

Religiosity and Modern Prejudice: Points of Convergence and Points of Departure

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ABSTRACT

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The current study examines the effect of religious orientation, social dominance orientation, right wing authoritarianism, and group socialization on the degree to which covert prejudice beliefs are endorsed. This study is novel in that individual and intergroup factors are simultaneously considered. Unlike much of the existing research, the study measures all six types of religious orientation for a nuanced examination of the different approaches to religion and the effect this has on attitude formation and maintenance. The study also demonstrates higher levels of generalizability in that questionnaires were distributed to a diverse sample and also considered many forms of discrimination (racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism). Additionally, relevant prejudice measures that better represent covert, modern day prejudice are used in the current study.

Social dominance orientation (SDO) was strongly and positively correlated with all four types of subtle prejudice. In hierarchical regression modeling, right wing authoritarianism was the strongest predictor variable for all prejudice outcome variables. SDO was the second strongest predictor for all variables except for benevolent sexism. Demographic and religious orientation predictors varied by prejudice outcome variable. Only immanence and intrinsic emerged as significant religious orientations predictors. Multiple regression models with only religious orientation predictors were also conducted to examine the relationship of each religious

orientation to each prejudice when the other religious orientations were held constant. Different trends for different prejudice attitudes were found for intrinsic and immanence orientations. Quest orientation was negatively correlated with prejudice and extrinsic religious orientation was positively correlated with prejudice for all prejudice outcome variables. Increasing intolerance with more indiscriminately pro- or anti-religious responding was not elicited. Instead a pattern of increasing pro-religiosity was related to higher prejudice scores. Progressive congregational factors correlated with lower colorblind racial attitudes, benevolent sexism, classism, and homonegativity among congregants.

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DEDICATION

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Chapter I

Introduction

“Blessed art thou, O God, for not making me a Gentile, a slave, or a woman.”

-ancient rabbinical prayer

The prayer above demonstrates the tenuous relationship often existing between religion and oppression. This prayer of thanksgiving for not being born with various oppressed identities was recited, often daily, by Jewish Rabbis (Meeks, 1974). Though reciting this prayer may be an act of gratitude, it also reflects the cycle of segregation, silencing, and disenfranchisement of the ethnic, gender, and class groups named in the prayer. Often the tenets that various world religions prescribe, such as goodwill towards others, having a gentle nature, and engaging in service, are overshadowed by the dominating actions of religious followers claiming to act in the name of the divine. In fact, historical examples of conquest and genocide spring to mind when considering religious motivations for oppression: the Crusades of the 11th and 12th centuries, the European colonization of North and South America, and the Nazi holocaust all are examples of bloodshed supposedly justified by the religious ideologies of the perpetrators. Ironically, religion has also been at the core of many transformative social justice organizations and related aid campaigns to fund orphanages, safe havens, medical missions, and disaster relief efforts. The YMCA, Salvation Army, St. Jude’s Children’s Hospital, and Habitat for Humanity are just a few of the many examples. Religious beliefs have been used, therefore, to provide both legitimizing ideologies for intolerance and motivation for progressive social change (Allport & Ross, 1967). Simply stated by Allport and Ross, religion both “makes” and “unmakes prejudice” (1967, p. 433)

Religion: An Important Identity

Given its potential as an organizing force for beliefs and values, religion represents an important aspect of identity for psychological study. People's worldviews and social/relational lives are highly influenced by the religious organizations to which they belong and/or the spiritual beliefs they hold. Religion serves as a way of making meaning and coping with stress. Zinnbauer, Pargament, and Scott (1999) found that religious and spiritual methods of coping can "help people conserve significance when threatened, or transform significance when necessary" (p. 913). Meaning can be conserved during incomprehensible events, and support from God can be particularly valuable to people searching for connectedness and a sense of control in life (Zinnbauer et al, 1999). Considering that meaning making and employing adaptive coping skills are common goals for therapy, forming an understanding of religion's role in the socio-emotional lives of individuals is an important endeavor for researchers, clinicians, and educators in the counseling psychology field. Furthermore, Lee, Rosen, and Burns (2013) suggested that research on religion could align well with the "intentions of counseling psychologists to address sociopolitical concerns" (p. 160). For psychologists that are religious themselves, research on religious identity may help in their quest to "know themselves" and become more multiculturally aware of their own and other values, morals, and beliefs. Religion may be an important aspect of identity for many clinicians as well as clients. Knowledge and awareness of one's own religious beliefs, ideologies, judgments, and other related attitudes are building blocks for multicultural competence along with skills (Sue, Carter, Casas, Fouad, Ivey, Jensen, LaFromboise, Manese, Ponterotto, Vazquez-Nutall, 1998).

The Relationship between Religiosity and Prejudice

Many researchers have already begun to grapple with the complicated question of how religion makes or unmakes prejudice. Indeed, the relationship between religiosity and bigoted attitudes is complex. Yet, it is an important relationship to explore regarding both awareness of our own beliefs and judgments as psychologists and as a way to understand clients and intergroup dynamics at play in society. There is a general trend in research on Christian religion that suggests that it does not seem to be the religious beliefs per se that are related to prejudice, but the role which those beliefs play in a person's life, along with individual personality factors, and group socialization factors (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). This does not necessarily mean that there is no relationship between beliefs and prejudice, but more likely means that other variables need to be considered above and beyond general religious identification questions. Researchers suggest that approaching this question from both an individual differences perspective and a group-based perspective may be especially important for understanding this phenomena. Just as factors unique to the individual such as personality and cognitive style contribute; religious groups, media, and other socialization experiences influence attitude formation as well. As Batson, Schoenrade, and Ventis state in their book *Religion and the Individual*, "The problem is that there are different ways of being religious." They go on to point out "our biases are usually not limited to *what* a person believes; they extend to *how* the person believes as well, that is, to how dominant religious beliefs are in the person's life" and furthermore "personal and institutional biases often underlie the distinctions." (Batson, Schoenrade, & Ventis, 1993, p. 155-157).

Theories such as homophily, social identity theory, and realistic group conflict theory can help researchers conceptualize intergroup bases of intolerance (Hunsberger & Jackson, 1999;

McPherson et al, 2001). However, even when group identities are highly salient, not all individuals in a particular group will express prejudice towards outgroups. Therefore, the individual differences become important for understanding the religiosity-prejudice relationship. Several studies have suggested that individuals who demonstrate prejudice and intolerance “have a rigid intolerant cognitive style” (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009, p. 2322). This rigid style has been found to manifest in various ways such as religious fundamentalism (RF) (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), right wing authoritarianism (RWA) (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), higher levels of social dominance orientation (SDO) (Sidanius & Pratto, 2004), and indiscriminately supporting or opposing religion (Allport & Ross, 1967). Another important individual difference is religious orientation, or “the inner experience of religion (what it means to the individual)” (Allport & Ross, 1967, p. 435). Several different types of religious orientation have been proposed: Intrinsic, Extrinsic, Indiscriminately Pro-Religious, Indiscriminately Anti-Religious, Quest, and Immanence Orientation. Allport and Ross considered religious orientation to be an informative way of understanding how religion may be connected to intolerant attitudes. They observed that: “to know that a person is in some sense “religious” is not as important as to know the role religion plays in the economy of his life” (p. 442). Overall, it is common for researchers to find stronger empirical evidence for an individual differences explanation for intolerance as compared to an intergroup explanation (e.g. Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003).

Targets of Prejudice

Another factor important in determining the particulars of the prejudice-religiosity relationship is the target of prejudice. In fact, a “simple tabulation of relationships [between religious orientation and prejudice] hides important trends for different targets of prejudice” (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005, p. 811). Therefore, measuring attitudes towards various target

groups is important for understanding the unique relationship between certain forms of prejudice and the various religious orientations. The different religious orientations have different associations with attitudes toward various marginalized populations such as: racial-ethnic minorities, women, people living in poverty, and sexual minorities. Therefore “the target of prejudice is important when considering prejudice-religious orientation relationships” (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005, p. 812)

The Current Study

The current study contributes to the literature by examining the effect of religious orientation, social dominance orientation, and actual group socialization on the degree to which covert prejudice beliefs are endorsed. This study is novel in that individual and intergroup factors are simultaneously considered. Unlike much of the existing research, the study measures all six types of religious orientation for a nuanced examination of the different approaches to religion and the effect this has on attitude formation and maintenance. The study also demonstrates higher levels of generalizability in that questionnaires were distributed amongst a diverse sample and also considered many forms of discrimination (racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism). It is important to include some less studied forms of prejudice so that we may learn about the interrelationships with those belief systems, as the current literature suggests that there are different trends for different –isms. The study of heterosexism remains sparser than the study of racism and sexism, and classism is largely unstudied in the religious orientation literature. Therefore, heterosexism and classism measures are included in the present study. Additionally, relevant prejudice measures that better represent covert, modern day prejudice are used in the current study.

Chapter II

Literature Review

Counseling psychology as a specialty has endorsed multiculturalism and social justice as central tenets of research, teaching, and practice. In recent years, culture has been defined and explored in terms of various aspects of identity such as race, ethnicity, gender identification, and sexual orientation (Sue, 2010). However, some cultural reference group memberships have received relatively little research attention. One of these is religious identification (Lee, Rosen, & Burns, 2013). Religion and spirituality are often important reservoirs of coping mechanisms, social support, and helpful frameworks for organizing and understanding the world and the human experience (Genia, 1996; Zinnbauer, Pargament, Cole, Rye, Butter, Belavich, Hipp, Scott, & Kadar, 1997). Also, religion (and in particular Protestantism) has played a foundational role in regards to norms, values, and moral standards emphasized in American society (Sears & Henry, 2003). Psychology as a field, having been developed within Western culture, is not immune to these influences of religion and spirituality (Sue, Arrendondo, and McDavis, 1992). Very little research has been conducted in the counseling psychology field regarding the nature of religiosity and various types of sociocultural injustice. Such research is important for uncovering the influence religious leanings may or may not have on intolerance, prejudice, and oppression.

This chapter will begin by profiling psychology's attention to issues of sociocultural identity and bias. Next, the lack of research on religion will be highlighted; followed by a presentation of the various ways that research on religion is indicated. This discussion will be followed by a presentation of methodological considerations, group-based theoretical approaches to studying religion, and individual difference approaches to the study of religion. Finally,

research on the various aspects of prejudice and their links to religiosity will be reviewed. Lastly, the current study will be presented.

Identity and Bias in Counseling Psychology

Census data over the last few years clearly shows that the population of the United States is becoming exponentially more diverse every year (Buttner, 2006). The American Psychological Association (APA) has acknowledged that this growth in the country's racial-ethnic diversity makes multicultural competence in practice, research, and training settings more important than ever (Fouad, Arredondo, D'Andrea, & Ivey, 2002). The APA states that "all individuals exist in social, political, historical, and economic contexts and psychologists are increasingly called upon to understand the influence of these contexts" (Fouad, Arredondo, D'Andrea, & Ivey, 2002). All too often, the cultural context in the United States has been one of disenfranchisement and marginalization for minorities and undeserved privilege for the majority, namely White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant men. The field of psychology has existed in this national context and has not been a safe haven from discrimination for many ethnic minorities, women, sexual minorities, as well as individuals in the working poor and people living in poverty. Recognizing this context is essential for psychologists to avoid perpetuating the history of silencing and discriminating in the therapy room and in research and training contexts.

Unconscious bias and the Multicultural Guidelines. The APA urges professionals to bring their unconscious biases to consciousness to become more effective therapists to clients from diverse backgrounds. The American Psychological Association invested 22 years in developing multicultural guidelines for psychologists. The document "Guidelines on Multicultural Education, Training, Research, Practice, and Organizational Change for Psychologists" was published in 2002. This document was the product of the work of Division 17

(Counseling Psychology) and Division 45 (The Society for the Psychological Study of Ethnic Minority Issues). There are six guidelines in total that correspond to “commitment to cultural awareness and knowledge of self and others” (Fouad, Arredondo, D’Andrea, & Ivey, 2002).

Guideline 1 encourages psychologists to “recognize that, as cultural beings, they may hold attitudes and beliefs that can detrimentally influence their perceptions of and interactions with individuals who are ethnically and racially different from themselves” (Fouad, Arredondo, D’Andrea, & Ivey, 2002). In keeping with this guideline, an integral part of training for future counselors should be to expose their prejudices and biases, implying that programs should make a focused effort to bring trainees’ biases from an unconscious state to a conscious state. Once recognized, these biases can be addressed by trainees throughout their development as counselors.

Multiculturalism in practice, training, and research. Guideline 2 encourages psychologists to “recognize the importance of multicultural sensitivity/responsiveness, knowledge, and understanding about ethnically and racially different individuals” (Fouad, Arredondo, D’Andrea, & Ivey, 2002). A conventional Eurocentric approach to counseling is no longer viewed as appropriate for all clients. Psychologists are encouraged to take the time to consider how their diverse client bases can best be served in culturally unique ways rather than expecting White, European-American norms from all clients. APA encourages professionals to have finely-tuned eyes and ears to biases so that they may use their sensitivity and knowledge to inform their actions. In the presence of prejudice, helping professionals should strive to carry out an appropriate response instead of turning a blind eye to their own and others’ prejudice.

Guideline 3 recognizes the importance of equipping aspiring mental health professionals with these competencies during training: “As educators, psychologists are encouraged to apply the constructs of multiculturalism and diversity in psychological education.” This third guideline

is important for the future of the field. Future generations of psychologists need to be taught the importance of multicultural competence in their work so they may avoid perpetuating the history of discrimination in the field of psychology. It will be in the hands of future professionals to strive towards more complete degrees of inclusion and understanding in the field.

Guideline 3 is essential for equipping future professionals to uphold Guidelines 4, 5, and 6 in their careers as researchers, practitioners, and organizational leaders. Guideline 4 regards research: “culturally sensitive psychological researchers are encouraged to recognize the importance of conducting culture-centered and ethical psychological research among persons from ethnic, linguistic and racial minority backgrounds.” Guideline 5 addresses practice: “Psychologists strive to apply culturally-appropriate skills in clinical and other applied psychological practices” and Guideline 6 regards organizational leadership: “Psychologists are encouraged to use organizational change processes to support culturally informed organization (policy) and development and practices” (Fouad, Arredondo, D’Andrea, & Ivey, 2002). A sound multicultural education provides the building blocks for future psychologists to contribute to the research body of knowledge on issues of race and culture, to execute culturally competent clinical interventions, and to inform social and organizational policy.

The Current State of Multicultural Research

Counseling psychologists have made explicit appeals for a focus on multicultural research. Such research has grown in volume and breadth since in the 1970’s, “addressing the need to develop multicultural awareness, knowledge, and skills” (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992, p.477). Before moving forward, it is important to consider the definition of “multicultural” itself. The APA guidelines listed prior focus on race and ethnicity, yet other social identities shape us in important ways and lead to other types of discrimination such as sexism, heterosexism, and

classism. Some professionals may consider a broader definition of culture than others. Sue and colleagues put it this way:

There are those who would like to define *culture* broadly to include race, ethnicity, class, affectional orientation, class, religion, sex, age, and so forth. As such, multicultural counseling would include not only racial and ethnic minorities, but also women, gays and lesbians, and other special populations... Those who hold his point of view acknowledge that to some extent all counseling is cross-cultural, but that the term can be defined so broadly that it dilutes the focus on racial and ethnic concerns” (Sue et al, 1992, p.478).

With these words, Sue and colleagues (1992) raised an important issue. Culture extends beyond simply one’s racial phenotype and ethnic heritage. We hold multiple identities such as gender, sexual orientation, and religion that shape us as cultural beings. However, such a broad definition of cultural can lead to shifting our attention away from race, an often uncomfortable and under-addressed issue in the United States. The concern raised by Sue, Arredondo, and McDavis (1992) is valid, in that the temptation to equate other aspects of identity as equally marginalizing as race could lead to devaluing or avoiding the profound effect of racial prejudice and discrimination in our society. Gaertner and Dovidio (2005) explained that modern, aversive racism grates against what many Americans wish was true about our country: that we are a land of equality. Gaertner and Dovidio explained aversive racism as the contemporary bias that reflects the “American Dilemma” meaning that there is a conflicting nature to the racial attitudes of Americans, especially White Americans. A juxtaposition of egalitarian values and racist traditions exists in the United States (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005). Therefore, citizens face a daily “tension between central principles of equality and fairness in the society and the daily operation of systemic prejudice and discrimination, at an individual and societal level” (Gaertner & Dovidio,

2005). This tension is what perpetuates racial inequalities and disparities despite the dream of equal opportunities that is so highly valued in American culture.

Therefore, Sue and colleagues offer appropriate caution against using a broad definition of “multicultural” as a means to shift attention away from research on the experience of racial minorities. However, they never suggest that other aspects of identity are unimportant and to be ignored. On the contrary, Sue, Arredondo, and McDavis go on to say “We believe that the ‘universal’ and ‘focused’ multicultural approaches are not necessarily contradictory” (1992, p.477) and acknowledge the importance of counselors, especially counselors belonging to the cultural majority, to “know thyself” so they can “check biases and stereotypes” (p.481). Counseling itself is a “potentially biased system” and graduate programs have a history of presenting “a predominately White Anglo-Saxon Protestant orientation” (p.480) therefore, culturally skilled counselors make an effort to explore how their own cultural background and even their own training have led them to hold certain values, beliefs, and assumptions about healthy human behavior.

