean = 16.37; s = 4.93; Range = 4 – 24

1. My friends would not like me if I was sexually or romantically attracted to the same sex,
2. My friends would not hang out with me if I was romantically or sexually attracted to the same sex,
3. My friends expect me to date someone of the opposite sex, and
4. In the past month, how many times did your friends use a homophobic slur (fag, dyke, etc.)?\*

*NOTE. Items with an asterisk are reverse coded.*

### **Figure 6: Peer Socialization**

#### Family Socialization

Family socialization is respondent's understanding of their parents' attitudes on homosexuality. This is measured using a 7-item scale (see figure 7). Each respondent was asked to rate, on a Likert scale, how much they agreed with each statement. The possible responses for the questions are: [1] Strongly agree, [2] Agree, [3] Somewhat Agree, [4] Somewhat Disagree, [5] Disagree, and [6] Strongly Disagree. The minimum possible score for the family socialization scale is 7 and the maximum possible score is 42. A higher score indicates that parents are more likely to have an open mind about homosexuality/homosexuals. A lower score indicates that parents are less likely to have an open mind about homosexuality/homosexuals.



Cronbach's Alpha = 0.89; N= 593; Mean = 26.01; s = 9.48; Range = 7 – 42

1. In the past 6 months, at least one of my parents has used a homophobic slur (fag, dyke, etc.)
2. One of my parents has explicitly told me I was to be heterosexual
3. One of my parents would disapprove if I had a homosexual relationship
4. One of my parents believes homosexuality is wrong
5. One of my parents would react negatively if I told them I was sexually or romantically attracted to the same sex
6. One of my parents would disown me if I told them I was sexually or romantically attracted to the same sex
7. One of my parents expects me to date a member of the opposite sex.

### **Figure 7: Family Socialization**

#### Religious Socialization

Religious socialization is how a respondent understands their religious experiences and its views on homosexuality. Religious experiences are subjective to each respondent; therefore, a religious experience may include attend mass or temple, or encountering religious people on the street. Each respondent was asked to rate, on a 2-item and 4-item Likert scale, how much they agreed with a statement on their religious beliefs and experience. The possible responses for the questions are: [1] Strongly agree, [2] Agree, [3] Somewhat Agree, [4] Somewhat Disagree, [5] Disagree, and [6] Strongly Disagree. The first scale was religious importance (see figure 8). The minimum possible score for the religious importance scale is 2 and the maximum possible score is 12. A higher score indicates that respondents are less likely to consider their religious beliefs. A lower indicates that respondents are more likely to consider their religious beliefs. The second scale is religious experience (see figure 9). The minimum possible score for the religious experience scale is 4 and the maximum possible score is 24. A higher score

indicates that a respondent's religious experiences have been more positive about homosexuality/homosexuals. A lower score indicates that a respondent's religious experiences have been less positive about homosexuality/homosexuals.

Cronbach's alpha = 0.94; N = 599; Mean = 5.04; s = 3.00; Range = 2 – 12

1. Upholding my religious beliefs is important to me
2. I consider my religious beliefs when making decisions.

### **Figure 8: Religious Importance**

Cronbach's alpha = 0.7949; N = 598; Mean = 16.120; s = 4.68; Range = 4 – 24

1. My religious experiences have taught me that marriage is between one man and one woman
2. My religious experiences have taught me that homosexuality is immoral
3. My religious experiences have taught me that homosexuals are evil people
4. My religious experiences have taught me that homosexuals should not be around children

### **Figure 9: Religious Experience**

#### Perception

Perception is how the respondent views homosexuality in the world. Perception is the act of seeing something and responding to it. Perception is measured as the level of comfort with seeing non-heteronormative actions and interactions. This is measured using a 13-item scale (see figure 10). Each respondent was asked to rate, on a Likert scale, how comfortable they were with seeing an interaction or action. The possible responses are: [1] Strongly agree, [2] Agree, [3] Somewhat Agree, [4] Somewhat Disagree, [5] Disagree, and [6] Strongly Disagree. The perception scale ranges from a

minimum score of 13 to a maximum score of 78. A higher score indicates that a respondent is okay with seeing homosexual imagery. A lower score indicates that a respondent does not like to see homosexual imagery.

Cronbach's alpha = 0.93; N = 588; Mean = 55.09; s = 13.48; Range = 13 – 78

1. I do not like to see same-sex public displays of affection
2. I do not like seeing homosexuals in movies or TV shows
3. When I see a feminine man, I think that he is gay
4. When I see a masculine woman, I think that she is a lesbian
5. I do not like seeing children with same-sex couples
6. I do not like hearing about homosexuals' rights in America
7. I get upset when I see male children playing with female children's toys
8. I get upset when I see female children playing with male children's toys
9. I get upset when I see the rainbow pride flag
10. I get upset when I see a gay pride parade
11. I would be a social outcast if people knew I was attracted to the same sex
12. I would be upset if someone thought I was homosexual
13. Homosexuals are generally portrayed positively in the media

### **Figure 10: Perception**

#### Beliefs and Attitudes

Beliefs and attitudes are what a respondent believes about homosexuality and how a respondent feels about homosexuality without the need to see a homosexual act or action. Therefore, beliefs and attitudes are measured as the respondent's firmly held thoughts on homosexuality. This variable is a 16-item scale (see figure 11). Each respondent was asked to rate, on a Likert scale, how much they agreed with a statement on homosexuality. The possible responses are: [1] Strongly agree, [2] Agree, [3] Somewhat Agree, [4] Somewhat Disagree, [5] Disagree, and [6] Strongly Disagree. The beliefs and attitude scale ranges from a minimum score of 16 to a maximum score of 96.

A higher score indicates that a respondent is more likely to believe positive things about homosexuality and homosexual acts. A lower score indicates that a respondent is less likely to believe positive things about homosexuality and homosexual acts.

Cronbach's alpha = 0. 0.90; N = 584; Mean = 56.88; s = 11.72; Range = 16 – 96

1. Homosexual acts are disgusting
2. I think homosexuality is just another type of sexual attraction, like being attracted to people who are older or have blonde hair\*
3. I would be uncomfortable if someone of the same sex flirted with me
4. I see homosexuals using their sexuality to obtain special privileges
5. Homosexuals should stop forcing their sexuality on others
6. Homosexuality is a mental disorder
7. Homosexuality is a choice
8. Homosexuality is immoral
9. People should not use homophobic slurs (fag, dyke, etc.)\*
10. Homosexuals should be imprisoned
11. Homosexuals make America a better country\*
12. Homosexual Americans should have the same rights as heterosexual Americans\*
13. Homosexuals should not be allowed to work with children
14. I think homosexuals should be murdered
15. Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children\*
16. Homosexuals should be able to get married to who they love\*

NOTE. Items with an asterisk are reverse coded.

**Figure 11: Beliefs and Attitudes**

## Chapter 5

### Results

An OLS regression was performed to check for collinearity. The ordinary least squares regression model showed no sign for concern (see figure 12).

Behavior	b	Std. Err.	t	P>t
Religion Important	-0.04	0.03	-1.24	0.21
Religious Experience	-0.02	0.02	-1.08	0.28
Family Socialization	-0.008	0.01	-0.79	0.43
Friends expectations	0.09	0.02	4.36	0.00
Beliefs and Attitudes	0.05	0.01	4.49	0.00
Perception	0.02	0.02	1.78	0.07

N	=544
Adj R <sup>2</sup>	=.44
Prob > F	=.0000

**Figure 12: OLS Regression Table**

#### Peers

Socialization from peers is less likely to be heteronormative. Peers help predict if an individual is more or less likely to interact with homosexuals. This study finds that

socialization from peers both directly and indirectly predicts more interaction with homosexuals.

See figures 20, 21, 22, and 23 for related values. There is a significant effect ( $p < 0.001$ ) between peer socialization and beliefs and attitudes on homosexuality. A one point increase in peer socialization is associated with a 1.32-point increase in beliefs and attitudes on homosexuality. A significant effect ( $p < 0.001$ ) is also observed between peer socialization and perceptions. A one point increase in peer socialization is associated with a 1.71-point increase in perceptions of homosexuals. A significant direct effect ( $p < 0.001$ ) is observed between peer socialization and interaction. A one point increase in peer socialization is associated with a 0.09-point increase in interaction with homosexuals. A significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) indirect effect is observed between peer socialization and interactions through beliefs and attitudes. A one point increase in peer socialization is associated with a 0.09-point increase in interaction with homosexuals.

