

Bond University
School of Social Sciences
Department of Psychology

Is it because I'm gay? The effect of sexual orientation on perceived discrimination –
A cross-cultural study

Sarang Kim

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Sexual orientation and perceived discrimination

Bond University
School of Social Sciences
Department of Psychology

I, Sarang Kim acknowledge that this research thesis, completed under the supervision of Professor Richard Hicks, results from my own work and the authorship of the document herein is mine.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

The undersigned examiners certify that they have read this research thesis entitled
Is it because I'm gay? The effect of sexual orientation on perceived discrimination –
Cross-cultural study

Submitted by
Sarang Kim

And recommend its acceptance in fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Master
of Arts (Research)

Signature of First Examiner

Date: _____

Signature of Second Examiner

Date: _____

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Abstract

Previous research have theorized that causes of the psychological distress faced by lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (LGBs) are stigma and discrimination they face in the society. Perceptions of discrimination, whether it actually occurs or not, also affect behaviours. This project investigated whether non-heterosexuals (LGBs) perceive more discrimination than do heterosexuals in the same given situations. In Study 1, LGBs' levels of perceived discrimination in non-discriminatory situations (those where no actual discrimination took place) were compared with the responses of heterosexuals. In addition, Study 1 also examined which psychological well-being related variables (internalized heterosexism (homophobia), marginalization, isolation, alienation, self-esteem, and satisfaction with life) contributed most to perceptions of discrimination. Five hundred and sixty adults (355 Korean, 205 Australian) participated in the study through an online survey. Major findings were: only the Australian LGBs but not the Korean LGBs showed significantly higher levels of perceived discrimination than did heterosexual counterparts. Using a priming stimulus did not increase the perception of discrimination; heterosexuals were more aware of others knowing their sexual orientation than LGBs. Alienation was the variable that most related to perceived discrimination. Study 1 had used only situations where no actual discrimination was included or intended. This study also showed that there were a number of differences between the Australian and Korean samples: Korean LGBs had significantly lower psychological well-being; and most of the Korean LGBs were in Stage 4 (acceptance) whereas the majority of Australian LGBs were in Stage 6 (synthesis). Further cross-cultural studies are needed. Study 2 examined the responses of perceived discrimination using an actual discriminatory scenario and a non-

discriminatory scenario. It also examined the relationships between outness and perceived discrimination; and between previous experience of discrimination and perceived discrimination. Sixty six Australian university students (44 females, 21 males, and one gender unidentified) participated in this second study. Major findings were: significant differences were found in perceived discrimination between the non-discriminatory and discriminatory scenario situations for all participants, between heterosexuals and LGBs, between lesbians and heterosexual women, but not between lesbian women and gay men. No correlation was found between outness and perceived discrimination in either the discriminatory or the non-discriminatory situations. However, previous experience of discrimination was correlated sharply with perceptions of discrimination in both scenarios.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A significant change in researchers' and practitioners' perceptions of homosexuality has occurred over the past four decades. Traditionally, the psychopathological model of homosexuality was followed which labelled homosexuality as a mental illness (Gonsiorek, 1991). Homosexuality was also considered a sin and morally wrong rather than an individual difference or an alternative lifestyle. However, in the late 1960s and early 1970s considerable efforts were devoted to investigating whether homosexuality per se was a mental illness (Gonsiorek). As a consequence of the investigation, homosexuality was removed from the second edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM; American Psychiatric Association, 1973), declaring that a same-sex orientation was not inherently associated with psychopathology (Minton, 2002). The American Psychological Association (APA) also declared homosexuality no longer a psychological disorder but a viable lifestyle in 1975 and issued "Guidelines for Psychotherapy with Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients" in 2000 (Fassinger & Arseneau, 2007).

A shift in focus and attention also followed, from curing homosexuals to emphasising their psychological health and well-being (Cochran, 2001). Research studies have shown that compared with heterosexuals, lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (hereafter, LGBs) have a significantly higher prevalence of mental disorders (Bailey, 1999; Fergusson, Horwood, & Beautrais, 1999; Herrell et al., 1999; Meyer, 2003a) and suffer more mental health problems including substance use disorders, affective

disorders, anxiety disorders, and suicide (Cabaj, 2000; Cochran; Cochran & Mays, 2000; Gilman et al., 2001; Herrell et al.; Sandford, de Graaf, Bijl, & Schnabel, 2001).

However, it is not clear whether these psychological distresses are due to their sexual orientation status or due to other factors, such as lack of social support, being stigmatised and facing heterosexism and discrimination. One of the possible explanations for LGBs' low psychological well-being is their having less social support and few role-models. Stigmatized people, such as people of colour, are born into families and communities that bear the same marks, and become clearly aware of potential prejudice that results from the stigma. Therefore, such groups provide some guidance for how people might respond to prejudice when it occurs in their groups (Corrigan, 2005). On the other hand, families of lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals typically are heterosexual. They thus generally do not provide useful role models or information to LGB individuals for same-sex relationships, intimacy, and parenting (Meyer, 2003). Moreover, family disruption frequently results when a gay, lesbian, or bisexual sexual orientation is revealed (Garnets, 2002). This lack of social support and role models would make LGBs uncertain about how to respond to prejudice based on sexual orientation and this uncertainty may make them more vulnerable to psychological distresses and illness.

Researchers also have theorized that the cause of LGBs' psychological distress is not the individual's sexual orientation per se but rather the social stigma (Smith & Ingram, 2004; Waldo, Hesson-McInnis, & D'Augelli, 1998) and the discrimination that these marginalized groups often face (Allison, 1998; Freidman, 1999; Meyer, 2003b; Slavin, Rainer, McCreary, & Gowda, 1991). In other words, the elevated emotional distress of LGBs is seen to be due to their experience of a unique set of

stressors related directly to being sexual minorities within a heterosexually oriented society (Hunter, 1990; Rosario, Rotheram-Borus, & Reid, 1996). Meyer's (1995) study, with 741 adult gay men, found significant associations between prejudicial events and subsequent psychological distress. These findings were replicated and supported by Garnets, Herek, and Levy (1992), and Savin-Williams (1995) who hypothesized that psychological distress in LGB populations often results from negative life experiences such as discrimination and harassment based on sexual orientation.

From these different explanations of LGBs' lower psychological well-being, the present research focused on discrimination as the main factor contributing negatively to LGBs' psychological well-being. The focus was especially on perceived discrimination rather than a general discrimination. Thus, the relationship between the perception of being discriminated against (rather than presence of the actual discrimination) and LGBs' psychological well-being was examined. Moreover, whether LGBs really did feel more discriminated against than heterosexuals was tested, because theoretically, if the situation was not seen to be discriminatory, their psychological well-being could not be affected by it. Therefore, this research project investigated whether LGBs really face more discrimination or perceive more discrimination than do heterosexuals in the same given situations. The situations or scenarios studied included those which could be seen to be discriminatory (Study 1) and those which had one scenario non-discriminatory and one scenario "actually" discriminatory (Study 2).

The current research aimed to clarify whether different sexual orientation groups perceived discrimination more readily, and whether individual characteristics and circumstances of sexual minorities make them more likely to perceive

discrimination. By identifying and using these characteristics or factors, interventions to reduce perceived discrimination and to increase psychological well-being might be able to be developed.

In this current project, target samples were from two different countries: Australia and South Korea. These two countries were selected not only because they were a Western and an Eastern country, but they have different cultural backgrounds as well: Australia is an individualistic society whereas Korea is a collectivistic society. Therefore, individuals' sexual orientation may play a different role in these two societies. For instance, being gay or lesbian would be a personal issue or an identity in Australia, whereas in Korea, it would be family business, not personal. The duty of being a son or a daughter would also weigh Korean LGBs down since every Korean child grows up with an expectation of getting married and having child(ren) of his/her own to continue the blood stream (Aoki, Ngin, Mo, & Ja, 1989). This duty is even stronger for boys and especially for those who are the only boy in a family. This cultural difference could make a difference in the findings of perceived discrimination, or in how the issue of 'coming out' as an LGB is approached. It would also be valuable to know more about Korean (Asian) LGBs since studies on sexual minorities in this country are lacking. Thus, this current research aimed to contribute to the literature in the social as well as the cross-cultural area in the study of sexual orientation.

Aims and Research Questions

The aim of the current research was to explore the relationship between sexual orientation and perceived discrimination, by comparing heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals (lesbians, gay men and bisexuals) on whether or not discrimination existed in given scenarios/situations. The perceived discrimination was measured both

in discriminatory and non-discriminatory situations. Psychological well-being/self-perception and other factors might be related to perceived discrimination, and these were also examined.

In order to achieve the overall aim, two research questions linking sexual orientation and perceived discrimination, guided the overall research. The first research question, addressed in study 1, asked: Would LGBs show significantly higher perceived discrimination than heterosexuals in what were mainly non-discriminatory situations/scenarios? Two countries, Australia and South Korea were examined and compared for this first study. The second research question, addressed in study 2, asked: would there be a difference in the level of perceived discrimination between an actual discriminatory scenario and a non-discriminatory scenario? In this second study, only the Australian samples were examined.

The following chapter, Chapter 2, provides a review of the relevant empirical and theoretical literature and addresses the definitions of prejudice, stereotype, discrimination and perceived discrimination. It then addresses the factors that might influence and be related to perceived discrimination, including heterosexism; internalized heterosexism (homophobia); invisible social identity; self-disclosure (outness); and previous experience of discrimination. Chapter 3 presents the first study, answering the first research question of whether LGBs would perceive higher levels of discrimination in non-discriminatory situations than would heterosexuals. It lists hypotheses related to the first research question, the method, results and discussion. Chapter 4 presents the second study, expanding study 1 by comparing the level of perceived discrimination in non-discriminatory and discriminatory situations. Finally, Chapter 5 offers an integration of the results of the research, articulating the main

findings, and conveying the contributions that the research outcomes offer. This chapter also identifies some of the limitations of the research and offers recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

STIGMA, PREJUDICE, HETEROSEXISM, INTERNALIZED HOMOPHOBIA,
INVISIBLE SOCIAL IDENTITY, OUTNESS, PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE OF
DISCRIMINATION, PRIMING AND PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION

Lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals have more psychological disorders and have lower psychological well-being than heterosexuals. Researchers believe that the causes for these include social stigma (Smith & Ingram, 2004; Waldo et al., 1998) and discrimination or prejudice that LGBs face (Allison, 1998; Friedman, 1999; Meyer, 2003b; Slavin, Rainer, McCreary, & Gowda, 1991). These two areas (stigma and prejudice) are examined next, followed by a discussion of heterosexism, internalized heterosexism, invisible social identity, outness, previous experience of discrimination, and priming in relation to perceived discrimination.

1. Stigma

Goffman (1963) referred to “stigma” as an attribute of a person that is deeply discrediting, and reduces him or her “in our minds from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one” (p.3). The person who is stigmatized is therefore a person whose social identity or membership in some social category, calls into questions his or her full humanity. The social identity is devalued, spoiled or flawed in the eyes of others (Jones et al., 1984) where social identity refers to “the groups, statuses, or categories to which (an individual) is socially recognized as belonging” (Rosenberg, 1979; p.10).

However, the judgment of people belonging to a certain group can also be made subjectively by an observer. Thus, not only people be stigmatized who possess devaluing attributes or characteristics, but also those who are believed to possess these characteristics can be judged or stigmatized. Therefore, Crocker, Major, and Steele

(1998) defined stigmatized individuals as those who “possess (or are believed to possess) some attribute or characteristic that conveys a social identity that is devalued in some particular context” (p. 505).

According to Steele, Spencer, and Aronson (2002), when people who possess a stigmatized identity enter situations in which the potential for devaluation based on their identity exists, they experience identity threat, or are vigilant for cues that they will be devalued or marginalized in a particular context. Thus, stigmas are incorporated into the target’s self-concept through environmental interactions and these stigmas influence the target’s cognitions, behaviours, and social interactions (Jones et al., 1984). Being stigmatized can also lead to the possibility that one will be the target of prejudice and discrimination (Goffman, 1963; Jones et al., 1984).

2. Prejudice, stereotype, discrimination and perceived discrimination

Prejudice is generally defined as an enduring negative attitude toward a social group and its individual members (Herek, 2004). Stereotype on the other hand can overlap with and be used in the same way as prejudice. However, stereotype is a belief about the personal attributes of a group of people (Myers, 2005). These prejudices and stereotypes are developed through social learning from parents, teachers, peers and the media (Smith & Mackie, 2000). For example, all the beautiful people shown by the media are slim, toned and tall. Overweight people on the other hand are portrayed as lazy and unattractive. Homosexuality appears to be no exception. Negative stereotypes about homosexuals are learned through these mechanisms early in life (Troiden, 1989). Examples of these negative stereotypes toward homosexuals are that they are abnormal, deviant, mentally and socially unstable and sick, and even child molesters (Greenberg & Brand, 1994). Such stereotypes can be easily portrayed in the mass media, such as

television shows, movies and books. However, positive images of homosexuals in the media have emerged and increased dramatically in recent years. One good example of this is the image of gay men being fashion leaders in the popular American TV show “Queer eyes for straight guys”, which was sold to and broadcast in many countries including Australia and South Korea.

Although there has been a recent change in people’s perception toward LGBs, negative attitudes and stereotypes about LGBs persist. One consequence of the pervasiveness of these negative stereotypes is that they are so familiar, and so overlearned due to repeated exposure, that they can be easily or even automatically accessed, even by those who do not consciously endorse or agree with them (Banaji & Greenwald, 1994, 1995; Devine, 1989; Gilbert & Hixon, 1991; Macrae, Milne, & Bodenhausen, 1994), and even by individuals who are the targets of those negative stereotypes (Banaji & Greenwald, 1995; Steele & Aronson, 1995). These stereotypes are also spread so widely that they are known not as stereotypes, but in some cases as “facts” (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1996). Furthermore, because people often perceive the world selectively, attend to information that supports their stereotypes and ignore information that contradicts them (Herek, 1991), it is hard to avoid mistaking these stereotypes as facts.

Discrimination, an unfair behavioural bias demonstrated against a specific social group and its members (Allport, 1954; Dion, 2001; Dipboye & Colella, 2005; Myers, 2005; Smith & Mackie, 2000) is formed from these prejudices and stereotypes (Smith & Mackie). However, perceived discrimination occurrences and expectations that discrimination is likely to occur in particular environments (Mays, Cochran, & Rhue, 1993) are not always consistent with actual discrimination and can differ in

degree from individual to individual. Not all individuals with a stigmatized or marginalized status have the same expectations or reactions to prejudice and discrimination (Lewis, Derlega, Clarke, & Kuang, 2006). Pinel (1999) used the term 'stigma consciousness' to describe this phenomenon of individual differences in the degree to which individuals expect to be stereotyped and discriminated against by others. Therefore, the current project tested whether there is a real difference between individuals in the heterosexual and the LGB groups in their perceived discrimination scores (to confirm or otherwise the literature findings).

Variables or factors that may contribute to or modify the difference if any were also examined. The sections below discuss factors that might lead to or be related to a higher stigma consciousness and therefore, to a higher perceived discrimination in different contexts.

3. Heterosexism

One of the crucial reasons why LGBs might feel discriminated against from the majority of society is the phenomenon called homophobia or heterosexism that exists in the society. Weinberg (1972) originally defined homophobia as an irrational fear, intolerance, and hatred of homosexuality. He considered homophobia a form of prejudice directed by one group at another.

However, in recent years, the term homophobia has been criticized in that it is not an accurate description of the societal phenomenon. Firstly, the homophobia appears not to include fear (Herek, 1994) like other phobias do. Instead, homophobia appears to encompass negative attitudes and emotions about homosexuality. The emotional components of a homophobia are anger and disgust whereas the emotional component of phobia in general, is anxiety (Bernat, Calboun, Adams, & Zeichner, 2001; Haaga,

1991; Herek). Therefore, the dysfunctional behaviour involved in a phobia is avoidance whereas in homophobia, it is aggression (Haaga). Secondly, unlike other phobias that see one's fears as excessive or unreasonable, the fear is not necessarily unreasonable (Herek, 1996) or associated with expected physiological symptoms (Shieds & Harriman, 1984) for homophobia: homophobic sees their anger as justified (Haaga). Thus, 'homophobia' cannot meet the requirements for diagnosis of a phobia (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). In addition, sufferers of a phobia themselves are motivated to change this condition, whereas the main impetus to reduce homophobia comes from the targets of people holding such attitudes. Thirdly, the term denotes individual pathology rather than a cultural phenomenon and ignores its cultural roots and manifestations (Herek, 1994). People with phobias generally have no such agenda, whereas homophobia is linked with discrimination against targets (Haaga).

Thus, alternate terms such as sexual prejudice (Herek, 2004), homonegativism (Hudson & Ricketts, 1980), homoprejudice (Logan, 1996), or heterosexism have been suggested to replace the term homophobia. Among all these terms, the term heterosexism has become increasingly common (Neisen, 1990) due to the belief that it is a more appropriate and inclusive concept (Herek, 1989; 1992; Neisen, 1990). In contrast to homophobia, heterosexism includes a wide range of experiences of discrimination not limited to those related to phobias or violent episodes, and it conceptually includes prejudice toward bisexual men and women as well (Herek, 1995). Therefore, in this current study, heterosexism is the chosen term to be used instead of homophobia.

Herek (1992) defined heterosexism as "an ideological system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any nonheterosexual form of behaviour, identity,

relationship or community” (p.89). Therefore, heterosexism refers to a belief that heterosexuality is the only acceptable sexual orientation and a belief in the inherent superiority of heterosexuality (rather than merely a fear of homosexuality). Such beliefs then lead to a belief in the right to dominate others and set societal standards and norms (Schreier, 1995). Heterosexism is the prejudice that targets gay, lesbian, and bisexual people or people who are perceived to be gay, lesbian, or bisexual (Elze, 2006).

Heterosexism incorporates both implicit and explicit forms of discrimination. For example, heterosexism may include *implicit* events ranging from repeated questions such as "Why aren't you married? (thereby assuming that a person is heterosexual)" or failing to recognize the legitimacy of same-sex relationships (Smith & Ingram, 2004). Some might believe that gay and lesbian relationships are not necessarily inferior to those of heterosexuals, but who they may also believe that the benefits of marriages should exist only for heterosexuals or that gay parents should not be permitted to adopt children. On the other hand, *explicit* discrimination involves malicious antigay jokes or bashings. Both implicit and explicit forms of discrimination arise from a culture that considers heterosexuality the norm and only acceptable sexual orientation. In the current study, the implicit type is referred to as *indirect* heterosexism because its intent is less antigay in nature and, rather, reflects a lack of inclusivity (Cowan, Heiple, Marquez, Khatchadourian, & McNevin, 2005). This form of heterosexism is more likely to occur for “closed” or less “out” LGBs. The explicit type on the other hand is referred to as *direct* heterosexism because of its more straightforward explicit quality and is a clear expression of negative attitudes toward and dislike of gays and lesbians. This form of heterosexism is more likely to be experienced by LGBs who are more “out” (Smith &

Ingram, 2004; Waldo, 1999) or who are perceived to be LGBs by others. Therefore, indirect heterosexism is a milder form of sexual prejudice than direct heterosexism. However, regardless of the type of heterosexism, each is thought to be stressful for LGB people to some degree (Waldo). In the current research, previous experience of direct and indirect discrimination was elicited from participants, and how this experience affected the level of perceived discrimination was examined.

Previous studies have shown that LGBs who had experienced heterosexism exhibited significantly higher levels of psychological distress (Myer, 1995; Smith & Ingram, 2004); anxiety (Diaz, Ayala, Bein, Henne, & Marin, 2001); depression (Diaz et al.; Smith & Ingram); guilt (Meyer); somatic symptoms; insomnia (Ross, 1990), and suicidal ideation and behaviour (Meyer). These LGBs also showed decreased satisfaction with several aspects of their jobs (Waldo, 1999) when studies were conducted among workers.

Moreover, in heterosexist society, there is an expectation that all are heterosexual until demonstrated to the contrary (Igartua, Gill, & Montoro, 2003): people are automatically assumed to be straight by default (Flowers & Buston, 2001). Heterosexuals are therefore (correctly) assumed to be heterosexual without ever explicitly revealing their sexual orientation to others; they need not come out as straight (Herek, 2003). On the contrary, homosexuals go through a tough process of coming out as a gay, lesbian or bisexual after self-realisation or identification (a process that can be damaging to their psychological well-being).