Facets of identity in the literature. Not surprisingly, research on racial and ethnic minority concerns has increased greatly in the 1990’s and 2000’s since the calls of psychologists such as Sue, Arredondo, and McDavis. An interesting content analysis was conducted by Lee, Rosen, and Burns in which they examined all multicultural research published from 1954 to 2009 in *The Journal of Counseling Psychology*, an APA journal that is considered a standard bearer in the field. This came to a total of 3,717 articles. The content analysis was a way of taking stock of the multicultural focus in the counseling psychology field over the past half century (Lee, Rosen, & Burns, 2013). In their study, they use what Sue, Arredondo and McDavis (1992) referred to as the “broad” definition of “multicultural” including: race/ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual

orientation, social status, disability, age, and intersection of identities. Lee and colleagues looked at the published research by identity and the decade published. Their self-stated purpose was to allow the field to “evaluate whether the research studies being published reflect the broader interests and values of the profession” (p.154). They found that “gender/sex was the most prevalent multicultural identity” studied, “followed by race/ethnicity” (Lee, 2013, p.154). The authors went on to state that it is “necessary to ascertain which aspects of multicultural identities may be in need of further development and attention in counseling psychology” (p. 155).

In general, they concluded that 32% of all articles published in *JCP* were multicultural in focus, beginning at 16% of articles in the 1950’s, jumping up to 57% in the 2000’s. Of these articles, half focused on gender, next came studies on race, ethnicity, and identity intersection, and “substantially less attention has been paid to sexual orientation, disability, religion, and social class” (2013, p.157). This is most starkly observed in the total *n* reported for each type of identity. 521 articles were found on gender, 227 on race/ethnicity, 213 on intersections, and 133 on age (p.158). There is a drastic drop in the number of articles for the remaining identities: 31 for sexual orientation, 30 for religion, 30 for disability, and 17 for social class (p.159). Lee and colleagues then give a picture of what directions multicultural research may be heading. Even though, overall, gender has received the most attention, it seems that research focused on gender peaked in the 70s and 80s, and racial-ethnic studies increased in the 1980’s after leaders in the field began calling for this type of research. A similar increase in sexual orientation research was seen after calls for this type of research in the 1990’s. The authors stated: “we anticipate this same trend might occur for the recent calls for more research in the areas of social class and disability” (p.157).

The Dearth of Research on Religion

A content analysis by Lee, Rosen, and Burns showed how seldom religion has been a focus in the *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, a forefront journal in counseling psychology. Broken down by decade, 7 articles on religion were published in the 1950's, 8 in the 1960's, 3 in the 70's, 5 in the 80's, 3 in the 90's, and 4 in the 2000's (Lee et al, 2013, p.159). Based on these numbers alone, there seems little reason to believe that research on religion is on the upswing in the counseling psychology literature. However, Lee and colleagues stated:

Religion and spirituality are increasingly recognized by researchers as well as funding agencies as critical contributors to individuals' mental health and well-being. Given past efforts and current intentions of counseling psychologists to address sociopolitical concerns, we suspect that more research will be conducted in these areas. (p.160)

More specifically, Lee and colleagues examined the types of research being conducted within each identity. Surprisingly, not a single article was published in *JCP* on religion and discrimination between 1954 and 2009. Only 3 articles were published about differences between religious and non-religious individuals (Lee et al, 2013). Considering the growing attention on multicultural issues, discrimination, prejudice, and social justice issues, this is a surprisingly untapped area in the literature. These are important topics that could inform counseling psychologists on the nature of discrimination and prejudice in the United States, and the role religion may play in modern prejudice.

The Importance of Examining Religion

Role of religion at the individual level. Definitions of religiousness and spirituality highlight what an important role these identities can play in the life on an individual. Definitions of religiousness have ranged from "subscription to institutionalized beliefs or doctrines, to 'a

system of beliefs in a divine or superhuman power, and practices of worship or other rituals directed towards such a power' to 'the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine'" (Zinnbauer, Pargament, Cole, Rye, Butter Belavich, Hipp, Scott, & Kadar, 1997). Definitions of spirituality include "the human response to God's gracious call to a relationship with himself, a subjective experience of the sacred, and that vast realm of human potential dealing with ultimate purposes, with higher entities, with God, with love, with compassion, with purpose" (Zinnbauer et al, 1997). Though, the definitions are diverse, they show the importance these constructs can play in the lives of people who consider themselves to be religious and/or spiritual. Religion can be an organizing force for one's beliefs and values, play a large role in creating one's worldview, and can also organize one's social/relational life if the individual belongs to a religious organization or spiritual group. Considering the impactful presence religion can have in people's lives, it makes sense that it would be a point of interest for researchers, clinicians, and educators in the psychology field.

Religion and spirituality can also serve as a way of making meaning and also coping with stressful life events. Zinnbauer, Pargament, and Scott examined emerging meanings of religiousness and spirituality and also current trends in religion. They concluded religious and spiritual methods of coping can "help people conserve significance when threatened, or transform significance when necessary" (Zinnbauer et al, 1999, p.913). Meaning can be conserved during incomprehensible events, (such as God's will or an opportunity for spiritual growth) and support from God in coping are particularly valuable to people searching for connectedness and control in life (Zinnbauer et al, 1999). Considering that meaning making and employing strategies for

healthy coping are common goals for psychotherapy, forming an understanding of religion's role in these processes is an important endeavor for mental health professionals.

Role of religion at the sociopolitical level. Individual considerations aside, there are important sociopolitical reasons to examine religion. As Lee, Rosen, and Burns suggest, research on religion would fall in line with “intentions of counseling psychologists to address sociopolitical concerns” (2013, p. 160). For psychologists that are religious themselves, research on religious identity may help in their quest to ‘know themselves’ and become more multiculturally aware of their own and others values, morals, and beliefs. This would expand awareness in ways that the APA guidelines and Sue and colleagues’ encourage for the field of psychology (1992). Knowledge and awareness are building blocks for multicultural competence along with skills (Sue, Carter, Casas, Fouad, Ivey, Jensen, LaFromboise, Manese, Ponterotto, Vazquez-Nutall, 1998). Skills taught in counseling programs and the theoretical/philosophical foundations of the psychology field that are taught in graduate programs may also be perpetuating a lack of concern or lack of self-examination regarding religion because a majority of counseling programs give minimal to no attention to religion (Burke, Hackney, Hudson, Miranti, Watts, & Epp, 1999). More generally speaking, the psychology field has in overt and insidious ways rewarded White Anglo-Saxon Protestant ways of thinking, traditions, and values; and has pathologized ways of being that are considered ‘other.’ Multicultural research focusing on religion could be a way of illuminating the Protestant values embedded in the field. It is very possible, that even nonreligious mental health professionals have internalized Protestant values such as rugged individualism and the Protestant work ethic, and maybe oppressively so, in their work with clients, students, and research participants. More research on religion and emphasis on

religion during the training of mental health professionals could shed light on how these values operate on the individual, group, and societal level.

Common religions in the United States such as Protestantism and Catholicism have been integral in forming what society at large considers valuable, normative, and meaningful. Counseling, as a field is located in this societal context and according to Sue, Arredondo, and McDavis, “Another important factor that we need to recognize is that the profession of counseling, oftentimes, reflects the values of the larger society” (Sue et al, 1992, p.479). There are important multicultural considerations in light of these ‘normative values’ as they are often used as bases for judgment, bias, and discrimination when majority groups see minority groups as opposing ‘traditional values.’ For instance, according to Sears and Henry “Symbolic racism has also been said to originate in...a conservative ‘moral Protestantism’...specific Protestant virtues...individualism, hard work, and self reliance” (Sears & Henry, 2003, p.261). “The belief that hard work brings success” has profound shaped the meaning of success in American society and is a premise that allows many people to conclude that unsuccessful people are to be blamed for their circumstances (p.261). Such thinking allows people to ignore or to fail to notice structural causes for inequality (Hinojosa & Park, 2004). Christian values have also been used to justify sexism, heteronormativity, and homophobia, (Burn & Busso, 2005; Maltby, Hall, Anderson, Edwards, 2010; Fallon, Dobmeier, Reiner, Casquarelli, Giglia, & Goodwin, 2013).

Examining religion in training settings. Burke, Hackney, Hudson, Miranti, Watts, and Epp conducted a survey of the general population, counselors, and counselor educators to inform their recommendations to the CACREP (Council for Accreditation of Counseling and Related Educational Programs) curriculum (Burke, Hackney, Hudson, Miranti, Watts, & Epp, 1999). Burke and colleagues found that “spiritual issues are therapeutically relevant, ethically

appropriate, and potentially significant topics for counseling and counselor education in secular settings” and they advocated for “a balanced, thoughtful inclusions of these topics” in the curriculum (Burke et al, 1999, p.251). The authors recognize that counselors who ignore the religious beliefs of their clients may “jeopardize the forming of an effective therapeutic relationship and close the door to potentially pertinent intervention techniques” (p.251). Many counselors and counselor educators stated in the survey that religion and spirituality were important training topics to them, however only about 25% of programs included a religion/spirituality course component (Burke et al, 1999). How can this be the case? Burke and colleagues go on to comment on the ambivalent relationship between psychology and religion and the difficulties of including religion and spirituality in training courses:

The instructional challenge is to balance respect for religious diversity with a sense of spirituality that evokes an appreciation of common, life-enhancing themes, without allowing religious dogma to become a rationalization for unethical and dehumanizing behavior (e.g. subordination of women, repression of gays and lesbians, promotion of antiscientific beliefs) (p. 253).

Burke and colleagues present with striking clarity, the hesitance of the psychology field to include religion and spirituality as a focus of training and research. How can religious beliefs be used in an edifying way to maximize human understanding and appreciation of life and avoid further marginalization? Many religions include exclusive language, hierarchical structures, and ideologies that have been wielded to perpetuate injustice in the name of righteousness. Religious individuals and groups can actively discriminate or hold silent prejudices, based on their beliefs.

Hinojosa and Park call for more of a focus on religion in order to further our understanding of racism in particular: “although much has been written about the formation of

racial attitudes, this literature largely ignores the role of religion” (2004, p. 229). Religion plays an important part in identity and values formation and likely also plays a role in the formation of racial, gender, class, and sexuality attitudes. The excerpt from Burke and colleagues also shows the recognition that there exists both helpful and detrimental ways in which client and counselor religious identities can interact. Later on in the article, they state, “counselors do not condone or engage in discrimination based on religion, actively attempt to understand diverse cultural backgrounds of clients...and learn how the counselors own...identity impacts his/her values and beliefs about the counseling process” (p.255). Therefore, I propose that if counseling psychologists have a better understanding of the relationship between prejudice and religion, they may better understand how their own religious values may or may not be related to biases they personally hold, may better understand how religiosity functions in the lives of their clients, and may be less hesitant to incorporate religion and spirituality in their work.

Shortcomings of General Religiosity Questions

A trend has emerged in the literature wherein the implications of religiosity are measured: general questions about religious beliefs seem to fall short of helping us understand the relationship between religion and other important intrapsychic and intergroup variables. Surprisingly, even specific questions about religious affiliation and even behavior (such as church attendance, prayer, and meditation) do little to paint the picture of religiosity’s relationship with various forms of prejudice (such as racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia). Hunsberger and Jackson put it this way: “General findings of little or no relationship between Christian *beliefs* and racial/ethnic intolerance is consistent with some North American research” (2005, p.813). However, this does not necessarily mean that there is no relationship, but more likely that other variables need to be considered above and beyond general questions about religiosity, like the

single-item assessments of religious identity that are often used. “Simply ‘being religious’ or ‘going to church’ were oversimplified ways of measuring religiousness” according to Hunsberger and Jackson (pg. 809).

One example of the shortcomings of general questions about religiosity is a correlational study conducted by Hinojosa and Park in 2004. They examined the trends between race, religious affiliation, sex, age, and region of residence (southern or non-southern) with the likelihood of endorsing individual explanations for racial inequality or structural explanations for inequality. They found that the church attendance variable was “strangely not significant” in their models (Hinojosa & Park, 2004, p.236). The authors restate their surprise at this result several times in the manuscript because of “the power this variable so often exerts” (p. 236). They expected to see a relation between “religious beliefs [that] are forming attitudes toward racial inequality” and the “tradition to best exhibit it” (p.236). They state that researchers need to take a different approach: “one approach is to better operationalize religiosity” and suggest other measures that that may better capture the relationship such as “participation in church activities outside of attendance (committees, service, etc.), membership in a congregation, and financial contributions to the church/synagogue” (p.236).

However, church participation and service also do not completely clarify the relationship between religion and prejudice. Hunsberger and Plantonow investigated the relationship between religiosity and volunteering to do service work with charitable organizations. They found no correlation between service in church and service outside of church with secular organizations, suggesting that a helping orientation in religious contexts may not be predictive of general helping behavior (Hunsberger & Plantonow, 1985). They go on to suggest that service involvement in church settings may have more to do with preserving one’s sense of belonging to

the religious group than demonstrating goodwill towards outgroups. Therefore, there has not been much empirical support to suggest that measures regarding church service involvement help us understand how prejudice functions in religious individuals.

Church attendance is a variable that deserves some attention. Church attendance generally does little to help us understand the relationship between religiosity and prejudice, as the relationship does not appear to be a simple, linear one. Allport and Ross conducted a pivotal study in 1967 in which they examined the way in which many people are religious and their responses to self-report measures of overt prejudice (Allport & Ross, 1967). When examining the relationship between church attendance and the prejudice measures, they found a curvilinear relationship. They found that church attenders appeared to be, in general, more prejudiced than non-attenders. However, when they examined the relationship more closely, they found that “frequent attenders are less prejudiced than infrequent attenders and often less prejudiced even than non-attenders” (p.433). ‘Frequent attenders’ refers to “those devotees who managed to attend 11 or more times a month” (p.433). Their study was not the only one to have such results. In fact several studies “indicate that church attendance oftener than once a week is especially significant” (p. 434). The curvilinear association between church attendance and prejudice shows that the relationship between religion and intolerance is not a simple one, but a complex system of individual traits, attitudes and beliefs occurring in a social context.

Many aspects of the individual and the individual’s religious socialization should be considered to better understand what factors are at work in the religion-prejudice relationship. Batson and colleagues summarize both social sources and individual development sources of personal religion in their book *Religion and the Individual*. Religious beliefs are both “a product of social influence” (p. 25) and dependent on the individual’s unique cognitive and moral

development, and their individual levels of conforming to social influence (Batson, Schoenrade, & Ventis, 1993).

Religion: The Intergroup Relations Perspective

There are several perspectives from which we could evaluate religion and its relationship to prejudice. Hunsberger and Jackson proposed “four levels of meaning associated with religion” which “may both promote and attenuate prejudice” and they are “cognitive, motivational, societal, and intergroup” (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005, p. 807). Cognitive and motivational levels of meaning are located within the individual. Individual factors related to prejudice will be considered later.

Societal and intergroup attitudes are important to consider because they encompass “many domains of experience, such as stereotypes, emotional responses to groups, and symbolic beliefs (beliefs that a group threatens or promotes one’s values)” (2005, pg. 808). Many religious groups in particular may profess goodwill towards all people but also consciously or unconsciously support stereotypes. Religious groups may be prone to holding “affectionate yet paternalistic attitudes toward underprivileged groups [that] often justify and support inequality” (pg. 808).

The principle of homophily. People often tend to seek out others that are similar to themselves. This is called “the homophily principle” (McPherson et al., 2001). The colloquial phrase often associated with this concept is “birds of a feather flock together” (McPherson et al, 2001). Initial studies on homophily showed that social groups form by demographic variables such as race, age, and sex and also by psychological variables such as intelligence, attitudes, and aspirations. McPherson and colleagues found that the demographic variables are the strongest predictor of homophily today and race stood out as the most divisive variable in terms of how social networks remain separated (McPherson, et al., 2001). According to the theory of

homophily, people may not seek out intergroup experiences unless they are encouraged to do so (McPherson et al, 2001).

Unsurprisingly, one arena in which we can see the principle of homophily at work is in religious organizations. Yancy and Kim (2008) did a study in which they used the Lilly Survey of Congregations to examine the differences between multiracial and non-multiracial churches in terms of socioeconomic diversity, and female leadership. In their article, they set the stage for the results by talking about the phenomenon of homophily as it may play out in church congregations:

In the United States there is social distance between individuals of different SES and between members of different races. Thus, Americans generally live in neighborhoods with those similar in race/class and marry within their own race/class. It is reasonable to assume that if churches have to make institutional accommodations to become racially diverse then they also have to make organizational adjustments to attract individuals of different levels of SES. Whether churches that make such accommodations are any less classist is debatable; however, clearly, churches with SES diversity are distinctive in their approach to attracting people of different classes. (p. 104)

Their results supported this theory as multiracial churches also tended to have SES diversity. However, there is less social distancing between the sexes in the United States. “Scholars have suggested that issues of women’s leadership help assess sexism in religious organizations” (p. 104). Therefore, Yancy and Kim used female leadership in the church to assess sexism and found that it did not correlate with SES and racial diversity. Instead, a suppressor variable of theology was found to influence this relationship. As expected, conservative churches tended to have less female leadership than theologically progressive churches. However, progressive multiracial churches had more female leadership than

progressive non-multiracial churches and “a multiracial environment intensifies the positive relationship of conservative theology and traditional gender roles” as conservative multiracial churches had less female leadership than conservative non-multiracial churches (p. 107).