Together, I observe a significant total effect ( $p < 0.001$ ) between peer socialization and interaction with homosexuals. A one point increase in peer socialization is associated with a 0.18-point increase in interaction with homosexuals.

## **Family**

Heteronormative family socialization is associated a decrease in interaction with homosexuals. It is more likely that individuals will interact with homosexuals if their family socialization is not heteronormative. Therefore, more positive views on homosexuality from parents predicts more interaction with homosexuals by children.

See figures 24, 25, 26, and 27 for related values. There is a significant effect ( $p < 0.001$ ) between family socialization and beliefs and attitudes on homosexuality. A one point increase in family socialization is associated with a 0.48 -point increase in beliefs and attitudes on homosexuality. A significant effect ( $p < 0.001$ ) is observed between family socialization and perceptions. A one point increase in family socialization is associated with a 0.59 -point increase in perceptions of homosexuals. No significant direct effect is observed between family socialization and interaction. A significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) indirect effect is observed also between family socialization and interactions through beliefs and attitudes. A one point increase in family socialization is associated with a 0.09-point increase in interaction with homosexuals.

Together, I observe a significant total path ( $p < 0.001$ ) between family socialization and interaction with homosexuals. A one point increase in family socialization is associated with a 0.04 -point increase in interaction with homosexuals.

## **Religion**

Heteronormative religious experiences are associated with worse attitudes and beliefs as well as perceptions of homosexuality. As religious experiences become more heteronormative, an individual is less likely to interact with homosexuals. However, as an individual's religion becomes more important to them, they are more likely to interact with homosexuals.

See figures 28, 29, 30, and 31 for related values. I observe a significant effect ( $p < 0.05$ ) between religious importance and beliefs and attitudes on homosexuality. A one point increase in religious importance is associated with a 0.39 -point increase in beliefs

and attitudes on homosexuality. A significant effect ( $p < 0.001$ ) is observed between religious experiences and beliefs and attitudes. A one point increase in religious experiences is associated with a 1.22 -point increase in beliefs and attitudes of homosexuals.

A significant effect ( $p < 0.001$ ) is observed between religious experiences and perceptions. A one point increase in religious experiences is associated with a 1.49 -point increase in perceptions of homosexuals. No significant effect is observed between religious importance and perceptions.

No significant direct effect is observed between religious experiences and interaction or religious importance and interaction.

A significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) indirect effect is observed also between religious socialization and interactions through both beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions. A one point increase in religious socialization is associated with a 0.03-point increase in interaction with homosexuals through religious importance. A one point increase in religious socialization is associated with a 0.12-point increase in interaction with homosexuals through religious experiences.

Together, I observe a significant total path ( $p < 0.001$ ) between religious experience and interaction with homosexuals. A one point increase in religious socialization is associated with a 0.102 -point increase in interaction with homosexuals. No significant total path is observed for religious importance.



## **All Domains**

All domains were considered together in a final model showing the associations between socialization and interaction with homosexuals. The analysis shows that socialization from peers is still associated with more interaction with homosexuals. However, in this model, there is not an association between religious importance, religious experience, and family socialization with interaction with homosexuals.

See figures 32, 33, 34, and 35 for related values. When all domains are considered in the structural equation model, the only significant ( $p < 0.001$ ) direct effect from socialization to interactions with homosexuals comes from peer socialization. A one point increase in peer socialization is associated with a 0.10-point increase in interaction with homosexuals. No significant effect is observed between religious importance, religious experience, and family socialization and interaction with homosexuals.

A significant effect is observed between religious importance ( $p < 0.01$ ), religious experience ( $p < 0.001$ ), peer socialization ( $p < 0.001$ ) and beliefs and attitudes about homosexuals. A one point increase in religious importance is associated with a 0.413-point increase in beliefs and attitudes of homosexuality. A one point increase in religious experiences is associated with a 0.74-point increase in beliefs and attitudes of homosexuality. A one point increase in peer socialization is associated with a 0.94-point increase in beliefs and attitudes of homosexuality.

A significant effect is observed between religious experience ( $p < 0.001$ ), peer socialization ( $p < 0.001$ ), and family socialization ( $p < 0.05$ ) and perceptions on homosexuals. A one point increase in religious experience is associated with a 0.82-point increase in perceptions of homosexuals. A one point increase in peer socialization is

associated with a 1.27-point increase in perceptions of homosexuals. A one point increase in family socialization is associated with a 0.12-point increase in perceptions of homosexuals.

A significant indirect effect is observed between religious importance ( $p < 0.001$ ) and interactions with homosexuals through beliefs and attitudes. A significant indirect effect is observed between religious experience ( $p < 0.001$ ) and interactions with homosexuals through beliefs and attitudes. A significant indirect effect is observed between peer socialization ( $p < 0.001$ ) and interactions with homosexuals through beliefs and attitudes. A significant indirect effect is observed between family socialization ( $p < 0.05$ ) and interactions with homosexuals through beliefs and attitudes. No significant paths are observed through perceptions. A one-point increase in religious importance is associated with a 0.02-point increase in interactions through beliefs and attitudes. A one-point increase in religious experience is associated with a 0.05-point increase in interactions through beliefs and attitudes. A one-point increase in peer socialization is associated with a 0.08-point increase in interactions through beliefs and attitudes. A one-point increase in family socialization is associated with a 0.007-point increase in interactions through beliefs and attitudes.

Together, I observe a significant total path ( $p < 0.001$ ) between peer socialization and interaction with homosexuals. A one point increase in peer socialization is associated with a 0.18-point increase in interaction with homosexuals. No significant total path is observed for religious importance, religious experience, or family socialization.

There is no significant direct effect on interaction with homosexuals based on religious experiences in the single domain model or in the all domain model. Therefore,

no support is shown for hypothesis 1. Support is shown for hypothesis 2, there is an indirect effect on interaction action with homosexuals based on religious experiences. A significant indirect path is found through both beliefs and attitudes as well as through perceptions in the single domain model. A significant indirect path was identified in the model showing all domains through beliefs and attitudes but not through perceptions. Hypothesis 2 is also supported in the total effect model. A significant total path is identified from religious experiences to increase interactions with homosexuals. As religious experiences become less heteronormative, interaction with homosexuals increases in all capacities.

There was no significant direct effect on interaction with homosexuals based on religious importance in the single domain or all domain models. Therefore, no support is shown for hypothesis 3. A significant indirect path is identified through beliefs and attitudes in the single domain model and the model including all domains. Therefore, support is shown for hypothesis 4. When an individual considers their religious teachings and experiences, there is an indirect path that increases interaction with homosexuals.

There is no significant direct effect on interaction with homosexuals based on socialization from the family in the single domain model or the model with all domains. Therefore, no support is shown for hypothesis 5. Though no support is shown for a direct effect, support was shown for an indirect effect on interaction with homosexuals through both beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions in the single domain model. In the model including all domains, there was an indirect path identified from socialization to interactions with homosexuals through beliefs and attitudes. Hypothesis 6 is supported based on the indirect paths model. As parent's views on sexuality become more open and

they do not force heterosexuality on their children, interaction with homosexuals increases. The total effect of family socialization shows that as socialization from parents becomes more heteronormative, interaction with homosexuals decreases. Therefore, support for hypotheses 5 and 6 is shown in the total effects model.

Support is shown for hypothesis 7 in both the single domain model and the multi-domain model that increased peer socialization will increase interaction with homosexuals. An indirect path is also identified between peer socialization and interactions with homosexuals through beliefs and attitudes in the single domain model and the multi-domain model. Therefore, partial support is shown for hypothesis 8 because the path was only identified through beliefs and attitudes but not through perceptions. The total effects model also shows support for both hypothesis 7 and 8. In all instances, both direct, indirect, and total, peer socialization increased interactions between heterosexuals and homosexuals.