Despite the increasing visibility of lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) issues in both popular culture and the psychological literature (Phillips, Ingram, Smith, & Mindes, 2003), heterosexism remains a real and constant aspect of the lives of many

LGB individuals. Thus, living in a heterosexist society in a sexual minority might make LGB individuals more aware of the actual discrimination and lead to higher perceived discrimination as well. The current study examined this proposition.

4. Internalized homophobia/heterosexism

Heterosexism is not only stressful to LGBs, it also makes them adopt the heterosexual's negative perception towards LGBs and internalize these prejudices (called internalized homophobia/heterosexism). Sophie (1987) first defined internalized homophobia as a set of negative attitudes and assumptions toward homosexuality in other persons and toward homosexual features in oneself. Mayfield (2001) added that it is the most frequently used term to describe the internalized negative attitudes that gay men and lesbians possess about homosexuality. These features include same gender sexual and affectional feelings; same-gender sexual behaviour; same-gender intimate relationships; and self-labelling as lesbian, gay, or homosexual. Although according to Sophie's definition, internalized homophobia can be used to describe both heterosexuals' and LGBs' negative attitudes toward non-heterosexuals, the current research only focused on LGBs' internalized homophobia. The term 'internalized heterosexism' instead of internalized homophobia is used in this thesis in order to reduce confusion and have a consistency with the term heterosexism.

Internalized heterosexism arises from the context: due to individuals being surrounded by members of a majority group who exhibit negative views toward them (Waldo, 1999). Regardless of sexual orientation, individuals are raised in a predominately heterosexual society in which they learn negative attitudes regarding homosexuality long before they comprehend their own (homo)sexuality (Gonsiorek, 1995; Meyer, 1995; Shidlo, 1994). The process of learning heterosexism occurs as

easily as learning which words go with which colors (Russell, 2007). Just as easily, people in society participate in the transmission of heterosexism narratives, often before they know exactly what they mean. As an example, words like queer or gay are being used to insult others rather than to refer to LGBs.

Gay people come to realize their sexual orientation later in life and because of this, they may have internalized the negative attitudes toward homosexuality learned from the culture (Malyon, 1982). Thus, before a gay man identifies himself as gay, his negative associations with homosexuality may be similar to the negative associations and beliefs held by many heterosexual individuals. Furthermore, even after gay people identify themselves as homosexual, they would continue to encounter others' negative gay prejudice throughout their life (Jellison, McConnell, & Gabriel, 2004). However, as LGBs grow older and have first hand experience of gay or lesbian lifestyles as well as LGB individuals, they realize that the stereotypes and prejudices they learned are not all true. Unfortunately however, even after this realization, it is hard to alter beliefs that have been deeply engrained inside them, which might turn into internalized homophobia. Additionally, despite social change in recent years, many in our society continue to feel that homosexual or bisexual behavior is morally wrong and believe heterosexuality is the only norm and the right way to "be". Many lesbians, gays, and bisexuals (LGBs) have internalized such values, and some become significantly distressed regarding their sexual orientation (Flowers & Buston, 2001; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004). Thus, internalized heterosexism is a normative consequence for those who were exposed to heterosexist norms (Williamson, 2000). Therefore, if heterosexism persists so does internalized heterosexism. In the absence of external homophobia, internalized homophobia would not exist at all (Russell, 2007).

As the definition of internalized heterosexism shows above, it is extremely threatening to the individual's psychological well-being (Wagner, Brondolo, & Rabkin, 1996). Internalized heterosexism can lead to guilt, shame, depression, and feelings of worthlessness (Meyer, 1995). The psychologically injurious effects of societal heterosexism take effect. Internalized heterosexism was found to be positively correlated with all self-report measures of psychological distress (Russell, 2007; Wagner et al.) and to be significantly associated with overall psychological distress (Igartua et al., 2003; Meyer, 2003; Shidlo, 1994; Smith & Ingram, 2004; Williamson, 2000). Lower self-esteem, lower levels of self-concepts of physical appearance and emotional stability, higher levels of sex guilt, psychological distress manifested by depressive and anxious symptoms, substance abuse, and suicidality may all be associated with internalized heterosexism (Igartua et al., 2003; Peterson & Gerrity, 2006; Ross & Rosser, 1996; Szymanski, Chung, & Balsam, 2001). Szymanski and Chung (2003) also showed that people with high internalized heterosexism feel more lonely and isolated. Moreover, Rowan and Malcolm (2002) showed that higher levels of internalized heterosexism were correlated with lower stages of homosexual identity formation (HIF) (LGBs who are uncertain or who do not accept their sexuality are more likely to have higher internalized heterosexism). However, although internalized heterosexism is likely to be the most acute early in the coming-out process, it is unlikely that internalized heterosexism completely abates even when the person accepts his or her homosexuality (Cass, 1984; Troiden, 1989).

As indicated above, previous research has shown that internalized heterosexism has negative effects on LGBs' psychological well-being. However, there have been no studies looking at the relationship between levels of internalized

heterosexism and perceived discrimination. Because internalized heterosexism would mean negative perceptions toward LGBs, LGBs themselves with higher internalized heterosexism would believe others have the same negative perceptions toward LGB individuals. Therefore, LGBs can be expected to see even a small unjust feeling in social situations as a response to the discrimination they face. The relationship between levels of internalized heterosexism and levels of perceived discrimination seen in the given scenarios was investigated in the current project.

5. Invisible Social Identity

Another unique feature of lesbians, gays, and bisexuals is that their social identity is relatively invisible unlike the more visible social identity such as gender, race, age and ethnicity (Beatty & Kirby, 2006; Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005; Ragins & Wiethoff, 2005). The invisibility of sexual orientation sets gay men and lesbians apart from most other marginalized groups (Ragins, 2004) and they face unique challenges not faced by those with visible stigmas (Clair et al.; Pachankis, 2007; Quinn, 2006; Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007). People with visible stigmas know that others can use their visible identity as a basis for judging them and this awareness itself may influence their thoughts, feelings, and behaviours (Kleck & Strenta, 1980).

However, unlike in the case of other minority status groups, sexual orientation can be concealed by choice (Waldo, 1999) or the orientation may “pass” as heterosexual (Herek, 1991) (to avoid discrimination). Passing here refers to “a cultural performance whereby one member of a defined social group masquerades as another in order to enjoy the privileges afforded to the dominant group” (Leary, 1999: pp.85). However, passing or concealing processes may have pressures and costs of their own

(Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998). Passing as heterosexuals and concealing stigma can create psychological stress and affect psychological well-being negatively.

Moreover, passing is only for those who do not fit the stereotype and who do not look obviously “gay”. On the other hand, those who fulfil stereotypic expectations or display stereotypic traits become publicly visible (Hammersmith, 1987; Russell, 2007). For those who do not meet the stereotype of LGBs, their identity become known only through the process known as “coming out” (Appleby, 2001) or by “outing”. “Coming out” is a process of identifying to self and to others one’s homosexuality or bisexuality whereas “outing” means publicizing the fact that a specific person is gay or lesbian when that person has actively tried to stay in the closet (Corrigan, 2005). Until either “coming out” or “outing” occurs, lesbians, gays, and bisexuals can interact with others without their negative social identity influencing how everything about them is understood (Crocker et al., 1998). Thus, they may avoid being targets for direct discrimination. Individuals may not experience direct discrimination if no one knows or suspects that they are gay, even though they may indirectly experience discrimination through the presence of a hostile environment (Ragin & Cornwell, 2001). This thesis examines in part aspects correlated with coming out.

Successfully preventing others from learning about their stigma, requires considerable effort. LGBs who are “in the closet” may have to monitor their speech and behaviour to avoid revealing their social identities unconsciously (Frable, Blackstone, & Sherbaum, 1990). For example, when LGBs talk about their same gender partner, they may have to be careful with their use of pronoun and may have to change ‘he’ to ‘she’ or ‘she’ to ‘he’ to pass as heterosexuals. Managing information

like this may cause people to become obsessively preoccupied with thoughts of their stigma (Smart & Wegner, 2000). In some languages like Korean however, it is possible to talk about their same-sex partner without using gender dividing pronouns (it is perfectly normal and even more common to use the pronoun 'person' instead of he/she). Gay people may also need to avoid situations that bear on their sexual life to conceal their sexual orientation. This includes a whole range of activities, from casual sex talk among colleagues of the same sex to office parties where some kind of heterosexual indications are expected, especially from single men and women.

Therefore, it cannot be denied that passing requires a person to live a "double life" (Clair et al., 2005) since hiding one's sexual orientation creates a discrepancy between public and private identities. It interferes with normal social interaction, creates a multitude of practical problems, and requires psychological as well as physical work. Therefore, gay people who are passing may feel inauthentic, that they are living a lie, and feel others would not accept them if they knew the truth (Jones et al., 1984). The need to pass is also likely to disrupt longstanding family relationships and friendships as lesbians and gay men create distance from others in order to avoid revealing their sexual orientation (Beatty & Kirdy, 2006; Cole, Kemeny, Taylor, & Visscher, 1996). Moreover, they may still be aware that they could be stigmatized if their devaluing attribute were discovered (Crocker et al., 1998) and they may still experience indirect discrimination by watching negative treatment of openly gay and lesbian persons or by hearing heterosexist comments and jokes (Goffman, 1963).

Also, as stated above, attempts to pass are not always successful and social identity can also be decided by observers. That is, one might assume another's identity based on reading the signs of a gay performance and can act out of hatred toward an

individual, regardless of whether or not the person actually identifies as gay (Moore & Rennie, 2006). These signs can be effeminate gestures and voice tones for gay men and boyish or manly clothes by choice for lesbians. People also can acquire information about other's homosexuality from a third party, through astute observation, or simply by guessing (Herek, 2003). For example, particularly among gay men, there is a belief that they themselves have an advantage in judging sexual orientation (Ambady, Hallahan, & Conner, 1999). Ambady et al. studied the accuracy of judging sexual orientation on the basis of brief observations of nonverbal behaviour. They found that sexual orientation was judged more accurately than chance from brief video segments, with judgments being more accurate when based on dynamic nonverbal behaviour (10 second and 1 second silent video segments) than on static information (a series of eight still photographs). This can mean that the belief that homosexuality can be concealed by passing may not be correct, at least for some.

Therefore, there are circumstances when the concealment does not work: when they have come out; when others have outed them; and when others have made a judgement about their identity based on their appearance and behaviour. In this current research, LGBs' outness was used as a variable that could influence LGBs' levels of perceived discrimination.

6. Self-disclosure (Outness)

As it was stated in the previous section, the most common way to make LGBs' invisible social identity visible is through "coming out". "Coming out" is a short term for "coming out of the closet", meaning gay men, lesbians and bisexuals make their sexual orientation known to others, and is a form of self-disclosure (Herek, 2003). Self-disclosure can be defined as the act of revealing personal information about oneself to

another that otherwise is not directly observable (Collins & Miller, 1994). Self-disclosure is a necessary prerequisite for psychological wellness (Cain, 1991) and self-disclosing gay men reported more positive self-concepts than non-disclosing gay men (Schmitt & Kurdek, 1987). Self-disclosing lesbians also reported more personal integrity (Rand, Graham, & Rawlings, 1982), less anxiety, more positive affectivity, greater self-esteem (Jordan & Deluty, 1998), and greater subjective well-being (Luhtanen, 1996). Self-identified LGB individuals may be more open about their sexual orientation, and greater “outness” has been shown to relate to positive mental health (Morris et al., 2001).

On the other hand, those who remained closeted reported lower levels of psychological well-being and life satisfaction (Garnets & Kimmel, 1993), increased health risks (Cole, Kemeny, Taylor, & Visscher, 1996; Kalichman & Nachimson, 1999), and extensive and energy-draining activities focused on covering up their stigmatized identity (Ellis & Riggle, 1996). When research were conducted at work settings, they found that “out” workers had higher job satisfaction, were more committed to their organization, perceived top management to be more supportive of their rights, experienced less conflict between work and home, and had lower role conflict and lower role ambiguity (Croteau, 1996; Day & Schoenrade, 1997; Driscoll, Kelley, & Fassinger, 1996).

However, coming out can be stressful to many LGBs. Lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals continually confront decisions about whether to reveal or conceal their identity in environments that may be discriminatory (Garnets, 2002; Rostosky & Riggle, 2002). Especially in work settings, one of the most critical challenges faced by workers with invisible stigmas is whether to disclose their stigmatized identity to

others in the workplace. Although this decision can be stressful for many individuals with invisible stigmas, it has been identified as one of the most difficult career challenges faced by lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) employees (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Ragins, 2004). Disclosure has been found to result in reports of verbal harassment, job termination, and even physical assault (D'Augelli & Grossman, 2001). In fact, one study of 416 gay men and lesbians revealed that 75% reported being attacked or physically threatened as a result of disclosing their sexual identity (D'Augelli & Grossman). Given this situation, it is not surprising that gay and lesbian employees fear negative consequences to disclosure and up to one third choose not to disclose their identity to anyone at work (Croteau, 1996). In fact, the fear of negative consequences of "being out at work" may have a greater impact on employees than the actual act of disclosure (Ragins). This is why people with invisible stigmatizing differences may choose not to reveal their difference, or they may select the conditions under which they disclose (Beatty & Kirby, 2006).

Disclosing a sexual minority identity may therefore have costs as well as benefits depending on the circumstances and the persons LGBs come out to. Disclosure may, for example, increase the likelihood that a lesbian, gay male, or bisexual (LGB) worker would be the target of discrimination (Badgett, 2001; Croteau & Lark, 1995; Croteau & von Destinon, 1994), job loss (Bradford, Ryan, & Rothblum, 1994), verbal attacks (Bradford et al.), or physical threats (Herek, 1995; 2003). LGB workers who are compelled to hide their sexual orientations expend energy that detracts from their productivity and even their overall career development (Boatwright, Gilbert, Forrest, & Ketzenberger, 1996). However, it has also been argued that willingness to self-disclose is generally beneficial to one's social life and friendships,

whereas patterns of consistent nondisclosure are linked to loneliness and social isolation (Stokes, 1987). These conflicting findings/arguments did not however show the link between the outness and the perception of being discriminated against.

Therefore, in the current research, the relationship between the degree of “outness” and the level of perceived discrimination was examined to see what effect “outness” has, other than on LGBs psychological health. The effect of “outness” on perceived discrimination was examined in both discriminatory and non-discriminatory scenarios/situations to see if outness plays a different role depending on the circumstances they are in.

7. Spotlight effect

Lesbians, gays, and bisexuals are a minority group as compared with the heterosexuals in the society (approximately 2-5% of men and 1-2% of women are exclusively homosexual) (Diamond, 1993). Because when we are part of a small group surrounded by a larger group, we are often conscious of our social identity, the sexual orientation of LGBs may play a more important role to them than sexual orientation does for heterosexuals in social settings. When our social group is the majority, we tend to think less about it (Myers, 2005). This phenomenon can be explained as the *spotlight effect* which means that we tend to believe the social spotlight shines more brightly on us than it really does and therefore, is the belief that more people are paying attention to one’s appearance and actions than is actually the case (Gilovich, Medvec, & Savitsky, 2000; Gilovich & Savitsky, 1999). To demonstrate and prove this effect, Gilovich et al. asked their participants to wear a t-shirt that depicted either potentially embarrassing or flattering images and to measure how many people they think would have noticed their t-shirts. The results showed that they overestimated the

number of observers who would be able to recall what was pictured on the shirt. The more they were aware themselves of the t-shirt, or differences, the more people they thought would notice their differences. With the sexual minority, LGBs, this concept can apply in the same sense applying all the time when they are in public.

If this spotlight effect applies to LGBs, they will have higher awareness of their sexual orientation and they will also believe it is likely that their sexual orientation status will be known to others with whom they interact. Therefore, the perception of individuals' sexual orientation being known to others may be different between different sexual orientation groups; such as heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals. However, there has been no research supporting this proposition. Thus, the current project examined the proposition.

8. Priming

To enhance participants' awareness of their sexual orientation and to maximise the spotlight effect, priming was used in the current study. The priming effect refers to stimuli that cannot be consciously detected or recognised triggering response activation processes and affecting observers' behaviour (Eimer & Schlaghecken, 2002).

According to the concept of priming, the prime activates internal representations associated with that prime in memory (Wittenbrink, 2007). This activation spreads via existing links in the semantic network to other, associated representations. As a result of this spreading of activation in the network, the internal representation of a target related to the prime (but not an unrelated target) already receives some activation prior to the actual display of the target stimulus. In the current study, one part of the procedure involved showing a stimulus that is relevant to homosexuality or sexual minority, and was aimed at activating the target, the sexual identity of respondent.

Since priming activates particular associations in memory (Myers, 2005), it is commonly used to test cognitive ability, such as measuring the reduction in time for the target to be recognized. However, priming can also be used in activating cultural norms or values. Specific pieces of cultural knowledge (implicit theories) become operative in guiding the construction of meaning from a stimulus. Whether a construct comes to the fore in a perceiver's mind depends on the extent to which the construct is highly accessible (because of recent exposure) (Hong, Morris, Chiu, & Bernet-Martinez, 2000). Hong and associates simulated the experience of bicultural individuals (people who have internalized two cultures) by switching between different cultural frames in response to culturally laden symbols.

Many bicultural individuals report that the two internalized cultures take turns in guiding their thoughts and feelings, or they switch from time to time from one to the other. This suggests that (a) internalized cultures are not necessarily blended and (b) absorbing a second culture does not always involve replacing the original culture with the new one. Frame switching may occur in response to cues such as contexts (home or school) and symbols (language) that are psychologically associated with one culture or the other (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). If this concept is true, it can also be applied to LGBs, since they may be seen as bicultural individuals (they have internalized heterosexist society's as well as homosexual lifestyle, value, and norms). Because of their upbringing, LGBs hold heterosexist values and standards. However, because of first hand experience with other LGBs or the LGB culture, they have co-existing alternative values.

Chiu and Hong (2005) stated that individuals with bicultural expertise should possess and be able to access declarative knowledge (e.g., values, beliefs, norms, and

behavioural scripts), as well as adjust their cognitive processes when navigating cultures. Thus, they believe that, for example, exposing Chinese American bicultural individuals to American icons should activate interpretive constructs in their American cultural knowledge network; however, exposing the same individuals to Chinese icons instead should activate constructs in their Chinese cultural knowledge network (Hong et al., 2000). Theoretically, if we assume that LGBs have both heterosexual and homosexual or bisexual cultures, then we could activate constructs in one of cultural knowledge networks through priming. Thus, by providing a sexual orientation related priming stimulus to heterosexuals, it would activate their heterosexual values and providing a sexual orientation related priming stimulus to LGBs, the homosexual/bisexual values would be activated.

However, prior to applying the priming effect to LGBs bicultural, a question whether LGB culture can be seen as “culture” can arise, because it would be inappropriate to use conceptual priming if it cannot be proved that LGBs have a culture of their own while living in a shared heterosexist culture. According to Healey (1997), culture consists of “all aspects of the way of life associated with a group of people. It includes language, religious beliefs, customs and rules of etiquette, the values and ideas people use to organize their lives and interpret their existence” (p.18). Given this description of culture, the claim can be made that there is such a thing as LGB culture and LGBs are in a way “bicultural” people that have two different cultures. LGBs have two lifestyles and values in their life, one being that they use in heterosexist society and the other one that is personal to them. Since they are living in heterosexual dominated society, their construct on their sexual orientation might be hidden most of the time. Thus, to activate awareness of their sexual orientation, sexual orientation

related (gay related) priming was used. Out of possible priming stimuli (a rainbow flag, a pink triangle, a lambda, or male to male or female to female symbols) that could be used in this study a rainbow flag was chosen and used as a priming stimulus. Exposing participants (particularly non-heterosexual) to this stimulus should activate constructs in their sexual orientation knowledge network. On the other hand, showing the LGB related stimulus to heterosexual recipients is predicted to enhance the awareness of heterosexuality and to activate heterosexist culture values inside them. However, there have been no studies examining LGBs using priming and the concept of priming enhancing the awareness of participants' sexual orientation. Thus, it was hoped in this current study to bring the LGB related culture to the forefront in decisions or responses.

The priming effect (using a rainbow flag) was aimed to investigate the differences in perceived discrimination for heterosexuals and LGBs: the differences in their scores for perceived discrimination when priming was applied would be stronger. By using a priming stimulus that activated their associated sexual orientation status, participants were made more aware of their sexual orientation and their status as minorities, and this was predicted to heighten perceived discrimination in neutral situations (study 1 examined this aspect).