The Yancy and Kim study shows that it is important to consider different types of prejudice when looking at the effect of religiosity on prejudice, as gender equality was treated differently by many churches that made an effort to accommodate racial and SES diversity. Additionally, this study shows the importance, not only of assessing individual factors to predict prejudice, but also the socialization effects of a group. The church is a particularly important group for socialization amongst religious individuals, and also for researchers to investigate as the church plays a major role in socializing individuals’ spiritual beliefs and beliefs about outgroups.

Social identity and realistic group conflict theories. Social identity theory, as defined by Hunsberger and Jackson, is when “people who identify with a group with which they affiliate often evidence more favorable attitudes toward in-group than out-group members because so doing enhances their collective self-esteem” (1999, p. 511). This suggests that negative attitudes are formed with the function of making one feel better about themselves by using downward comparisons, as “stereotyping outgroup members in negative ways could serve this esteem-enhancing function” (p. 511).

In 2000, Burriss and Jackson conducted a study in which they primed individuals’ religious group identity and examined their participants’ efforts to meet positive ingroup stereotypes and express negative attitudes toward outgroups in an effort to bolster their self-esteem. They specifically investigated this relationship with participants who expressed a high degree of identification with their religious group because “when a self-categorization becomes salient the individual’s self-perception becomes ‘depersonalized’. That is, the individual perceives him- or

herself as embodying the characteristics deemed typical of members of that social group...group stereotypes are usually positive” (p.258). They also examined a group of less identified individuals because “less identified individuals, in contrast, typically distance themselves from the group” (p.258). They found that highly identified individuals made an effort to exemplify positive group stereotypes and hide when they did not meet the expected degree of the group stereotype (which, in this study, was the positive stereotype of helpfulness). Highly identified individuals even considered neutral traits that were not important to their ingroup (such as independence) as even less important to themselves after receiving false feedback that they did not meet the average level of the positive group stereotype. The same behavior was not seen in less identified individuals (Burriss & Jackson, 2000). Therefore it appears that highly identified individuals make it a priority to meet the group expectations, standards, and stereotypes. They consider other values and qualities that are not deemed important by their ingroup to be less important to themselves. Considering that outgroups may hold different values as central and important, prejudice may result “from the motivation to evaluate out-groups in a negative fashion relative to one’s in-group, thereby enhancing personal self-esteem” (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003, p. 626).

A similar theory is Realistic Group Conflict Theory. Considering that group values and customs differ, group members may further interpret this difference as negative or even as creating competition. According to Realistic Group Conflict Theory, “prejudice and intergroup tension are exacerbated when groups are, or perceive themselves to be, in conflict with other groups for valued resources such as money or power” (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999, p.510). Additionally, groups may perceive themselves to be in direct competition with each other over

immaterial things or “symbolic resources,” like political representation, and “negative attitudes toward outgroups can be exacerbated” (p. 510).

For example, in the case of symbolic racism, Whites may perceive Blacks to be in conflict with certain values held dear, such as individualism. Sears and Henry examined the role that symbolic racism plays in the American political system in their 2003 study by examining the constructs of symbolic racism, anti-Black affect, and attitudes about Blacks’ level of individualism. Sears and Henry claim that “Symbolic racism is the contemporary political belief system that glues prejudice to conservatism and is itself politically potent” (p. 271). Their findings suggested that “symbolic racism is psychologically grounded to a significant degree in a racialized individualism, a concern that Blacks do not live up to conventional individualistic values” (p.272). When considering how racialized issues might be effectively worked through, the researchers offer this suggestion: “demoralize racial issues, framing them instead as just another case of conflicting group interests, promoting ordinary political negotiations and compromises” (p. 273). They state that such issues have been “sucked into the quicksand of enduring racial animosities” which cannot be tamed by “simple bargaining” (p.273). However Realistic Group Conflict Theory is helpful for creating a cohesive narrative explaining how these conflicting group interests may turn into animosities. If groups see their values in competition with one another, they may experience their values to be threatened and become hostile towards those who hold differing values. Seeing the possibility for different values and beliefs to coexist without threat is, therefore, an essential part of tolerance creation.

Religion: The Individual Difference Perspective

Thus far, theories that are relevant to religion and that posit intergroup explanations for the existence of prejudice have been reviewed. The discussion now turns to a different and

empirically validated perspective: that of individual differences. The individual difference perspective recognizes the reality that not all individuals, even highly group-identified, conservative, religious individuals are prejudiced toward or intolerant of other groups. Even when group identity is highly salient, not all individuals express prejudice towards outgroups.

Researchers Heaven and St. Quintin (2003) wanted to investigate the contributions of social group identification and individual personality differences to religious individuals' desire to meet ingroup positive stereotypes. They stated that "support for the view that personality factors are unrelated to prejudice when group identity is salient has received mixed support...personality influences may not be that easily 'switched on' or 'switched off'" as suggested by social identity theory (2003, p.627). In fact, they found individual differences in personality accounted more for the differences in behavior observed in their participants as "prejudiced individuals were found to be less group-normative than predicted" and they go on to claim their "results offer strong support for the individual difference explanations of prejudice" (2003, p. 632).

Indeed, the intergroup relations perspectives are limited in that they tend to oversimplify the attitudes of individuals, because attitudes are expected to be similar for all individuals in a group. Jackson and Hunsberger considered this in the case of intergroup dynamics between religions: "Intergroup perspectives suggest that prejudice against religious outgroup members is likely to exist among all people who identify with their religious group (e.g. people with any traditional form of religiosity)" (1999, p. 511). However, they found this not to be the case. Instead, an authoritarian personality style and the different roles that religion played in individuals' lives account for much more of the differences in prejudice than simply religious group identification

Therefore, it appears that the “influence of personality traits and group identities on prejudice is more complex” than suggested by the various group relations theories. (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003, p.633). It may be possible the individuals who demonstrate prejudice against a group may be different from their more tolerant group members in certain ways. Much empirical research has been aimed at this very idea, and many studies have been conducted in an effort to identify the particular individual characteristics that correlate with prejudice. One tendency found across several studies is that individuals who demonstrate prejudice and intolerance “have a rigid intolerant cognitive style” (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009, p. 2322). This rigid style has been found to manifest in various ways such as religious fundamentalism (RF) (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), right wing authoritarianism (RWA) (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), higher levels of social dominance orientation (SDO) (Sidanius & Pratto, 2004), and indiscriminately supporting or opposing religion (Allport & Ross, 1967). In fact, it is common for researchers to find stronger empirical evidence for an individual differences explanation for intolerance as compared to an intergroup explanation, as in the case of Heaven and St. Quintin’s conclusions: “The data presented here suggest that most day-to-day encounters with out-group members are much more likely to be determined by one’s personal levels of RWA and SDO” (p.633).

In summary, the individual-difference perspective holds the empirically supported assumption that “animosity between people of different religious persuasions exists only among a subgroup of religious individuals” because all people in a group do not show equal or sometimes any prejudice attitudes (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999, p.510). Thus, if we apply this individual perspective in the case of religious persons’ prejudice, we may expect to find “that religion per se is not the problem; rather, the difficulty is with the way in which some people are religious” (p. 510). In the following sections, various individual factors emerging in the literature as predictors

of prejudice attitudes will be presented. The focus is on those individual factors which seem to be predictors amongst religious individuals in particular.

Religious fundamentalism. Religious fundamentalism (RF) can be defined as “the belief that there is one set of religious teachings that clearly contains the fundamental, basic, intrinsic, essential, inerrant truth about humanity and deity” (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992, p.118). The key word in this definition is “one.” Altemeyer and Hunsberger’s definition is particularly clear because it communicates the high level of rigidity, inflexibility, and orthodoxy that is frequently found in the beliefs, attitudes, and interpersonal style of highly fundamentalist individuals. However, “orthodoxy itself tended not to be correlated with prejudice” (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992, p.113) and has even negatively correlated with prejudice (Laythe, Finkel, Bringle, & Kirkpatrick, 2002). It is not Christian orthodoxy, but rather higher levels of fundamentalism that has positively correlated with explicit and implicit prejudice of many different target groups across several studies (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Laythe, Finkel, Bringle, & Kirkpatrick, 2002; Rowatt & Lewis, 2009). As noted earlier, religious fundamentalism is one way in which a cognitive inflexibility can manifest. Hunsberger and Jackson described this rigidity in their 2005 article in the following manner:

High fundamentalists tend to think “convergently,” thereby being more likely to incorporate information or doubts into their existing religious schema, bolstering the original beliefs. Low fundamentalists, in contrast, seemed more likely to deal with critical religious questions or new information by adapting or changing their religious beliefs. (p.815)

Prejudice scores “toward a wide variety of minority groups” are correlated with religious fundamentalism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992, p.113). More specifically, fundamentalism is

“particularly predictive of outgroup derogation, in that orthodoxy is uniquely related to both outgroup derogation and ingroup favouritism” (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999, p.515).

Fundamentalism has been found to correlate negatively with education level, though this correlation is relatively weak, and therefore the level of fundamentalism drops very minimally when education level is controlled. Church attendance tends to correlate ($r = 0.65$) with fundamentalism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) and so does right-wing authoritarianism, intolerance, and discriminatory attitudes (Genia, 1996). The concept of religious fundamentalism is important to consider when examining prejudice as it relates to religiosity, as it has recently shown some promise in explaining Allport and Ross’s (1967) observation that religion seems to both make and unmake prejudice. Therefore, from an individual differences perspective, fundamentalism appears to contribute to explaining different levels of intolerance among individuals with similar beliefs. One way to think about this is that the content of a belief system, the orthodoxy of a religion, may play less of a role in determining prejudiced attitudes than the structure of that belief system. An individual holding the content of their beliefs in an inflexible, fundamentalist structure, may be more prejudiced than the average person holding those beliefs (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Empirical results support this idea, in that fundamentalism scales have been stronger predictors of discrimination than Christian orthodoxy scales (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) and “fundamentalism is a stronger predictor than religiosity in discriminatory attitudes toward women” (Burn & Busso, 2005, p. 412). However, religious fundamentalism may be more closely related to some forms of prejudice compared to others. For example, Hunsberger and Jackson found in their content analysis of religiosity studies that “RF was consistently related to increased prejudice against gay/lesbian persons, women, Communists,

and religious outgroups, as well as authoritarianism, but its relationship with racial/ethnic intolerance is less clear-cut” (Hunsberger, Jackson, 2005, p.812).

Right wing authoritarianism. Right wing authoritarianism is a construct closely related to prejudice in religious samples, and is closely linked to fundamentalism (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). In fact, some researchers have used subscales of authoritarianism to measure fundamentalism instead of a specialized fundamentalism scale. Adorno and colleagues developed the authoritarian personality theory, which attempts to explain the relationship between personality and prejudice. According to their theory, authoritarianism “focuses on adherence to social norms, disdain for norm violators, and uncritical adherence to authority,” as well as opposing tolerance to difference (Aosved, Long, & Voller 2009, p. 2323). People who have a fundamentalist approach to religion share right-wing authoritarian personality dynamics (Jackson, & Hunsberger, 1999) in that they also report “less doubt about religious teachings, more interest in religion...more agreement with parental religious teachings” and “higher frequency of church attendance” (Hunsberger, 1989, p.362). Sidanius, Pratto van Laar, & Levin regard authoritarianism as “a pathological state of mind and a complex set of ego-defensive mechanisms designed to protect the individual from feelings of inadequacy and almost existential anxiety” (2004, p. 858).

There are three components of right wing authoritarianism, which are RWA aggression, RWA submission, and RWA conventionalism; with conventionalism being the construct sometimes used to approximate fundamentalism (Shen, Haggard, & Rowatt, 2013). Shen and colleagues define RWA aggression as “engaging in punitive behaviors toward ‘evildoers,’” RWA submission as “the belief that all legitimate authorities should be obeyed,” and RWA conventionalism, “a component most closely related to RF” as an adherence to traditional,

orthodox teachings (Shen et al, 2013, p. 2). RWA has a complex relationship to prejudice in that each component of RWA is more closely associated with specific types of prejudice over other types. RWA aggression and submission are most strongly associated with racial prejudice; while conventionalism is most strongly associated with value-violating (groups that go against fundamentalist beliefs such as religious outgroups, and sexual minorities) prejudice. These patterns have been demonstrated in both United States and Australian samples (Shen, 2013).

Authoritarians tend to be: exposed to religion in childhood, submissive to family, religious, and government authorities (even accepting unjust and illegal acts committed by authorities), loyal to childhood religion in adulthood, undoubtful about their religion, hostile toward ‘outsiders’ or ‘sinners,’ strict about rules of ‘proper behavior’, and highly punitive. Authoritarians are more likely to express double standards in thinking such as objecting to left wing abuse of power, but supporting right wing abuse of power. They also tend to see themselves as ‘rugged individualists’ despite showing more susceptibility to being swayed by normative pressure, and attend church, pray, and read scripture more often than non-authoritarians (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). The last trend is especially interesting and should be considered when attempting to measure religiosity. Researchers have suggested that including measures of church attendance and of religious activity, such as prayer and scripture reading, could provide a more complete picture of the degree and nature of an individual’s religiosity (Hinojosa & Park, 2004). However, such measures may only help researchers discover authoritarian trends, as higher levels of conformity to sanctioned religious group practices would likely correlate with higher RWA. Therefore, information about how much a person engages in religious activities may serve to highlight aspects of personality as opposed to developing a full understanding of the role religion plays in an individual’s life.

Right-wing authoritarian personality dynamics can promote animosity toward many different outgroups (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999) and this tends to manifest in the following group trends: “persons with no affiliation, and Jews, scored lowest on the RWA scale, whereas Mennonites and ‘Fundamentalists’ (mainly Baptists, but also Jehovah’s Witnesses, Salvation Army, Evangelical, and Pentecostal) scored highest”(Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992, p.124). In North America, research has shown that high RWAs “dislike Blacks, Hispanics, homosexuals, feminists, aboriginals, East Indians, Japanese, Chinese, Pakistanis, Filipinos, Africans, Jews *and* Arabs” (p.115). More generally, Laythe and colleagues found authoritarianism to be positively correlated with both ethnic prejudice and prejudice against gays and lesbians when controlling for fundamentalism and orthodoxy (Laythe et al., 2002). The association of right-wing authoritarianism with racial prejudice can even be observed on the implicit level, as Rowatt and Lewis did by using Implicit Association Tests (IATs). In multiple regression analyses, they found right wing authoritarianism related to longer completion times on a race IAT test in which participants paired racial minorities with pleasant associations. Participants higher on RWA associated racial minorities with unpleasant associations more readily than with pleasant associations (Rowatt & Lewis, 2009).

Religious orientation. Empirical studies examining individual differences point to a relationship between belief and personality traits that helps us understand the religiosity-prejudice relationship. Knowing an individual’s religious beliefs alone, does not assist in predicting prejudice very much. The role those beliefs play in the life of the individual and how those beliefs interact with the person’s unique cognitive and affective styles gives us more information. Hunsberger and Platanow claimed in 1985 that it “seems to be religious *orientation* rather than orthodoxy that is relevant” (p.527).

Religious orientation is, according to Allport and Ross, “the inner experience of religion (what it means to the individual)” and is “an important causal factor in developing a tolerant or a prejudiced outlook on life” (1967, p. 435). There are many different types of religious orientation, six of which have been demonstrated in the literature. These orientations are: Intrinsic, Extrinsic, Indiscriminately Pro-Religious, Indiscriminately Anti-Religious, Quest, and Immanence Orientation. Allport and Ross considered religious orientation to be an informative way of understanding how religion may be connected to intolerant attitudes; much more so than the belief system alone: “to know that a person is in some sense “religious” is not as important as to know the role religion plays in the economy of his life” (p. 442).

Religious orientation measures allow researchers to investigate the nature of individuals’ religiosity, not simply the degree to which individuals identify as religious or merely which religious tradition they consider themselves to be a part of. The “intergroup perspectives suggest that prejudice against religious outgroup members is likely to exist among all people who identify with their religious group (e.g. people with any traditional form of religiosity),” which is a limited approach that only allows researchers to look at broad trends across different social groups, “whereas the individual-difference perspective would seem to suggest that, even among the religiously identified, prejudice is moderated by personal religious orientation” (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999, p. 511).

Religious orientation may have a nuanced, complex relationship with prejudice in that different religious orientations have unique relationships with various forms of prejudice and discrimination. In fact, a “simple tabulation of relationships [between religious orientation and prejudice] hides important trends for different targets of prejudice” (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005, p. 811). Therefore, it is important to use instruments that measure attitudes towards various target

groups so that different types of prejudice can be isolated and their relationships with the different religious orientations in order to begin to understand the influences that different religious attitudes, approaches, and styles can have on attitudes toward marginalized populations such as racial-ethnic minorities, women, people living in poverty, and sexual minorities. According to Hunsberger and Jackson, “the target of prejudice is important when considering prejudice-religious orientation relationships” (2005, p.812) because the strength and/or direction of the relationship between prejudice and religiosity can change depending on religious orientation.