Some problems associated with the demographics of my sample are the small number of African Americans (8.67%) and other races (9.00%) in the sample and homogeneity in the age of respondents. Most respondent were white (58%) and of a younger age (mean age 20). This homogeneity or small sample size was not an issue for political views or gender. Respondents in the sample were of different political beliefs, although the sample tended to be more on the conservative side than the liberal side. There were more females in the sample than males, 54% and 46% respectively.

The problems identified above most likely influenced the effect of race and ethnicity on interaction with homosexuals. A large sample of African Americans and other races is needed to determine if there is a significant effect and the magnitude of the

effect, if any, on interaction with homosexuals. The same is true for the age of the sample. The sample had an average age of 20 with a standard deviation of 4 years.

#### Subset OLS Regression for Catholic and Protestants

Subset OLS regressions are presented below using the same model presented in figure 11 with catholic and protestant separately controlled for in the respective models. Significant associations were observed in the model including Catholic individuals for peer socialization ( $p < 0.05$ ), gender ( $p < 0.01$ ), and age ( $p < 0.05$ ) (figure 13). As peer socialization becomes less heteronormative, interactions with homosexual increase. Females are more likely to interact with homosexuals than males. Also, as age increases, interaction with homosexuals increases.

Significant association were observed in the model for protestant individuals for peer socialization ( $p < 0.01$ ), beliefs and attitudes ( $p < 0.05$ ), gender ( $p < 0.01$ ), Hispanics ( $p < 0.05$ ), and political views ( $p < 0.01$ ) (see figure 14). As peer socialization becomes less heteronormative, interactions with homosexual increase. As beliefs and attitudes about homosexuality becomes more positive, interaction with homosexuals increases. Females are more likely to interact with homosexuals compared to males. Hispanics are more likely to interact with homosexuals than white individuals. As individuals become more conservative, interaction with homosexuals is more likely to decrease.

<b>Behavior</b>	<b>b</b>	<b>Std. Err.</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>P&gt;t</b>
Religion Important	-0.04	0.07	-0.56	0.58
Religious Experience	-0.02	0.04	-0.48	0.63
Family Socialization	0.004	0.02	0.18	0.86
<b>Peer Socialization</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>0.05</b>
Beliefs and Attitudes	0.05	0.03	1.64	0.10
Perception	0.03	0.37	1.37	0.18
<b>Gender (1=female)</b>	<b>1.39</b>	<b>.37</b>	<b>3.80</b>	<b>0.000</b>
African American	-1.11	0.69	-1.60	0.11
Hispanic	-0.28	0.36	-0.80	0.42
<b>Age</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>1.94</b>	<b>0.05</b>
Political View	-0.23	0.15	-1.56	0.12

<b>N</b>	=123
<b>Adj R<sup>2</sup></b>	=0.45
<b>Prob &gt; F</b>	=0.0000

**Figure 13: Catholic OLS Regression**

<b>Behavior</b>	<b>b</b>	<b>Std. Err.</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>P&gt;t</b>
Religion Important	-0.02	0.08	-0.30	0.76
Religious Experience	-0.03	0.05	-0.65	0.51
Family Socialization	0.01	0.02	0.71	0.48
<b>Peer Socialization</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>3.09</b>	<b>0.002</b>
<b>Beliefs and Attitudes</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>2.41</b>	<b>0.02</b>
Perception	0.02	0.02	0.99	0.32
<b>Gender</b>	<b>0.96</b>	<b>0.31</b>	<b>3.11</b>	<b>0.002</b>
African American	0.05	0.50	0.09	0.927
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>0.91</b>	<b>0.40</b>	<b>2.27</b>	<b>0.024</b>
Age	0.04	0.3	1.46	0.15
<b>Political View</b>	<b>-0.33</b>	<b>0.13</b>	<b>-2.55</b>	<b>0.01</b>

<b>N</b>	=241
<b>Adj R<sup>2</sup></b>	=0.47
<b>Prob &gt; F</b>	=.0000

**Figure 14: Protestant OLS Regression**

Missing Data Cases

Data were collected from 679 respondents and of the total respondents, 75 were excluded based on their self-identified sexual orientation. The final model included 544 observations of the 604 total observations from self-identified heterosexuals. The following includes statistics on the 60 cases that were not included in the final model due to missing data.

<b>Missing Data Characteristics</b>				
	F	%	MEAN	ST. DEV.
AGE			20	4
GENDER				
MALE	34	57.63		
FEMALE	25	42.37		
RACE/ETHNICITY				
NON-HISPANIC WHITE	31	55.36		
AFRICAN AMERICAN	5	8.93		
HISPANIC	14	25.00		
OTHER	6	10.71		
POLITICAL VIEWS				
LIBERAL	8	15.38		
LEAN LIBERAL	6	11.54		
MIDDLE OF THE ROAD	14	26.92		
LEAN CONSERVATIVE	4	7.69		
CONSERVATIVE	20	38.46		

**Figure 15: Missing Data Characteristics**



<b>Mean Scale Scores</b>				
	<b>N</b>		<b>MEAN</b>	<b>ST. DEV.</b>
Interaction	56		5.69	2.80
Religion Important	55		4.89	3.02
Religion Experience	54		16.12	5.67
Family Socialization	49		24.7	9.43
Peer Socialization	47		14.93	4.26
Beliefs and Attitudes	41		54.12	10.52
Perception	44		51.75	13.79

**Figure 16: Mean Scale Scores for Missing Data**

Means for the missing data were compared to the means from the observations included in the regression outputs using a two-tailed t-test. A significant difference between means was found between the dependent variable, interactions ( $t < 0.05$ ). Individuals in the missing cases are less likely to have interacted with homosexuals than those included in the regression models. A significant was also found between peer socialization ( $t < 0.05$ ). Individuals in the missing cases were more likely to have more heteronormative socialization from their peers. No significant differences between means was observed for beliefs and attitudes, perceptions, religious importance, religious experience, family socialization or age.

A Pearson's chi-squared test was used to test for differences between groups. A significant difference was found based on gender ( $p < 0.05$ ). Males were more likely to be in the missing data group than females. No significant difference was observed based on race/ethnicity or political ideology.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Discussion**

This study shows that heteronormative socialization is associated with the amount of interaction a heterosexual person has with homosexuals. If an individual experiences more heteronormative socialization, regardless of the source, they are less likely to interact with homosexuals.

This study finds that heteronormative family socialization will lead to less interaction with homosexuals. Parents can explicitly communicate their beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions on homosexuality by the words they use to describe homosexuals and homosexual acts. Parents who use homophobic language are communicating to their children that non-heterosexuals are inferior. An implicit form of communication would be parents correcting their child's deviant gender or sexual behavior. This can include forcing children into activities that match gender expectations in the society or through the toys they buy their children. As parents teach heteronormativity during the early socialization process, it leads to less interaction with homosexuals based on having worse perceptions and beliefs and attitudes of homosexuals. Socialization from the family indirectly effects interactions with homosexuals through the implicit and explicit communication that homosexuality is wrong and will lead to social consequences i.e. being disowned and being outside of society.

I speculate the reason there is not a direct effect on interaction with homosexuals from family socialization is due to children leaving home to socialization with others without parental supervision. If a child is at home, parents are able to watch their child

and correct any deviant behavior that is acted out. When the child is at school or an activity outside of the home without their parents, children are free to interact with anyone in the setting. Therefore, for parents to pass on norms and understanding about sexuality, they must change the way their child sees homosexuality and homosexuals by shaping their beliefs and attitudes as well as their perceptions.

This study also finds that having more heteronormative religious experiences will lead to less interaction with homosexuals. This is in line with previous research that shows an association between heteronormative religious experiences and negative views of homosexuality. This is an indirect process that results from having worse beliefs and attitudes of homosexuals as well as worse perceptions of homosexual behavior.

Surprisingly this study finds that as a person's religion becomes more important to them, they are more likely to interact with homosexuals. This is an indirect effect that affects a person's beliefs and attitudes on homosexuality. This goes against previous research that shows an association between religious importance and negative views of homosexuality.

I speculate that the relationship between religious importance and interactions with homosexuals is due to individuals clinging to messages of accepting and loving all individuals, regardless of their race, ethnicity, sexuality, political beliefs, etc. This study shows that religious experiences are shaping individual's beliefs and perceptions on homosexuality. However, as an individual finds their religion more important to them they are interacting with homosexuals more. This is counterintuitive; however, if a religious individual clings to messages of acceptance of other individuals, they may interact with them more out of tolerance. Another reason interaction increases as

importance increase may be due to individuals trying to show homosexual's the "error of their ways." More interactions would allow religious individuals to impart some of their beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions on homosexuals.