9. Past experience of discrimination and its effects

The last hypothesised factor that may contribute to higher perceptions of discrimination was the past experience of discrimination. Previous research showed that lesbians, gays, and bisexuals (LGBs) reported more discrimination than their heterosexual counterparts. Nine out of 10 gay men and lesbians have faced verbal abuse or threats, and more than one in five have been physically assaulted because of their sexual orientation. Men were more likely to report these experiences if they were

younger, and were more open in disclosing their sexual orientation to others (Heubner, Rebhook, & Kegeles, 2004). However, the respondents indicated that they were much more likely to have reported a crime against them that was not based on their sexual orientation than a bias-related crime. Thus, the official documentation of hate or bias crimes against gays and lesbians might under-represent the actual prevalence of these crimes (Cowan, Heiple, Marquez, Khatchadourian, & McNevin, 2005).

Previous studies that have examined discrimination or perceived discrimination against LGBs have typically been carried out in work settings because (it was argued) the workplace provides an excellent landscape in which to study discrimination experienced by LGB individuals (Waldo, 1999). One study suggested that about one in every fifty people in the workplace is gay (Michael, Gagnon, Laumann, & Kolata, 1994) but this statistic rose to one in every ten to twenty persons in major metropolitan areas (Clair, Beatty, & Maclean, 2005). According to Croteau's (1996) study, 25-66% of participants reported discrimination at workplace. More than half of those who disclosed their sexual orientations at work experienced discrimination on the job, including termination of employment. However, the "true" estimates of discrimination cannot be assessed from the data due to the unverified self-report nature of the measurement and due to the sampling problems. Not all LGBs are "out" at work so the figure could be underestimated or it could be that LGBs attribute negative outcomes to discrimination based on their sexual orientation, thus the figure could be overestimated.

Regardless of whether reported discrimination was under or over-estimated, perceiving oneself to be a target of prejudice or discrimination (by a majority group in the society) is a psychosocial stressor and has a demonstrable, and negative impact

upon the individual (Dion, 2001; Jasinskaja-Lahti et al., 2006). Empirical research has supported and shown that perceived discrimination leads to lower psychological well-being for members of low status groups like lesbians and gay men (Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 1999; Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Moreover, perception of discrimination is associated with a range of negative work-related reactions: negative work attitudes among gay and lesbian employees (Ragins & Cornwell, 2001).

LGBs with past experience of discrimination know that discrimination exists and acts of discrimination can occur against them. However, whether this enhanced awareness or previous experience of actual discrimination affects the level of perceived discrimination in other circumstances has not been studied. The current research, thus, examined the relationship between previous experience of discrimination and perceived discrimination (in the given scenarios).

10. Cultural differences

Homosexuality and bisexuality are viewed differently across cultures and countries. The research conducted by Lippincott and associates (2000) showed that Asians were found to harbour more heterosexism than their Caucasian counterparts, which indicated that race and ethnicity may have an effect on attitudes toward gays and lesbians. Examination of historic and cultural variation in stigmatization of sexual behaviour shows that although some countries like the US and Australia stigmatize homosexual behaviour, in other cultures homosexual behaviour is considered a normal stage of development (Archer, 1985) or socially approved and widespread (Garnets, 2002). To contrast these cultural and societal impacts and to examine how the cultural background can play a role in LGB studies, the current research project examined

historical and societal backgrounds of two countries: Australia and South Korea (South Korea and Korea are used interchangeably throughout this research).

10-1. LGBs in Australia

There is evidence that the LGB subculture started to exist by the early twentieth century in Australia (Reynolds, 2002; Wotherspoon, 1991). However, the formal homosexual rights organisations only emerged in Australia in the late 1960s.

By the mid 1960s, homosexuality could also at least be spoken about and spoken about as a public issue that needed to be dealt with (Willett, 2000), which meant homosexuality had moved onto the public agenda. However, in the late 1960s, homosexual acts even in private were considered an offence. This was why Australia's first gay political organisation, the Homosexual Law Reform Society of the Australian Capital Territory (ACT), was formed in Canberra in July 1969 (Moore, 2001; Reynolds). Then an Australian Chapter of America's Daughters of Bilitis was formed in Melbourne in January 1970, which in July the same year became the Australian Lesbian Reform Movement. However, the Homosexual Law Reform Society's spokespersons were heterosexual and Daughters of Bilitis was originally from America. For this reason, the first publicly self-identified Australian gays and lesbians were members of the Campaign Against Moral Persecution Incorporated (CAMP Inc.), which began in Sydney in September 1970 (Moore).

In terms of the psychopathological view of homosexuality, an Australian understanding of homosexuality was that it was a psychiatric disorder that needed to be treated (Reynolds, 2002) following the American medical model. However, by the mid 1970s, the law, the major churches and key sections of the medical profession were starting to shift their attitudes towards the belief that it is inappropriate to use an

“illness model” in considering homosexuality (Willett, 2000). Because Australia uses the DSM as a guideline, and homosexuality was removed from the DSM in 1973, the same pattern flowed onto the Australian medical and legal system a few years later (Moore, 2001): homosexuality was no longer considered as a disease.

Following the removal of homosexuality from the list of mental illnesses, law reform also followed. South Australia was the first state to reform its laws and made homosexual acts no longer illegal in 1972, with further amendments in 1975 (Moore, 2001; Rodgers & Booth, 2004; Willett, 2000). This was despite the fact that the ACT Homosexual Law Reform Society was the earliest, largest and most public attempt by liberals to decriminalise male homosexual acts (Willett). The decriminalisation of male homosexual acts in Australian Capital Territory (ACT) finally took place in 1976, followed by Victoria in 1980, Northern Territory in 1983, New South Wales in 1984, Western Australia in 1989, Queensland in 1990, and Tasmania in 1997 (Moore; Willett). In addition to decriminalising homosexual acts, New South Wales in 1993 extended the state’s anti-vilification laws to encompass and protect lesbians, gay men and people living with AIDS, making it illegal to incite hatred or contempt against them (McLachlan, 1998).

Apace with the legal reforms came other changes in Australian society. A buoyant gay and lesbian press has developed in Australia, alongside a growing commercial appreciation of the value of the gay/lesbian dollar by big companies like Telstra, Toyota and Erickson (Moore, 2001). There are now numerous small gay tourist resorts, the most successful in Queensland at Turtle Cove north of Cairns, and an Australia-wide network of gay or gay-friendly accommodation. Sydney’s Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras which is claimed to be the largest gay and lesbian parade and

festival in the world celebrated its 30th anniversary this year. Mardi Gras is a part of Australian popular culture and plays large part in the tourism industry (Moore; Reynolds, 2002).

The media's portrayal of homosexuals has changed as well and Australian television had its first positive imaged gay character in 1973. The character of Don Finlayson, played by Joe Hasham, appeared in the popular Australian television soap opera *Number 96* (Rodgers & Booth, 2004; Willett, 2000). Instead of presenting Don as a 'screaming queen' stereotype (gay man who is feminine), he was presented as a nice, ordinary bloke who just happened to be homosexual. Moreover, there has been a distinct fillip in the progress of the societal position of homosexually-identified people in Australia. A justice of the High Court, Kirby, has 'come out' himself and proclaimed homosexual oppression as a fundamental human rights issue; the chief of a state police force has marched in support of her lesbian and gay officers in the Mardi Gras parade; a major Christian church has ruled that practising homosexuals are welcome in its ministry and a male/male couple has featured, as 'just another couple,' in a hugely popular television programme on home renovation, 'The Block'. Other popular TV programmes also had gays and lesbians in their shows such as gay and bisexual housemates in *Big brother*, and a drag queen, Courtney Act in *Australian Idol*.

As the laws against homosexual sex have been reformed in every state and territory and the positive images of gay people appear in the media, public opinion has moved, and is still moving, towards a genuine acceptance of gay people.

Homosexuality and the treatment towards homosexual and bisexual people are different from that of 1970s. In most states, and in the federal sphere, discrimination on the basis of sexuality is illegal. The federal government now recognises gay de facto

relationships as a legitimate basis for immigration rights and allows “open” homosexuals to serve in the armed forces. The Family Court no longer treats homosexuality as an automatic bar to the custody of children. In most states, official liaison committees have been set up to foster better relations between the police and homosexuals, representing a remarkable break with the official practices and attitudes of the past. Of course anti-gay ideas still exist in society, but a basic liberal tolerance is the dominant mood (Willett, 2000). The above statements have given a summary of LGB history in Australia. LGB’s culture in Korea is examined next (to see how different it is from that of Australia).

10-2. LGBs in Korea

Homosexuality as well as sexualities other than heterosexuality have been practically ignored and were a taboo issue in South Korea (Sohng & Icard, 1996). Homosexuality does not have any social existence because homosexuals are not seen as members of the society who can exercise the power to effect social changes (Seo, 2001). Despite this ‘non-existence’, a tolerance toward homosexuality in earlier periods of Korean history can be found. One of the earliest records of homosexuality in Korea is the Hwarang of Silla in ancient Korea (Choi, 1990; Ji, 1992). The Hwarang was founded around A.D. 576 as a strategy for recruiting handsome youth to the royal court who later became ministers and loyal subjects as well as great generals and brave soldiers. The record of the existence of homosexuality among the ruling class can also be found in official histories of the Koryo Dynasty (918-1392) (Sohng & Icard, 1996). An historical analysis of *Halim Bylkok* noted that homosexual practices were common among ruling classes, like King Mokchong (997-1009), King Chungsun (1275-1325) and King Kongmin (1352-1374).

However, changes occurred to the perception and practice of homosexuality after the fall of the Koryo dynasty. This was due to the Chosun dynasty (1392-1910) adopting Confucianism, in the form now referred to as Neo-Confucianism, as the governing ideal (Hahm, 1986; Lee, 1986). Neo-Confucianism has provided Korean people with their ethical and moral norms as well as suggested methods of government (Hahm). Unlike Koryo dynasty's view, the neo-Confucian doctrine stressed familial duty, moral asceticism, and moderation of feelings. With the rising Neo-Confucian views, much of the historical records on homosexual practices shifted from descriptions of the ruling elites to descriptions of commoners and lower classes.

The above examples show that homosexuality has existed in Korean society for over 1000 years and these acts were blended into early society without causing any dramatic scene or issue. Korean society had been "ignorant" about homosexuality and homosexuals for long time, that is, had not noted their existence and allowed co-existence. However, in the early 1990s, the perspectives toward homosexuality changed as a homophobic ideology began to be formed and the tolerant attitude was replaced by earlier Western ideas that same sex attraction was abnormal (Park-Kim, Lee-Kim, & Kwon-Lee, 2006). It was only in the 1990s with influences from Western countries and culture that people start to recognize the existence of homosexuals and talk about homosexuality in public in South Korea.

The LGB culture also started to form in the 1990s. Today's gay movement emerged with Sappho, the first Korean lesbian group, organized by an American lesbian soldier. Groups for lesbian and gay Korean-Americans founded in New York and in Los Angeles contacted Sappho suggesting forming Korean gay and lesbian rights groups. In the meantime, a Korean-American gay man visited Korea and

organized the first Korean gay and lesbian co-gendered group in 1993. Unlike Sappho, this group was organized by Koreans, and is recognized as the first authentically Korean lesbian and gay men's support group. After the mid-1990s, homosexual groups such as Yonsei University's "come together" and Seoul National University's "maun 001" were formed; this was 20 years later than the formation of Australia's groups (Seo, 2001).

Up until 1995, Korea's gay community had developed at a slow pace but LGB cultures grew with information technology and spread through the internet, in the cyber world. Small lesbian and gay discussion groups began to form on the bulletin board systems (BBS) of Korea's three major internet servers: Hitel, Chollian, and Nawnuri. First formed in the summer and autumn of 1995, these BBS groups grew at a rapid pace as information technology improved. They provided members with the opportunity to have anonymous and relatively diverse contacts with a large number of fellow homosexuals (Seo, 2001).

From a pathological perspective, Korea in 1995 adopted the ICD-10 (International Classification of Diseases – 10) and modified it as Korean Classification of Disease-3 (Korea National Statistical Office, 1995), which dropped homosexuality from the list of mental disorders. This was more than 20 years after the removal of homosexuality in the DSM-II. However, while this de-classification came to exist, there is an ambivalence over homosexuality.

In terms of legal regulation on the other hand, homosexual relations have never been criminalized in Korea (Youn, 1996): Korea has had no sodomy laws proscribing oral or anal intercourse, largely because these acts have traditionally been considered utterly unmentionable in any public forum or document. This was an

exception in a military situation where military law proscribed homosexual relationships (Kimmel & Yi, 2004). However in 2000, Korea passed the law of Youth Protection prohibiting distribution of materials that contained incest, animal sex, and homosexuality. This was because they believed that information on homosexuality (referred to as pervert behaviour) has a harmful influence on immature and innocent younger people (Lee, 2006). Perhaps the biggest victim from this law enforcement was *ExZone*. *ExZone*, the first Korean gay website, was designated as a “harmful site to youths” by the Information Communication Ethics Committee in Korea and by the National Youth Commission. The website has been and still is closed. At schools, educators prohibited the closeness of friends (same-sex) aiming at protecting them from turning into non-heterosexuals and they used *iban censorship* in school (picking out those who met stereotypes of LGBs and urging them to be good heterosexuals) (Lee). The term *iban* refers to LGBs in Korea (Seo, 2001).

In the previous section on LGBs in Australia, it was indicated how advanced Australian media was in terms of opening a role to LGB characters in TV shows. In contrast, Korean LGBs witnessed in 2000 what happened to Suk-Chun Hong, a Korean actor, whose career was demolished straight after his “coming out”. Hong was the first Korean celebrity to come out as a gay in Korea in 2000. He was on several shows including a children’s TV show “Bbo bbo bbo.” Many parents protested against having him on the show, and Hong was unable to get any role in any program for the next three years. This shows what it is like to be gay/lesbian and what happens if you “come out” in Korea. This is why almost no LGBs in Korea have “come out”: to avoid being abandoned and refused.

One of the crucial reasons preventing Korean LGBs coming out in public is the Confucianism values deeply rooted in Korean society: family possesses a much wider significance than that possessed by the extended family of the West (Sohng & Icard, 1996). Confucianism influences Korean patriarchy and it emphasises one's duty to parents and family. The most important expression of filial piety, at least for male children, is to marry and have children (particularly boys) who will carry on the family name; thus, all children of a certain age are expected to marry and have families of their own (Aoki, Ngin, Mo, & Ja, 1989). Therefore, when a family produces a child who is homosexual, it implies that the parents have failed in their role and the child is rejecting the importance of both family and culture (Aoki et al.). Moreover, because Korea is family-based society and it is important not to lose face for family, the "coming out" process would be vastly different from that of Western LGBs. Indeed, most Korean homosexuals see family as the biggest problem troubling them (Park-Kim et al., 2000). Moreover, they see the discovery of their homosexual identity by their family as the greatest possible calamity threatening their future. More than society's hatred and prejudice, these homosexuals fear the anxiety and stress that would result from the breaking of their familial bond. Park-Kim et al.'s survey also showed that one of the most feared things for Korean LGBs was that their identity would become known to their family and others. They also feared losing jobs and being discriminated against from the society, and being isolated.

There have been some changes however in Korea in recent years, related to LGBs and the LGB culture. Firstly, the 'Rainbow queer festival' has been successfully held for the past eight years and a cable TV program called "coming out" started in

April 2008; these have encouraged sexual minorities to come out in public. So far, a small number only (under 15 in three months) have come out through this TV show.

On the other hand, LGBs in Korea are still not legally protected from discrimination. On October 2, 2007, the South Korean Ministry of Justice announced the impending legislation of the Anti-Discrimination Bill, which included sexual orientation as one social status to be protected from discrimination. However, on October 31, it was confirmed that sexual orientation had been deleted from the Anti-Discrimination Bill as initially proposed by the Ministry of Justice. LGB organisations have been and still are fighting against this action.

The above section shows the cultural/societal differences between Australia and South Korea. There are no published studies known to the researcher that have compared the sexual minorities in these two countries. Therefore, the current project aims to compare the two countries and examine differences in the levels of perceived discrimination, awareness of sexual orientation status, internalized heterosexism and levels of psychological well-being. The research aims to make a contribution to cross-cultural and LGB studies.

In summary several research questions regarding perceptions by heterosexuals and LGBs have been raised. These are addressed in the first study.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 1: PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION AND SEXUAL ORIENTATION IN
NON-DISCRIMINATORY SITUATIONS

Everyone holds some kind of prejudice and stereotype toward specific social groups. Prejudice and stereotypes, usually associated with negative beliefs and attitudes, are then used to form discrimination (Smith & Mackie, 2000). Typical targets of discrimination in society are minority group members and lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (LGBs), the sexual minorities, are one of them. The forms of discrimination LGBs face may range from the daily hassles of hearing jokes or derogatory names to extreme acts of personal violence and hate crimes (Garnets, 2002). In fact, evidence suggests that gays and lesbians are more likely to be victims of hate crimes than are members of many other social groups (Nelson & Kreiger, 1997) such as minority race or gender.

Hate crimes toward lesbians, gays, and bisexuals are a serious problem and these can be examples of the actual discrimination that exists in the society. Contrast to real discrimination, there is also the perceived discrimination (expectations that discrimination is likely to occur). LGBs are stigmatized individuals, and in general, stigmatized individuals are likely to be aware of the negative connotations of their social identity in the eyes of others (Crocker et al., 1998). Being aware of hate crimes and discrimination can then make LGBs believe they are likely to be potential victims of such crimes and discrimination. Vorauer and Kumhyr (2001) argued that LGBs may be more sensitive and alarmed about being discriminated against and may weigh the negative, subtle signals more heavily than the positive overt signals. Even a small

feeling of unfairness can lead to the sense of being discriminated against. As a result, perceived discrimination can exist with or without the actual discrimination.

In addition, according to Pinel (1999) who introduced the construct of stigma consciousness, individuals differ in the degree to which they expect to be stereotyped by others. This means not all individuals with marginalized status have the same expectations and belief that others will react negatively to them. Also, LGBs would not feel discriminated against if they are not aware of discriminatory actions used against them or when they believe their social identity is hidden. Therefore, there are differences between one individual and another in their perception of whether acts of discrimination have occurred.

As stated above, perceived discrimination can exist with or without actual discrimination. Actual discrimination is not necessarily the same as reported or perceived discrimination. Self-reports of discrimination reflect perceptions that may over- or under- estimate actual discrimination (Ragins & Wiethoff, 2005). Gays and lesbians are somewhat more likely to report incidents as discriminatory in situations where others would not perceive discrimination (Beran et al., 1992; Levine, 1979). These studies looked at whether LGBs and heterosexuals perceived discrimination differently; however, most of these studies have been carried out in work setting and have been based on self-reported questionnaire. Although these studies showed LGBs have significantly higher perceived discrimination, there was no way of telling whether they were responding to true discrimination or not. No studies exist that have examined or comprehend instances of actual discrimination and non-discrimination. The current study thus attempts to assess the extent of perceived discrimination in more controlled non-discriminatory situations, presented in a scenario-type approach.

The research questions for the first study were: Would LGBs show higher perceived discrimination than heterosexuals in what were mainly non-discriminatory, neutral situations where no actual discrimination exists? If so, what would be the factors that relate to and contribute the most to the perceived discrimination? To answer these questions, examination occurred of the responses of heterosexuals and LGBs to the set scenarios, and the relationships of these responses to a variety of factors or variables. Thus, the relationships between internalized heterosexism as well as psychological well-being/self-perception and perceived discrimination were assessed. Factors that might influence the perceived discrimination were suggested in Chapter 2, which were heterosexism, internalized heterosexism, invisible social identity, and the spotlight effect. The level of perceived discrimination was measured in two settings; with and without priming used (priming being used to enhance participants' awareness of their sexual orientation). Cultural differences were also examined. Since most of the existing research on sexual orientation has focused on Caucasian people in America (Fassinger & Arseneau, 2007), it would also be helpful to understand sexual minorities in different cultures and countries. This study thus examines two cultural groups and their responses to scenarios, and to a variety of other questionnaires.

The hypotheses in the first study for the public samples from Australia and South Korea are that:

- H1. (a) LGBs would report a significantly higher level of perceived discrimination than heterosexuals when there was no actual or objective discrimination present.

(b) The difference between heterosexuals and LGBs in perceived discrimination for the Australian sample would be significantly greater than for the South Korean sample.

(c) When priming was applied, the difference in perceived discrimination between heterosexuals and LGBs would be significantly greater.

H2. LGBs in later stages of gay identity development would feel significantly less discriminated against than those in the earlier stages.