Intrinsic. Intrinsic religiosity was one of the first religious orientations to surface in the literature. Intrinsically religious individuals are thought to be constant, devout, traditional, and have internalized their beliefs. Religion is pursued as a meaningful end goal, not as a means to an end (i.e., personal benefit, social reward, etc). Allport and Ross defined intrinsic religiosity as “having embraced a creed, the individual endeavors to internalize it and follow it fully. It is in this sense that he *lives* his religion” (1967, p. 434). Intrinsically religious individuals tend to feel very identified with the group, and may present as somewhat fundamentalist (though this is hardly always the case), and being highly identified, they “are aware of that group’s (positive) stereotype, and are motivated to adjust themselves to exemplify that stereotype (e.g. in domains such as helpfulness)” (Burriss Jackson, 2000). Intrinsic motivation is correlated with scores on the Christian orthodoxy scale and intentions to help others, such as volunteering. However, there is not a demonstrated higher level of actual voluntarism amongst intrinsics (Hunsberger & Platonow, 1985). Intrinsic individuals may undervalue or even devalue independence, and look to the group to determine what virtues to strive to embody. Qualities that are not expressly held as important or central tenets of the faith may also be devalued (Burriss & Jackson, 2000). Furthermore, intrinsic individuals may feel a pressure (whether it is internally or externally imposed is unclear)

to satisfy these positive ingroup stereotypes so much that they may exercise them in unwarranted situations, such as offering help even when the “helpee” explicitly discouraged it” (Burriss Jackson, 2000). Therefore, in the case of the positive stereotype of helpfulness, it may be more important to the intrinsic individual to feel or appear helpful than to actually respond effectively to the needs of others. This phenomenon may apply to other positive ingroup stereotypes for highly intrinsic individuals being that “high Intrinsic scorers evidenced increased self-stereotyping, whereas low Intrinsic scorers evidenced decreased self-stereotyping” (p.271)

Intrinsic religiosity has been repeatedly found to correlate with fundamentalism (Genia, 1996) and even more so with orthodoxy (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998). Intrinsic individuals tend to favor messages that fall in accordance with some clear beliefs or creeds, even if the creed is one of unbelief. For example, intrinsics who read articles with orthodox, nonsectarian, and atheistic messages tended to favor the orthodox messages the most, then the atheistic ones, and favored the nonsectarian narratives the least (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998). There is support in the literature for the idea that intrinsics internalize their religion as they appear less susceptible to social desirability bias (Genia, 1996). The near-zero correlation between intrinsic religious orientation and the Marlowe-Crowne scale of social desirability contradicts previous reports that intrinsics strive to meet stereotypes of the group simply because it is socially desirable (Genia, 1996).

The fact that intrinsics tend to fit the stereotypes of their religious groups may be more accurately described as congruence, rather than social conformity. Intrinsics evidence congruence between beliefs, actions, and the beliefs of their social group (that social group being a traditional religious faith). Such congruence may contribute to the mental health of intrinsically motivated individuals as intrinsic religiosity emerged as the strongest predictor of psychospiritual health in regression analyses conducted by Genia. For example, intrinsics had lower levels of depression

than participants of other religious orientations. Fundamentalism added little or no variance in predicting psychospiritual or wellbeing. Therefore, it appears that though intrinsic religious orientation and fundamentalism are often correlated, the intrinsic approach to religion may contribute to psychological, social, and spiritual health (Genia, 1996).

Originally, research findings indicated that most individuals of the intrinsic religious motivation were low on prejudice (Allport & Ross, 1967), however, subsequent research revealed that the relationship is more complex (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). For example, “Christian orthodoxy and intrinsic religiosity, have been associated with racial tolerance” (Shen et al, 2013, p. 2). This racial tolerance may occur because intrinsics internalize the teachings of their religion. In the case of Christianity, teachings promote egalitarian attitudes towards minorities and therefore may promote racial tolerance in intrinsic individuals (Yancy & Kim, 2008). However, even though “intrinsic orientation has generally been found to be unrelated to [ethnic] prejudice” it has been found to be “positively related to prejudice against gay men and lesbians and members of some religious (out)groups” (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999, p. 509).

Intrinsic religiosity also appears to have a complicated relationship with sexism. Burn and Busso examined a construct called ‘ambivalent sexism’ which is “a variety of attitudes and behaviors indicative of gender inequality” (2005, p. 413). Ambivalent sexism has two components: hostile sexism and benevolent sexism. Hostile sexism is an adversarial view of gender relations. Women are perceived as trying to control men, wielding sex and feminism as weapons. On the other hand, benevolent sexism is a subtler prejudice against women closely associated with the concept of chivalry. Benevolent sexism contains 3 components: protective paternalism (the belief that men should protect and provide for women), complementary gender differentiation (the idea that women are the better sex for specific roles, as they are viewed as

“nurturing, pure, delicate”) and heterosexual intimacy (i.e., a heterosexual romantic relationship is essential for happiness) (p.417). The benevolent sexist may see women as pure creatures who are best suited for the gentle tasks of domesticity and are in need of male protection and adoration (Burn & Busso, 2005).

Using the ambivalent sexism scale, Burn and Busso found intrinsic religiosity to be negatively correlated with hostile sexism. However, intrinsic religiosity was a “significant predictor of protective paternalism” (2005, p. 416). Intrinsic religiosity predicted protective paternalism “over and beyond” all other predictor variables. (Burn & Busso, 2005, p. 416). In regression analyses, “intrinsic religiosity and scriptural literalism accounted for a unique portion of the variance in protective paternalism” but not in the other two subscales of benevolent sexism. Therefore, studies show that intrinsic religiosity may be linked with less hostile and overt prejudice against women but with higher levels of specific types of prejudice supported by religious teaching. For example, protective paternalism may exist in intrinsically religious Christians because protection of women is promoted and rewarded in scripture. Considering that intrinsic individuals internalize religious teachings more than some of the other orientations, this connection makes sense. Therefore “Christian teachings” may have the effect of “buttressing patriarchal attitudes” especially in intrinsically religious individuals who may “be more amenable to challenging racial and SES, rather than gender hierarchies” (Yancy & Kim, 2008, p.108).

It is important to consider along with these findings that intrinsic orientation better predicts attitudes toward ingroup members as compared to attitudes toward outgroup members (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). Unlike authoritarianism which is predictive of outgroup derogation, intrinsic religiosity is weaker in its predictive power in regard to outgroups, therefore findings in regard to prejudice towards outgroups should be closely examined. Therefore, the

current state of the literature suggests that Allport's original contention "that the intrinsic orientation is associated with tolerance seems to have been overstated" (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999, p. 509-510).

Extrinsic. Often considered the opposite of the intrinsic religious orientation is the extrinsic religious orientation. Instead of pursuing religion as an end in and of itself, extrinsic individuals pursue religion as a mean for providing "security and solace, sociability and distraction, status and self-justification" (Allport, 1967, p. 434). Instead of being deeply convicted of their beliefs, "the embraced creed is lightly held or else selectively shaped to fit more primary needs" (p. 434) such as safety, comfort, and social belonging. In Allport and Ross's study of church attendance they found a curvilinear relationship between attendance and prejudice with "the causal, irregular fringe members" being the most bigoted (p. 432). These were members they considered to be "of the extrinsic order" (p. 432).

Since the Allport and Ross study, a long line of studies has emerged in which extrinsically religious individuals are found to be the most intolerant of outgroups. Hunsberger and Jackson found extrinsic orientation was positively related to racial/ethnic and gay/lesbian intolerance in some of the studies included in their content analysis of religious orientation and prejudice (2005). Hunsberger and Platonow found that extrinsic religiosity correlated significantly and negatively with having helping intentions (1985). Returning to the Burn and Busso study of ambivalent sexism, they investigated the positive association between extrinsic religiosity with men's discriminatory attitudes toward women. While they found intrinsic religiosity to be related only to the protective paternalism scale of benevolent sexism; extrinsic religiosity was related to all three benevolent sexism scales: heterosexual intimacy, complementary gender differentiation, and protective paternalism subscales (2005).

Although the relationship seems clear cut, it is important to take into consideration the types of measures being used to assess prejudice. Historically, self-reports have consistently shown a positive correlation between extrinsic orientations and prejudice, but recent research using less reactive measures does not (Burn & Busso, 2005). Upon further examination, “it appears that whether extrinsic orientation is linked to prejudice depends on the norms of the particular religious group,” just as it depends on which beliefs an intrinsic person internalizes (p.413).

McFarland proposed that there are two separate components to extrinsic religiosity, one being personal (Ep) and the other being social (Es). The components are named for the sphere in which the individual obtains or hopes to obtain gain from their religious involvement (Burn & Busso, 2005; Genia, 1996). Social extrinsic religiosity in particular has been positively associated with men’s discriminatory attitudes toward women (Burn & Busso, 2005, p.413). Social extrinsicness (Es) has also been found to be unrelated to psychological or spiritual health and personal extrinsicness (Ep) predicts higher personal distress (Genia, 1996). Personal-extrinsic religiousness was also correlated with the paradoxically conflicting constructs of a satisfying relationship with God and a lack of purpose or meaning of life” (Genia, 1996). However, these results should not be considered absolute as Ep and Es scales have suffered from weak internal consistency” (p.56). Therefore, discerning readers should remain skeptical as to whether the constructs of Ep and Es exist as independent subgroups within the extrinsic orientation.

Indiscriminately pro-religious/anti-religious. In 1967 Allport and Ross examined the response patterns to extrinsic and intrinsic religious orientation scale items and found “contrary to expectation, extrinsic and intrinsic items did not fall on a unidimensional scale but represented two independent dimensions” (p. 435). Therefore, endorsing more intrinsic items does not

necessarily make one any less able to endorse extrinsic items as well. Allport and Ross found that some of their participants endorsed extrinsically worded items and intrinsically worded items, yielding an indiscriminately pro-religious group. Also, a group of participants also rejected any religiously worded items regardless of intrinsic or extrinsic wording. These participants fell into the indiscriminately anti-religious group.

Both of these indiscriminant groups exhibited high levels of prejudice, in fact “the indiscriminate type of religious orientation is more prejudiced than either of the two consistent types” (1967, p. 438) and “the degree of indiscriminateness tends to relate directly to the degree of prejudice” (p.439). Allport and Ross suggested that this indiscriminant response style showed evidence of “undifferentiated thinking patterns” such as “the formation and holding of overwide categories” (p. 439).

The results do show a trend: the more indiscriminate, the more undifferentiated, the more prejudiced. Allport and Ross suggest that prejudice possibly operates from the same undifferentiated thinking pattern as “prejudice itself is a matter of stereotyped overgeneralization, a failure to distinguish members of a minority group as individuals” (p. 442).

In 1985, Hunsberger and Platonow studied how individuals of different religious orientations differ on several helping behaviors such as donating money, providing some kind of service at church, etc. They found that “pure intrinsics scored highest, pure extrinsics lowest, and the indiscriminately pro- and antireligious respondents were intermediate” (p.526). Therefore, Allport and Ross’s finding that indiscriminateness leads to prejudice may not translate to actions such as behavior in religious organizations.

Quest. Batson and colleagues introduced the concept of another religious orientation in the 1980’s, as they suspected that all ways of approaching religion were not encompassed in the

intrinsic, extrinsic, and indiscriminant constructs. Quest orientation is another way of approaching religion, and this orientation is not meant to be interchangeable with the intrinsic or extrinsic approaches, but instead has an orthogonal, independent relationship to the other religiosities (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991). They developed the Interactional Scale of religious orientation, more commonly referred to as the Quest Scale. They found that the scale had strong validity, supporting the idea that there is indeed another dimension of personal religion captured by the scale items (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991). They defined the Quest orientation as an “open-ended, active approach to existential questions that resists clear cut, pat answers” (p.416). Questers honestly face questions while preserving the complexity of the spiritual issues they are exploring, recognizing “that he or she does not know, and probably never will know, the final truth about such matters” and that the answers they find may be subject to change (Batson and Schoenrade, 1991, p. 417). Questers tend to take a flexible approach to religion and, as the name suggests, consider spiritual understanding to be a journey of reflection and discovery.

Supporting Batson’s idea that Quest is not a mutually exclusive religious orientation, but rather an orthogonally related construct, Genia found that the Intrinsic and Quest scales had no relationship, not an inverse one “indicating that spiritual inquisitiveness and intrinsic commitment are not mutually exclusive” (Genia, 1996, p.62). Therefore, it is possible for the same individuals to be high on levels of I and Q. However, Quest and Fundamentalism have been found to be highly negatively correlated (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Genia, 1996; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). Fundamentalist intrinsics tend to be low on quest, while questing intrinsics tend to be low on fundamentalism so, “the presence of questing intrinsics and fundamentalist intrinsics in the same sample would produce near-zero correlations between I and quest” (p.62). Therefore, it is important to account for fundamentalism in addition to religious orientations to better

understand the interrelationships between the different types of orientations. The strong negative correlation between fundamentalism and quest reflects the opposing cognitive styles represented in these constructs. Quest orientation marks complex thought and an openness to diverse perspectives, however fundamentalism reflects a cognitively rigid system (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005 (p. 816). Altemeyer and Hunsberger put it this way: “We would hardly expect that people who are sure God gave us a set of flawless religious teachings long ago also will believe that we should be searching far and wide for religious truth” (p.126). Among the 491 participants in their study, not one person scored in the upper quartile for RF scale distribution and also in the upper quartile of the Quest scale. “Nor were there any low-lows” (p.126). This trend is reflected not only in the items questers endorse, but also questers’ evaluations of messages presented to them by others. Burris and Tarpley found that higher quest scores predicted less positive evaluation of opinion articles on existential issues. Unfavorable evaluations were present regardless of whether the article presented an orthodox, atheistic, or nonsectarian point of view (1998). This may reflect a general tendency for questers to grapple with doubt and to consider many factors when thinking about existential issues.

Not surprisingly, “an open-ended ‘questing’ approach to religion may be associated with more consistent tolerance” than the other religious orientations (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999, p. 510) as questers tend to operate with a cognitive complexity and “an appreciation for ambiguity and diversity” (Jankowski, Johnson & Damron, 2011, p. 177). In particular, quest has shown a weak positive relationship with tolerance for various racial-ethnic groups, and a strong positive relationship with tolerance for sexual minorities (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005).

Though quest tends to be associated with increased tolerance and religious fundamentalism tends to be associated with increased prejudice, the fact that these are simply

trends should not be lost. There are individuals who do not fall into this expected pattern. Altemeyer and Hunsberger found that many participants who “scored high on the RF scale and low on the Quest Scale showed nonprejudiced, accepting attitudes, whereas some nonfundamentalist questers were quite bigoted” (1992, p.126). Additionally, some of the trends found in the literature have been curvilinear rather than linear. For instance, Jankowski, Johnson and Damron found that quest religiosity had a quadratic relationship with both rape myth and domestic violence myth acceptance with moderate levels of questing being most associated with high levels of interpersonal violence myth acceptance. Conversely, extrinsic and intrinsic had negative correlations with rape and violence myth acceptance (2011). Genia also conducted a study on psychospiritual health that suggests that questers may face more psychological and spiritual stress. High quest scorers also reported more personal distress, lower self-esteem, higher depression, higher anxiety, and lower spiritual well-being (1996). Other studies have also replicated the finding that quest is associated with higher levels of anxiety (Genia, 1996). These findings suggest approaching faith as an open-ended journey of seeking may have its drawbacks, as questers report feeling more uneasy about religious matters than those more certain about their faith (Genia, 1996). While considering the differing religious orientations it is also important for researchers to preserve a complexity in thinking and avoid the temptation to reduce the exploration down to “whether intrinsic or quest religion is superior” as this “requires value judgments about the nature of optimal psychospiritual functioning” (p.62). It appears that there are both healthy and unhealthy tendencies that can be associated with all forms of religious orientation.

Immanence. Lastly, there is the immanence orientation, from the Latin *immanere*, ‘to remain in place’ (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998). This is the most recent religious orientation construct

to emerge in the literature. Burriss and Tarpley were interested in the elements often co-occurring with high levels of religiosity that can breed prejudice (i.e., boundary maintenance, values imposition, and past/future orientation). They were also curious if the opposites of these traits (boundary transcendence, nonjudgmental awareness, acceptance of potentially threatening persons or experiences, and present orientation) may be associated with a highly accepting, peaceful, compassionate, and tolerant approach to religion (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998). Burriss and Tarpley created 24 immanence items, intermixed them with Allport and Ross's I/E scale and Batson's Quest scale, using a 9-point Likert scale format for all questions. They conducted three studies with different large samples ($n > 400$), administering other scales of similar and opposing constructs for the purposes of assessing convergent and discriminant validity, as well as the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding for the purposes of assessing social desirability. The immanence scale demonstrated both convergent and discriminant validity and a one-factor solution emerged, suggesting that immanence is in fact one distinct construct.