From reviewing previous literature, it has been established that views on homosexuality span a wide range between religions and in religions. For example, research has shown that, in general, the Islamic faith is typically more negative towards homosexuality than Christians (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009). However, some denominations within the protestant Christian faith hold more negative views of homosexuality than that of the Islamic faith (Adamczyk, Boyd, & Hayes, 2016). Conservative protestant denominations, in general, are more likely to hold negative views of homosexuality than liberal denominations (Masci & Lipka, 2015). Those denominations and churches that interpret the bible literally are also more likely to hold negative views of homosexuality than those who do not (Whitehead, 2010). This study did not account for differences in religious experiences of respondents beyond a subjective measurement of the perceived level of heteronormativity of their religious experiences. Further analyses would be needed to determine if there is a significant difference of interaction between faiths. However, these analyses cannot be conducted with this data set due to the lack of related questionnaire items.

Friends are typically more open to having a homosexual friend than are parents to having a homosexual child. This study finds that as friends' views on homosexuality become more positive, the more a person has interacted with a homosexual. Friends have the potential to help renegotiate the idea a homosexual identity regardless of the individual's parental expectations of a heterosexual child. There is more potential for an

individual's friend's peer networks to be more diverse than parent's peer networks.

Therefore, an individual has a better chance of interacting with homosexuals within extended peer groups than they do in their family's peer groups. A friend of a friend is more likely to be homosexual than a parent's friend.

When all domains are considered in the model, socialization from friends has the largest coefficient associated with interaction with a homosexual. Friends are chosen, family is not. Individuals have the ability to enter and leave peer groups with ease, but an individual will have more difficulty leaving their family. I speculate that due to the fact that individuals can enter and leave peer groups much easier than family groups, it means that individuals will hold their friend's opinion in high regard than their family's opinions.

Again, surprisingly, having a higher religious importance results in more interaction with homosexuals. I speculate that this relationship is influenced by content of religious messages being acceptance and love rather than messages of disdain for homosexuals. I also speculate that when individuals listen to messages about homosexuality they are judging their own identity rather than reflecting this judgment out into society.

As heteronormative religious experiences decrease, the amount of interaction increases. When an individual has fewer religious experiences where they hear that homosexuality is deviant, they are more likely to interact with homosexuals. I speculate that this increase in interaction is due to because the idea of homosexuality being deviant has not been imbued to the individual. Therefore, there is less moral conviction on homosexuality.

A subset OLS regression was conducted for Catholic and protestant individuals. Among heterosexual Catholic individuals, peer socialization, being female, and age are significantly associated with interactions with homosexuals. Among heterosexual protestant individuals, peer socialization, beliefs and attitudes, being female, being Hispanic, and political views are associated with interactions with homosexuals. These subset OLS regression illustrate some of the different associations between religious groups. Future studies should measure variation within groups to determine if there are significant associations within groups.

Beliefs and attitudes on homosexuality indirectly effects interaction with homosexuals on three domains. This variable is a crucial component when looking at interaction with homosexuals. The model results might be suggesting that an individual is selecting parts of their socialization as they get older. If there are conflicting socialization messages, the individual has the opportunity to remove themselves from the socializing agent or only select the messages they believe to be important or true. If an individual is receiving conflicting messages from their peers and their religion, an individual may actively choose to ignore the messages from the religious body or leave the religious body and relocate to an organization that is more in line with the beliefs and attitudes of their peers.

Some demographic effects that are worth noting are as follows. Females are more likely to have interacted with homosexuals than males. This corroborates previous research that shows females are more likely to view homosexuality more positively than males. Also, as political beliefs become more conservative, interaction with homosexuals decrease. This finding is backed by previous research showing that individuals with more

liberal ideologies often hold more positive views of homosexuality as compared to conservative individuals. Race and ethnicity did not play a role in how much a person interacts with homosexuals. I speculate that this is due to the sample characteristics. Most individuals were younger with an average deviation of 4 years, therefore there is not much variance in age. Also, it is less likely that there is as much variation in views on homosexuality as a result of age.

### **Limitations**

This study uses data from a younger sample currently enrolled in higher education and the results reflect individuals in this specific stage of life. Individuals at a later stage in life may differ in their amount of interaction with homosexuals and therefore have different beliefs and attitudes as well as perceptions of homosexuals and homosexuality. Individuals, regardless of their stage in life, may not realize that they have a friend who is homosexual. This might be truer for older individuals who were not included in this study's sample.

Peers in this stage in life might have a larger effect than at a later stage. Peer networks may be more bounded and less expansive as an individual's age increases. Individuals at this stage in life might have a greater potential to interact with homosexuals. However, potential does not always become reality.

Missing data adds to the limitation of this study. Individuals who did not complete all questionnaire items included in the analysis tended to interact less with homosexuals, experienced more heteronormative peer socialization, and tended to be male. These significant differences could influence means and regression results. Future studies

should include qualitative work to consult with individuals to determine if there are other factors that should be accounted for in the questionnaire and regression models.

Limitations of this study included a homogeneous sample age. In future studies, older participants should be sought after to determine if age has a significant effect on interactions with homosexuals. Also, a larger sample of African Americans is needed to determine if African Americans significantly differ in the amount of interactions than white Americans.

The measures were also limited in their scope. Separate measures should be created for positive interactions with homosexuals and negative interactions with homosexuals. The interaction measure for this study included positive interactions and negative interactions in the same variable. Another source of measurement limitation stems from how religious affiliation was measured in this study. This study only accounted for differences between groups rather than within groups. Therefore, in future research, differences within religious groups should also be measured to determine if there is a significant effect from religious differences on interaction with homosexuals.

Future studies should not only consult with previous literature but conduct interviews to determine other possible sources of socialization that either positively impact interaction or negatively impacts interactions with homosexuals. This study only captured three areas of socialization and there are far more areas of socialization that could potentially affect interaction. These include socialization from media and schools.



## **Chapter 7**

### **Conclusion**

Overall, my study finds that heteronormative socialization affects levels of interaction of heterosexuals with homosexuals. Socialization from peers, importance of religion to a person, and being female have the largest positive effect on how much a heterosexual person interacts with homosexuals. Heteronormative socialization from family and religious experiences reduce interaction with homosexuals by heterosexuals. Family and religious experiences increase negative beliefs and attitudes about homosexuality thus reducing interaction with homosexual. Age and race/ethnicity have no effect on how much heterosexuals interact with homosexuals.

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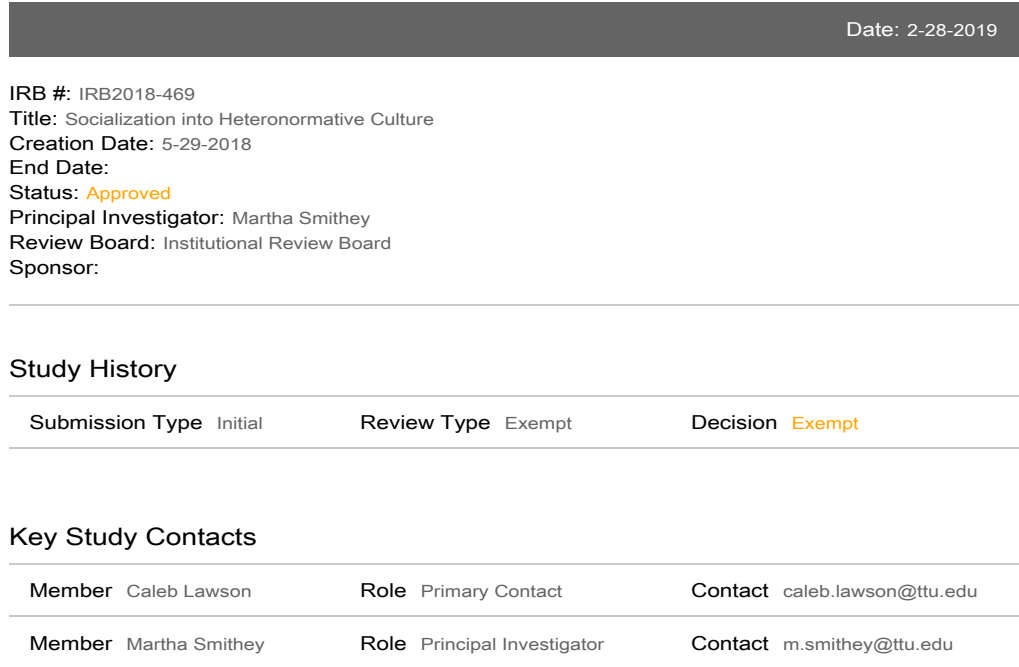
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## Appendix A