H3. There would be a significant difference in conscious or perceived awareness of sexual orientation between heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals. Specifically, lesbians, gays, and bisexuals would feel that their sexual orientation was known to others more than heterosexuals would.

H4. (a) Internalized heterosexism, marginalization, isolation and alienation would be significantly positively correlated with perceived discrimination and self-esteem and satisfaction with life would be significantly negatively correlated with perceived discrimination.

(b) Psychological well-being related variables would contribute significantly towards perceived discrimination.

This research aimed to enhance the public understanding of which characteristics of lesbians, gays and bisexuals (their self-perception) influence their perception of being discriminated against. Thus, it was hoped that this study would be used to help lesbians, gays, and bisexuals understand the existence of discrimination in the society without exaggerating or magnifying this discrimination based perhaps on their own internalized heterosexism and negative self-perception levels.

Pilot Study

A pilot study was carried out before the actual study to test suitability of materials. Twenty people were involved in the pilot study: half of these were heterosexuals and half were homosexuals, based on their self reported identity on the Kinsey scale. Six of the 20 were female, 13 were male and one was unspecified, with the mean age of 23 years ($SD=2.73$, range 19-27).

Pen and paper survey questionnaires were distributed to the pilot sample with general demographic information on age, gender, ethnicity, occupation and education level; Kinsey's (1948) heterosexual-homosexual rating scale; Brady's (1985) Gay Identity Questionnaire; Wagner's (1994) Internalized Homophobia Scale; Barry's (2001) marginalization items; Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem scale; Jessor and Jessor's (1977) alienation scale; Maddi et al. (1979) alienation items; social isolation items from Dean's alienation scale (1961); and four scenarios with 10 questions following.

The most common comment received from homosexual participants was that the Gay Identity Questionnaire was confusing. This confusion was due to need to pay special attention to the instructions.

Both heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals were concerned about two unclear questions. There were also other comments on the overall negative mood of the pilot questionnaires and the inconsistent scoring format. Some participants found the questionnaires too negatively worded because they mainly focused on participants' feeling of marginalization, alienation, isolation and perceived discrimination. The scoring keys differed also on different pages.

After considering these comments, changes were made to the contents of the survey to reduce confusion. The instruction for Gay Identity Questionnaire, especially the part explaining partial agreement was made in bold letters to stand out among other sentences. Moreover, an additional explanatory statement page was inserted at the beginning of the questionnaire and the two unclear questions were removed from the questionnaire. To balance the positive and negative tone of the questionnaires, Diener's (1985) Satisfaction with life scale along with items measuring general happiness were added to the questionnaire. Lastly, to make it easier to mark answers to the questions, the answering format was modified to a consistent 5-point likert scale with all numbers running in the same direction (from 1 being strongly disagree to 5 being strongly agree). Moreover, the priming technique was added between questionnaires to enhance the spotlight effect. The revised questionnaires and scenarios as used in the study are described in method.

Method

Participants

A total of 571 participants completed the whole questionnaire. Data screening identified incomplete or unsatisfactory questionnaires. These were deleted from the study. The final sample consisted of 560 adults from Australia and South Korea, 63.6% (n=355) being Korean and the remaining 36.4% (n=205) being Australian. For the Australian sample, 42.9% were male and 57.1% were female with the mean age of 26.5 (SD=7.767, range 18-60). For the South Korean sample, 30.4% were male and 69.6% were female with the mean age of 24.6 (SD=4.845, range 18-52).

Nineteen (all female) of these final samples were recruited from the Bond University Research Pool System and were Bond University psychology students who

participated in the study in exchange for one credit point towards their coursework. The rest of the participants volunteered in the study without any incentives. Some of these participants showed keen interest in the study and helped in recruiting additional participants.

The participants were recruited through electronic advertisements placed on a number of popular websites in Australia and Korea (South Korea and Korea are used interchangeably throughout the paper). The advertisement was placed and the data were collected between August and November 2007. It was gathered in a form of online survey to protect anonymity. Participants could stop filling out the survey whenever they wanted to and if they did, the result would not have been sent to the researcher; only the completed survey was saved and was available to the researcher.

Materials

A research questionnaire (see Appendix B for the text version of the questionnaire) was available for general public access online, accompanied by the explanatory statement (see Appendix A). The questionnaire was divided into four sections. The first section consisted of a series of questions asking for demographic and personal information, such as participants' age, gender, education, occupation and sexual orientation. The second section consisted of questions related only to self-identified gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, measuring their internalized homophobia and gay identity stage. Section three consisted of questions on psychological well-being/self-perception related variables (marginalization, isolation, alienation, self-esteem, and satisfaction with life). Section four was comprised of questions related to four given scenarios measuring awareness and perceived discrimination. The survey took about 20-35 minutes to complete depending on one's sexual orientation: self-

identified heterosexuals took less time than non-heterosexuals from skipping two sets of questionnaires (section two). The questionnaires were originally developed in English and for the Korean participants, the survey was translated and back translated (Brislin, 1970) by the student researcher and a graduate student who was also a writer in Korea.

Sexual orientation

One item only was used for this assessment of Sexual orientation based on Kinsey's Heterosexual – Homosexual Rating Scale (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948). This item has been the “instrument” most frequently used by researchers to classify subjects' sexual orientation (Berkey, Perelman-Hall, & Kurdek, 1990). Participants self-rated their identity along a 7-point continuum ranging from 0 (exclusively heterosexual) to 6 (exclusively homosexual). No reliability test (only one item) could be carried out. However, when answers on this item were compared with the Gay Identity Questionnaire, all 560 participants answered correctly to the validity questions on homosexual feelings, thoughts, and behaviours, confirming the responses.

Gay Identity Stages

Self-identified non-heterosexual participants, whose answer on Kinsey's scale were 3, 4, 5 and 6, were further measured on their gay identity stages by using Brady's (1985) *Gay Identity Questionnaire (GIQ)*. The GIQ is composed of 45 true-false items and it was used to identify respondents' developmental stages of “coming out”. These stages were proposed by Cass (1979) in the homosexual identity formation (HIF) model, which is the most frequently cited model in the literature on gay identity development (Marszalek, Cashwell, Dunn, & Heard Jones, 2004). These stages include confusion (“Might I be homosexual?”), comparison (“I possibly am homosexual”),

tolerance (“I probably am homosexual”), acceptance (“I am homosexual”), pride (“I am glad I am homosexual”), and synthesis (“Being homosexual is one part of my identity”). Three items (Item 4, 22, and 40) are used as validity checks and the remaining 42 items are used to determine respondents’ stage designation. Each of the six stages of HIF is represented by seven items. Every item marked true received one point toward the specific stage and the total scores for each stage were calculated by adding all the true items. The stage that has the highest score is the stage the respondent belongs to. Dual stage designation was also given to those whose highest scores were in two or more stages. The GIQ is less time consuming and is easier to score than Cass’s (1979) HIQ which comprise with 210 multiple choice items, and therefore was chosen for the current project.

Brady and Busse (1994) showed interitem consistency scores for the GIQ of .76 for Stage Three; .71 for Stage Four; .44 for Stage Five; and .78 for Stage Six. The interitem consistency scores were not available for stages one and two because there were too few subjects in the pilot tests of the GIQ. An internal consistency analysis of the GIQ from the current study yielded Cronbach Alphas of .62 for Stage One; .76 for Stage Two; .73 for Stage Three; .83 for Stage Four; .45 for Stage Five; and .78 for Stage Six, which showed good overall internal consistency figures comparable with the separated figures.

Internalized heterosexism (homophobia)

Self-identified non-heterosexual participants were also assessed on their levels of internalized heterosexism (homophobia) using the Wagner et al. (1994) *Internalized Homophobia Scale (IHS)*. It consists of 20 items, nine of which are from the Nungesser Homosexual Attitudes Inventory (Nungesser, 1983) and the rest were developed by

Wagner et al. It is intended to measure the extent to which negative attitudes and beliefs about homosexuality are internalized and integrated into one's self-image and identity as gay. Each item is scored on a 5 point likert scale where 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. There are 10 positively worded items and 10 negatively worded items making up total score from 20 to 100. The higher score represents greater internalized heterosexism in participants. Examples of items are "I wish I were heterosexual", and "I have no regrets about being gay (reverse coding)." Wagner et al (1994) tested the scale for internal consistency reliability in a sample of 142 gay men and obtained a Cronbach alpha of .92 for the total score; the current study supported this internal consistency reliability with a Cronbach Alpha of .93. Research using the IHS has found that it is positively correlated with global psychological distress ($r=.37$) and depression ($r=.36$) (Wagner et al., 1996; Wagner, Serafini, Rabkin, Remien, & Williams, 1994).

Marginalisation

The marginalisation scale used in this study is originally from Barry's (2001) East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM), which was developed as a self-report instrument to examine the acculturation patterns of East Asian immigrants in the United States. Questions were altered accordingly to suit the purpose of the present study, which is the marginalisation of different sexual orientation groups, rather than migrant people. For example, "generally, I find it difficult to socialise with anybody, Asian or American" to "generally, I find it difficult to socialise with anybody, heterosexual and homosexual/bisexual." Marginalisation has nine items and these items were scored using a 5 point likert scale (1=strongly disagree and 5=strongly agree). The total score was arrived at by summing nine scored items, the higher score

representing greater feelings of marginalisation. The internal item homogeneity for the marginalisation was .85 for the original scale (Barry) and was .97 with the sample from the present study.

Self-esteem

Rosenberg's (1965) Self-esteem scale (RSE) was used to examine participants' self-worth and self-acceptance. RSE is the most widely used self-esteem measure in social science research and was originally developed for high school students. It has 10 items that reflect the concept of self-confidence and it normally uses four point likert scale. However, in this study, it was modified to five point likert scale from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Of these 10 items, half were negatively worded items. This test has reported internal item homogeneity figures ranging from .77 (Dobson, et al., 1979) to .88 (Fleming & Courtney, 1984). Cronbach's alpha score for self-esteem in the present data set was .89. The RSE also has very good test-retest correlations of .85 (Silber & Tippett, 1965) over a two-week interval and .82 (Fleming & Courtney, 1984) over a one-week interval.

Alienation

To measure feelings of alienation, Jessor and Jessor's (1977) alienation scale and the Maddi et al. (1979) alienation scale were used. Jessor and Jessor's alienation scale measures generalised alienation in terms of uncertainty about the meaningfulness of daily roles and activities and a belief that one is isolated from others. It comprises 15 five point likert type items. Just like EAAM, the wording for questions was altered to fit adult participants. Internal consistency reliability was .81 for both high school and the college samples (Jessor & Jessor). Moreover, test-retest or stability reliability

over a 1-year interval was .49. This scale has correlation of -.60 (for female) and -.52 (for males) with self-esteem.

Ten out of 12 interpersonal relations items from the Maddi et al. (1979) Alienation Test were used to measure alienation as well. Two of items (item 44 and item 48) were removed from questionnaire after the pilot study showed participants' confusion. Respondents were asked to rate each item from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) although the original scale used range from 0 to 100. Maddi et al. (1979) found .75 and .72 for internal consistency for Study 1 and 2 respectively. Test-retest correlations of .64 (Maddi et al) over a three-week interval showed moderate though adequate stability.

The total score on alienation was made up of the total scores from Jessor and Jessor (1977)'s scale and from Maddi et al (1979). From the current study, the overall internal consistency reliability coefficient was .91, marginally higher than obtained in the earlier questionnaires.

Isolation

Feelings of isolation were measured with the "Friendship scale" which was based on Dean's social isolation scale (1961) but changed to fit the study. The Friendship scale comprised of 10 items presented in a five-point likert format, with answer alternatives ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). Internal reliability for this scale was .79 (Cronbach's alpha).

Satisfaction with life

The Satisfaction with life scale (SWLS) was developed by Diener (1985) to measure the satisfaction with the respondent's life as a whole. The SWLS has shown

strong internal reliability. Reported internal consistency was .87 and two-month interval test-retest correlation was .82 (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). There were moderately strong correlations with other subjective well-being scales (Differential Personality Questionnaire, Positive Affect Scale, and Negative Affect Scale) (Diener et al.). The correlations between SWLS scores and scores on the selected personality measures were self-esteem, .54; symptom checklist, -.41; neuroticism, -.48; emotionality, -.25; activity, .08; sociability, .20; and impulsivity, -.03. Therefore, it appears that individuals who were satisfied with their lives were in general well adjusted and free from psychopathology. The current research added one item from a 'General Happiness Scale' and obtained a Cronbach's alpha of .90 for the six items.

Awareness of sexual orientation

The researcher tried to enhance participants' awareness of and attention to their sexual orientation by using a priming stimulus. A rainbow flag was used as the priming stimulus that strengthens the awareness. This stimulus was only shown to randomly assigned people in condition 1 (50.5%, n=283). It was shown for two seconds then the survey automatically progressed to the next set of questionnaires from the given scenarios. In these four scenarios, first questions for each scenario asked how aware respondents thought other people were about their (the respondents') sexual orientation. Alternatives for answers ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). An internal consistency figure of .89 was found for the current study.

Perceived Discrimination

Perceived discrimination scenarios were developed by selecting situations that could be ambiguous or perceived differently as possible discrimination events. One

scenario involved a person receiving or not receiving prompt service. Either one or two question(s) followed the scenarios: the answers were totalled for the score for each scenario. That is, perceived discrimination was measured by asking whether respondents felt they were treated differently or were discriminated against due to their sexual orientation in the given scenario situations. These scenario situations were neutral or non-discriminatory but could have created perceptions of discrimination for some individuals. The total score for perceived discrimination ranged from 6 to 30, the higher score representing greater feelings of perceived discrimination being present. The internal consistency for the set of four scenarios (yielding the total score) was .85. The four scenarios and the questions are shown in Appendix B.

Procedures

Prior to conducting the study, ethical clearance was obtained from the Bond University Human Research Ethics Committee (BUHREC). The text format questionnaire (Appendix B) was changed to a flash format and it was posted on the designated website with a link from Bond University psychology research website. The flash format of the survey was chosen to enable the priming stimulus to be shown for the set duration of time, and to allow the move to next question automatically.

The participants were informed about the nature of the study and were given the web address for the questionnaire through the advertisement. Potential participants clicked on to this address and they were led to the Bond University psychology research website where they found the explanatory statement and the links to the questionnaires, depending on the country they were living in: Australia or Korea. The explanatory statement (see Appendix A) explaining the study, including statements about confidentiality and voluntary participation were shown before they were asked to

proceed. If participants agreed with the purpose of study and conditions, they proceeded by clicking language version appropriately depending on their country of residence.

Participants then filled in the questionnaire which consisted of: the demographic information; the Kinsey Sexual Orientation Scale (Kinsey, 1948); Gay Identity Questionnaire (Brady & Busse, 1994); Wagner's (2004) Internalized Homophobia Scale; Marginalisation scale (drawn from Barry's (2002) East Asian Acculturation Measure (EAAM); Rosenberg's (1965) Self-Esteem Scale; Alienation scale (Jessor & Jessor, 1977; Maddi et al, 1979); friendship scale; and Satisfaction with Life Scale (Diener et al, 1985). From these scales, heterosexual participants (those whose answer for the sexual orientation scale were 0 to 2) skipped the 'Gay Identity Questionnaire' and the 'Internalized homophobia scale.' After completion of the above questionnaires, and before moving on to next set of questions, half of randomly assigned participants (50%) were shown a designed priming stimulus of a rainbow flag (see Figure 3.1). The rainbow flag was chosen as a priming stimulus since it represents pride for being in the sexually minority group (LGBs) and the image is known to LGBs and heterosexuals as well. The fact that it has the same meaning across countries and can be recognized internationally was another reason for the selection of the stimulus. Only one stimulus was used with an attempt to highlight the priming effect if any differences were detected. After showing the priming image, participants were given the four scenarios of neutral social situations with the 10 following questions. The participants were asked to imagine themselves in those social situations and then were asked to rate how much they felt they were being discriminated against in those situations and how much they attributed those perceived discriminations to their sexual

orientation. They were also asked to rate the extent to which they thought that other people were aware of their sexual orientation status.



Figure 3.1. Rainbow flag

Design

The dependent variable (DV) in this study was perceived discrimination, measured by four scenario related questions. The independent variables (IVs) were sexual orientation, gay identity stage, internalized homophobia, marginalisation, isolation, alienation, satisfaction with life, self esteem and priming. The data were entered and analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 15.0.

Results

The results are presented in two sections. The first section is a presentation of descriptive statistics, for all variables. The second section then tests specific hypotheses.

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics showed that the majority of participants were students ($n= 333, 59.5\%$). Of these students, almost half of participants (47.7%) were currently

completing undergraduate degrees and only small percentages of participants (13.4%) had completed high school or less. Overall, the current participants were a well-educated sample. Full detailed descriptive statistics can be found in Appendix C, Table C.1.

Most of the participants were either exclusively heterosexual (34.6%) or exclusively homosexual (32.5%). The ratio of heterosexuals to non-heterosexuals was 43: 57. For non-heterosexual participants, the majority were in Stage 4, 5, & 6 (74.4%) of the Gay Identity Development.

Descriptive statistics were run after dividing the data into two groups based on the participants' origin of country, to see if there were any obvious differences in variables across the two countries (see Appendix C, Table C.2). There were a number of significant differences between these two groups and one of them was that for the Australian sample, the proportion of male and female was approximately half and half (male=88, 42.9% and female=117, 57.1%) whereas for the Korean sample, the proportion of female was more than double that of male (male=108, 30.4% and female=247, 69.6%). Australia, a multiracial country, had participants who were Asian and other races (although the majority (80.5%) were Caucasian). On the other hand, all of participants were Korean for the Korean sample. Another difference was that the Australian sample had wider range of educational level, in that they had more people who had less than undergraduate (24.9%) and more people who were doing or had completed postgraduate studies (n=51, 24.8%) than the Korean counterparts. Koreans were highly centralized in "currently completing undergraduate studies" level (n=199, 56.1%). Australians or those who were living in Australia who also self-identified themselves as exclusively homosexual (42%) were 15% more than their Korean

counterparts (27%) although the actual numbers of people in this category were similar (the Australian sample having 86 and the Korean sample having 96 participants each). The most interesting difference found was that more than half of the non-heterosexual Koreans were in Stage 4 (56.3%) whereas the highest percentages of Australian non-heterosexuals (65.9%) were in Stage 6 in the Gay Identity Stages. This means that more than half of the Korean LGBs accepted their minority status whereas more than half Australian LGBs integrate into the society as sexual minority; the Australian non-heterosexuals see their sexual identity as one part of who they are. Moreover, more participants belonged to earlier stages (stage 2 and 3) for the Korean group (12.2%) than for the Australian group (3.2%) and fewer Koreans (12.2%) belonged to later stages (5 and 6) than for the Australians (71.6%).

Appendix C shows the differences in means and standard deviations for Australian and Korean participants in age, internalised heterosexism, marginalisation, self-esteem, alienation, isolation, satisfaction with life, awareness of sexual orientation and perceived discrimination (see Table C.3). Australians had higher means in self-esteem, and satisfaction with life. On the other hand, Koreans had higher means in internalised heterosexism, marginalisation, alienation, isolation, and awareness of sexual orientation. The mean for perceived discrimination for the two countries was same. From a brief look at these analyses, the Australian sample seemed to have slightly better mental health than the Korean sample. Therefore, to test how significant these differences were, and to test the hypotheses, several analyses were conducted.

Study 1 Hypothesis 1:

(a) LGBs would report a significantly higher level of perceived discrimination than heterosexuals when there was no actual discrimination present.

For the convenience of analysing, participants were divided into two groups, heterosexuals (those whose answers for the sexual orientation scale were between 0-2) and non-heterosexuals, LGBs (those whose answers for sexual orientation scale were between 3-6). The independent samples t-test was used to test the first hypothesis that non-heterosexuals would score more highly on perceived discrimination than heterosexuals in neutral scenarios/situations.

Because of violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance, the t test for unequal variances was computed (see Appendix D). An independent-samples t-test revealed that there was no significant difference in scores for heterosexuals ($M = 9.51$, $SD = 3.94$) and non-heterosexuals ($M = 10.02$, $SD = 4.58$), $t(547) = -1.39$, $p = .16$ (two-tailed).

(b) The difference between heterosexuals and LGBs in perceived discrimination for the Australian sample would be significantly greater than for the South Korean sample in neutral scenario situations.