The meaning of immanence orientation that emerged was that it is a desire to transcend inter- and intrapersonal boundaries, a preference for awareness, acceptance, and a nonsectarian spirituality, sensitivity to a variety of inner experiences and external influences, rejection of interpersonal manipulation, with a focus on the present moment. Mindfulness-based living that is "passive and receptive...nonevaluating, non-comparing, non-judging, sense of timelessness, resolution of dichotomies and conflicts...perception of the universe as a unified whole" (1998, p.57) may characterize immanently-oriented individual and "universal acceptance" appears to be an important goal for such individuals (p.73) and moral attainment is more focused toward surrender, indifference, and meditation rather than toward disciplined striving, penitence, and prayer (p.57). Examining the relationship between immanence and the other religious

orientations is helpful for understanding where immanence fits in terms of the different approaches to religion and spirituality. Immanence and intrinsic had a negative relationship, and the strength of the relationship intensifies at higher levels of intrinsic-ness. Devout commitment to an orthodox religious group is a compatible approach for an intrinsically oriented individual, but incompatible with immanence, quest, and extrinsically-oriented individuals (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998). Immanence was correlated with quest and extrinsic orientations, and quest was also correlated with extrinsic, however intrinsic seemed to be distinctly different in its traditional and more sectarian approach. Immanence was not reliably correlated with social desirability but was related to benevolence (1998).

In relation to prejudice, Burriss and Tarpley report that the overall trend of correlation suggests that immanence corresponds to factors that predict tolerance for outgroups (1998). However, in their 1999 study, Jackson and Hunsberger make an important point that immanence appears unrelated to attitudes towards all groups, and that it may not consistently predict lower levels of prejudiced attitudes. Furthermore, Jackson and Hunsberger draw attention to the fact that there has been little consideration for the implications of “subtle and more overt forms of prejudice” in order for us to understand the impact that an immanence orientation or any religious orientation may have on attitudes toward marginalized groups (p. 520). According to Jackson and Hunsberger, there is a need to “generate a more complete answer to this question” (p. 520).

In summary, the existing research literature suggests that various religious orientations have unique relationships with different forms of prejudice. Each religious orientation may correlate uniquely with prejudice towards different target groups both in terms of strength and direction of correlation. Furthermore, the degree of indiscriminant responding on religious orientation measures may increase the amount of covert prejudice endorsed.

Below is a table of the relationships found thus far in the body of existing research on religious orientation and prejudice. If a particularly strong or weak relationship has been found, the strength of the relationship is noted in Table 1. Relationships that remain largely unexplored are denoted with an “X”.

Table 1

Summary of correlations found in the research literature

Religious Orientation:	Type of Prejudice:			
	Racial	Gender	Class	Sexual Orientation
1. Intrinsic	Strong -	Weak +	X	+
2. Extrinsic	Strong +	Strong +	X	+
3. Quest	Weak -	Quadratic	X	Strong -
4. Immanence	Near 0	Near 0	Near 0	Near 0
5. Indiscriminantly Pro/Anti Religious	+	+	+	+

+ = positive correlation

- = negative correlation

X = remains largely unstudied

Though the relationship between classism and various religious orientations remains largely unstudied, it is expected that intrinsic religiosity will have a negative correlation with classist beliefs due to the expectation that intrinsics will have internalized scriptural instruction to provide for the poor. There are also many Biblical passages that celebrate or bless the poor.

Reconciling Group and Individual Perspectives: Social Dominance Theory

A comprehensive view of social oppression. Physical, psychological, ideological, interpersonal, cultural, and environmental variables all have an influence on making and maintaining social oppression. In this sense, discrimination is a multidetermined social phenomenon that keeps recurring in society (Sidanius et al, 2004). Most models of conceptualizing how prejudice is formed and functions in society tend to focus on just one or a

few of these elements. For example, “authoritarian personality theory really is a strict personality theory of prejudice and focuses almost all of its attention on intrapsychic mechanisms” (p. 858) and mostly ignores the sociocultural and ideological underpinnings of prejudice. Another example is social identity theory which conceptualizes prejudice in the form of one-down comparisons that increase self-esteem, however Sidanius and colleagues point out that social identity theory lacks relevance in that “institutional discrimination, arguably that form of discrimination having the greatest impact on people’s lives, has been almost completely neglected by social identity theory” (p. 863-864).

Social dominance theory incorporates the empirically supported features of existing theories into “a more comprehensive and multileveled understanding of the dynamics of group-based social oppression” (p. 871). Therefore variables at the individual personality, sociocultural, ideological, and institutional level are considered integral parts that can contribute to or protect against supporting oppressive systems. Cultural and ideological contexts are especially essential in social dominance theory as they help us understand how “discriminatory practices are justified and rationalized” (p. 858). Social dominance theory is inspired by feminist and ethnic studies in that it focuses on power (not to be confused with status or prestige). Power is examined in social dominance research in that “the actual situations of people in oppressed or dominant positions” (p. 872) is investigated to “deepen our understanding of the recurrent realities of actual human existence” (p. 847). The creators of SDT advocate that the most impactful recurrent reality that influences group-based oppression is institutional discrimination, or the disproportionate allocation of desired goods:

Schools, organized religions, and many powerful individuals disproportionately allocate desired goods—such as prestige, wealth, power, food, and health care—to members of

dominant and privileged groups, while directing undesirable things—such as dangerous work, disdain, imprisonment, and premature death—toward members of less powerful groups. (p. 847)

Under this system, powerful groups and people remain powerful and subordinate groups remain subordinate. It is a self-perpetuating system and the justifications for these inequalities are what social dominance is particularly concerned with. Institutional discrimination is a major focus in the theory as institutional discrimination is a major force for “creating, maintaining, and recreating systems of group-based hierarchy” in that institutions allocate more resources than individuals (p. 847).

Individual attitudes regarding hierarchy. Basically, the central idea of SDT is that an individual’s belief about intergroup relations is the main determinant of social attitudes (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003). In this sense, all forms of oppression (sexism, classism, etc.) can be conceptualized as “special cases” of “the human tendency to form hierarchies based on group membership” (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009, p. 2322).

Part of SDT is the construct of social dominance orientation. SDO is “the general tendency to favor hierarchical social structures over more egalitarian ones” (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003, p. 626). Though SDO is an individual characteristic, the concept is embedded in intergroup and societal context as the focus is on the attitudes about “hierarchical relationships *between* groups” (Sidanius et al, 2004) and “supporting societal structures that enhance or legitimize social inequality is the defining characteristic of the high SDO person” (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003, p. 626). Empirical research supports this idea as well. Sidanius and colleagues formed an SDO Scale and people with higher social status and greater amounts of unearned privilege (e.g., Men, Whites) tended to score higher on SDO (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003). SDO

arises from a number of factors such as socialization experiences, situational contingencies or context, and individual temperament” (p. 850) for instance, SDO has been shown to depend on the social context as SDO scores shift depending on the level of group power in different environments (Sidanius et al, 2004). These results show the “need for study of multiple contextual factors” when considering the relationship between individual characteristics and prejudice attitudes (Aosved & Long, 2006, p. 482).

Social dominance theory and religiosity. Social dominance theory is particularly important to consider when examining the effects of different types of religiosity on prejudice attitudes as “SDO has been found to be the strongest correlate of most forms of prejudice” (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003, p. 626). The effect of social dominance orientation on prejudices has been shown to be considerably higher than even right-wing authoritarianism. Altemeyer has conducted several studies in which RWA and SDO have been found to: (1) each have much more predictive power of prejudice than any other personality variable, (2) account for over 50% of the variance altogether, and (3) seem to be largely independent constructs from one another (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003). Therefore individual differences in RWA and SDO should be an important focal point of any study of religion and prejudicial attitudes. Qualitatively, the distinction between the two constructs is that RWA is “an individual’s level of conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, and authoritarian submission” whereas, “SDO measures support for group inequalities and support for hierarchy enhancing myths” (p.633). SDO is especially important to measure when considering the impact of various religious identities (not simply Christianity) and how individuals have internalized the messages they have received in the religious institutions to which they belong because of the strong influence of ideological factors on SDO. Sidanius and colleagues underscored the importance of “interactions between the

individual's ideological predispositions and the individual's immediate social contexts, including the contexts created by social institutions" (2004, p. 857). Religion can be and has often been a "legitimizing ideology" to "justify inequitable social relationships" especially in American society as individualistic Protestant attitudes have had a profound effect on the cultural norms valued in the United States both by Protestant and non-Protestant individuals and groups (p. 867). Therefore, measuring SDO along with religious orientation may help inform what role these "legitimizing ideologies" may or may not play for individuals with different religiosities. Accounting for SDO may help to shed light on how oppression may or may not be psychologically supported by people with various religious approaches.

The Nature of Modern-Day Prejudice

In contemporary society, inequitable social relationships correspond to at least one, if not many, forms of structural oppression. The term oppression comes from the root *press* (Frye, 1983). Marilyn Frye, in her chapter "Oppression" meditated on the meaning of this term. She writes:

...the living of one's life is confined and shaped by forces and barriers which are not accidental or occasional and hence, avoidable, but are systematically related to each other in such a way as to catch one between and among them and restrict or penalize motion in any direction. It is the experience of being caged in. (p.156)

Oppressive forces essentially inhibit progress and freedom to behave how one wishes or how is culturally relevant for them without facing retribution. Specific manifestations of oppression correspond to the various sociocultural identities that accrue discrimination, such as racism, sexism, classism and heterosexism. As mentioned previously, the field of psychology has recognized the potential for these biases, though often unconscious, to influence professional

practice. Specialties such as counseling psychology have worked to identify and address them within training, research, and theory.

Such efforts require consideration of the subtle, often unconscious nature of modern-day prejudice (Sue et al, 2007). Many Americans do not notice or choose to not attend to the current cultural issues that exist in the United States. This shift to more covert forms of prejudice is exactly why future helping professionals need to be educated about the current state of racism, sexism, classism, heterosexism, and other forms of discrimination, because if left unaddressed, there is a strong chance that prejudice will go unnoticed and therefore unchecked, especially among White Anglo-Saxon Protestant counselors who may be “blinded” by their privilege (Constantine, 2007).

The research on prejudice is important to consider in the context of religiosity because many religiosity factors such as religious orientation, authoritarianism, and fundamentalism have been shown to correlate (positively or negatively) with some or all types of prejudice. Researchers have also documented historical religious justifications for racism, classism, and sexism and the suggested underlying factors that may lead individuals and groups to make such justifications “include the authoritarian personality, political conservatism, and religious evangelicalism/fundamentalism.” (Yancy & Kim, 2008, p. 104).

Sidanius and colleagues also found that people who are prejudiced against one group are also likely to be prejudiced against other groups. The personality characteristics and sociopolitical beliefs of political conservatism, pseudo-patriotism, and religiosity can combine to create such an authoritarian character that holds prejudice against many groups (p. 857). What is important to keep in mind is that few authoritarian conservatives would consciously or at least verbally endorse their belief that they are against social leveling of people in power with the

disenfranchised. Therefore, the manifestations of prejudice attitudes are often subtle, and many times unconscious actions and statements. These are called *microaggressions* (Sue, 2007).

The term “racial microaggression” was created by Chester Pierce in the 1970’s. Pierce defined his term as the everyday subtle “put-downs” directed toward African Americans (Sue, 2010). Pierce further described microaggressions as “subtle, stunning, often automatic, and non-verbal exchanges” (Sue 2007). Microaggressions can be intentional or unintentional everyday slights and indignities that insult or invalidate marginalized populations (Sue, 2007, 2008, 2010). Microaggressions can occur at the institutional, community, or individual level, and since Pierce’s time, the term has been extended to apply to the slights, insults, and invalidations experienced by all ethnic minority groups, cultures, social classes, sexual minorities, women, and people with disabilities (Sue, 2010). Sue (2007) created a taxonomy to delineate common themes and three specific types of micro aggressions: *microassaults*, *microinsults*, and *microinvalidations*.

Microassaults are the most explicit derogations. These are often conscious. Microassaults can be verbal or non-verbal attacks meant to hurt the target. An example of a microassault is yelling a racial slight at someone walking by. Contrary to microassaults, *microinsults* and *microinvalidations* are often unconscious, and therefore their occurrence is often much more subtle. A less blatant form of racism may sound as though it would be less harmful; however, research has shown this is not the case. Ironically, the commonplace experiences of aversive aggression may contribute significantly more to anger, frustration, and self-esteem issues than traditional forms of overt discrimination (Sue, 2007). On the other side of the coin, aversive prejudice, because of its often unconscious nature, lowers the chance that perpetrators will realize and confront that they are creating psychological dilemmas for minorities. Aversive racism often

plays an unconscious, insidious, unacknowledged, yet influential role in maintaining disparities in employment, health care, and education (Sue, 2007).

Microinsults are insensitive behaviors or comments. A common racial microinsult theme is treating a person as a second-class citizen because of their race, class, gender, or sexual orientation membership. Microinsults are often comments that communicate that the perpetrator holds one of these beliefs about the target's racial group. The perpetrator may not have even intended for his/her comment to be hurtful, or may be unconscious that he/she holds such a belief.

Microinvalidations can be subtler comments or behaviors that nullify the thoughts, feelings, and experiential reality of a person of color (Sue, 2010). Microinvalidations are often the subtlest form of microaggressions. Examples of microinvalidation themes are: color-blindness, and "the myth of meritocracy." Sue defines color-blindness as: "denial or pretense that a White person does not see color or race" (Sue, 2007, p. 278). An example of a color-blindness microaggression would be a White person telling their Asian-American co-worker, "We are no different. We are all one race, the human race." The myth of meritocracy refers to statements that convey the person thinks that race, class, gender, and sexual orientation do not play a role in success, and thus denies the existence of individual prejudice (Sue 2007). A boss who has only hired White employees under "the most qualified person will get the job" philosophy but does nothing to equalize opportunity to all applicants (such as cover up names on resumes) may be committing a microinvalidation.

Racism

The way that racism is enacted has changed in the United States over recent decades. Many researchers agree that racism has shifted from an overt to a subtle form, often referred to as "aversive racism" (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005, Sue 2010). Bonilla-Silva

explained the shift this way: “As the Jim Crow overt style of maintaining White supremacy was replaced with ‘now you see it, now you don’t’ practices that were subtle, apparently non-racial, and institutionalized, an ideology fitting to this era emerged” (Bonilla-Silva, 2002). Other names given to this more indirect form of racism are *symbolic racism*, *modern racism*, *implicit racism*, and *covert racism* (Sue, 2010). All these terms refer to the subtle way that oppression continues to operate in our society. As Sue (2010) expressed it, racism today often operates “below the level of conscious awareness” (p. 8). Racism also appears to be the type of prejudice that is most strongly correlated with high levels of social dominance orientation (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009).

Everyday racism is more than minimally harmful (Sue, 2007). Microaggressions have been found to have a cumulative effect in the African American population, creating a negative racial climate, emotional turmoil, self-doubt, frustration, and isolation (Sue, 2007). Specifically, “denial of one’s experiential reality, dealing with a loss of integrity, or experiencing pent-up anger and frustration are likely to take psychological and physical tolls” (Sue, 2007, p. 279). The damage can, therefore, go beyond the psychological. Microaggressions’ effect is cumulative in nature, meaning that over time, targets of microaggressions may experience a detriment to their physical health (Sue, 2010). The continued exposure to stress may raise cortisol levels, putting the victim at an increased risk for cardiovascular disease. Statistics corroborate this theory: African Americans have a much higher incidence of cardiovascular disease than White Americans do. This phenomenon has been shown to be directly related to racism in the African-American male population, because there is a connection between their experiences of racism and their elevated levels of social and health risks (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000). These health risks

include hypertension, decreased life expectancy, cardiovascular disease, diabetes, and substance abuse (Franklin & Boyd-Franklin, 2000).

The concept of racial microinvalidation is closely linked to color-blind attitudes because they both contain the theme of denial of racial realities. In fact, most racial microinvalidations reveal the color-blind attitudes held by the perpetrator. This trend is apparent in analyses of microinvalidations such as those provided by Sue and his colleagues (2007): “When I look at you, I don’t see color”, “America is a melting pot”, and “There is only one race, the human race” (p. 276). These statements are harmful because they deny the target person’s racial reality, and even their existence as a racial-cultural being. The undertone is that everyone should strive to assimilate to the dominant culture-- to be the same. Since color-blindness is considered a type of microaggression, and microaggressions are considered a type of aversive racism, color-blind attitudes can be considered a form of racism. In fact, color-blindness has been described as the “ultramodern form of racism” (Neville, 2006). Since this is how racism frequently manifests today, it is important to investigate what relationship the various religiosities have to color-blind racism in particular.

According to Fouad, Arredondo, D'Andrea, & Ivey (2002), many people, in an effort to improve intergroup relationships have de-emphasized group membership by adopting a “color-blind approach,” focusing on the ways in which all humans are similar and racial-ethnic differences are minimized. Attending to differences, it is feared, will promote inequity, under this approach. Moreover, those that adopt these supposedly egalitarian views can still harbor negative attitudes or stereotypes about other groups (Fouad, Arredondo, D’Andrea, & Ivey, 2002). A mental health professional operating under the color-blind approach could, therefore, hold negative attitudes about other racial groups and by ignoring group difference, never notice they

hold these biases (Fouad, Arredondo, D'Andrea, & Ivey, 2002). Considering the damaging intrapsychic and physical repercussions of aversive racism on the mental and physical health of racial-ethnic minorities, APA's encouragement of professionals to educate themselves on their own biases and the effects of racism is understandable. The worldviews of both therapists and clients are shaped by historical and modern-day experiences of racism and oppression in the United States (Sue, Arredondo et al 1992). White counselors are "likely to inherit the racial and cultural biases of his or her forebears" about what the "right culture" is and what "cultural-deprivation" means (p.479). Also it is important to consider that the field of psychology in general is located within dominant society and for many decades was led by affluent, White, straight men. Sue and colleagues remind that there was a time in which "a predominately White Anglo-Saxon Protestant orientation" dominated the field and that this can no longer be if therapists are to become competent professionals with the competence to appropriately serve the needs of individuals from diverse backgrounds (p.480). Even though there have been large strides in the cultural sensitivity in the field, it is important for mental health professionals to remember counseling is "a potentially biased system" (p.480).