**Figure 17: IRB Approval**



## Appendix B

### Dependent Variable

#### Behavior

behaviorrev

0 = No 1 = Yes

Cronbach's alpha = 0.77; N = 600; Mean= 6.437; s=2.565; Range = 0 – 13

I have gone to see a movie at the movie theater with a homosexual

I have had dinner with a homosexual

I am friends with a person who has been in a homosexual relationship

I have attended a homosexual wedding

I have shared a house, apartment, dorm, or other form of housing with a homosexual

I have attended a gay pride event to enjoy the celebration

In the past month, I have used a homophobic slur (fag, dyke, etc.)\*

In the past month, I have approached a homosexual to tell them something negative about their sexuality\*

I have voted in opposition of homosexual rights (marriage equality, adoption privileges, etc.)\*

I have committed physical violence against a homosexual\*

I have invited a homosexual into my home

I have hugged a homosexual

I have discussed homo-romantic relationships with a homosexual

*NOTE. Items with an asterisk are reverse coded.*

As score increases, an individual has had more interaction with a homosexual.

## Independent Variables

### Peer socialization

#### Friend's Expectations

friendsexp

Strongly Agree

Agree

Somewhat Agree

Somewhat Disagree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

Cronbach's alpha = 0.7943; N = 591; Mean = 16.374; s = 4.939; Range = 4 – 24

My friends would not like me if I was sexually or romantically attracted to the same sex

My friends would not hang out with me if I was romantically or sexually attracted to the same sex

My friends expect me to date someone of the opposite sex

In the past month, how many times did your friends use a homophobic slur (fag, dyke, etc.)? \*+ 1 never; 2 seldom; 3 occasionally; 4 often

*NOTE. Items with an asterisk are reverse coded. Items with a plus are reweighted*

As score increases, friends are more open/positive to homosexuality/homosexuals

#### Friends Violence

friendsviolence

Never

Seldom

Occasionally

Often

Cronbach's alpha = 0.7658; N = 599; Mean = 2.179; s = 0.727; Range = 2 – 8

In the past month, how frequently did your friends talk about committing violence against a homosexual?

In the past month, how frequently did your friends commit violence against a homosexual?

As score increases, friends are more likely to talk about violence against homosexuals

## **Family Socialization**

Strongly Agree  
Agree  
Somewhat Agree

Somewhat Disagree  
Disagree  
Strongly Disagree

## **Parents Expect Heterosexuality**

parentsexpecthetero

Cronbach's Alpha = 0.8870; N= 593; Mean = 26.005; s = 9.482; Range = 7 – 42

In the past 6 months, at least one of my parents has used a homophobic slur (fag, dyke, etc.)

One of my parents has explicitly told me I was to be heterosexual

One of my parents would disapprove if I had a homosexual relationship

One of my parents believes homosexuality is wrong

One of my parents would react negatively if I told them I was sexually or romantically attracted to the same sex

One of my parents would disown me if I told them I was sexually or romantically attracted to the same sex

One of my parents expects me to date a member of the opposite sex.

As score increases, parents of an individual are more likely to have an open mind towards non-heterosexuals.

## **Considers Family's Opinion**

familyexpect

Cronbach's Alpha = 0.; N= 601; Mean = 3.692; s = 1.763; Range = 2 – 12

I care about what my family expects from me

I consider my family's opinion when making decisions

As score increases, an individual is less likely to consider family when making choices.

### **Religious Socialization**

Strongly Agree  
Agree  
Somewhat Agree

Somewhat Disagree  
Disagree  
Strongly Disagree

### **Religious Importance**

religionimportant

Cronbach's alpha = 0.9385; N = 599; Mean = 5.042; s = 3.001; Range = 2 – 12

Upholding my religious beliefs is important to me  
I consider my religious beliefs when making decisions.

As score increases, an individual is less likely to consider religious beliefs.

### **Religious Experiences**

religionexperience

Cronbach's alpha = 0.7949; N = 598; Mean = 16.120; s = 4.68; Range = 4 – 24

My religious experiences have taught me that marriage is between one man and one woman  
My religious experiences have taught me that homosexuality is immoral  
My religious experiences have taught me that homosexuals are evil people  
My religious experiences have taught me that homosexuals should not be around children

As score increases, an individual's religious experiences have been less heteronormative.

**Perception**

perception

Strongly Agree

Agree

Somewhat Agree

Somewhat Disagree

Disagree

Strongly Disagree

Cronbach's alpha = 0.9336; N = 588; Mean = 55.088; s = 13.476; Range = 13 – 78

I do not like to see same-sex public displays of affection

I do not like seeing homosexuals in movies or TV shows

When I see a feminine man, I think that he is gay

When I see a masculine woman, I think that she is a lesbian

I do not like seeing children with same-sex couples

I do not like hearing about homosexuals' rights in America

I get upset when I see male children playing with female children's toys

I get upset when I see female children playing with male children's toys

I get upset when I see the rainbow pride flag

I get upset when I see a gay pride parade

I would be a social outcast if people knew I was attracted to the same sex

I would be upset if someone thought I was homosexual

Homosexuals are generally portrayed positively in the media

As score increases, the more likely an individual is okay with seeing non-heteronormative displays.

**Beliefs & Attitudes**  
**beliefatt**

Cronbach's alpha = 0.900; N = 584; Mean = 56.882; s = 11.719; Range = 16 – 96

Homosexual acts are disgusting

I think homosexuality is just another type of sexual attraction, like being attracted to people who are older or have blonde hair\*

I would be uncomfortable if someone of the same sex flirted with me

I see homosexuals using their sexuality to obtain special privileges

Homosexuals should stop forcing their sexuality on others

Homosexuality is a mental disorder

Homosexuality is a choice

Homosexuality is immoral

People should not use homophobic slurs (fag, dyke, etc.)\*

Homosexuals should be imprisoned

Homosexuals make America a better country\*

Homosexual Americans should have the same rights as heterosexual Americans\*

Homosexuals should not be allowed to work with children

I think homosexuals should be murdered

Homosexuals should be allowed to adopt children\*

Homosexuals should be able to get married to who they love\*

*NOTE. Items with an asterisk are reverse coded.*

As score increases, an individual is more likely to hold positive beliefs and attitudes about homosexuals and homosexuality.

Demographics

Age

age

In years

Gender

gender

0 = Male

1 = Female

Race/Ethnicity

raceethnic

1 = Non-Hispanic White

Nonhispanicwhite

2 = African American

afam

3 = Hispanic

hispanic

4 = Asian / Asian American

- 5 = American Indian / Native American
- 6 = Pacific Islander
- 7 = Other

Political Views

- politicalview
- 1 = Liberal
- 2 = Lean Liberal
- 3 = Middle of the Road
- 4 = Lean Conservative
- 5 = Conservative

Sexual Identity

- 1 = Heterosexual / Straight
- 2 = Gay
- 3 = Lesbian
- 4 = Queer
- 5 = Pansexual
- 6 = Bisexual
- 7 = Two Spirit
- 8 = Asexual
- 9 = Other

Religious Affiliation

- 1 = Agnostic
- 2 = Atheist
- 3 = Catholic
- 4 = Jewish
- 5 = Muslim
- 6 = Protestant
- 7 = None
- 8 = Other
- 9 = Non-Denominational

Highest Level of Education Completed – Mother & Father

- 1 = Less than high school
- 2 = High school
- 3 = Some college
- 4 = College degree
- 5 = Graduate or Professional degree

Gender Identity (used to create gender variable)