Subjects were divided into two groups according to the countries they belonged to and an independent samples t-test was conducted to test whether there were any differences between the countries in the relationship between sexual orientation and perceived discrimination. For the Australian sample, there was a statistically significant difference in scores for perceived discrimination for heterosexuals ($M=8.96$, $SD = 3.83$) and non-heterosexuals ($M = 10.34$, $SD = 4.66$; $t(194) = -2.31$, $p < .05$ (two-tailed)). The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = -1.38 , 95% CI: -2.55 to $-.20$) was small (eta squared = $.03$). On the other hand, the Korean sample exhibited no significant difference in the level of perceived discrimination for heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals, $t(353) = -.03$, p

= .97 (two-tailed). The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = -.02, 95% CI: -.92 to .89) was insignificant.

(c) When priming was applied, the difference in perceived discrimination between heterosexuals and LGBs would be significantly greater.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the difference between heterosexuals and LGBs in their perceived discrimination scores in conditions with and without use of the priming stimulus. The results showed there was no significant difference in scores for heterosexuals ($M = 9.36$, $SD = 3.84$) and for LGBs ($M = 9.94$, $SD = 4.66$); $t(268) = -1.14$, $p = .26$ (two-tailed) when the condition ‘no priming stimulus’ was applied. In the condition where a priming stimulus was applied, there was also no significant difference in scores for heterosexuals and for LGBs. Therefore, the use of the priming stimulus did not lead to a statistically significant difference in perceived discrimination.

Study 1 Hypothesis 2:

LGBs in later stages of gay identity development would feel significantly less discriminated against than those in the early stages.

A one-way between groups analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to explore the impact of gay identity stage on levels of perceived discrimination. Subjects were divided into five groups at stage 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6: dual stages were excluded from analysis and no one belonged to stage 1. There was no statistically significant difference in the level of perceived discrimination for the five gay identity stages: $F(4, 261) = 1.34$, $p = .25$. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was .02, small.

Although the differences between gay identity stages in perceived discrimination were not significant, Figure 3.2 showed an interesting pattern in

perceived discrimination among the groups; stage 5 had the highest level of perceived discrimination compared with other stages.

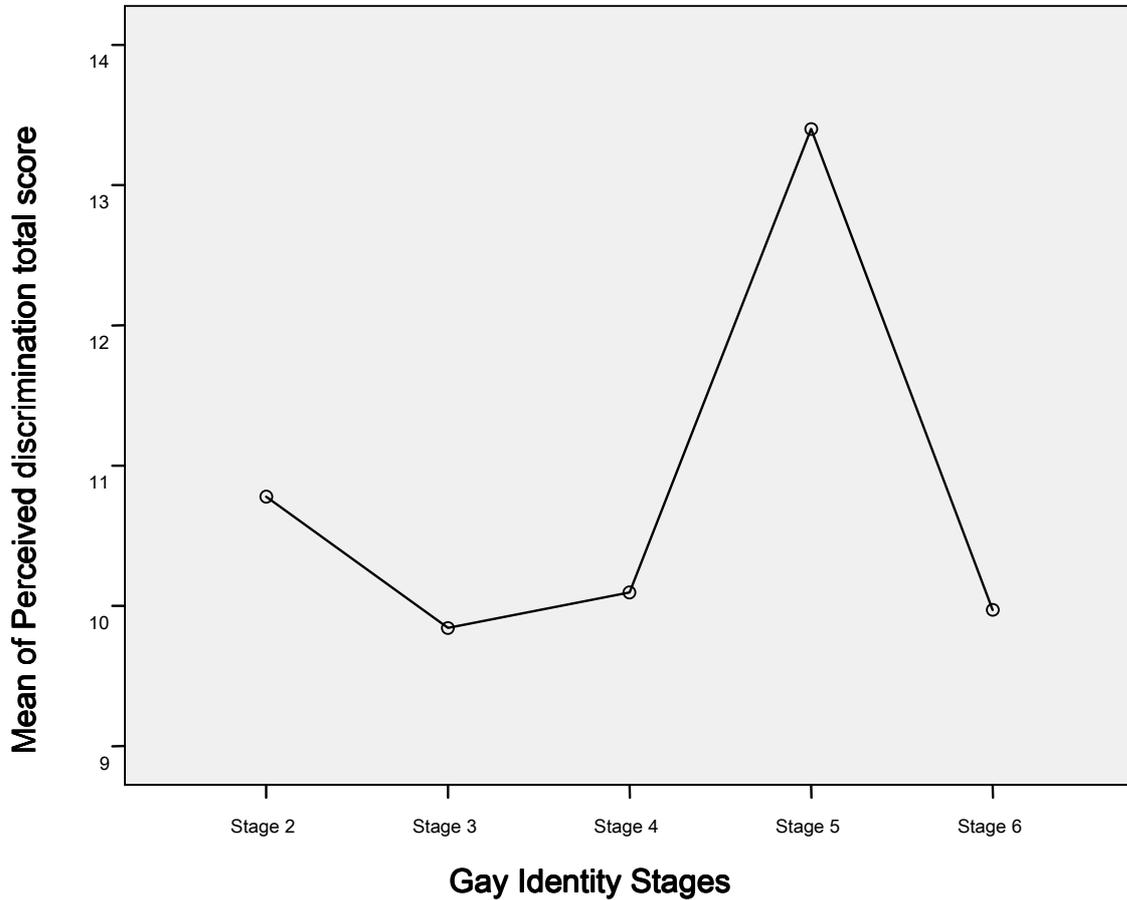


Figure 3.2. Mean perceived discrimination for Stages 2 to 6.

Study 1 Hypothesis 3:

LGBs would feel that their sexual orientation status would be known to others significantly more than heterosexuals would.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the difference in perceived awareness of sexual orientation between heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals. There was a significant difference in scores for heterosexuals ($M = 9.29$,

SD = 4.90) and LGBs (M = 6.88, SD = 3.17); $t(384) = 6.64, p < .0005$ (two-tailed).

The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = 2.41, 95% CI: 1.70 to 3.12) was moderate (eta squared = .07). However, the outcome was the opposite of what it was expected: instead of seeing higher perceived awareness values in non-heterosexuals, stronger awareness of their sexual orientation being known to others was found among heterosexuals.

An independent-samples t-test was conducted again after dividing subjects into two country based groups, to compare the perceived awareness of sexual orientation for heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals. There was a significant difference in scores for heterosexuals (M = 10.27, SD = 5.04) and non-heterosexuals (M = 6.55, SD = 2.89); $t(238) = 8.26, p < .0005$ (two-tailed) for the Korean sample. The magnitude of the differences in the means (mean difference = 3.72, 95% CI: 2.84 to 4.61) was large (eta squared = .16). No significant difference was found for the Australian sample (see Appendix F).

Study 1 Hypothesis 4:

(a) Internalized heterosexism, marginalization, isolation and alienation would be significantly positively correlated with perceived discrimination and self-esteem and satisfaction with life would be significantly negatively correlated with perceived discrimination.

The relationships between the psychological well-being/self perception (as measured by the internalized homophobia scale, marginalisation scale, self-esteem scale, alienation scale, friendship scale, and satisfaction with life scale) and perceived discrimination, were investigated using Pearson product-moment correlations. Table 3.1 showed these correlations; there were statistically significant but low correlations

between psychological well-being and perceived discrimination ($r =$ between .15 to .23, $n=560$, $p<.01$) except for internalized heterosexism (homophobia) and satisfaction with life.

The relationship between psychological well-being and perceived discrimination was investigated separately for the Australian and Korean samples. However, an independent samples t-test revealed that there was a significant difference in internalized heterosexism scores for Australian ($M = 33.98$, $SD = 12.26$) and Korean participants ($M = 47.57$, $SD = 14.08$), $t(318) = -8.82$, $p < .0005$ (two-tailed). This difference did not change the strength in relationship between internalized homophobia and perceived discrimination. The magnitude or effect size of the differences in the means was small (eta squared = .20).

Table 3.1 Correlations between mental well-being and perceived discrimination

	Internalized heterosexism	Marginalization total	Self esteem total	Alienation Total	Friendship Total	Satisfaction with life total
Perceived discrimination total	.02	.15(**)	-.17(**)	.23(**)	.18(**)	-.04

** $p < .01$

Table 3.2 shows these correlations; there were small but significant correlations between alienation and perceived discrimination ($r = .21$, $n=560$, $p<.01$) and between isolation (measure by friendship scale) and perceived discrimination ($r = .15$, $n = 560$, $p < .05$) for the Australian group. On the other hand, for the Korean group, there were statistically significant but low correlations between all self-perception variables and perceived discrimination ($r = .18$ to $.27$, $n = 560$, $p < .01$) except for internalized homophobia scale and satisfaction with life scale.

Table 3. 2 Correlations between mental well-being and perceived discrimination in Australia and Korea

Country		Internalized Heterosexism	Marginalization total	Self esteem total	Alienation Total	Friendship Total	Satisfaction with life total
Australia	Perceived discrimination total	.10	.13	-.12	.21(**)	.15(*)	-.05
Korea	Perceived discrimination total	.02	.18(**)	-.21(**)	.27(**)	.21(**)	-.04

** p < .01

* p < .05

(b) *Psychological well-being related variables would contribute significantly towards perceived discrimination.*

A linear regression analysis was conducted to evaluate the prediction of the levels of perceived discrimination from six measures (internalised homophobia scale, marginalisation scale, self-esteem scale, alienation scale, friendship scale which measures isolation, and satisfaction with life scale). These six variables explained 9% of the variance in perceived discrimination, $F(6,313) = 5.44$, $p < .001$. While significant, the results account for only a small amount of the total variance. Table 3.3 additionally shows only two control measures were statistically significant, with the Alienation scale and the Satisfaction with life scale contributing significantly.

Table 3. 3. The unstandardised and standardised regression coefficients for the variables entered into the model.

Variable	B	SE B	β
Alienation Total	.11	.03	.38*
Satisfaction with Life Total	.19	.07	.23**
Self-Esteem Total	-.10	.05	-.16
Marginalization Total	-.07	.05	-.13
Internalized Homophobia Total	-.03	.02	-.11
Friendship Total	.04	.05	.06

*p = .001. **p = .005.

Hierarchical multiple regression was used next to assess the ability of the two control measures (Alienation and Satisfaction with Life scales) to predict levels of perceived discrimination, after controlling for the influence of Self-esteem, Marginalization, Internalized heterosexism and Isolation measured by the Friendship scale. Self-esteem, marginalization, internalized heterosexism, and isolation were entered at Step 1, explaining 5% of the variance in perceived discrimination. After entry of the alienation and satisfaction with life scale at Step 2 the total variance explained by the model as a whole was 9.4%, $F(6, 313) = 5.44, p < .0005$. Therefore, the two control measures explained an additional 5% of the variance in perceived discrimination, after controlling for self-esteem, marginalization, internalized heterosexism and isolation, $R^2 \text{ change} = .05, F \text{ change}(2, 313) = 8.09, p < .0005$. In the final model, only the two control measures were statistically significant, with both the alienation scale and the satisfaction with life scale achieving significance levels at or beyond $p = .005$.

A linear regression analysis was conducted again with the two country-based groups and as can be seen in table 3.4, the six variables explained 11% of the variance in perceived discrimination, $F(6, 190) = 3.93, p = .001$ for the Korean sample. As with the regression conducted with whole participants, only the alienation scale ($\beta = .30, p < .05$) and the satisfaction with life scale ($\beta = .22, p < .05$) significantly predicted perceived discrimination. For the Australians, only the alienation scale ($\beta = .40, p < .05$) significantly predicted the level of perceived discrimination.

Table 3.4. The unstandardised and standardised regression coefficients for the variables entered into the model in Australia and Korea.

	Variable	B	SE B	β
Aus	Alienation Total	.11	.06	.40*
	Satisfaction with Life Total	.16	.12	.19
	Marginalization Total	-.07	.08	-.13
	Self-esteem Total	-.03	.10	-.05
	Internalized Homophobia Total	-.01	.04	-.03
	Friendship Total	.02	.08	.03
Kor	Alienation Total	.10	.04	.30*
	Satisfaction with Life Total	.21	.09	.22*
	Self-Esteem Total	-.13	.07	-.20
	Marginalization Total	-.06	.06	-.11
	Friendship Total	.06	.08	.08
	Internalized Homophobia Total	-.01	.02	-.04

*p= .05.

A discriminant function analysis was also performed with perceived discrimination as the dependent variable and internalized heterosexism, marginalization, self-esteem, alienation, friendship, and satisfaction with life as predictor variables. Perceived discrimination was transformed into categorical variable, with “no perceived discrimination” and “perceived discrimination”, for the purpose of this analysis. Univariate ANOVAs revealed that the people in “no perceived discrimination” and “perceived discrimination” differed significantly on alienation, friendship and marginalization scales. A single discriminant function was calculated and the value of this function was significantly different for “perceived discrimination” and “no perceived discrimination” people (chi-square = 22.86, df = 7, $p < .0005$). The correlations between predictor variables and the discriminant function suggested that alienation and marginalization were the best predictors of perceived discrimination. Alienation was

positively correlated with the discriminant function value, suggesting that people with higher feelings of alienation were more likely to feel discriminated. Therefore, alienation contributed the most to perceived discrimination: those who feel highly alienated would be more likely to have higher levels of perception of discrimination.

Discussion

This first study aimed to investigate whether non-heterosexuals (gays, lesbians, and bisexuals) would perceive more discrimination than heterosexuals when no actual discrimination presented in the case scenario. It further aimed to study whether the variables that were related to psychological well-being/self-perception were related to levels of perceived discrimination.

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis of the first study was that there would be significant differences between heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals in their level of perceived discrimination in neutral scenarios/situations. More specifically, it was predicted that LGBs would have a higher level of perceived discrimination than heterosexuals because of their minority status in the society. The results however showed that there were no statistically significant differences between heterosexuals and LGBs.

However, a statistically significant difference between heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals was found within the Australian sample even though the difference was small. Therefore, it could be interpreted that LGBs in Australia were more likely to feel discriminated against than heterosexuals when no actual discrimination presented. On the other hand, Korean LGBs did not show a significant difference from those who were heterosexuals in the level of perceived discrimination. Therefore, only the Australian sample supported previous research that LGBs have higher levels of

perceived discrimination than do heterosexuals (Beran et al., 1992): not only when the real discrimination was presented, but also when it was missing, LGBs felt more discriminated against than heterosexuals. This between country difference could be explained using the concept of the outness of LGBs living in these two countries. As stated in the introduction, the majority of the Korean LGBs may not out as LGBs, especially in public. The Korean LGBs may find it hard to come out because they know they are going against the family value and expectation that are set in the society. Therefore, even if they feel or perceive discrimination in social situations, they are less likely to attribute this to their sexual minority status believing that no one knows about their sexual orientation and therefore, people cannot use their social identity to act against them. However, the Australian LGBs are more likely to come out in public to various extent depending on how comfortable they feel. Consequently, if they perceive discrimination, they would be more likely to reason about it from the basis of their sexual orientation status.

It was also hypothesized that using a priming stimulus would enhance the spotlight effect and therefore, increase the perception that others are aware of their (the participants') sexual orientation status and this increase the perceived discrimination. However, the results showed no statistically significant difference between the with priming stimulus condition and the without priming stimulus condition. This could be due to the weakness of the priming stimulus used in this study; one stimulus may not be enough, or may not be strong enough.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis predicted that those in later stages of gay identity development would be significantly less likely to perceive discrimination being present.

However, the results showed that there was no statistically significant difference in the level over the five gay identity stages.

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 predicted that non-heterosexuals and heterosexuals would be different in terms of their awareness of their sexual identity becoming known to others: non-heterosexuals would be significantly more aware of others knowing their sexual orientation than heterosexuals because of the spotlight effect. This hypothesis was not supported; the spotlight effect, which suggested that when we are part of a small group surrounded by a larger group we are more conscious of our social identity (Myers, 2005), was also not supported. There was a significant difference between heterosexuals and non-heterosexuals in the level of awareness. However, the group who had higher awareness was the heterosexual group, not the LGB group. This could be explained using heterosexism. According to heterosexism, everyone is thought to be heterosexual unless proved otherwise, thus people may automatically assume everyone is heterosexual. Moreover, people think others would hold the same belief of heterosexism and would automatically assume participants are heterosexual. When comparing countries, it was found that a significant difference was found only among the Korean participants. Due to the higher percentages and numbers of the Korean participants involved in the study, they affected the overall outcome. Only the Korean heterosexuals were significantly more aware of others' perception of their sexual orientation. This finding is in line with the previous study that stated that Asians have higher heterosexism than do Caucasians (Lippincott, Wlazelek, & Schumacher, 2000).

Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 related to the relationship between psychological well-being/self-perception. As measured by internalized heterosexism, feelings of isolation, marginalization, alienation, self-esteem and satisfaction with life, were hypothesized to be correlated with perceived discrimination. In short, the lower the perception of self, the higher the perceived discrimination. This hypothesis was weakly supported for four of the six scales (the exception being the internalized homophobia and satisfaction with life scale) since correlations shown in Table 3.1 were low.

Furthermore, when respondents were placed into two groups (Australian and Korean), these overall correlations between self-perception and perceived discrimination changed. For the Australian group, only the feeling of alienation and isolation (measured with friendship scale) were significantly correlated with perceived discrimination whereas for the Korean group, marginalization, self-esteem, alienation, and isolation were all correlated with perceived discrimination as for the overall combined outcome.

Six variables were predicted to be related to the level of perceived discrimination. To find out which variables contributed the most to perceived discrimination, a multiple regression was conducted. The results showed that only alienation and satisfaction with life significantly contributed to perceived discrimination; alienation being the most influencing variable. These variables were stronger for the Korean group as significant predictors of perceived discrimination.

Conclusion: Findings of Study 1

The study aimed to examine whether LGBs have perceive significantly more discrimination (have higher levels of perceived discrimination) than heterosexuals do

in non-discriminatory scenario situations (neutral situations where no actual discrimination was present). The relationships between psychological well-being variables and perceived discrimination were also studied.

A significant difference was found in perceived discrimination between LGBs and heterosexuals for the Australian sample but not for the Korean sample. The priming effect was not supported in this study: using a priming stimulus did not enhance the level of perceived discrimination.

Study 1 also showed that non-heterosexuals who were in Stage 5 on the gay identity development questionnaire had the highest level of perceived discrimination and heterosexuals were more aware of their sexual identity becoming known to others than were LGBs.

Significant relationships were found between psychological well-being (as measured by internalized heterosexism or homophobia, isolation, marginalization, alienation, self-esteem, and satisfaction with life) and perceived discrimination except for internalized homophobia and satisfaction with life. Among these variables, alienation was the variable which contributed most to perceived discrimination.

However, the current study examined perceived discrimination only in neutral/non-discriminatory situations. Therefore, both non-discriminatory and discriminatory situations needed to be examined to see if there were any differences in the level of perceived discrimination. The second study responded to this proposition.

It was also suggested that the reason for the significant difference in perceived discrimination in the Australian group was that the Australian LGBs are more out about their sexual orientation than Korean group. Therefore, the relationship between outness and perceived discrimination was also examined in the second study.

In addition, previous experience of discrimination was suggested to be a factor that may contribute to higher levels of perceived discrimination: if people had experienced discrimination before, they would be more likely to perceive situations as involving discrimination. The relationship between previous experience of discrimination and perceived discrimination was therefore also examined in Study 2.

CHAPTER 4

STUDY 2: PERCEIVED DISCRIMINATION IN DISCRIMINATORY AND NON-DISCRIMINATORY SITUATIONS

The first study examined perceived discrimination in non-discriminatory situations and the factors that were related to this perceived discrimination. The major finding was that there was a statistically significant difference in the level of perceived discrimination between heterosexuals and lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (LGBs). LGBs felt more discriminated against when there was no apparent discrimination present. However, this difference was found only in the Australian sample. The Korean sample showed no differences between heterosexuals and LGBs.

This finding led to further questions that the first study could not answer. Study 1 used four situations or scenarios all of which were non-discriminatory (no actual discrimination could be seen objectively to have occurred). Therefore the question was: would there be a significant difference in the level of perceived discrimination between an actual discriminatory scenario and a non-discriminatory scenario? To answer this question, perceived discrimination scores in both the discriminatory situation and the non-discriminatory situation were examined for a full population. These scores were also examined between several subgroups: heterosexuals and LGBs; heterosexual women and lesbian (and bisexual women); and gay (and bisexual) men and lesbian (and bisexual women).