Considering the influence Protestantism has had on prejudice in the United States, and racism in particular, both religious and non-religious counselors have been affected by Protestantism as it has had a profound effect on what is viewed as acceptable, normative, and admirable in Western cultures (Sears & Henry, 2003). The Protestant work ethic has influenced "abstract moral values" of society and sometimes "personal experience" is considered secondarily (p.260). Sears and Henry call this "the traditional religious and value socialization of secular American civil Protestantism (p.261). This value socialization had embedded a moral code in the psyche of Americans, especially when it comes to specific Protestant virtues like "individualism,

hard work, and self-reliance” and “the belief that hard work brings success” (p.261). Symbolic racism often stems from “the perception that Blacks violate certain traditional values” (p.261) and therefore might be thought of as immoral, less-than, unworthy, etc. These links show how historically, religion may have played a role in setting up institutional discrimination and prejudice against racial ethnic minorities. However, it is essential to keep in mind that Christianity itself proscribes racism. There is “little or no relationship between Christian *beliefs* and racial/ethnic intolerance” (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005, p.813). Therefore, individuals’ religious orientation, religious group socialization, personality characters, among probably many other factors are responsible for creating prejudiced attitudes, not the beliefs per se.

Sexism

Modern day sexism (also referred to as “ambivalent sexism”) operates in very overt ways such as aggressive attitudes and domestic violence against women, which is classified as hostile sexism, but also in subtler ways such as reinforcing conventional gender stereotypes, which is classified as benevolent sexism (Burn & Busso, 2005). The connection between religiosity and sexism appears to be limited to benevolent sexism, even when religiosity is operationalized in various ways (Maltby, Hall, Anderson, & Edwards, 2010). In fact, intrinsic and extrinsic religiosities have been found to correlate positively with benevolent sexism, but not with hostile sexism (Burn & Busso, 2005). Benevolent sexism is composed of three domains: (1) protective paternalism, (2) complementary gender differentiation, and (3) heterosexual intimacy. Protective paternalism is the idea that men should protect and provide for women, complementary gender differentiation refers to the idea that women are the weaker sex and have natural roles that are appropriate for their “nurturing, pure, and delicate” demeanor, and heterosexual intimacy is the belief that heterosexual romantic relationships are the key to true happiness (Burn & Busso, 2005,

p. 413). Different religiosities have different relationships with the domains of benevolent sexism. Intrinsic religiosity has been found to correlate only with protective paternalism, yet extrinsic religiosity has been found to correlate with all three subscales of benevolent sexism (Burn & Busso, 2005). Literal interpretations of scripture also seem to play a role in addition to religiosity as a measure of scriptural literalism correlated with protective paternalism and heterosexual intimacy, but not gender differentiation (Burn & Busso, 2005). Intrinsic religiosity and scriptural literalism are significant predictors for protective paternalism, but not for the other two subscales (Burn & Busso, 2005). Therefore, religious orientation may help inform how attitudes toward women and women's roles in society and in the family structure are formed.

Maltby and colleagues (2010) examined the relationship between orthodoxy and sexism among evangelical Christian undergrads and found that although “religious doctrine is not synonymous with conservative (but nonreligious) ideologies” such as benevolent sexism, “traditional divisions of labor, an elevation of women's nurturing characteristics, and a strong valuing of marriage are commonly associated with conservative religions” (p. 616). Being that these are the characteristics of benevolent sexism, the relationship between orthodoxy and endorsing benevolent sexism items is positive. Maltby also examined the role of gender and found that as men reported more sexist views, they also tended to report higher agreement with the core tenets of Christianity; however this was not the case for women. No gender differences were found for hostile sexism, but hostile and benevolent sexism did not correlate in this sample. Maltby and colleagues suggest that such investigations be repeated in a more diverse sample to inform how these constructs operate in groups with religion, ethnicity, education, and class diversity.

Benevolent sexism, although it is not violent or overtly oppressive; it can be limiting, invalidating, and can perpetuate a system of gender inequality in covert ways. Burn and Busso put it this way:

Although this perspective is presented ‘benevolently’ rather than ‘hostilely,’ the net effect is still to support gender inequality—especially because women as well as men tend to endorse it. Not only does BS justify traditional gender roles but it also pacifies women’s resistance to gender subordination by masking gender inequality with the cloak of chivalry (e.g., men need women and should protect and cherish them). (p.417)

Therefore, this is a construct to which researchers and clinicians should direct their attention. These harmful processes can operate without the knowledge of targets, perpetrators, or both. Examining the role of religiosity and sexism may help clinicians in terms of awareness building when working with religious women or women from religious families. Internalized sexism may take a psychosocial and/or emotional toll or may prevent women from recognizing and achieving goals that might be nontraditional or unconventional to what is expected from them due to gender.

Classism

The characteristic form of oppression associated with the social class hierarchy is called *classism* (Lott & Bullock, 2001). Social class represents much more than income, education, and possessions. Social class encompasses structures of power, privilege, status, advantage, access, agency, and influence over distribution of resources (Smith, 2010). People whose social class positions lie further away from sources of power have less influence than individuals closer to sources of power. Owning class people own the resources by which others make a living, and may not need to work at all; whereas less powerful people (middle- and working-class people) must work to support their basic needs, and have varying degrees of autonomy and power in the

workplace. People living in poverty may live entirely outside these structures without sufficient income to support their families' basic needs.

The primary characteristic of classism is cognitive and behavioral distancing from the poor (Lott, 2002). This leads to discrimination, stereotyping, and prejudice against people from less powerful social class positions, at the institutional and interpersonal levels (Aosved & Long 2006). Classism operates so that life further away from sources of power is harder due to material deprivation and prejudicial beliefs. Poor people are more likely to be thought of and portrayed as lazy, dirty, crazy, stupid, immoral, uneducated, dysfunctional, promiscuous, and even criminal than are people at more privileged social class positions (Bullock, Wyche, & Williams, 2001; Cozzarelli, Wilkinson, & Tagler, 2001; Hoyt, 1999). Classism, according to Aosved and Long, “maintains the status quo by keeping the economically disadvantaged invisible and powerless and the wealthy powerful” (2006, p. 483). Perpetuation and even exacerbation of classism is evident in recent reviews of the literature: people in less powerful class positions are finding it harder to unionize for systematic change in the current political climate, a growing percentage (now 11.9%) of Americans experience hunger and periods of food insecurity (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 2006), and the typical CEO makes 369 times what his average employee makes (Smith, 2008). This is a ratio that has skyrocketed from the 1970's when the ratio was 28:1 (Henry, 2006). Therefore, social class is another aspect in which counseling psychologists must focus their social justice efforts.

Classism's relationship to religiosity remains quite understudied. Even in content analyses about prejudice and religion in which many types of prejudice are included, classism is often neglected (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). Studies that involve measures of religious orientation and classist attitudes are, to the author's knowledge, unprecedented.

Yancy and Kim, however, did conduct a study on the congregational makeup of churches in regards to socioeconomic status, race diversity, and female leadership that can inform future research about classism and religious involvement, at least from the perspective of socialization of religious organizations. Yancy and Kim found that multiracial churches are more likely to have SES diversity amongst their congregation members as well (Yancy & Kim, 2008). They hypothesized that “if churches have to make institutional accommodations to become racially diverse then they also have to make organizational adjustments to attract individuals of different levels of SES (p. 104). What these specific ‘accommodations’ are remains unknown, as their study merely explored demographic correlates of congregations. It is important to keep in mind, that even a church making efforts to attract members from a variety of class backgrounds may not be “any less classist” (p. 104) as classist attitudes were not specifically measured.

Heterosexism

Heterosexism is an “intolerant belief system” that serves to silence, oppress, and disenfranchise sexual minorities including gay men, lesbians, bisexual, queer, transgender, or questioning individuals (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009). The relationship between religion and heterosexism is important to investigate because, it is a “prejudice that is tolerated or even encouraged by some religions (i.e. prejudice against gay men and lesbians)” (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005, p.812) due to some scriptures condemning same sex relationships and sexual activity (Deuteronomy 23:17; 1 Kings 14:24;15:12;22:46; 2 Kings 23:7; 1 Timothy 1:10).

Regarding heterosexism, there appear to be different trends for different types of religious orientation. In many studies, intrinsic orientation has been found to predict heterosexism and homophobia (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). For instance, in Hunsberger and Jackson’s content analysis of religious orientation and different aspects of prejudice even though intrinsic

orientation appears to be inversely related to self-reported racial intolerance, it correlates positively with intolerance of gay men and lesbians. Quest orientation, on the other hand, shows a positive relationship with racial ethnic tolerance and an even stronger positive relationship with tolerance of sexual minorities (2005). Not surprisingly, religious fundamentalism is consistently related to intolerance of sexual minorities (2005). This may be due to the literal approach to interpreting scripture that has been found to correlate with fundamentalism. Sexual prejudice has the weakest relationship with social dominance orientation of any type of intolerance (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009). This may be because of the supposed scriptural justification for prejudice against sexual minorities. Therefore, fundamentalism would play a stronger role in forming these beliefs than a general tendency to value hierarchy. Someone who values egalitarianism may still discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation because of a perceived ideological justification in just this one type of oppression.

Understanding Religiosity and Prejudice: A Missing Link

Taken together, the relationship between religiosity and prejudice is far from simple. Knowing religious identity alone does little to inform researchers about the degree and nature of prejudicial attitudes a person may hold. The relationship one has with their religion may reveal more of the story. A range of religious orientations exist for describing the role religion plays in an individual's life: intrinsic, extrinsic, quest, immanence, indiscriminately pro-religious and indiscriminately anti-religious. The research literature suggests that the way in which a person is religious may be much more important for predicting discriminatory attitudes than the religious beliefs themselves (Allport & Ross, 1967; Batson, Shoenrade, & Ventis, 1993; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005).

When considering religion and prejudice, personality cannot be overlooked (Altemeyer, 2008; Burris & Tarpley, 1998; Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). The literature strongly demonstrates that many personality factors such as fundamentalism, authoritarianism, and social dominance orientation play an important role. Personality affects the way individuals think and feel, and how flexible individuals are in their cognitive and affective processes. This includes how individuals ascribe significance to their religious beliefs. Personality traits like fundamentalism, authoritarianism, and social dominance orientation are also related to expectations of how societal groups should relate to one another (e.g., hierarchical, egalitarian, etc.) (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999; Sidanius, Pratto, & Levin, 2004).

Finally, the social learning that occurs from actually witnessing and being a part of how one's religious community relates to groups identified as 'other' is important for the adoption of social attitudes (Aosved, Long, and Voller, 2009). Individual beliefs, religiosities, and personalities can both reverberate out to and be influenced by the interpersonal, institutional, and societal. Group socialization affects how individuals feel about outgroups, structural oppression, how they come to conceptualize and relate to marginalized groups on the interpersonal, institutional, and societal levels. The current research literature on religion and prejudice suggests an intricate web of relationships among these constructs. Considering trends in the current literature, "meta-analytic findings show a paradoxical relationship. Religiosity was associated with both prejudice and tolerance toward outgroups" (Shen, 2013, p. 2). Researchers have advocated for investigating both group-based and individual trends. Investigations on individual differences have received the most empirical support, yet it is important not to lose sight of the operation of these dynamics at macro-sociopolitical levels in the form of institutional discrimination. Therefore, research that can maintain this macro-level perspective while

investigating how the personality and cognitive styles of individuals contribute to the development and maintenance of intolerant attitudes will be valuable.

So far, the extant research suggests that it is not the religious identity nor the particular beliefs that are most associated with prejudice, but rather religious orientation and level of social dominance orientation are more predictive of intolerance. Therefore, religious orientation and SDO are promising aspects of the research that need to be further studied. The research that has been conducted about religious orientation and different dimensions of prejudice shows that the interrelationships between these and related variables are complex. Thus, there are aspects of these issues that remain to be studied in depth. These existing limitations provide new horizons for the future directions in research on the psychology of religion. Some of these limitations are raised below.

Integrating the group and individual viewpoints. Both individual differences and group trends play important roles in the forming of attitudes toward various outgroups, however, integrating the study of group and individual approaches when examining these phenomena is challenging. Considering the effects that group socialization may have on the individual may be an important step in the study of the psychology of religion as many studies have tended to focus only on group effects or only on individual traits. Many researchers advocate for infusing group and individual perspectives to help psychologists develop a clearer understanding of the formation and maintenance of discriminatory attitudes. This is important to explore for understanding how to bring about both individual attitude change and institutional culture shift. The study of individual and group perspectives is important to integrate because they do not operate in isolation of each other. Individual perspectives inform cultural and institutional dynamics and vice versa. In the words of Aosved, Long, and Voller, “when we are all intolerant

of others at the individual level, it maintains systemic oppression and ultimately silences the oppressed group” (2009, p. 2321).

Furthermore, categorizing someone in terms of religious orientation does not necessarily mean that individuals will represent all the typical correlations seen in the literature. For instance, not all extrinsic people are prejudiced, and not all questers are open-minded to all outgroups. Burn and Busso highlighted the need for reconciling group and individual factors in the following statement: “it appears that whether an extrinsic orientation leads to prejudice depends on the norms of the particular religious group, whereas the influence of intrinsic religious orientations on prejudice depends on which beliefs a person internalizes.” (2005, p. 413). Burriss and Jackson suggested that a “promising first step towards reconciling individual- and group-focused approaches towards a psychological understanding of religion” is “his or her self-categorization as a religious member” (2000, p. 275). They suggested that religion be viewed “like gender, ethnicity and nationality—as a social category capable of profoundly impacting human identity, behavior and well-being” (p.271).

Accounting for all religious orientations. Another shortcoming of the literature thus far is that many religious orientation studies examined a few types of religious orientations while neglecting others. Studies of intrinsic versus extrinsic religiosities have been especially popular. These studies fail to include indiscriminately pro-religious, indiscriminately anti-religious, quest, and immanence orientations into the research design. Immanence orientation, as the newest orientation to appear in the literature, remains the least studied. Research designs that incorporate all six religious orientations, though few in number, are the most promising at demonstrating the nuanced effects of different religiosities on attitudes toward marginalized outgroups.

Increasing generalizability. Another limitation of the research done on religiosity and prejudice thus far is the generalizability of the samples. The majority of studies have been conducted with undergraduate psychology students as the participants. Many studies are also conducted in Christian colleges, which does not lend to religious diversity in the sample nor representativeness. These particular samples may not even be representative of the college-aged population, let alone the entire national population. These particular samples may be especially restricted in terms of religious, racial, and sexual orientation diversity. Hunsberger and Jackson recognized this problem in the literature and observed, “attempts to examine these relationships in cross-cultural and cross-religious perspective have often been problematic, and more and better research is needed in this area” (2005, p. 815). Samples have often had a large majority of White, college-aged participants. Considering that young adulthood might also be a unique period of spiritual discovery or struggle in some people’s lives, they might be an unrepresentative sample to generalize to the population. Another generalizability limitation of the research literature is that most studies have had Christian samples, and almost all studies have examined only Judeo-Christian beliefs. The Judeo-Christian norm within research on the psychology of religion could be conceptualized as a multi-institutional-level microaggression. The voices of religious minorities are simply not being represented frequently in this research. Many studies on the psychology of religion have also been quite limited geographically. Regional variations in religious norms throughout the United States may further restrict the range of attitudes represented in these studies.

Incorporating religious group socialization. Hunsberger and Jackson also pointed out “Furthermore, the ‘religious orientation’ studies do not adequately address the important question of *why* religion and prejudice are linked” (2005, p. 815). Indeed, most studies in the literature at

the time this study was published, tended to look at orientation and correlating personality characteristics, or orientation and prejudice without much consideration to environmental and socialization factors, or lacking a strong theoretical underpinning. This is beginning to shift with the emergence of measures that investigate more of the social aspects of religion such as the Lilly Survey of Congregations. Congregational demographics may be important to measure considering Bronfenbrenner's ecological model which suggests that in "order to understand human behavior we must consider the individual, the microsystem or family, the exosystem or larger social system, and the macrosystem or the cultural norms" and the congregation is a system paramount to spiritual socialization (Aosved & Long, 2006, p. 489). Also, newer theories have emerged as promising in regards to explaining *why* the religiosity and prejudice relationship exists, such as social dominance theory. Social dominance theory incorporates both group socialization and individual personality characteristics, and also provides a strong theoretical base for understanding the intrapsychic, interpersonal, social, cultural, and institutional contributing factors to oppression (Sidanius et al, 2004).