- 1 = Male
- 2 = Female

3 = Transgender MTF  
4 = Transgender FTM



## Appendix C

	<b>F</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>Heterosexual/Straight</b>	604	88.95
<b>Gay</b>	9	1.33
<b>Lesbian</b>	11	1.62
<b>Queer</b>	2	0.29
<b>Pansexual</b>	2	0.29
<b>Bisexual</b>	42	6.19
<b>Two Spirit</b>	0	0.00
<b>Asexual</b>	5	0.74
<b>Other</b>	4	0.59
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>679</b>	<b>100</b>

**Figure 18: Screening Question, count and percentage**

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	542
Model	1576.37129	13	121.25933	F(13, 528)	=	33.75
Residual	1897.12133	528	3.59303281	Prob > F	=	0.0000
				R-squared	=	0.4538
				Adj R-squared	=	0.4404
Total	3473.49262	541	6.42050392	Root MSE	=	1.8955

behaviorrev	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
religionimportant	-.0348363	.0354109	-0.98	0.326	-.1043998 .0347272
religionexperience	-.0319359	.0241991	-1.32	0.188	-.0794742 .0156024
familyexpect	.0049234	.0525658	0.09	0.925	-.0983404 .1081871
parentsheteroexp	-.0076575	.0102358	-0.75	0.455	-.0277653 .0124503
friendexp	.0958793	.0228998	4.19	0.000	.0508933 .1408652
friendsviolence	-.1897218	.1329991	-1.43	0.154	-.4509942 .0715507
beliefatt	.0587138	.0127871	4.59	0.000	.0335939 .0838336
perception	.0181473	.0115255	1.57	0.116	-.0044942 .0407888
gender	1.081359	.1878827	5.76	0.000	.7122699 1.450449
afam	-.1106473	.3242688	-0.34	0.733	-.7476627 .5263681
hispanic	.1381826	.2041583	0.68	0.499	-.2628797 .539245
age	.0322775	.0191074	1.69	0.092	-.0052584 .0698134
politicalview	-.3303277	.0784769	-4.21	0.000	-.484493 -.1761625
_cons	1.6487	.8356771	1.97	0.049	.0070395 3.29036

**Figure 19: Final OLS Regression**



Direct effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Structural						
beliefatt						
friendexp	1.319738	.0836301	15.78	0.000	1.155826	1.48365
perception						
friendexp	1.707572	.0895229	19.07	0.000	1.53211	1.883034
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	.0515364	.0123018	4.19	0.000	.0274252	.0756475
perception	.0151756	.0108844	1.39	0.163	-.0061574	.0365087
friendexp	.0923049	.0221363	4.17	0.000	.0489185	.1356913
gender	1.17969	.175736	6.71	0.000	.8352539	1.524127
afam	-.1050164	.3117803	-0.34	0.736	-.7160945	.5060618
hisp	.1628771	.2048544	0.80	0.427	-.2386301	.5643843
otherrace	-.0861736	.302562	-0.28	0.776	-.6791842	.506837
politicalview_2	-.4365094	.3150935	-1.39	0.166	-1.054081	.1810626
politicalview_3	-.7064298	.2691563	-2.62	0.009	-1.233966	-.1788932
politicalview_4	-.8606075	.3183397	-2.70	0.007	-1.484542	-.2366732
politicalview_5	-1.30667	.3154938	-4.14	0.000	-1.925027	-.688314
age	.0350784	.0186986	1.88	0.061	-.0015702	.0717269

**Figure 21: Friends Expectation direct effects**

Indirect effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Structural						
beliefatt						
friendexp	0	(no path)				
perception						
friendexp	0	(no path)				
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	0	(no path)				
perception	0	(no path)				
friendexp	.093928	.0156754	5.99	0.000	.0632047	.1246513
gender	0	(no path)				
afam	0	(no path)				
hisp	0	(no path)				
otherrace	0	(no path)				
politicalview_2	0	(no path)				
politicalview_3	0	(no path)				
politicalview_4	0	(no path)				
politicalview_5	0	(no path)				
age	0	(no path)				

**Figure 22: Friends Expectation indirect effects**

Total effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
-----						
Structural						
beliefatt						
friendexp	1.319738	.0836301	15.78	0.000	1.155826	1.48365
perception						
friendexp	1.707572	.0895229	19.07	0.000	1.53211	1.883034
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	.0515364	.0123018	4.19	0.000	.0274252	.0756475
perception	.0151756	.0108844	1.39	0.163	-.0061574	.0365087
friendexp	.1862329	.019722	9.44	0.000	.1475785	.2248874
gender	1.17969	.175736	6.71	0.000	.8352539	1.524127
afam	-.1050164	.3117803	-0.34	0.736	-.7160945	.5060618
hispanic	.1628771	.2048544	0.80	0.427	-.2386301	.5643843
otherrace	-.0861736	.302562	-0.28	0.776	-.6791842	.506837
politicalview_2	-.4365094	.3150935	-1.39	0.166	-1.054081	.1810626
politicalview_3	-.7064298	.2691563	-2.62	0.009	-1.233966	-.1788932
politicalview_4	-.8606075	.3183397	-2.70	0.007	-1.484542	-.2366732
politicalview_5	-1.30667	.3154938	-4.14	0.000	-1.925027	-.688314
age	.0350784	.0186986	1.88	0.061	-.0015702	.0717269
-----						

**Figure 23: Friends Expectation total effects**

```

Endogenous variables
Observed: beliefatt perception behaviorrev

Exogenous variables
Observed: parentsheteroexp gender afam hisp otherrace politicalview_2 politicalview_3
politicalview_4 politicalview_5 age

Fitting target model:

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -10348.877
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -10348.877

Structural equation model          Number of obs   =       551
Estimation method   = ml
Log likelihood      = -10348.877
-----

```

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
-----						
Structural						
beliefatt						
parentsheteroexp	.4771503	.0490275	9.73	0.000	.3810582	.5732425
_cons	44.5774	1.361706	32.74	0.000	41.9085	47.24629
-----						
perception						
parentsheteroexp	.5908418	.0548579	10.77	0.000	.4833223	.6983613
_cons	39.84741	1.523642	26.15	0.000	36.86113	42.83369
-----						
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	.0511167	.0126453	4.04	0.000	.0263323	.075901
perception	.0342681	.0108339	3.16	0.002	.0130339	.0555022
parentsheteroexp	-.002933	.0099077	-0.30	0.767	-.0223517	.0164858
gender	1.39689	.1748386	7.99	0.000	1.054213	1.739567
afam	-.0732119	.3234303	-0.23	0.821	-.7071236	.5606998
hisp	.3212875	.2080826	1.54	0.123	-.0865468	.7291218
otherrace	.085188	.3065886	0.28	0.781	-.5157147	.6860907
politicalview_2	-.4570519	.3249894	-1.41	0.160	-1.094019	.1799157
politicalview_3	-.7706418	.2795493	-2.76	0.006	-1.318548	-.2227353
politicalview_4	-.8904163	.328206	-2.71	0.007	-1.533688	-.2471443
politicalview_5	-1.339719	.3276007	-4.09	0.000	-1.981805	-.6976336
age	.0397524	.0191712	2.07	0.038	.0021774	.0773273
_cons	.8978947	.7011937	1.28	0.200	-.4764197	2.272209
-----						
var(e.beliefatt)	119.2308	7.183358			105.9511	134.1748
var(e.perception)	149.2751	8.993453			132.6492	167.9848
var(e.behaviorrev)	3.707564	.2233716			3.294624	4.172261
-----						
cov(e.beliefatt,e.perception)	102.8621	7.176639	14.33	0.000	88.79613	116.928
-----						

```

LR test of model vs. saturated: chi2(18) = 257.56, Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