Because the sexual orientation difference in perceived discrimination was found only in the Australian sample, it was thought that this could be due to the outness (self-disclosure) of the subjects in Australia. Australian LGBs might be more likely to come out to family, friends, and at work and school whereas Korean LGBs

might be more likely to be “in closet” except for close friends and/or other LGBs. Although there has been no research examining the direct relation between outness and perceived discrimination, outness is believed to make the otherwise “invisible social identity” of LGB’s become visible (Appleby, 2001). Therefore, LGBs who come out in public face theoretically more prejudice and discrimination than when they had not come out. The current study aimed to test this concept. The correlation between *outness* and perceived discrimination was investigated.

Previous experience of discrimination was also identified as a potential factor. Waldo (1999) conducted research with two community samples ($N = 287$) of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people and showed that outness was positively related to experiences of *direct* heterosexism (e.g., failure to win a special appointment) and negatively related to *indirect* experiences (e.g., failure to be welcomed in conversations). Therefore the correlation between previous experiences of discrimination (if any) and perceived discrimination in the set scenarios was examined (to determine whether previous experience might lead to increased sensitivity to perceived discrimination).

Studies of perceived or reported discrimination have been mainly carried out in work settings focusing on LGB workers in organisations or companies where the LGBs are minorities compared to heterosexuals (Elze, 2006; Ragins & Wiethoff, 2005). These studies measured reported discrimination which might have been accurate reports of real discrimination or might have been reports of perceived discrimination. The studies commonly asked a single simple question such as "Have you been discriminated against in your workplace because of your sexual orientation?" (Levine & Leonard, 1984). The limitation in these studies was therefore, that they did not use a

clear method of measuring true/real discrimination. As a result, situations subjects faced were manipulated in the current study to make it clearer whether the subjects were in either an actual discriminatory or a non-discriminatory situation.

The hypotheses in the second study for a sample of Australian tertiary students were that:

- H1. (a) The level of perceived occurrence of discrimination in the actual discriminating situation would be significantly higher for all respondents than in the non-discriminatory situation (consistent with the actual situations as presented).
- (b) LGBs would show significantly higher levels of perceived discrimination than heterosexuals.
- (c) Lesbian and bisexual women would score significantly more highly on levels of perceived discrimination than heterosexual women when they imagined the character in scenarios as having the same sexual orientation as they have.
- (d) Lesbian and bisexual women would exhibit significantly higher levels of perceived discrimination than gay and bisexual men, when they imagined the character in scenarios as having same sexual orientation as they have.
- H2. (a) LGBs who came out to more people (family members, friends, and colleagues) would have significantly lower level of perceived discrimination than LGBs who were less out, in the non-discriminatory situation.

(b) In the discriminatory situation, outed LGBs would feel significantly more discriminated against than closeted LGBs would.

H3. LGBs with past experience of discrimination would exhibit significantly higher level of perceived discrimination.

This study aimed to expand the knowledge on whether LGBs' higher level of discrimination is the response to the actual discrimination they faced or the response to the discrimination they perceived to be present. It also aimed to enhance understanding on the extent to which LGBs' outness and previous experience of discrimination influenced their perceptions of discrimination (perceived discrimination) in the set scenarios.

Method

Participants

A total of 73 university students in Australia participated in the second study. Seven records were deleted from the study after data screening due to being incomplete or unsatisfactory. Therefore 44 females (66.7 per cent), 21 males (31.8 per cent) and one gender unidentified person, giving a total of sixty six university students made up the final sample. The mean age was 21.9 years (SD=4.51, range 18-42 years). Of this final sample, 57.6% self-identified as heterosexuals and 42.4 % self-identified as either homosexual or bisexual. For the heterosexual group, 79% were females and 21% were males. On the other hand, for the LGB group, half were females and half were males.

Participants were recruited in the same way as they were in Study 1 for the Australian based sample. However, additionally, a number of university queer associations were contacted in Study 2. Thirty four participants (all heterosexuals) of

the final sample were recruited from the Bond University Research Pool System and were Bond University psychology students who participated in the study in exchange for half credit point towards their coursework. The remainder of the participants volunteered in the study without any incentives. Study 2 was conducted using a printed word document questionnaire instead of a web-based questionnaire and the data were collected between March and May 2008.

Materials

A questionnaire (see Appendix H) was distributed either through email or in person, accompanied by the same explanatory statement (see Appendix A) that was provided in Study 1. The questionnaire was divided into three sections. The first section consisted of a series of questions asking for basic demographic information such as participants' age, gender, ethnicity, education and occupation. The second section consisted of questions asking for personal information such as their sexual orientation; outness (if they were LGBs); and previous experience of discrimination. The last section was comprised of questions related to one discriminatory and one non-discriminatory scenario measuring perceived discrimination. The survey took about 10-15 minutes to complete depending on sexual orientation and previous experience: those who self-identified as LGBs and who had had previous experience of discrimination took longer to complete the questionnaire than those who were heterosexuals and without previous experience of discrimination.

Sexual orientation

Kinsey's (1948) Heterosexual – Homosexual Rating Scale was used for the assessment of sexual orientation, as described in Study 1 (see Method, Materials section, p. 49).

Outness

Self-identified non-heterosexual participants, whose answers on Kinsey's scale were in the ranges 3 to 6, were measured on their outness by using questions asking whether they came out at home, to friends, at school and at work (if applicable). For instance, "Have you come out at home?" LGBs whose answer was yes to any of these four questions were asked to indicate to whom and how many people they came out as LGB to, in each category. For the convenience of analyses, a score of 0 was given to those who had not come out to anyone; a score of 1 for those who had come out to only few people; a score of 2 for those who had come out to almost all; and a score of 3 for those who had come out to everyone. The total score for outness was made up by summing given scores in each category and ranged from 0 to 12, the higher score representing more out participants.

Due to the characteristic of the questions, self-identified heterosexuals whose answer for the sexual orientation question were 0, 1 or 2 skipped the following questions and moved onto the questions on past experience of discrimination.

Experience of discrimination

The researcher used two questions, asking for the participants' previous experience of discrimination. The first question ("To what extent have you experienced discrimination of any kind?") did not give any specific time frame when the discrimination occurred whereas the second question gave a specific time frame of within the last year. The participants were asked to indicate the frequency of discriminatory experience on a seven-point likert response format with 1 being never and 7 being a lot. By stating 'discrimination of any kind', not only sexual orientation related discrimination but discrimination in general was considered. The participants

who reported previous experience of discrimination were also asked to describe the discrimination they experienced (physical or verbal discrimination and direct or indirect discrimination). Lastly, there was an additional question for those who reported that they had experienced discrimination in the past, asking whether they reported the incident(s) to relevant authorities and if they did, what the outcome/consequence of the report was.

Perceived Discrimination

Perceived discrimination was measured using two scenario situations and their related questions. The first scenario situation was the same as one of scenarios used in Study 1, a neutral or non-discriminatory situation that could have created perceptions of discrimination for some individuals. A different scenario was developed for Study 2. The second scenario was discriminatory and would lead to the perception of the existence of the discrimination for most people. Instead of asking how much participants felt they were being or would have been discriminated against in the given situations, as in Study 1, participants were asked to imagine themselves as a specified character in the scenarios. They were then asked to rate the likelihood that the character in the scenario was discriminated against based on their sexual orientation, using a seven-point likert scale (1 being not at all and 7 being very likely). Three sexual orientation statuses were suggested and used to make up three related questions in each scenario: being heterosexual; being gay man; and being lesbian.

Two scores were drawn from each scenario, to measure perceived discrimination: the total score and a representative score. The total scores of perceived discrimination in each scenario (non-discriminatory and discriminatory) were calculated by summing the responses to the three scenario related questions. The

representative scores were drawn by examining the responses for the question having matched sexual orientation status as participants. For example, the heterosexual participant's representative score for perceived discrimination was the score for the question asking the participant's perception of discrimination when the character was imagined to be heterosexual (as was the participants: thus a 'representative').

Procedures

In the second study, only those who were currently university students in Australia were invited to participate through posting advertisements on the internet. Potential participants contacted the student researcher and the questionnaire along with the explanatory statement was given to them either through email or in person. Participants then filled in the questionnaire which consisted of the demographic information; the Kinsey Sexual Orientation Scale (Kinsey, 1948); outness questions (if they were self-identified LGBs); previous experience of discrimination questions; and perceived discrimination questions. At the completion of the questionnaire, the participants could return the completed questionnaire through email, by putting it in the principal researcher's mail box, or posting it or they could return it in person (if they were from the Bond University participation pool). Anonymity was maintained for all questionnaires received.

Design

The dependent variables (DVs) in this study were perceived discrimination in one discriminatory and one non-discriminatory scenario situation, measured by responses to set questions. The independent variables (IVs) were sexual orientation, outness of LGBs, and previous experience of discrimination. The data were analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 15.0.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics showed that the majority of participants in Study 2 were Caucasians (77.3%) followed by Asians (16.7%). Participants were current tertiary students and the majority of them were completing degrees in the Bachelor of Social Science (28.8%) or Bachelor of Arts (18.2%). When the year of full-time study they were in was examined, approximately equal numbers of participants were in years 1, 2, 3, and 4 or more. Please see Table 4.1 for the characteristics of participants.

Regarding the past experience of discrimination, 16.7 % of the 66 participants reported experiencing direct verbal discrimination; 10.6 % indirect verbal discrimination; 4.5 % direct physical; and 4.5 % indirect physical discrimination. Table 4.2 showed that more LGBs have reported verbal discrimination (both direct and indirect) than heterosexuals and 10.7 % of LGBs reported experiencing direct physical discrimination whereas no heterosexuals experienced similar discrimination.

The percentages of the participants reporting experienced discrimination over the last year were 18.2%, 12.1%, 1.5% and 12.1% for direct verbal, indirect verbal, direct physical and indirect physical respectively. When the data were divided into two groups according to their sexual orientation (heterosexuals and LGBs), more LGBs than heterosexuals had experienced discrimination of all four types in the past year (see Table 4.2). However, only three participants, who were all LGBs, reported the incident(s) to the relevant authorities. The outcomes of reporting the incident(s) were either “the matter got worse” or “nothing at all happened or changed after the reporting”.

For the LGB participants, almost all came out at home (89.3%) and all of them came out to their friends, although the number of friends they came out to varied between individuals. Only one participant had not come out to anyone at school and 32.1 percent of the LGB participants had not come out at work or did not have work. See Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Characteristics of Participants

Characteristics	Percentages
Ethnicity	
Caucasian	77.3
Asian	16.7
Mixed race	4.5
Other	1.5
Degree	
Bachelor of Arts	18.2
Bachelor of Business	13.6
Bachelor of Social Science	28.8
Bachelor of Medical Science	9.1
Bachelor of Art	4.5
Bachelor of Science	6.1
Bachelor of Engineering	3.0
Bachelor of Law	6.1
Bachelor in other faculty	4.5
Postgraduate (Master and PhD)	6.1
Full time study in year	
Year 1	28.8
Year 2	19.7
Year 3	24.2
Year 4 or more	27.3
Experience of discrimination	
Direct verbal	16.7
Indirect verbal	10.6
Direct physical	4.5
Indirect physical (Threat, exclusion)	4.5

Experience of discrimination in the last year	
Direct verbal	18.2
Indirect verbal	12.1
Direct physical	1.5
Indirect physical (Threat, exclusion)	12.1
Out at home	
No one	10.7
A few	7.1
Almost all	25.0
All	57.1
Out to friends	
Almost all	25.0
All	71.4
Out at school	
No one	3.6
A few	14.3
Almost all	10.7
All	64.3
Out at work	
No one/ not appreciable	32.1
A few	14.3
Almost all	3.6
All	46.4

Note. Where percentages do not add up to 100%, data was classified as missing.

Study 2 Hypothesis 1:

(a) Levels of perceived discrimination in a discriminatory situation would be significantly higher than in the non-discriminatory situation for all participants.

A paired samples t-test showed that the level of perceived discrimination in the discriminatory situation was significantly different from that in the non-discriminatory situation, $t(65) = -7.18, p < .0001$. The combined groups clearly perceived that discrimination was occurring in the scenario developed to show discrimination; the two situations were seen differently, consistent with the intention in the design of the

scenarios. This validated the use of the two differing scenarios. Subsequent sub-hypotheses examined the responses for the different groups.

Table 4.2 Comparison of heterosexuals and LGBs in discriminatory experience

	Heterosexuals (Percentage)	LGBs (Percentage)
Past experience of discrimination		
Direct verbal	13.2	21.4
Indirect verbal	5.3	17.9
Direct physical	0.0	10.7
Indirect physical	5.3	3.6
Past experience of discrimination in the last year		
Direct verbal	13.2	25.0
Indirect verbal	5.3	21.4
Direct physical	0.0	3.6
Indirect physical	0.0	28.6
Report of discrimination		
Yes	0.0	10.7

Thus, perceived discrimination was examined for the different sexual orientation groups: (b) LGBs versus heterosexuals, (c) lesbians and bisexual women versus heterosexual women, and (d) gay and bisexual men versus lesbians and bisexual women.

(b) LGBs would show significantly higher levels of perceived discrimination than heterosexuals

Two scores of perceived discrimination were drawn from each scenario for analyses: the total score of perceived discrimination and the representative score of perceived discrimination for the identified group orientation (see method p. 84, and also appendix H). When using the total score for the non-discriminatory situation, an

independent samples t-test showed that there was a significant difference but in the opposite direction to that hypothesised in total scores for heterosexuals ($M = 9.76$, $SD = 3.49$) versus LGBs ($M = 7.07$, $SD = 4.12$). This result indicated that the perception of discrimination was not higher among LGBs in the non-discriminatory situation as was expected. There were no differences in the total scores. However, what would happen if the representative score was used instead of the total score for the analyses? For example, would heterosexuals, gay men or lesbians respond differently in line with their own orientation? Thus, heterosexuals were examined in terms of their perceptions as to whether the heterosexuals were discriminated against; gay men were examined in terms of their perceptions as to whether the gay men were discriminated against; and lesbians were examined in terms of their perceptions as to whether the lesbians were discriminated against.

An independent-samples t-test was therefore conducted to compare the level of perceived discrimination for heterosexuals and LGBs using the representative score instead of the total score. There was a statistically significant difference in the direction expected when the representative score of perceived discrimination for heterosexuals ($M = 1.66$, $SD = 1.12$) and LGBs, $M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.62$; $t(43) = -2.69$, $p = .01$ were compared for the non-discriminatory situation. The magnitude of the differences in the means was moderate ($\eta^2 = .10$).

Two independent samples t-tests were conducted using total and representative scores of perceived discrimination for discriminatory situation as well. There were significant differences in the representative scores of perceived discrimination for heterosexuals ($M = 2.21$, $SD = 1.55$) versus LGBs ($M = 5.70$, $SD = 1.46$). The magnitude of the differences was very large ($\eta^2 = .57$). This difference

suggested that when the participants' own sexual orientation was suggested in the discriminatory scenario, LGBs perceived significantly higher levels of discrimination than did heterosexuals.

(c) Lesbian and bisexual women would score significantly more highly on levels of perceived discrimination than heterosexual women when they imagined the character in scenarios as having the same sexual orientation as they have.

In the non-discriminatory situation, a significant difference in perceived discrimination score (representative score) was found between heterosexual women ($M=1.63$, $SD= 1.16$) and lesbians and bisexual women ($M=2.71$, $SD= 1.64$), $t(19) = -2.22$, $p= .04$. The effect size was moderate ($\eta^2 = .11$). In the discriminatory situation there was also a significant difference in the representative score of perceived discrimination for heterosexual women ($M = 2.17$, $SD=1.60$) and lesbians and bisexual women ($M=6.21$, $SD=1.05$), $t(42) = -8.61$, $p= .0001$ ($\eta^2 = .64$, very large). These results showed that lesbians and bisexual women perceived significantly higher levels of discrimination than heterosexual women in both discriminatory and non-discriminatory scenario situations when the characters in the scenarios were assumed to have the same sexual orientation as they do. The difference in perceived discrimination was greater in discriminatory situation than non-discriminatory situation.

(d) Lesbian and bisexual women would exhibit significantly higher levels of perceived discrimination than gay and bisexual men when they imagined the character in scenarios having the same sexual orientation as they have.

When the characters in the scenarios were assumed to have the same sexual orientation as the participants have, there was no significant difference in scores of perceived discrimination between gay and bisexual men ($M=2.54$, $SD= 1.66$) and

lesbian and bisexual women ($M=2.71$, $SD=1.64$); $t(25) = -.28$, $p=.78$ in the non-discriminatory situation. Similarly, the difference in perceived discrimination for gay and bisexual men ($M=5.15$, $SD=1.68$) and lesbian and bisexual women ($M=6.21$, $SD=1.05$) in discriminatory situation was also not statistically significant; $t(25) = -1.99$, $p= .06$. These results did not support the hypothesis that lesbian and bisexual women would have higher levels of perceived discrimination than gay and bisexual men due to the double stigmatization they have as sexual minorities and as women.

Study 2 Hypothesis 2:

(a) In the non-discriminatory situation, LGBs who came out to more people would have significantly lower level of perceived discrimination.

The relationship between the total outness (as measured by the sum of being out to family, to friends, at school and at work) and the representative score of perceived discrimination (as measured by the perceived discrimination score when the character in the scenario is in line with participant's sexual orientation in scenario 1) was investigated using the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. There was insignificant correlation between the two variables ($r = -.23$, $n = 27$, $p = .25$). Therefore, the hypothesis that outness would be negatively correlated with perceived discrimination in the non-discriminatory situation was not supported although the relationship (negative) was in the direction hypothesised.

(b) In the discriminatory situation, outed LGBs would feel significantly more discriminated against than closeted LGBs would.

The relationship between the total outness and the representative score of perceived discrimination in the discriminatory situation was investigated. The result showed that there was no significant correlation; $r = .21$, $n= 27$, $p = .29$. Thus,

Hypothesis 2 (b) was not supported. However, the direction of the relationship was the same as suggested in the hypothesis (positive).

Study 2 Hypothesis 3:

LGBs with past experience of discrimination would exhibit significantly higher level of perceived discrimination.

The relationships between the past experiences of discrimination and perceived discrimination in the scenarios were investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation analyses. As shown in appendix K, there were statistically significant correlations between experience of discrimination and perceived discrimination (both in non-discriminatory and in discriminatory situations). This indicated that the more experience of discrimination was detected in the past, the higher the perceived discrimination score obtained in response to the scenarios. The correlation was stronger in the second discrimination scenario presented.

Discussion

The general aim of the second study was to explore the difference in perceived discrimination scores in non-discriminatory and discriminatory scenario situations for the Australian tertiary students. The research question that guided the second study was: would there be a difference in the level of perceived discrimination between an actual discriminatory scenario and a non-discriminatory scenario?

Hypothesis 1

For the first hypothesis of the second study, a statistically significant difference was found in the level of perceived discrimination between discriminatory and non-discriminatory situations. Therefore, people would feel more discriminated

against when the actual discrimination was presented: the feeling of being discriminated against was the response to actual discrimination rather than the discrimination they perceived. This finding provided support for the first hypothesis and for the main subsequent research questions of the second study dealing with subgroups. It demonstrated that the scenarios were acting as they were designed to do (one as non-discriminatory, the other as discriminatory or showing the existence of discrimination).

The sub-groups were compared separately according to their sexual orientation status. In part (b) of the first hypothesis, sexual orientation groups of heterosexuals and LGBs were compared for difference in the level of perceived discrimination. The results showed that heterosexuals perceived higher discrimination levels than LGBs in the non-discriminatory situation, which was the opposite of what it was predicted. This higher total score of perceived discrimination for heterosexuals in the non-discriminatory situation could mean that heterosexuals were more sensitive than LGBs to the discrimination they believed LGBs received in non-discriminatory social situation. Heterosexuals may believe that LGBs would feel discriminated against even when no real discrimination was presented: this could be due to the heterosexual participants' belief in heterosexism. This finding supported a previous study that showed people believed LGBs were highly likely to be targets of discrimination (Crow, Fok, & Hartman, 1998). It further suggested that this belief extended to situations where no real discrimination was present.

However, when the representative score of perceived discrimination was used instead of the total score of perceived discrimination, there was a statistically significant difference in perceived discrimination for heterosexuals and LGBs in both

discriminatory and non-discriminatory situations: when the participants' own sexual orientation was suggested in the scenarios, LGBs showed a significantly higher level of perceived discrimination than did heterosexuals. These findings supported the hypothesis that LGBs would have higher levels of perceived discrimination than heterosexuals. The findings also supported previous studies that LGBs reported more discrimination than did heterosexuals (Beran et al., 1992). Hypothesis 1(b) was therefore supported with the representative score of perceived discrimination, but not with the total score of perceived discrimination. It is possible that some previous studies have used total scores on perceptions of discrimination, but not divided the samples into their own groups (representative scores) and thus had missed the finding shown here.