Considering a range of –isms. Another missing piece in many of the studies in the existing literature is oftentimes only a few types of prejudice are measured per investigation. Racism and/or sexism tend to be more frequently examined than heterosexism for instance, and classism has hardly been recognized in the current religious orientation literature. From content analyses performed, we know that there tend to be different trends for different –isms. Therefore, examining different types of prejudice with identical methods with one representative sample could shed light on differing trends for the different types of prejudice as they relate to religiosity. For example, Hunsberger and Jackson conducted a content analysis in 2005 in which they found that a "simple tabulation of relationships" between religious orientation and prejudice "hides

important trends for different targets of prejudice” (p. 811). Therefore, even though there are “similarities between sexism, racism, sexual prejudice, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance” it should not be assumed that the same relationships between religiosity and prejudice exist with different targets, as much of the current research seems to assume considering that “investigators do not routinely investigate these intolerant beliefs simultaneously” (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009, p. 2321). Examples of the differing trends suggested in content analyses include: intrinsic religiosity correlated negatively with racial prejudice but positively with prejudice toward sexual minorities, extrinsic religiosity was sometimes related to racism and heterosexism, quest showed a weak correlation with racial tolerance but a strong correlation with sexual minority tolerance (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). Finally, fundamentalism was consistently related to increased prejudice toward many targets, but its relationship with racism was “less clear-cut” (p. 812).

Overt to covert measures. The last limitation to consider regarding the research done thus far in this area is that many of the self-report measures of prejudice used are measures of overt forms of prejudice. Items are worded strongly enough that even a quite bigoted person may not endorse them. They may produce a ceiling effect on the range of prejudice attitudes represented in a study. Measuring only overt prejudice also goes against the grain of the modern-day manifestations of discrimination, and therefore be minimally relevant to real world application. Modern day prejudice manifests in subtle, covert, implicit forms and is often unconscious even to the perpetrator (Fouad, Arredondo, D'Andrea, & Ivey, 2002; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Sue, 2007). Therefore, to assess the relationship between religiosity and prejudice as it exists today, researchers would be much further along to assess covert, implicit prejudice using measures designed to pick up on subtler expressions of intolerance. Self-reports of overt prejudice have been shown to yield vastly different results than self-reports of covert prejudice and are also

highly sensitive to social desirability (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). The use of different measures of prejudice may show completely different trends, as Burn and Busso noted differing results depending on the instrument used to measure prejudice: “whereas researchers using self-reports consistently found that extrinsic orientations were positively correlated with prejudice, subsequent research using less reactive measures did not” (p.413). The research that does exist on implicit bias suggests there are rich patterns to be studied regarding religiosity (Rowatt & Lewis, 2009). Therefore it is important to carefully select measures that are indicative of real world manifestations of prejudice as it operates today.

The Present Study

The present study contributes to the literature by examining the effect of religious orientation, social dominance orientation, and actual group socialization on the degree to which covert prejudice is endorsed. This study is novel in that individual and intergroup factors are simultaneously considered. Not only are personality factors like religious orientation and authoritarianism measured, but a strong theoretical grounding in social dominance theory, the measuring of social dominance orientation, and religious group characteristics contributes to understanding the socialization effects of religion on individuals’ attitudes toward marginalized groups. Unlike many existing studies, the present study measures all six types of religious orientation for a nuanced examination of the different approaches to religion and the effect this has on attitude formation and maintenance. The present study also demonstrates higher levels of generalizability in that the questionnaires were distributed amongst a public group with little exclusion criteria. Diversity in age, race, class, sexual orientation, religious identity, and region of the United States were important priorities in participant recruitment. The current religious

orientation literature lacks such diversity in many samples. Recruitment for this study was not limited to Protestant college students.

The present study also contributes to the literature in that many forms of discrimination (racism, sexism, classism, and heterosexism) are included. It is important to include some less studied forms of prejudice so that we may learn about the interrelationships with those belief systems, as the current literature suggests that there are different trends for different –isms. The study of heterosexism remains sparser than the study of racism and sexism, and classism is largely unstudied in the religious orientation literature. Therefore heterosexism and classism measures were included in the present study. Additionally, relevant prejudice measures that better represent modern day prejudice are used in the present study. Measures that assessed for covert as opposed to overt prejudice were carefully selected.

Hypotheses

The present study has five primary hypotheses:

1) Higher levels of social dominance orientation will be related to higher levels of covert prejudice, regardless of the target of the prejudicial attitudes.

2) Social dominance orientation will be a significant predictor of covert prejudice when controlling for variables corresponding to authoritarian personality style, social desirability, and religious orientation. Religious orientation is expected to have a stronger relationship with covert prejudice than demographic factors and mere self-reports of being “religious, spiritual” or “orthodox” in one’s beliefs.

3) The relationships between each religious orientation and each type of prejudice are expected vary in strength and direction. This is expected to be particularly true for intrinsic orientation, which is predicted to have a negative relationship with racism and classism, and a

positive relationship with sexism and homonegativity. Extrinsic religiosity is expected to have a strong positive correlation with all prejudice types, Immanence a near-zero relationship, and quest a strong negative relationship with covert prejudices. Quest relationships with sexism, and all relationships with classism will be exploratory.

4) For the indiscriminately pro-religious and the indiscriminately anti-religious orientations, higher levels of indiscriminateness are expected to be associated with higher levels of covert prejudice regardless of target. Indiscriminate orientations are expected to show positive relationships with covert prejudice of all types.

5) It is also expected that the characteristics of the religious group in which participants have been socialized (as measured by the Lilly Survey of Congregations) will be related to participants' attitudes. Congregational racial diversity is expected to have a negative relationship with covert racism, congregational SES diversity is expected to have a negative relationship with classist attitudes, and female leadership is expected to reduce sexist attitudes. The more progressive the congregation, the more tolerant attitudes are expected to be.

Chapter III

Method

Procedure

This study was open to a wide range of participants in an effort to approach representativeness and maximize generalizability. Individuals older than 18, who currently reside in the United States, and have some interest in religion were invited to participate in the study. Individuals did not need to consider themselves religious to participate. Many of the scales used in this study have been used with non-Protestant and even non-religious participants, so inclusion of non-religious individuals was appropriate. Efforts were made to recruit a sample diverse in terms of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, age, and place of residence. Recruitment from specific campuses, or religious institutions was avoided to reduce the potential of sampling bias of certain congregational or spiritual groups' beliefs. Recruitment was conducted mainly online, but also with paper fliers posted to community boards in New York City and Durham and Charlotte, North Carolina. Online recruitment was executed via snowball method. Participants were sent invitations to participate via email and social media and were encouraged to forward the invitation to others in their networks that met the inclusion criteria. In particular, religious/spiritual/existential social media groups and discussion forums were targeted. To encourage participation, a remuneration lottery was advertised and completed. Ten participants won a \$10 gift via an optional link that was separate from the survey questions. Participants were informed that addresses entered to participate in the lottery would not be associated with their answers to the survey. Participants were not required to give their name for the lottery. The measures used in the study were crafted into a single online questionnaire available to participants through the secure, online survey program Qualtrics. Participants were

first directed to a consent page. If they clicked “disagree” on the informed consent, they were directed to an exit page. Clicking “agree” was required to proceed forward. Restrictions were put on the survey to prevent the same participants from taking the survey more than once from the same IP address. Participants were also required to answer all questions on a given page before proceeding to the next page in an effort to reduce missing data. To protect against order effects, the survey was counterbalanced with a randomizing feature. Participants either completed the religious orientation measures first or the personality, prejudice, and social desirability measures first. All participants completed demographic questions last (this included questions about the participant’s congregation if they endorsed regularly attending a particular place of worship) in an effort to reduce any potential stereotype threat. IBM SPSS software was used for all data analyses.

Measures

Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Altemeyer and colleagues developed the Right Wing Authoritarian Scale in 1990. Originally a 30-item measure, they later reduced the scale down to 22 items with three subscales (see Appendix A): *authoritarian submission*, *authoritarian aggression*, and *authoritarian conventionalism*, the latter being a construct very closely related to religious fundamentalism. The items are rated on an 8-point Likert scale. The RWA scale in the shorter form has demonstrated acceptable internal consistency, yielding an alpha of .904 (Hunsberger & Altemeyer, 2006). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .95. Authoritarianism-Fundamentalism scores have been found to have Pearson r intercorrelations of .66 to .75 (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). Sample items include: “What our country *really* needs, instead of more ‘civil rights,’ is a good stiff dose of law and order” and “There is really nothing wrong with a lot of the things some people call ‘sins’” (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992). The latter is a reverse-scored item.

Social Dominance Orientation Scale, Version 6 (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The sixth version of the SDO scale is a 16-item, 7-point Likert scale (ranging from 1 being “very negative” to 7 being “very positive”) measure (see Appendix B). Sidanius and Pratto developed the scale using 45 samples drawn from a number of nations which showed a one-factor solution, supported the validity of the scale, and yielded acceptable reliability scores. The median of all reliability estimates was .89 and a test-retest reliability of .86 for a one-month period (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Cronbach’s alpha for the scale has been estimated at .90 (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was in fact .90. Higher scale scores reflect higher endorsement of hierarchical systems in which one’s in-group will dominate. Sample items include: “Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups” and “To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups” (Aosved et al, 2009).

Religious Orientation Scale-Revised (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989). The Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religious Orientation Scale originally designed by Allport and Ross in 1967 was sensitive to education level and suffered from poor psychometrics. Therefore, the version revised by Gorsuch and McPherson (1989) will be used for this study(see Appendix C). The ROS-R is a 14-item scale with 6 extrinsic (E) items and 8 intrinsic (I) items. The response format is a 5-point Likert scale measure. For all items, a score of 1 indicates “strongly disagree” and a score of 5 indicates “strongly agree.” Indiscriminate responding will signal indiscriminately pro- or anti-religious orientations. A sample item for the extrinsic scale is “What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow” and an example of an intrinsic item is “My whole approach to life is based on my religion” (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989). Though the scale is several decades old, it continues to be used in more recent research as a tool for determining consistently extrinsic, consistently intrinsic, or indiscriminate responding (Burriss & Tarpley,

1998). Though the scale was originally designed in a 5-point response format, the method for the present study is to administer the scale in a 9-point response format, to be consistent with the Likert scale from items on the Interactional (Quest) Scale and the Immanence Scale, as Burriss and Tarpley (1998) did with Allport and Ross's original 5-point Likert scale. The scale was normed with a population of 771 students from secular and religious colleges in Southern California. Reliability estimates are .83 for the I subscale and .65 for the E subscale. In the current study, the I subscale Cronbach alpha coefficient was .84 and the E subscale was .76.

Interactional Scale-Revised (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991). The Interactional Scale-Revised, more commonly referred to as the Quest Scale, is a 12-item Likert scale measure (see Appendix D) with a 9-point response format (1= strongly disagree, 9= strongly agree). The criterion and discriminant validity of the scale have been supported by a series of validation studies conducted by its authors. The original version of the scale only included 6 items and had acceptable test-retest reliability but suffered from weak internal consistency. The authors subsequently revised the scale to include 12 items. The revised version of the scale has stronger internal consistency, with Cronbach's alpha ranging from .75 to .82 across various samples (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .80. The scale has a three factor solution representing three different aspects of Quest religiosity: readiness to face existential questions without reducing their complexity ("I have been driven to ask religious questions out of a growing awareness of the tensions in my world and in my relation to the world"), self-criticism and perception of religious doubts as positive ("It might be said that I value my religious doubts and uncertainties"), and openness to change ("I do not expect my religious convictions to change in the next few years" is a reverse-scored item). Researchers other than its authors have replicated the same three-factor solution (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991).

Immanence Scale (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998). The Immanence Scale for measuring immanence religious orientation is a 15-item measure with a 9-point Likert response format (see Appendix E). Cronbach's alpha has been found to be .79 and the split-half reliability is .59 (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998). Inter-item correlations range between .26 and .51 (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .83. The Immanence Scale has a single factor solution, and validation studies have suggested that the immanence scale does, in fact, measure a unique religious orientation that is distinct from intrinsic, extrinsic, and quest orientations (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998). Sample items include: "For me, being religious means being fully aware in the present moment" and "Evil must be embraced before it can be changed" (Burriss & Tarpley, 1998).

The Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al, 2000). The Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (see Appendix F) assesses the presence and extent of color-blind racial ideology. The CoBRAS is a 20-item scale with a lowest possible score of 20 and a highest possible score of 120, with higher scores indicating more Color-Blind Racial Attitudes. The CoBRAS scale was chosen because of its validity and reliability. Guttman split-half reliability estimates have yielded a reliability score of .72; Cronbach's alpha for each of the factors and the total score range from .70 to .86 (Neville et al, 2000). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient for the total scale was .92. Concurrent validity for the CoBRAS has been examined via two different just-world belief scales: the Global Belief in a Just World scale and the Multidimensional Belief in a Just World SocioPolitical subscale (Neville et al, 2000, p. 64). Significant correlations ranging from .39 to .61 between these scales and the CoBRAS factors were found. The two-week test-retest reliability score for CoBRAS scores was found to be .68 (Neville et al, 2000). CoBRAS items reflect value judgments with which the participants rate their agreement. Items have been

found to load onto three different subscales: Unawareness of Racial Privilege (items such as, “Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich”), Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination, (“Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality”), and Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues (Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today”) (Neville et al, 2000).

Benevolent Sexism Scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996). The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory is a 22-item self-report measure consisting of two 11-item subscales: Hostile Sexism and Benevolent Sexism. The 11 items of the Benevolent Sexism subscale (see Appendix G) will be the only items administered from the ASI due to the replicated finding that religiosity relates to benevolent, but not hostile sexism (Burn & Busso, 2005; Maltby et al, 2010). The Benevolent Sexism scale is composed of three domains of power differentials: protective paternalism (“Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives”), complementary gender differentiation (“Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility”), and heterosexual intimacy (“Men are complete without women”) (Burn & Busso, 2005). The ASI has undergone rigorous validation tests and has demonstrated strong psychometric properties in terms of construct validity and reliability (Burn & Busso, 2005). The scale has a 7-point Likert scale response format (1= strongly disagree, 7= strongly agree). Cronbach’s alpha for the benevolent sexism scale is .83 and the hostile sexism alpha is .90 (Glick & Fiske, 1996). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .85.

Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). The modern homonegativity scale (see Appendix H) was chosen for its ability to measure covert as opposed to overt sexual prejudice. Responses to scale items are therefore hoped to be less reactive than to

more obvious measures of homophobia and attitudes toward lesbians and gay men (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). The measure contains 12 items; alpha coefficients have ranged from .85 to .91 (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .95. The scale has been presented in various ways, such as giving two different forms of the same 12 items with replacement of the words “gay men” with “lesbians,” or in one 12-item form with the words “gay men and lesbians.” The latter is the method for this study in order to reduce participant burden. The scale is scored on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree; 5= strongly agree). Scores range from 13 to 65, with higher scores indicating greater modern homonegativity (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). Sample items include “Gay men and lesbians still need to protest for equal rights” (which is reverse-scored) and “If gay men and lesbians want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.”

Intolerant Schema Scale- Classism Subscale (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009). Aosved, Long, and Voller developed the Intolerant Schema Scale in which they selected measures of sexism, racism, classism, religious intolerance, heterosexism, and ageism to create a master scale of including many forms of intolerance. While many of the scales chosen for the Intolerant Schema Measure were scales of overt prejudice, the measure used for classism is a viable option for investigating modern classist attitudes. Aosved, Long, and Voller started with the 8-item Modified Economic Beliefs Scale developed by Stevenson and Medler in 1995, which was designed to measure classism. They selected items most representative of classism and added on additional items of their own to create a 9-item scale (see Appendix I). Sample items from the original Modified Economic Beliefs Scale include “People who stay on welfare have no desire to work,” and “Equal educational opportunities exist for all people in our society.” Examples of items added by Aosved et al include “Poor people are lazy.” (Aosved et al, 2009). Responses are

reported on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree). Scores range from 15 to 75 with lower scores indicating higher levels of classism. The internal consistency reliability coefficient for the original Modified Economic Beliefs scale was found to be .77 (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009); the authors' revision of the scale improved internal consistency to .85 (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .90.

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale- Short Form C (Reynolds, 1982).

This scale measures a tendency to respond in a manner that is socially acceptable in order to present oneself in a favorable manner (see Appendix J). It consists of 13 true/false items (1 = true, 2 = false). Therefore scores range from 13 to 26 with higher scores representing lower levels of social desirability. An item example is: "I never resent being asked to return a favor" (Aosved et al, 2009). The Kuder-Richardson internal consistency coefficient is .76 and Cronbach's alpha has been estimated at .70 (Reynolds, 1982). In the current study, the Cronbach alpha coefficient was .76. Validity of the scale has been supported and the short form correlates significantly with the full version of the scale (Reynolds, 1982).

Lilly Survey of Congregations. Participants who consider themselves to be part of a church, synagogue, mosque, temple, or other religious organization, or participants who regularly attend services will be asked to complete questions about their congregation. Selected questions from the Lilly Survey of Congregations will be presented to such participants (see Appendix K). The Lilly Survey of Congregations was a mail survey of Christian churches in use from April to July of 2000. Participants are given multiple-choice items about their perceptions of their congregation's social class diversity, theological emphasis, church size, SES of the church neighborhood, city size, pastor education, and church age. There is also a 6-part item in which

participants report the levels of female leadership by endorsing “yes”, “no”, or “don’t know” for items such as “Can women lead prayer during the primary worship service?” and “Can women be ushers?” (Yancy & Kim, 2008). This study is among the first to contribute data regarding the psychometric properties of this instrument. Additional options will be provided in addition to the original measure’s multiple-choice options for the sake of expanding multicultural relevance. Some of the question options assume the participant attends a Protestant Church.