```

**Figure 24: Parents Expectations output**

Direct effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
-----						
Structural						
beliefatt						
parentsheteroexp	.4771503	.0490275	9.73	0.000	.3810582	.5732425
-----						
perception						
parentsheteroexp	.5908418	.0548579	10.77	0.000	.4833223	.6983613
-----						
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	.0511167	.0126453	4.04	0.000	.0263323	.075901
perception	.0342681	.0108339	3.16	0.002	.0130339	.0555022
parentsheteroexp	-.002933	.0099077	-0.30	0.767	-.0223517	.0164858
gender	1.39689	.1748386	7.99	0.000	1.054213	1.739567
afam	-.0732119	.3234303	-0.23	0.821	-.7071236	.5606998
hisp	.3212875	.2080826	1.54	0.123	-.0865468	.7291218
otherrace	.085188	.3065886	0.28	0.781	-.5157147	.6860907
politicalview_2	-.4570519	.3249894	-1.41	0.160	-1.094019	.1799157
politicalview_3	-.7706418	.2795493	-2.76	0.006	-1.318548	-.2227353
politicalview_4	-.8904163	.328206	-2.71	0.007	-1.533688	-.2471443
politicalview_5	-1.339719	.3276007	-4.09	0.000	-1.981805	-.6976336
age	.0397524	.0191712	2.07	0.038	.0021774	.0773273
-----						

**Figure 25: Parents Expectation direct effects**

Indirect effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
-----						
Structural						
beliefatt						
parentsheteroexp	0	(no path)				
-----						
perception						
parentsheteroexp	0	(no path)				
-----						
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	0	(no path)				
perception	0	(no path)				
parentsheteroexp	.0446373	.0064572	6.91	0.000	.0319815	.0572932
gender	0	(no path)				
afam	0	(no path)				
hisp	0	(no path)				
otherrace	0	(no path)				
politicalview_2	0	(no path)				
politicalview_3	0	(no path)				
politicalview_4	0	(no path)				
politicalview_5	0	(no path)				
age	0	(no path)				
-----						

**Figure 26: Parents Expectation indirect effects**

Total effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Structural						
beliefatt						
parentsheteroexp	.4771503	.0490275	9.73	0.000	.3810582	.5732425
perception						
parentsheteroexp	.5908418	.0548579	10.77	0.000	.4833223	.6983613
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	.0511167	.0126453	4.04	0.000	.0263323	.075901
perception	.0342681	.0108339	3.16	0.002	.0130339	.0555022
parentsheteroexp	.0417044	.0099329	4.20	0.000	.0222362	.0611725
gender	1.39689	.1748386	7.99	0.000	1.054213	1.739567
afam	-.0732119	.3234303	-0.23	0.821	-.7071236	.5606998
hisp	.3212875	.2080826	1.54	0.123	-.0865468	.7291218
otherrace	.085188	.3065886	0.28	0.781	-.5157147	.6860907
politicalview_2	-.4570519	.3249894	-1.41	0.160	-1.094019	.1799157
politicalview_3	-.7706418	.2795493	-2.76	0.006	-1.318548	-.2227353
politicalview_4	-.8904163	.328206	-2.71	0.007	-1.533688	-.2471443
politicalview_5	-1.339719	.3276007	-4.09	0.000	-1.981805	-.6976336
age	.0397524	.0191712	2.07	0.038	.0021774	.0773273

**Figure 27: Parents Expectation total effects**





Direct effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Structural						
beliefatt						
religionimportant	.3893516	.1621192	2.40	0.016	.0716039	.7070993
religionexperience	1.220873	.106664	11.45	0.000	1.011815	1.42993
perception						
religionimportant	.2360152	.1846755	1.28	0.201	-.125942	.5979725
religionexperience	1.485547	.1215046	12.23	0.000	1.247402	1.723691
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	.0575342	.0124841	4.61	0.000	.0330659	.0820025
perception	.0372978	.010553	3.53	0.000	.0166142	.0579813
religionimportant	-.0450164	.0338232	-1.33	0.183	-.1113086	.0212758
gender	1.322418	.1778882	7.43	0.000	.9737634	1.671072
afam	-.173981	.3171803	-0.55	0.583	-.7956431	.447681
hisp	.1891334	.2080648	0.91	0.363	-.2186662	.596933
otherrace	.0967631	.3029819	0.32	0.749	-.4970706	.6905968
politicalview_2	-.5100763	.3191093	-1.60	0.110	-1.135519	.1153665
politicalview_3	-.7914937	.2736445	-2.89	0.004	-1.327827	-.2551604
politicalview_4	-.9570189	.3257216	-2.94	0.003	-1.595421	-.3186163
politicalview_5	-1.424276	.3282819	-4.34	0.000	-2.067697	-.7808556
age	.036851	.0188927	1.95	0.051	-.0001781	.0738801
religionexperience	-.0226523	.0235621	-0.96	0.336	-.0688332	.0235286

**Figure 29: Religious Socialization direct effects**

Indirect effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Structural						
beliefatt						
religionimportant	0	(no path)				
religionexperience	0	(no path)				
perception						
religionimportant	0	(no path)				
religionexperience	0	(no path)				
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	0	(no path)				
perception	0	(no path)				
religionimportant	.0312039	.0155384	2.01	0.045	.0007492	.0616585
gender	0	(no path)				
afam	0	(no path)				
hisp	0	(no path)				
otherrace	0	(no path)				
politicalview_2	0	(no path)				
politicalview_3	0	(no path)				
politicalview_4	0	(no path)				
politicalview_5	0	(no path)				
age	0	(no path)				
religionexperience	.1256496	.0163217	7.70	0.000	.0936595	.1576396

**Figure 30: Religious Socialization indirect effects**

Total effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
-----						
Structural						
beliefatt						
religionimportant	.3893516	.1621192	2.40	0.016	.0716039	.7070993
religionexperience	1.220873	.106664	11.45	0.000	1.011815	1.42993
-----						
perception						
religionimportant	.2360152	.1846755	1.28	0.201	-.125942	.5979725
religionexperience	1.485547	.1215046	12.23	0.000	1.247402	1.723691
-----						
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	.0575342	.0124841	4.61	0.000	.0330659	.0820025
perception	.0372978	.010553	3.53	0.000	.0166142	.0579813
religionimportant	-.0138125	.0369997	-0.37	0.709	-.0863306	.0587056
gender	1.322418	.1778882	7.43	0.000	.9737634	1.671072
afam	-.173981	.3171803	-0.55	0.583	-.7956431	.447681
hispanic	.1891334	.2080648	0.91	0.363	-.2186662	.596933
otherrace	.0967631	.3029819	0.32	0.749	-.4970706	.6905968
politicalview_2	-.5100763	.3191093	-1.60	0.110	-1.135519	.1153665
politicalview_3	-.7914937	.2736445	-2.89	0.004	-1.327827	-.2551604
politicalview_4	-.9570189	.3257216	-2.94	0.003	-1.595421	-.3186163
politicalview_5	-1.424276	.3282819	-4.34	0.000	-2.067697	-.7808556
age	.036851	.0188927	1.95	0.051	-.0001781	.0738801
religionexperience	.1029973	.0236059	4.36	0.000	.0567307	.1492639
-----						

**Figure 31: Religious Socialization indirect effects**



Direct effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
<b>Structural</b>						
beliefatt						
religionimportant	.4138945	.1459184	2.84	0.005	.1278997	.6998893
religionexperience	.7414789	.1049206	7.07	0.000	.5358382	.9471195
friendexp	.9471062	.086748	10.92	0.000	.7770833	1.117129
parentsheteroexp	.0803632	.0461866	1.74	0.082	-.0101609	.1708873
<b>perception</b>						
religionimportant	.2101606	.156516	1.34	0.179	-.096605	.5169262
religionexperience	.8275174	.1125407	7.35	0.000	.6069418	1.048093
friendexp	1.278752	.0930482	13.74	0.000	1.096381	1.461123
parentsheteroexp	.1260165	.049541	2.54	0.011	.0289179	.2231151
<b>behaviorrev</b>						
beliefatt	.056385	.0126345	4.46	0.000	.0316218	.0811482
perception	.0209355	.0112899	1.85	0.064	-.0011923	.0430633
religionimportant	-.0406361	.0336223	-1.21	0.227	-.1065345	.0252623
gender	1.067468	.185506	5.75	0.000	.7038829	1.431053
afam	-.2194381	.3181173	-0.69	0.490	-.8429365	.4040604
hisp	.1276177	.2080597	0.61	0.540	-.2801718	.5354072
otherrace	-.0731201	.3008099	-0.24	0.808	-.6626966	.5164565
politicalview_2	-.5334837	.3201966	-1.67	0.096	-1.161058	.0940902
politicalview_3	-.7471106	.2758649	-2.71	0.007	-1.287796	-.2064253
politicalview_4	-.9707531	.3250183	-2.99	0.003	-1.607777	-.333729
politicalview_5	-1.45424	.3305951	-4.40	0.000	-2.102194	-.8062851
age	.0329042	.0187024	1.76	0.079	-.0037518	.0695602
religionexperience	-.027628	.0237507	-1.16	0.245	-.0741785	.0189225
friendexp	.1002671	.0227683	4.40	0.000	.0556421	.144892
parentsheteroexp	-.008661	.0102287	-0.85	0.397	-.0287089	.011387