Because of the higher number of heterosexual women who participated in the study, only women participants were examined for the next part of Hypothesis 1. Part (c) of the Hypothesis 1 compared heterosexual women with lesbian and bisexual women in terms of their perceived discrimination in both non-discriminatory and discriminatory situations. The representative score of perceived discrimination, meaning the level of perceived discrimination when the participants were imagined to be characters in the scenarios with the same sexual orientation as they were, was used in this investigation. The results indeed showed that lesbians and bisexual women perceived significantly higher levels of discrimination than heterosexual women. Lesbian and bisexual women felt more discriminated against than heterosexual women due to their sexual orientation status, not only because of their gender. They perceived even more discrimination when the actual discrimination was present (scenario 2) than when it was missing. However, caution should be drawn here because the number of

heterosexual women involved in this analysis was double the number of lesbian and bisexual women. They may not have been comparative to each other. Also, the overall number of participants was small (44 participants).

Gender differences were also examined among LGBs. In part (d) of Hypothesis 1, gay (and bisexual) men and lesbian (and bisexual) women were compared with each other for their level of perceived discrimination. However, the result showed no significant difference between these two groups in both discriminatory and non-discriminatory scenarios/situations. Thus, the concept that lesbians would suffer double stigmatization and therefore having higher perceived discrimination scores was not supported. This could mean that having a gender stigma might not have as much impact as a sexual orientation related stigma might have. Further studies might be conducted to investigate further the influence of gender and sexual orientation stigma.

Hypothesis 2

Results after analysis of the second hypothesis of the second study indicated that the level of outness was not significantly correlated with the level of perceived discrimination although the direction was present. However, outness of LGBs was negatively correlated with perceived discrimination in the non-discriminatory situation and positively correlated with perceived discrimination in the discriminatory situation. These findings did not provide support for previous studies that LGBs who disclosed their identity status would be the target of discrimination (Badgett, 2003) and self-disclosing would be beneficial to their social life. This insignificance could have been due to the small sample size used in this current study. A larger sample size should be used in future studies for clearer results.

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis of the second study that the previous experience of discrimination would contribute to the level of perceived discrimination was supported. There were positive correlations between the discrimination experienced in the past and the representative score of perceived discrimination in the discriminatory situation. This indicated that when the character in the discriminatory scenario was assumed to have the same sexual orientation as did the participants, a higher level of perceived discrimination was found.

However, it was noticed from the comments participants made on the questionnaire, that some participants did not fully understand the past discriminatory experience questions. For example, they only counted the discriminatory experience that was related to their sexual orientation, although the question stated that ‘discrimination of any kind’. Therefore, this result should be interpreted with caution.

Conclusion: Findings of Study 2

The study aimed to examine whether levels of perceived discrimination would differ for different sexual orientations in non-discriminatory and discriminatory scenario situations. The research question that guided this current study was: would there be a difference in the level of perceived discrimination between an actual discriminatory scenario and a non-discriminatory scenario? The link between LGBs’ outness and perceived discrimination; and the link between previous experience of discrimination and perceived discrimination were also studied, once the quality of the scenarios was established.

A significant difference was found in perceived discrimination between non-discriminatory and discriminatory scenario situations for all participants. Significant

differences were also found in perceived discrimination between heterosexuals and LGBs, between lesbians and heterosexual women; but not between lesbian women and gay men.

In Study 2, no links were found between outness and perceived discrimination in either the discriminatory or non-discriminatory situations. However, strong links were found between previous experience of discrimination and perceived discrimination in both scenarios. This result of the second study has shown the value of using both non-discriminatory and discriminatory situations in studying the perceptions people have as to whether discrimination exists, especially for those in minority groups including LGBs. There is argument to suggest that further research is required using larger sample sizes. The areas needing further study include the link between outness with perceived discrimination; and the link between different kinds of discrimination experienced in the past and the current perceptions of discrimination.

The full thesis project is reviewed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION OF KEY FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Overview

Lesbians, gay men, and bisexuals (LGBs) are believed to receive more discrimination than heterosexuals in society and such discrimination has great impacts on their psychological well-being (Garnets, Herek, & Levy, 1992; Savin-Williams, 1995). The majority of research examining the difference in the level of discrimination between heterosexuals and LGBs has been carried out in work settings. The research had used self-reported discrimination as a method of measuring discrimination. Therefore, these earlier research studies could not determine if the discrimination LGBs reported receiving was the response to the actual discrimination or the response to the perception of the existence of discrimination. Also, such research had not examined responses to the same situation by both heterosexuals and LGBs. The factors/variables that would be related to higher perceived discrimination also had not been studied. This thesis project set out to address some of these issues.

Therefore, the current research project examined whether different sexual orientation groups perceived discrimination differently, and whether individual characteristics and circumstances of sexual minorities made them more likely to perceive discrimination whether present or not. Perceived discrimination was measured in the current study in both discriminatory and non-discriminatory situations. The two main research questions that guided the research were: Would LGBs perceive higher discrimination than heterosexuals in what were mainly non-discriminatory situations/scenarios?; and Would there be a difference in the levels of perceived discrimination between actual discriminatory situations (situations presented in which

discrimination was in fact occurring) and non-discriminatory situations (situations in which no actual discrimination was occurring).

This project aimed to increase understanding of what characteristics of LGBs influenced their perceptions of discrimination. By using these identified characteristics or factors, developing interventions to reduce instances of perceived discrimination and to increase psychological well-being might be possible.

Key Findings and Conclusions

The levels of perceived discrimination for heterosexuals and LGBs were found to be significantly different from each other both in non-discriminatory and discriminatory scenario situations. In Study 1 Hypothesis 1, Lesbians, gay men and bisexuals (LGBs) were found to perceive more discrimination present than did heterosexuals in situations where no real discrimination was presented. This finding supported the literature suggesting that LGBs perceived higher levels of discrimination than did heterosexuals (Beran et al., 1992) even when actual discrimination was not present. However, this finding occurred only with the Australian group and not with the Korean group. Use of a priming stimulus to enhance participants' awareness of their sexual orientation did not make any difference in the perceived discrimination levels. Therefore, the priming effect theory was not supported.

The second hypothesis of the first study showed no significant difference between gay identity stages, in the level of perceived discrimination. However, unusually high perceived discrimination scores were found among those who belonged to Stage 5 of the gay identity development scale. A positive relationship between sexual orientation and gay identity stage was found.

According to the spotlight effect, people tend to believe the social spotlight shines more brightly on them than it really does (Gilovich, Medvec, & Savitsky, 2000) and the targets of the spotlight effect are more likely to be members of minority groups. However, Hypothesis 3, examining heterosexuals' and LGBs' awareness of their own sexual orientation becoming known to others (spotlight) was not supported.

The fourth hypothesis of the first study indicated that psychological well-being was found to be correlated negatively with perceived discrimination except for internalized heterosexism and satisfaction with life. However, for the Australian sample, only alienation and isolation were significantly correlated with perceived discrimination whereas marginalization, self-esteem, alienation, and isolation were correlated with perceived discrimination for the Korean sample. It was further shown that alienation influenced perceived discrimination the most.

The results from the second study indicated a significant difference in perceived discrimination between non-discriminatory and discriminatory scenario situations for all participants. This finding showed that the designed studies were operating as intended. Significant differences were also found in perceived discrimination between heterosexuals and LGBs, and between lesbians and heterosexual women; but not between lesbian women and gay men. These findings supported heterosexuals' belief that LGBs would feel discriminated against even when no real discrimination was presented; and indeed LGBs did perceive more discrimination as being present than did heterosexuals. However, the results found no significant differences in perceived discrimination between lesbians and bisexual women and gay and bisexual men.

The results also indicated that no significant links existed in this study between outness and perceived discrimination in either the discriminatory or non-discriminatory situations. However, strong links were found between previous experience of discrimination and perceived discrimination in both scenarios.

Overall, the current research project provided support for the propositions that: sexual minorities such as LGBs do perceive more discrimination than their heterosexual counterparts; that both heterosexuals and LGBs perceive more discrimination when the real discrimination presents than when the real discrimination is missing (the situations determine the levels of perception of discrimination as would be expected); and variables such as alienation, isolation, marginalization, self-esteem and previous experience of discrimination all contribute to higher levels of perceived discrimination.

Limitations

This research project had several limitations which should be taken into account when considering the results and the implications of those results. One of the limitations involved the sampling procedures and sample distribution: the representativeness of participants involved in this project may be questioned. All LGB participants in these two studies were self-identified LGBs and were connected to lesbian, gay, or bisexual communities either online or offline. This self identification could have lead to a potentially biased response to the questionnaire instruments (those who did not self-identify as LGB skipped two LGB related sets of questionnaires). In retrospect all individuals could have continued to answer all questions. The overall result may have been identification of more individuals in Stages 1 and 2 of the gay

identity stages. However, the process used has given results that enable direct comparison of the self-identified LGBs with those who did not self-identify.

Moreover, the method of recruiting, especially in Study 1, limited participants to those who had access to computers and the internet. They also had to know about the websites where the student researcher advertised. The results were representative of younger LGBs who were more familiar with using the internet and who belonged to web based communities. This limitation made it easier for the Koreans to participate than the Australians because Korea has the second fastest internet access service in the world. Most Koreans also have easier access to the internet and therefore they are more familiar with using the internet.

Along with the limitation of internet access, using internet explorer as a browser was a must for completing the questionnaire for the first study. In Korea, the majority of people use Internet Explorer but in Australia, browsers other than internet explorer are often used, causing inability to complete the questionnaire (since the survey was only supported by the internet explorer).

Another limitation was the gender ratios of heterosexual participants which were not even, whereas the gender ratios of LGBs were almost equal for both Study 1 and 2. More heterosexual women participated than heterosexual men. Thus, these findings could be explained as the perceptions of heterosexual women more than of heterosexuals in general. More evenly spread participants and higher numbers in each category should be obtained in future studies.

Furthermore, the average age for female participants for the Korean sample was early 20 which is the age when Korean men usually serve compulsory military

service for the country. This could be the reason for the low participation rate for Korean males.

The questionnaire for the first study was originally written in English and translated into Korean for the Korean sample (back translation was also used). However, the questionnaire may have been western culture based and may not have been suitable for the Korean culture. A pilot study testing the Korean questionnaire should have been performed prior to conducting the Study 1.

For the second study where the link between the degree of outness and perceptions of discrimination was examined, most of LGB participants had come out to people around them. This could be a limitation to Study 2: because LGBs who were 'in the closet' did not participate in the study comparison could not be made clearly between those with higher outness and those with less outness.

Recommendation for Future Research

Several limitations were listed above and future studies should address these. One suggestion for future studies is to use a broader range of participants. Different geographic locations of LGBs should also be examined. For example, those who are in rural areas may perceive or receive higher levels of discrimination than those who live in metropolitan areas.

Self-identified heterosexuals should be measured using the gay identity questionnaire and also outness questions (if they have any sexual feelings/thoughts/behaviours toward same gender) since a much larger number of men and women experience same-sex erotic attraction, or act upon it, than identify as gay, lesbian, or bisexual. In other words, homosexual feeling or thought or behaviour would be more pervasive among those describing themselves as homosexual. Brady and

Busse (1994) hypothesized that people in Stages 1 or 2 might not yet identify themselves as gay and, therefore, would be difficult to recruit for studies. Thus, more subjects in earlier stages would be detected if self-identified heterosexuals were tested with the gay identity questionnaire instead of automatically being excluded from assessment: if people wonder about their homosexual thoughts/feelings/behaviour, they would pass the validity test for the questionnaire and might be placed in Stage 1.

Validation of the use of the two different scenarios occurred in the second study. However, to test the validity across countries and cultures, similar future studies conducted in other countries and languages/cultures would be needed. Also, other alternative scenarios could be developed involving LGB dominated places such as gay bars, to compare whether heterosexuals in the bars would have the same degree of perceived discrimination as LGBs have in heterosexual dominated places. If the heterosexuals reacted in the way expected, then this might provide strong evidence for the theory that perceived discrimination is due to majority-minority status in the society rather than sexual orientation per se.

Further examination of the use of a priming stimulus is necessary. In the current study, use of the rainbow flag did not show any significant influence on awareness and perceived discrimination. This could be due to the insignificance of priming stimulus used in this study: one might not have been strong enough to have priming effect. Thus, a group of stimuli could be used in future studies to investigate if they have stronger priming effect.

Overall this thesis has shown that sexual orientation has widespread impacts including on how situations are perceived and on the perceptions of discrimination. There are cultural differences also as shown in the differences found between the

Australian and the Korean responses. Similarities, however, across the two cultures included the impacts for those who were the sexual minority compared to heterosexuals: lower self-esteem, and more feelings of marginalization and alienation. More studies are needed to address above recommendations and to improve well-being of LGBs by applying the knowledge gained through them.

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Appendix AExplanatory statement

Project Title: The effects of internalized homophobia on perceived discrimination.
 Project Number: RO505

My name is Sarang Kim and I am undertaking postgraduate research towards a Master of Arts (Research), under the supervision of Professor Richard Hicks in the Department of Psychology at Bond University.

The present project is on how we feel about ourselves and others. We hope the result of this project will allow us to understand more about how our thoughts and beliefs influence how we perceive the situations in our lives.

We are looking for individuals who are over 18 years of age. The procedures involved will take approximately 20-30 minutes, and will involve filling in questionnaires online or in hard copy.

No findings which could identify any individual participant will be published. The anonymity of your participation will be assured and only aggregate data will be published. You may withdraw at any time if you do not wish to participate further in the research. Only my supervisor and I will have access to your data, which will be combined with those from other participants and stored for five years in accordance with the university regulations.

If you have any queries or would like to be informed of the aggregate research findings, please contact rhicks@staff.bond.edu.au

SaRang Kim
 Student Investigator

Dr. Richard Hicks
 Principal Investigator

Should you have any complaint concerning the manner in which this research is conducted, please do not hesitate to contact University Research Ethics Committee, quoting the Project number (above):

The Complaints Officer
 Bond University Human Research Ethics Committee
 Bond University Research Institute
 Level 2, Room 232, Conference Centre
 Bond University Gold Coast, 4229.
 Telephone (07) 5595 4194 Fax (07) 5595 5009
 Email: buhrec@bond.edu.au

School of Humanities & Social Sciences

Appendix B
Study 1 Questionnaire

Personal attitudes toward sexual orientation

Project number: RO505

This is a survey on how you feel about yourself and others. There are no right or wrong answers to any question as you will be required to rate your own thoughts and beliefs. Please follow the given instructions and answer as honestly and openly as possible.

We hope from this study to gain more understanding on how our thoughts and beliefs influence how we perceive the situations in our lives.

The procedures involved will take approximately 20-30 minutes and to participate in this survey, you will need to be 18 years of age or older.

No findings which could identify any individual participant will be published. The anonymity of your participation will be assured and only aggregate data will be published. You may withdraw at any time if you do not wish to participate further in the research.

If you have any queries or would like to be informed of the aggregate research findings, please contact rhicks@staff.bond.edu.au

1. Sex: male/female
2. Age: _____ (years)
3. Ethnicity (Nationality): _____
4. Occupation: _____
If you are student, what program are you in: _____
5. Educational level: _____
6. I am (Circle one)

- 0 Exclusively heterosexual
- 1 Predominantly heterosexual, only incidentally homosexual
- 2 Predominantly heterosexual, but more than incidentally homosexual
- 3 Equally heterosexual and homosexual
- 4 Predominantly homosexual, but more than incidentally heterosexual
- 5 Predominantly homosexual, only incidentally heterosexual
- 6 Exclusively homosexual

(From Q6, if your answer is 0-2, go to page 7 if your answer is 3-6, go to page 3)

Direction: Please read each of the following statements carefully and then circle whether you feel the statements are true (T) or false (F) for you at this point in time. A statement is circled as true if the entire statement is true, otherwise it is circled as false.

	True	False
1. I probably am sexually attracted equally to men and women.	T	F
2. I live a homosexual lifestyle at home, while at work/school I do not want others to know about my lifestyle.	T	F
3. My homosexuality is a valid private identity that I do not want made public.	T	F
4. I have feelings I would label as homosexual.	T	F
5. I have little desire to be around most heterosexuals.	T	F
6. I doubt that I am homosexual, but still am confused about who I am sexually.	T	F
7. I do not want most heterosexuals to know that I am definitely homosexual.	T	F
8. I am very proud to be gay and make it known to everyone around me.	T	F
9. I don't have much contact with heterosexuals and can't say that I miss it.	T	F
10. I generally feel comfortable being the only gay person in a group of heterosexuals.	T	F
11. I'm probably homosexual, even though I maintain a heterosexual image in both my personal and public life.	T	F
12. I have disclosed to 1 or 2 people (very few) that I have homosexual feelings, although I'm not sure I'm homosexual.	T	F
13. I am not as angry about treatment of gays because even though I've told everyone about my gayness, they have responded well.	T	F
14. I am definitely homosexual but I do not share that knowledge with most people.	T	F
15. I don't mind if homosexuals know that I have homosexual thoughts and feelings, but I don't want others to know.	T	F

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 16. More than likely I'm homosexual, although I'm not positive about it yet. | T | F |
| 17. I don't act like most homosexuals do, so I doubt that I'm homosexual. | T | F |
| 18. I'm probably homosexual, but I'm not sure yet. | T | F |
| 19. I am openly gay and fully integrated into heterosexual society. | T | F |
| 20. I don't think that I'm homosexual. | T | F |
| 21. I don't feel as if I'm heterosexual or homosexual. | T | F |
| 22. I have thoughts I would label as homosexual. | T | F |
| 23. I don't want people to know that I may be homosexual, although I'm not sure if I am homosexual or not. | T | F |
| 24. I may be homosexual and I am upset at the thought of it. | T | F |
| 25. The topic of homosexuality does not relate to me personally. | T | F |
| 26. I frequently confront people about their irrational, homophobic (fear of homosexuality) feelings. | T | F |
| 27. Getting in touch with homosexuals is something I feel I need to do, even though I'm not sure I want to. | T | F |
| 28. I have homosexual thoughts and feelings but I doubt that I'm homosexual. | T | F |
| 29. I dread having to deal with the fact that I may be homosexual. | T | F |
| 30. I am proud and open with everyone about being gay, but it isn't the major focus of my life. | T | F |
| 31. I probably am heterosexual or non-sexual. | T | F |
| 32. I am experimenting with my same sex, because I don't know what my sexual preference is. | T | F |
| 33. I feel accepted by homosexual friends and acquaintances, even though I'm not sure I'm homosexual. | T | F |
| 34. I frequently express to others, anger over heterosexuals' oppression of me and other gays. | T | F |
| 35. I have not told most of the people at work that I am definitely homosexual. | T | F |
| 36. I accept but would not say I am proud of the fact that I am definitely homosexual. | T | F |

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 37. I cannot imagine sharing my homosexual feelings with anyone. | T | F |
| 38. Most heterosexuals are not credible sources of help for me. | T | F |
| 39. I am openly gay around heterosexuals. | T | F |
| 40. I engage in sexual behaviour I would label as homosexual. | T | F |
| 41. I am not about to stay hidden as gay for anyone. | T | F |
| 42. I tolerate rather than accept my homosexual thoughts and feelings. | T | F |
| 43. My heterosexual friends, family, and associates think of me as a person who happens to be gay, rather than as a gay person. | T | F |
| 44. Even though I am definitely homosexual, I have not told my family. | T | F |
| 45. I am openly gay with everyone, but it doesn't make me feel all that different from heterosexuals. | T | F |

Instructions: The following are some statements that individuals can make about being gay. Please read each one carefully and decide the extent to which you agree with the statement, then circle the number which best reflects how much you agree or disagree with the statement.

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

1. Male/female homosexuality is a natural expression of sexuality in human males/females. _____
2. I wish I were heterosexual. _____
3. When I am sexually attracted to another gay man, I do not mind if someone else knows how I feel. _____
4. Most problems that homosexuals have come from their status as an oppressed minority, not from their homosexuality per se. _____
5. Life as a homosexual is not as fulfilling as life as a heterosexual. _____
6. I am glad to be gay. _____
7. Whenever I think a lot about being gay, I feel critical about myself. _____
8. I am confident that my homosexuality does not make me inferior. _____
9. Whenever I think a lot about being gay, I feel depressed. _____
10. If it were possible, I would accept the opportunity to be completely heterosexual. _____
11. I wish I could become more sexually attracted to opposite sex. _____
12. If there were a pill that could change my sexual orientation, I would take it. _____
13. I would not give up being gay even if I could. _____
14. Homosexuality is deviant. _____
15. It would not bother me if I had children who were gay. _____
16. Being gay is a satisfactory and acceptable way of life for me. _____
17. If I were heterosexual, I would probably be happier. _____
18. Most gay people end up lonely and isolated. _____
19. For the most part, I do not care who knows I am gay. _____
20. I have no regrets about being gay. _____

Directions: Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by using the following scale:

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Agree strongly

1. Generally, I find it difficult to socialize with anybody, heterosexual or homosexual/bisexual _____
2. I sometimes feel that nobody like me. _____
3. There are times when I think no one understands me. _____
4. I sometimes find it hard to communicate with people, straight or gay. _____
5. I sometimes find it hard to make friends. _____
6. Sometimes I feel that no one accepts me. _____
7. Sometimes I find it hard to trust anyone, straight or gay. _____
8. I find that people often have difficulty understanding me. _____
9. I find that I do not feel comfortable when I am with other people. _____

Directions: Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by using the following scale:

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Neutral
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others. _____
2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities. _____
3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure. _____
4. I am able to do things as well as most other people. _____
5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of. _____
6. I take a positive attitude toward myself. _____
7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself. _____
8. I wish I could have more respect for myself. _____
9. I certainly feel useless at times. _____
10. At times I think I am no good at all. _____

Directions: Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by using the following scale:

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

1. I sometimes feel that the people I know are not too friendly. _____
2. Most of my work in school/work seems worthwhile and meaningful to me. _____
3. I sometimes feel uncertain about who I really am. _____
4. I feel that my family is not as close to me as I would like. _____
5. When people I know are having problems, it's my responsibility to try to help. _____
6. I often wonder whether I'm becoming the type of person I want to be. _____
7. It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what others expect. _____
8. I often feel left out of things that others are doing. _____
9. Nowadays you can't really count on other people when you have a problem or need help. _____
10. Most people don't seem to accept me when I'm just being myself. _____
11. I often find it difficult to feel involved in the things I'm doing. _____
12. Hardly anyone I know is interested in how I really feel inside. _____
13. I generally feel that I have a lot of interests in common with the other people around me. _____
14. I often feel alone when I am with other people. _____
15. If I really had my choice I'd live my life in a very different way than I do. _____
16. Everyone is out to manipulate you toward their own ends. _____
17. I am better off when I keep to myself. _____
18. Most people are happy not to know that what they call love is really self-interest. _____

19. Big parties are very exciting to me. _____
20. Often when I interact with others, I feel insecure over the outcome. _____
21. There is no point in socializing – it goes nowhere and is nothing. _____
22. Why bother to try to love or care for people; they'll only hurt you in
the end. _____
23. What really turns me on about socializing is the challenge of a group
of people disagreeing and arguing. _____
24. I try to avoid close relationships with people so that I will not be
obligated to them. _____
25. Most social relationships are meaningless. _____
26. People who believe that "Love makes the world go around" are
fooling themselves. _____
27. The best reason for getting involved with other people is
participation in some action that can catch everybody up. _____

Directions: Indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement by using the following scale:

1. Strongly Disagree
2. Disagree
3. Uncertain
4. Agree
5. Strongly Agree

1. Sometimes I feel as if I am completely alone. _____
2. I'd like to be invited out by friends more often than I am. _____
3. Most people today would feel lonely most of the time. _____
4. Real friends are hard to find. _____
5. We can always find friends if we shows ourselves as friendly. _____
6. Overall, the world in which we live is not a friendly place. _____
7. People do not depend on each other like they used to. _____
8. People are too busy today to be friendly and helpful. _____
9. I'd like to have more good friends than I have. _____
10. There are many more lonely people today than in the past. _____

Direction: Below are six statements that you may agree or disagree with. Using the 1 - 5 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item. Please be open and honest in your responding.

1. Strongly Disagree

2. Disagree

3. Uncertain

4. Agree

5. Strongly Agree

1. In most ways my life is close to my ideal. _____
2. The conditions of my life are excellent. _____
3. I am satisfied with my life. _____
4. So far I have gotten the important things I want in life _____
5. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing _____
6. I am generally very happy. I enjoy life regardless of what is going on, getting the most out of everything. _____

*The rainbow flag (priming stimulus) is presented here (see Figure 3.1).

As you read the following story, imagine yourself in the social interaction that is described. Then state how much you agree with each statement that follows (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree).

“You were invited to Jane’s, one of your colleagues/friends, house for her birthday party. The front door had a bell hanging, so as you entered the house, everyone looked at you to see who has arrived. You did not know anyone except Jane. Then Jane came to living area and started to introduce everyone. As she was about to introduce you to other people, her husband called her from the kitchen so she just gave you a glance and left. After she has left, people started to talk among themselves while you were standing by yourself.”

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Strongly disagree | | | | Strongly agree |
1. I believe everyone at the party knew about my sexual orientation _____
 2. I believe Jane did not introduce me to others because of my sexual orientation _____
 3. I believe I was left out by other guests because of my sexual orientation _____

“You were going to have lunch with friends at a shopping centre food court. However, by the time you met up with your friends, there was no table available for you to sit, since it was the middle of lunch time and there were so many people having lunch. So you were talking to friends while standing near tables. A few minutes later, a man at one of the table turned around and told you and your friends to “shut up” and go talk somewhere else.”

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|---|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Strongly disagree | | | | Strongly agree |
1. I believe the man knew about my sexual orientation _____
 2. I believe the man was being rude because of my sexual orientation _____

Appendix C
Study 1 Descriptive Statistics

Table C.1
Demographic Characteristics of Participants (N = 560)

Demographic Characteristics		Percentages
Gender	Male	35.0%
	Female	65.0%
Occupation	Unemployed	3.9%
	White collar	13.9%
	Blue collar	5.7%
	Professional	13.2%
	Student	59.5%
	Unknown	3.8%
Educational level	High school or less	13.4%
	Currently doing diploma	1.3%
	Completed diploma	3.6%
	Currently doing undergraduate	47.7%
	Completed undergraduate	18.2%
	Currently doing postgraduate	8.8%
	Completed postgraduate	6.8%
Sexual orientation	Exclusively heterosexual	34.6%
	Predominantly heterosexual, But, only incidentally homosexual	6.1%
	Predominantly heterosexual, But more than incidentally homosexual	2.1%
	Equally heterosexual and homosexual	6.8%
	Predominantly homosexual, But, more than incidentally heterosexual	4.8%
	Predominantly homosexual, But, only incidentally heterosexual	13.0%
	Exclusively homosexual	32.5%
	Sexual orientation in two groups	
	Heterosexual	42.9%
LGB	57.1%	
Gay identity stage	Stage 2	2.8%
	Stage 3	5.9%
	Stage 4	39.4%
	Stage 5	3.1%
	Stage 6	31.9%
	Dual stage	16.9%

Note. Where percentages do not add up to 100%, data was classified as missing

Table C.2

Demographic Characteristics of Participants (N = 560)

Demographic Characteristics		Percentages
Gender		
Australia -	Male	42.9%
	Female	57.1%
Korea -	Male	30.4%
	Female	69.6%
Ethnicity		
Australia -	Caucasian	80.5%
	Asian	12.7%
	Other	5.9%
	Unknown	1.0%
Korea -	Asian	100.0%
Occupation		
Australia -	Unemployed	3.4%
	White collar	18.0%
	Blue collar	9.8%
	Professional	18.5%
	Student	48.3%
	Unknown	2.0%
Korea -	Unemployed	4.2%
	White collar	11.5%
	Blue collar	3.4%
	Professional	10.1%
	Student	65.9%
	Unknown	4.8%
Educational level		
Australia -	High school or less	19.5%
	Currently doing diploma	1.0%
	Completed diploma	4.4%
	Currently doing undergraduate	33.2%
	Completed undergraduate	16.6%
	Currently doing postgraduate	10.7%
	Completed postgraduate	14.1%
Korea -	High school or less	9.9%
	Currently doing diploma	1.4%
	Completed diploma	3.1%
	Currently doing undergraduate	56.1%
	Completed undergraduate	19.2%
	Currently doing postgraduate	7.6%
	Completed postgraduate	2.5%

Sexual orientation		
Australia -	Exclusively heterosexual	31.2%
	Predominantly heterosexual, But, only incidentally homosexual	6.8%
	Predominantly heterosexual, But more than incidentally homosexual	12.0%
	Equally heterosexual and homosexual	4.9%
	Predominantly homosexual, But, more than incidentally heterosexual	2.4%
	Predominantly homosexual, But, only incidentally heterosexual	10.7%
	Exclusively homosexual	42.0%
Korea -	Exclusively heterosexual	36.6%
	Predominantly heterosexual, But, only incidentally homosexual	5.6%
	Predominantly heterosexual, But more than incidentally homosexual	2.3%
	Equally heterosexual and homosexual	7.9%
	Predominantly homosexual, But, more than incidentally heterosexual	6.2%
	Predominantly homosexual, But, only incidentally heterosexual	14.4%
	Exclusively homosexual	27.0%
Sexual orientation in two groups		
Australia -	Heterosexual	40.0%
	LGB	60.0%
Korea -	Heterosexual	44.5%
	LGB	55.5%
Gay identity stage		
Australia -	Stage 2	1.6%
	Stage 3	1.6%
	Stage 4	12.2%
	Stage 5	5.7%
	Stage 6	65.9%
	Dual stage	13.0%
Korea -	Stage 2	3.6%
	Stage 3	8.6%
	Stage 4	56.3%
	Stage 5	1.5%
	Stage 6	10.7%
	Dual stage	19.3%

Note. Where percentages do not add up to 100%, data was classified as missing

Table C.3
Mean and Standard Deviation of age and self-perception variables

Variables	Mean	SD
Age		
Australia	26.5	7.77
Korea	24.6	4.85
Internalized Phobia Total		
Australia	34.0	12.26
Korea	47.6	14.08
Marginalization Total		
Australia	21.9	8.16
Korea	27.0	7.79
Self-esteem Total		
Australia	39.5	7.24
Korea	35.4	6.54
Alienation Total		
Australia	57.8	15.87
Korea	69.8	13.55
Isolation Total		
Australia	30.4	7.13
Korea	34.2	5.38
Satisfaction with life Total		
Australia	20.8	5.29
Korea	16.2	4.44
Awareness		
Australia	7.4	3.71
Korea	8.2	4.40
Perceived discrimination		
Australia	9.8	4.39
Korea	9.8	4.29

Appendix D
Study 1 Hypothesis 1 (a)

Group Statistics

Sexual orientation in 2 groups		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Perceived discrimination total	Heterosexuals	240	9.51	3.944	.255
	Non-heterosexuals	320	10.02	4.579	.256

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Perceived discrimination total	Equal variances assumed	4.827	.028	-1.364	558	.173	-.503	.369	-1.227	.221
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.394	547.367	.164	-.503	.361	-1.212	.206

Study 1 Hypothesis 1 (b)

Group Statistics

Language version		Sexual orientation in 2 groups	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
English	Perceived discrimination total	Heterosexuals	82	8.96	3.831	.423
		Non-heterosexuals	123	10.34	4.659	.420
Korean	Perceived discrimination total	Heterosexuals	158	9.80	3.984	.317
		Non-heterosexuals	197	9.81	4.529	.323

Independent Samples Test

Language version			Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
			F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper	
English	Perceived discrimination total	Equal variances assumed	4.183	.042	-2.223	203	.027	-1.378	.620	-2.600	-.156
		Equal variances not assumed			-2.311	194.145	.022	-1.378	.596	-2.554	-.202
Korean	Perceived discrimination total	Equal variances assumed	1.964	.162	-.032	353	.974	-.015	.459	-.917	.887
		Equal variances not assumed			-.033	349.967	.974	-.015	.452	-.904	.875

Study 1 Hypothesis 1 (c)

Group Statistics

Condition		Sexual orientation in 2 groups	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Without priming	Perceived discrimination total	Heterosexuals	113	9.36	3.841	.361
		Non-heterosexuals	170	9.94	4.661	.357
With priming	Perceived discrimination total	Heterosexuals	127	9.65	4.044	.359
		Non-heterosexuals	150	10.10	4.499	.367

Independent Samples Test

Condition			Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
			F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
										Lower	Upper
Without priming	Perceived discrimination total	Equal variances assumed	4.474	.035	-1.095	281	.275	-.578	.528	-1.618	.462
		Equal variances not assumed			-1.138	268.249	.256	-.578	.508	-1.579	.422
With priming	Perceived discrimination total	Equal variances assumed	1.020	.313	-.877	275	.381	-.454	.518	-1.474	.566
		Equal variances not assumed			-.885	273.993	.377	-.454	.514	-1.465	.557

Appendix E
Study 1 Hypothesis 2

ANOVA

Perceived discrimination total

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	114.445	4	28.611	1.344	.254
Within Groups	5556.251	261	21.288		
Total	5670.695	265			

Appendix F
Study 1 Hypothesis 3

Group Statistics

Sexual orientation in 2 groups		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Awareness	Heterosexuals	240	9.29	4.897	.316
	Non-heterosexuals	320	6.88	3.170	.177

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Awareness	Equal variances assumed	58.250	.000	7.045	558	.000	2.407	.342	1.736	3.079
	Equal variances not assumed			6.643	384.347	.000	2.407	.362	1.695	3.120

Group Statistics

Language version		Sexual orientation in 2 groups	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
English	Awareness	Heterosexuals	82	7.40	4.009	.443
		Non-heterosexuals	123	7.42	3.513	.317
Korean	Awareness	Heterosexuals	158	10.27	5.038	.401
		Non-heterosexuals	197	6.55	2.893	.206

Independent Samples Test

Language version			Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
			F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper	
English	Awareness	Equal variances assumed	.836	.362	-.038	203	.969	-.020	.530	-1.066	1.025
		Equal variances not assumed			-.037	157.737	.970	-.020	.544	-1.096	1.055
Korean	Awareness	Equal variances assumed	63.677	.000	8.734	353	.000	3.724	.426	2.885	4.562
		Equal variances not assumed			8.262	237.716	.000	3.724	.451	2.836	4.612

Appendix G
Study 2 Questionnaire

1. Gender: male/female
2. Age: _____ (years)
3. Ethnicity: _____
4. What degree are you studying: _____
5. What year of full-time study are you in (circle one):

Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4 or more
--------	--------	--------	----------------
6. I am (Circle one)
 - 0 Exclusively heterosexual
 - 1 Predominantly heterosexual, only incidentally homosexual
 - 2 Predominantly heterosexual, but more than incidentally homosexual
 - 3 Equally heterosexual and homosexual
 - 4 Predominantly homosexual, but more than incidentally heterosexual
 - 5 Predominantly homosexual, only incidentally heterosexual
 - 6 Exclusively homosexual
7. If your answer for question 6 was 0, 1 or 2, go on to question 8; if your answer to question 6 was 3, 4, 5 or 6, answer the following four parts: *have you come out*

<i>At home?</i> Yes / NO	if yes, to whom (specify)? _____
<i>To friends?</i> Yes / No	if yes, to how many? _____
<i>At school/university?</i> Yes / No	if yes, to how many? _____
<i>At work?</i> Yes / No	if yes, to how many? _____

Scenario 2: Read the following statement and imagine that you were Angel.

“Angel was looking around the house to rent last Sunday and the owner who was showing the place was very friendly. Angel said he/she liked the place and wanted to take it with his/her partner, Chris who had just walked over to them. The owner suddenly changed his attitude and said there were several people who wanted to take the place and said Angel can try to put his/her application in but he could not guarantee he/she will get the house.”

14. How likely is it, if Angel were heterosexual, that Angel was discriminated against because of his/her heterosexual orientation?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Very likely			

15. How likely is it, if Angel were lesbian, that she was discriminated against because of her sexual orientation?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Very likely			

16. How likely is it, if Angel were a gay man, that he was discriminated against because of his sexual orientation?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not at all			Very likely			

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix HStudy 2 Hypothesis 1 (a)**Paired Samples Statistics**

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	S1total	8.62	66	3.972	.489
	S2total	12.92	66	3.496	.430

Paired Samples Correlations

		N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair 1	S1total & S2total	66	.154	.217

Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences				t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
					Lower				Upper
Pair 1	S1total - S2total	-4.303	4.871	.600	-5.500	-3.106	-7.177	65	.000

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	S1rep	2.06	65	1.424	.177
	S2rep	3.66	65	2.293	.284

Paired Samples Correlations

		N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair 1	S1rep & S2rep	65	.456	.000

Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
					Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	S1rep - S2rep	-1.600	2.075	.257	-2.114	-1.086	-6.216	64	.000

Study 2 Hypothesis 1 (b)

Group Statistics

Hete vs LGBs		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
S1rep	Heterosexuals	38	1.66	1.122	.182
	LGBs	27	2.63	1.621	.312
S2rep	Heterosexuals	38	2.21	1.545	.251
	LGBs	27	5.70	1.463	.282

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
S1rep	Equal variances assumed	9.701	.003	-2.859	63	.006	-.972	.340	-1.651	-.293
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.691	43.193	.010	-.972	.361	-1.700	-.244
S2rep	Equal variances assumed	.013	.910	-9.181	63	.000	-3.493	.380	-4.253	-2.733
	Equal variances not assumed			-9.268	57.963	.000	-3.493	.377	-4.248	-2.739

Study 2 Hypothesis 1(c)

Group Statistics

	Sexual orientation in 4 groups	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
S1rep	Heterosexual women	30	1.63	1.159	.212
	Lesbian and bisexual women	14	2.71	1.637	.438
S2rep	Heterosexual women	30	2.17	1.599	.292
	Lesbian and bisexual women	14	6.21	1.051	.281

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
S1rep	Equal variances assumed	4.647	.037	-2.519	42	.016	-1.081	.429	-1.947	-.215
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.224	19.318	.038	-1.081	.486	-2.097	-.065
S2rep	Equal variances assumed	1.377	.247	-8.614	42	.000	-4.048	.470	-4.996	-3.099
	Equal variances not assumed			-9.991	36.940	.000	-4.048	.405	-4.869	-3.227

Study 2 Hypothesis 1(d)

Group Statistics

Sexual orientation in 4 groups		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
S1rep	Gay and bisexual men	13	2.54	1.664	.462
	Lesbian and bisexual women	14	2.71	1.637	.438
S2rep	Gay and bisexual men	13	5.15	1.676	.465
	Lesbian and bisexual women	14	6.21	1.051	.281

Independent Samples Test

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
S1rep	Equal variances assumed	.023	.881	-.277	25	.784	-.176	.636	-1.485	1.133
	Equal variances not assumed			-.276	24.785	.785	-.176	.636	-1.486	1.135
S2rep	Equal variances assumed	3.896	.060	-1.986	25	.058	-1.060	.534	-2.160	.039
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.953	19.915	.065	-1.060	.543	-2.193	.073

Appendix IStudy 2 Hypothesis 2 (a)**Correlations**

		Outtotal	S1rep
Outtotal	Pearson Correlation	1	-.231
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.246
	N	28	27
S1rep	Pearson Correlation	-.231	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.246	
	N	27	65

Study 2 Hypothesis 2 (b)**Correlations**

		Outtotal	S2rep
Outtotal	Pearson Correlation	1	.211
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.292
	N	28	27
S2rep	Pearson Correlation	.211	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.292	
	N	27	65

Appendix J
Study 2 Hypothesis 3

Correlations

		Discrimination of any kind	Disctotal	Discrimination within the last year	Dislasttotal	S1rep	S2rep
Discrimination of any kind	Pearson Correlation	1	.667**	.716**	.377**	.384**	.408**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.002	.002	.001
	N	65	65	65	65	64	64
Disctotal	Pearson Correlation	.667**	1	.413**	.404**	.078	.123
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.001	.001	.539	.329
	N	65	66	65	66	65	65
Discrimination within the last year	Pearson Correlation	.716**	.413**	1	.570**	.315*	.484**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001		.000	.011	.000
	N	65	65	65	65	64	64
Dislasttotal	Pearson Correlation	.377**	.404**	.570**	1	.236	.513**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.001	.000		.059	.000
	N	65	66	65	66	65	65
S1rep	Pearson Correlation	.384**	.078	.315*	.236	1	.456**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.002	.539	.011	.059		.000
	N	64	65	64	65	65	65
S2rep	Pearson Correlation	.408**	.123	.484**	.513**	.456**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.001	.329	.000	.000	.000	
	N	64	65	64	65	65	65

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).