**Figure 33: All Domains direct effects**

Indirect effects

	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
-----						
Structural						
beliefatt						
religionimportant	0	(no path)				
religionexperience	0	(no path)				
friendexp	0	(no path)				
parentsheteroexp	0	(no path)				
-----						
perception						
religionimportant	0	(no path)				
religionexperience	0	(no path)				
friendexp	0	(no path)				
parentsheteroexp	0	(no path)				
-----						
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	0	(no path)				
perception	0	(no path)				
religionimportant	.0277373	.011464	2.42	0.016	.0052681	.0502064
gender	0	(no path)				
afam	0	(no path)				
hisp	0	(no path)				
otherrace	0	(no path)				
politicalview_2	0	(no path)				
politicalview_3	0	(no path)				
politicalview_4	0	(no path)				
politicalview_5	0	(no path)				
age	0	(no path)				
religionexperience	.0591328	.011321	5.22	0.000	.0369441	.0813214
friendexp	.0801739	.0135435	5.92	0.000	.0536291	.1067187
parentsheteroexp	.0071695	.0035603	2.01	0.044	.0001915	.0141475
-----						

**Figure 34: All Domains indirect effects**

Total effects						
	Coef.	OIM Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Structural						
beliefatt						
religionimportant	.4138945	.1459184	2.84	0.005	.1278997	.6998893
religionexperience	.7414789	.1049206	7.07	0.000	.5358382	.9471195
friendexp	.9471062	.086748	10.92	0.000	.7770833	1.117129
parentsheteroexp	.0803632	.0461866	1.74	0.082	-.0101609	.1708873
perception						
religionimportant	.2101606	.156516	1.34	0.179	-.096605	.5169262
religionexperience	.8275174	.1125407	7.35	0.000	.6069418	1.048093
friendexp	1.278752	.0930482	13.74	0.000	1.096381	1.461123
parentsheteroexp	.1260165	.049541	2.54	0.011	.0289179	.2231151
behaviorrev						
beliefatt	.056385	.0126345	4.46	0.000	.0316218	.0811482
perception	.0209355	.0112899	1.85	0.064	-.0011923	.0430633
religionimportant	-.0128989	.0352936	-0.37	0.715	-.082073	.0562753
gender	1.067468	.185506	5.75	0.000	.7038829	1.431053
afam	-.2194381	.3181173	-0.69	0.490	-.8429365	.4040604
hisp	.1276177	.2080597	0.61	0.540	-.2801718	.5354072
otherrace	-.0731201	.3008099	-0.24	0.808	-.6626966	.5164565
politicalview_2	-.5334837	.3201966	-1.67	0.096	-1.161058	.0940902
politicalview_3	-.7471106	.2758649	-2.71	0.007	-1.287796	-.2064253
politicalview_4	-.9707531	.3250183	-2.99	0.003	-1.607777	-.333729
politicalview_5	-1.45424	.3305951	-4.40	0.000	-2.102194	-.8062851
age	.0329042	.0187024	1.76	0.079	-.0037518	.0695602
religionexperience	.0315048	.0238536	1.32	0.187	-.0152474	.078257
friendexp	.180441	.0222322	8.12	0.000	.1368667	.2240153
parentsheteroexp	-.0014915	.0106509	-0.14	0.889	-.0223669	.019384

**Figure 35: All Domains total effects**

## Appendix D

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	544	6.512868	.1084451	2.529353	6.299844	6.725891
1	56	5.696429	.374443	2.802075	4.946028	6.446829
combined	600	6.436667	.1046976	2.564557	6.231048	6.642286
diff		.8164391	.3586607		.1120514	1.520827

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 2.2764  
 Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 598

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0  
 Pr(T < t) = 0.9884 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0232 Pr(T > t) = 0.0116

**Figure 36: Interaction t-test**

Two-sample t test with equal variances

Group	Obs	Mean	Std. Err.	Std. Dev.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
0	544	16.49868	.2133705	4.976613	16.07954	16.91781
1	47	14.93213	.6218186	4.262974	13.68047	16.18378
combined	591	16.37409	.2031502	4.93868	15.97511	16.77308
diff		1.566549	.7487152		.0960724	3.037025

diff = mean(0) - mean(1) t = 2.0923  
 Ho: diff = 0 degrees of freedom = 589

Ha: diff < 0 Ha: diff != 0 Ha: diff > 0  
 Pr(T < t) = 0.9816 Pr(|T| > |t|) = 0.0368 Pr(T > t) = 0.0184

**Figure 37: Peer Socialization t-test**



(1=female)

```

+-----+
| Key |
+-----+
| frequency |
| column percentage |
+-----+

```

gender	missing		Total
	0	1	
0	241	34	275
	44.30	57.63	45.61
1	303	25	328
	55.70	42.37	54.39
Total	544	59	603
	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(1) = 3.8101 Pr = 0.051  
 Cramér's V = -0.0795

**Figure 38: Gender Chi-square**

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	123
Model	326.760981	11	29.7055438	F(11, 111)	=	10.05
Residual	328.035767	111	2.95527718	Prob > F	=	0.0000
				R-squared	=	0.4990
				Adj R-squared	=	0.4494
Total	654.796748	122	5.36718646	Root MSE	=	1.7191

behaviorrev	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
religionimportant	-.0403923	.0726903	-0.56	0.580	-.1844331 .1036484
religionexperience	-.0216732	.0449677	-0.48	0.631	-.1107798 .0674334
parentsheteroexp	.0036794	.0200999	0.18	0.855	-.0361499 .0435087
friendexp	.0855899	.0446301	1.92	0.058	-.0028476 .1740275
beliefatt	.0460157	.0279889	1.64	0.103	-.0094461 .1014775
perception	.0280591	.0205496	1.37	0.175	-.0126613 .0687796
gender	1.39178	.3665755	3.80	0.000	.6653866 2.118174
afam	-1.110802	.6939222	-1.60	0.112	-2.485855 .2642513
hisp	-.2868927	.358949	-0.80	0.426	-.9981741 .4243886
age	.0842054	.0433192	1.94	0.054	-.0016344 .1700452
politicalview	-.2319257	.1484412	-1.56	0.121	-.526072 .0622205
_cons	-.243937	1.600974	-0.15	0.879	-3.416374 2.9285

**Figure 39: OLS Regression subset with Catholic**

Source	SS	df	MS	Number of obs	=	241
Model	782.541459	11	71.1401327	F(11, 229)	=	18.45
Residual	882.769744	229	3.85488971	Prob > F	=	0.0000
				R-squared	=	0.4699
				Adj R-squared	=	0.4444
Total	1665.3112	240	6.93879668	Root MSE	=	1.9634

behaviorrev	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]
religionimportant	-.0233639	.0783916	-0.30	0.766	-.1778249 .1310971
religionexperience	-.0294901	.0451073	-0.65	0.514	-.1183685 .0593883
parentsheteroexp	.0116281	.0164373	0.71	0.480	-.0207596 .0440157
friendexp	.1105271	.0358238	3.09	0.002	.0399407 .1811136
beliefatt	.0513538	.0212803	2.41	0.017	.0094235 .0932841
perception	.0205041	.0206709	0.99	0.322	-.0202255 .0612336
gender	.9583654	.3079407	3.11	0.002	.351606 1.565125
afam	.0458436	.4995797	0.09	0.927	-.9385169 1.030204
hisp	.9122275	.4011533	2.27	0.024	.121804 1.702651
age	.0379785	.0260354	1.46	0.146	-.0133211 .0892781
politicalview	-.3258487	.1275845	-2.55	0.011	-.5772383 -.0744591
_cons	.6379257	1.133091	0.56	0.574	-1.594691 2.870542

**Figure 40: OLS Regression subset with Protestant**