Demographic Items. A short demographics questionnaire was presented to participants at the end of the survey (see Appendix L). The demographic items were placed at the end in an effort to reduce experiences of stereotype threat (Danaher & Crandall, 2008; Steele & Aronson, 1995). Participants were asked to identify their race, ethnicity, gender, perceived social class, sexual orientation, age, region of residence, political affiliation, and religious/spiritual identity. Participants were also asked to rate their own level of religiousness, spirituality, orthodoxy of beliefs, orthodoxy of religious practices, and authoritarianism on a 7-point Likert scale. Participants were also asked to report on their frequency of attendance at religious services and other religious group activities. They were also asked to rate how frequently they participate in personal religious activities such as private prayer and/or scripture reading.

Chapter IV

Results

This chapter begins with detailing the participant profile and comparing the current study's sample to population data estimated by the U.S. Census. Next, the treatment of missing data and initial calculations are explained. Normality of the data and other assumptions of statistical analyses are covered next, followed by correlations of primary variables of interest, followed by the statistical analyses conducted to investigate each of the five hypotheses. Finally, the findings across all of the prejudice types are summarized at the end the sections for each hypothesis.

Participants

The sample consisted of 341 adults living in the continental United States. Of the 341 participants, 28 did not complete the demographic items at the end of the survey. Therefore, the demographic profile below represents 91.8% of the participants in the sample.

Participants ranged in age from 18 to 90 years old ($M= 42$, $Med= 36$, $SD= 17.8$). The median age of the U.S. adult population as of the 2010 Census was 37.2. The sample was majority female with 68.5% of participants identifying as female. A majority of the sample (81.2%) identified as White. In terms of sexual orientation, the sample contained a sizable minority of non-straight individuals with only 86% identifying as heterosexual. The sample was diverse in terms of social class, with only 39.2% identified as middle class and included representation from all social classes. The sample was highly educated. All but 0.6% of participants had graduated high school and all but 4.1% had some post-secondary education. All regions of the continental U.S. were represented. Politically, much of the sample identified as Democrat (44.9%). For more

detailed demographic information of the sample, along with national comparisons, please see Figures 1a-c below.

Figure 1a

Demographic Information of the Sample with National Comparison

	Sample %	National %
Age		
27 or younger	25	18.7
36 or younger	50	34.3
57 or younger	75	73.0
Gender		
Female	68.5	51.6
Male	30.6	48.4
Trans	1.0	0.5*
Race		
White	81.2	80.9
Asian	7.0	4.8
Black/African-American	6.1	11.9
Multiracial	2.1	1.2
Did not identify	1.5	--
Indian	0.6	--
American Indian	0.3	0.9
Ethnicity		
Hispanic or Latino/a	5.0	14.1
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	86.0	96.6†
Homosexual	3.2	1.7*
Asexual	3.2	1.0§
Bisexual	2.9	1.8*
Queer	2.2	“something else” 0.2(men), 0.6(women)
Questioning	1.3	“did not report” 1.3(men), 1.1(women)
Pansexual	1.3	--
Social Class		
Middle Class	39.2	
Upper Middle Class	23.2	
Lower Middle Class	12.7	
Working Class	11.1	
Working Poor	8.9	
Living in Poverty	4.1	10.5 (% of families below poverty level)
Owning Class	0.6	

Note. Data comparison is the latest U.S. Census unless otherwise specified. * = National data is from the Williams Institute, † = National data is from the National Health Statistics Reports, § = National data is from “Understanding Asexuality” by Anthony Bogaert

Figure 1a continued

Demographic Information of the Sample with National Comparison

	Sample %	National %
Highest Level Education		
Did not complete HS	0.6	8.3
HS Diploma	3.5	37.0
Bachelor's degree	24.5	12.5
Master's degree	26.8	6.8 (advanced degree)
Doctoral degree	13.1	6.8 (advanced degree)
U.S. Geographic Region		
Northeast	36.6	18.4
South	28.3	36.7
Midwest	19.1	21.8
West	16.0	23.2
Political Affiliation		
Democrat	44.9	55 (in 2-party vote)
Independent	23.9	
Non-Partisan Liberal	14.0	
Republican	7.6	45 (in 2-party vote)
Non-Partisan Conservative	3.5	
Libertarian	3.5	
Green Party	2.5	

Participants were also asked to report on a number of items regarding religion and spirituality including: how often they participated in religious activities, whether they were a member/regular attender at a home congregation, and religious identity (See Figure 1b and Figure 1c below).

Figure 1b

Percentage of Sample Participating in Religious/Spiritual Activities

	Never	Few times a year	On holidays	Few times a month	Weekly	> Once a week	Daily	> Once a day
Religious Services	19.9	19.4	6.2	11.7	26.7	8.2	0	0
Religious Groups	0	27.6	5.6	9.1	14.4	5.6	0	0
Personal Prayer/Meditation	18.8	8.2	0	9.7	8.2	13.2	23.5	10.6

Figure 1c

Religion and Spirituality Information for the Sample with National Comparison

	Sample %	U.S. Census
Has a home congregation?		
Yes	53.1	49.5
No	46.9	50.5
	Sample %	Pew Center for Research
Religious Identity		
Protestant	41.6	46.6
Catholic	16.7	20.8
Atheist	11.4	3.1
Agnostic	10.6	4.0
Unaffiliated	9.1	22.8
Non-religious	8.5	15.8
Jewish	7.0	1.9
Buddhist	4.7	0.7
Secular Humanist	6.2	0.04*
Unitarian	3.2	1.0
Folk religion (i.e. Santaria)	2.6	0.6 (Pagan/Wiccan/Native American/Spiritualist)*
New Age	1.8	0.4
Mormon	1.2	1.6
Hindu	1.2	0.7
Muslim	0.6	0.9
Jehovah's Witness	0.6	0.8

Note. * = National comparison is from the U.S. Census

Missing Data

A total of 364 participants responded to the survey items. Two participants were eliminated because they did not meet inclusion criteria. Another 21 participants were removed because they completed no more than one of the measures within a single domain, thus their data did not provide the opportunity to draw comparisons between constructs. Following these reductions, the sample consisted of 341 adults living in the United States. Of these 341 participants, 28 did not complete the demographic items at the end of the survey. The survey was constructed in such a way to minimize missing data, in that participants were required to answer

all questions before moving to the next page. Pages were grouped by measure. Cases were eliminated pairwise when data for specific analyses was not available.

Preliminary Analyses

Scores for all measures were calculated after reverse-scoring the proper items. Participants were not categorized into one single religious orientation, but treated as having varying levels of all orientations. This is the indicated and usual treatment of this psychological construct, as the literature suggests orientations are not mutually exclusive from one another (Genia, 1996, p.62). Indiscriminately pro-religious and indiscriminately anti-religious orientations do not have independent scales. Rather, the indiscriminant religious orientation types were derived from the 14-item Religious Orientation Scale typically used to determine intrinsic and extrinsic religiosities. By totaling the level of endorsement of religion on all 14 items, a new “indiscriminately pro-religious” construct was calculated. The indiscriminately pro-religious calculation had good internal consistency with a Cronbach alpha coefficient of .84. Those participants scoring highest on this calculation were the most indiscriminately pro-religious individuals and those with the lowest scores were the most indiscriminately anti-religious. Individuals scoring close to the mean on this derived measure did not have an indiscriminant response pattern.

Normality of the data. The data for all variables was assessed for normality and outliers. For all prejudice measures, religious orientation measures, right wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, social desirability, and female leadership, degree of skew ranged from -0.63 to 1.08. Kurtosis ranged from -1.2 to 0.8. These levels fall well within the liberal standard of +/- 3 and within or near the more conservative standard of +/-1. Histograms and normal Q-Q plots were also examined. None of the data indicated a need for transformations for regression analyses. The data was examined for outliers with boxplots. No outliers were identified as extreme by the

SPSS boxplot function (extreme points are those extending 3 box lengths from the box's edge). Outliers were also investigated by comparing mean values with 5% trimmed means. The 5% trimmed means were all similar to mean values, the vast majority of which differed by 1 point or less. As outliers did not distort the measures of central tendency, no cases were eliminated.

Treatment of categorical data. Some demographic categorical variables were collapsed into fewer groups for relevant analyses. Examples of this include race categories reduced to White or not, sexual orientation categories reduced to heterosexual or not, and gender categories reduced to male or not. This was done when there were small *n*'s for some categorical responses in an effort to preserve power for statistical comparisons. Variables for the frequency of religious service attendance, religious group attendance, and personal religious activities were coded into values ranging from 0 ("never") to 7 ("more than daily"). Scores for total female leadership in worship services was also scored with values ranging 0 to 7. The 0 to 7 sum total resulted from adding responses to seven items on the Lilly Survey of Congregations. Six of the items pertain to female leadership that the congregation permits for various positions in the worship community (i.e. "According to the theology of your congregation, can women be ushers?"). These questions had three answer choices: "yes", "no", and "I don't know." Each "yes" earned one point for female leadership. Items marked "no" or "I don't know" earned zero, as "I don't know," reflects a lack of knowledge of codified permission and/or environmental cues demonstrating female authority in the worship community. The seventh item included in the calculation for total female leadership was the sex of the lead pastor/rabbi/priest, with 0 representing male senior leadership and 1 representing female senior leadership. All other Lilly Survey items were treated individually.

Correlations. Exploratory Pearson correlations were conducted for all prejudice, personality, and religious orientations to estimate convergent and divergent validity of measures (see Table 2.1 below). All types of prejudice had medium to large positive correlations with one another. Personality measures expected to correlate with prejudice (right wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation) showed strong positive correlations with each other and with all types of prejudice. Social desirability was largely uncorrelated or weakly correlated with all prejudice measures, suggesting the aim to use scales less susceptible to socially desirable responding was successful.

Small positive correlations were found between intrinsic religious orientation and all four prejudices, except for homonegativity, which yielded a medium positive correlation. Positive correlations between extrinsic and the four types of prejudice were found as expected, though the strength of these relationships was small. Quest showed weak, negative relationships with all types of prejudices. The relationship between quest and sexism was insignificant and small in strength. Immanence religious orientation was expected to have a near zero relationship with all – isms. This was true for sexism and classism, but immanence orientation showed a small negative correlation with colorblindness and a medium negative correlation with homonegativity.

A correlation matrix for the primary variables including prejudice, religious orientation, and personality measures is displayed in Table 2.1. Another correlation matrix is presented in Table 2.2 for religious observance variables, including self-ratings of how “religious”, “spiritual”, “orthodox”, and “authoritarian” the individual considers themselves to be, how often they attend worship services, religious groups, or personal religious activities, and the level of indiscriminately pro-religious orientation. Intrinsic orientation and RWA are presented again in

this second correlation table, as these variables are highly related to many religious observance variables.

Table 2.1

Correlations Among Primary Variables

	<u>1.</u>	<u>2.</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>4.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>6.</u>	<u>7.</u>	<u>8.</u>	<u>9.</u>	<u>10.</u>	<u>11.</u>
1. Benevolent Sexism	-										
2. Classism	.53**	-									
3. Colorblindness	.46**	.67**	-								
4. Homonegativity	.53**	.66**	.76**	-							
5. Immanence	-.08	-.12*	-.28**	-.44**	-						
6. Quest	-.11	-.18**	-.27**	-.29**	.52**	-					
7. Intrinsic	.26**	.15**	.25**	.39**	-.38**	-.08	-				
8. Extrinsic	.29**	.23**	.11*	.16**	.14**	.22**	.39**	-			
9. RWA	.61**	.62**	.67**	.84**	-.48**	-.32**	.52**	.27*	-		
10. SDO	.43**	.59**	.57**	.57**	-.18**	-.17**	.10	.10	.57*	-	
11. Social Desirability	.16**	.15**	.19**	.11	.10	-.09	.57**	.03	.11	-.00	-

Note. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$

Table 2.2

Correlations Among Religious Observance variables, Intrinsic RO, and RWA

	<u>1.</u>	<u>2.</u>	<u>3.</u>	<u>4.</u>	<u>5.</u>	<u>6.</u>	<u>7.</u>	<u>8.</u>	<u>9.</u>	<u>10.</u>	<u>11.</u>
1. Religious	-										
2. Spiritual	.59	-									
3. Orthodox Belief	.68	.38	-								
4. Orthodox Practice	.70	.43	.82	-							
5. Indiscriminant-Pro	.73	.61	.64	.63	-						
6. Service Attendance	.75	.49	.66	.64	.71	-					
7. Group Attendance	.56	.32	.47	.45	.55	.69	-				
8. Personal Religious Activity	.65	.67	.54	.58	.74	.67	.50	-			
9. Authoritarianism	.30	.09	.37	.25	.33	.38	.35	.29	-		
10. Intrinsic RO	.72	.56	.70	.66	.84	.76	.62	.77	.48	-	
11. RWA	.45	.26	.55	.41	.51	.49	.31	.40	.55	.52	-

Note. $p < .01$ for all correlations except for authoritarianism with spiritual ($p = .12$)

Hypothesis Testing

Hypothesis 1. *Higher levels of social dominance orientation will be related to higher levels of covert prejudice, regardless of the target of the prejudicial attitudes.* The relationship between social dominance orientation (SDO) and covert prejudice was investigated using Pearson product-moment correlations for all types of prejudice measured: colorblindness, benevolent sexism, homonegativity, and classism. These correlation coefficients can be found in Table 2.1. Hypothesis 1 was supported, as significant positive correlations of medium to large strength were found for all prejudice types. Colorblindness, as measured by the Color Blind Racial Attitudes Scale, had a strong positive correlation with SDO, as measured by the Social Dominance Orientation Scale, Version 6, $r = .57$, $n = 340$, $p < 0.01$, with high levels of colorblindness associating with high levels of social dominance orientation. Benevolent sexism, as measured by the Ambivalent Sexism Scale, had a medium positive correlation with SDO, $r = .43$, $n = 332$, $p < 0.01$, with high levels of benevolent sexism associating with high levels of social dominance orientation. Classism, as measured by the class section of the Intolerant Schema Scale, had a strong positive correlation with SDO, $r = .57$, $n = 329$, $p < 0.01$. Homonegativity, as measured by the Modern Homonegativity Scale, also had a strong positive correlation with SDO, $r = .59$, $n = 329$, $p < 0.01$.

Hypothesis 2. *Social dominance orientation will be the most significant predictor of covert prejudice when controlling for variables corresponding to authoritarian personality style, social desirability, and religious orientation. Religious orientation is expected to be a stronger predictor of covert prejudice than demographic factors and mere self-reports of being “religious, spiritual” or “orthodox” in one’s beliefs.* Hierarchical multiple linear regressions were conducted to assess the significance of religious variables and personality variables related to religion in

predicting covert prejudice. This was done after controlling for demographic variables. Variables were entered in two blocks: demographics in block 1; religion and personality variables related to religion in block 2. The variables entered in the first block were: age, social class, level of education, Whiteness, heterosexuality, and male gender. Variables included in the second block were the following: the 4 major religious orientations (intrinsic, extrinsic, immanence, and quest), self-identification of being religious, spiritual, and orthodox in one’s beliefs, and personality variables (social desirability, right wing authoritarianism, and social dominance orientation). The model for these hierarchical regressions is detailed below in Figure 2. Four such hierarchical regressions were conducted, one with each type of contemporary prejudice (colorblindness, benevolent sexism, classism, and homonegativity) as the outcome variable.

Figure 2

Hierarchical Regressions for Hypothesis 2

Block 1: Demographics	Block 2: Religion & Personality
<p style="text-align: center;">Age Social Class Education Whiteness Heterosexuality Male Gender</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>Religious Orientations:</u> Intrinsic Extrinsic Immanence Quest</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Self-Identification:</u> Religious Spiritual Orthodox Beliefs</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><u>Personality:</u> Social Desirability Right Wing Authoritarianism Social Dominance Orientation</p>
<p>Outcome Variable: Prejudice (colorblindness, benevolent sexism, classism, or homonegativity)</p>	

The variables above were chosen for the model design in an effort to locate the religion and personality variables that play the biggest role in predicting contemporary prejudice. An exploratory model was conducted with many demographic variables and religion self-report items collected from the participants. Variables that never emerged as significant predictors for any of the prejudice outcome variables were removed from consideration. Ethnicity (being Hispanic or not) and region of residence in the continental U.S. were demographic items that never showed statistical significance. In terms of religion variables, frequency of attendance at worship services and religious groups, frequency of participation in personal prayer/meditation, being a member/regular attender at a congregation, self-report of orthodox practice, and self-report of authoritarianism did not emerge as significant predictors for any of the types of prejudice. Thus, these variables were not included in the hierarchical regression models testing hypothesis 2. Quest and extrinsic religious orientations also did not emerge as significant in the exploratory model, but were maintained due to their theoretical significance as two of the four religious orientations and their centrality to this particular hypothesis.

Hence, the resulting hierarchical regression model pictured in Figure 2 above is presented for each prejudice outcome variable. A reduced model including only statistically significant predictor variables is also presented for each type of prejudice below. The purpose of the reduced model is to demonstrate the most parsimonious predictive model for each prejudice type. Continuous variables were standardized by calculating Z scores prior to conducting hierarchical regression models for the purposes of creating a meaningful comparison with the non-continuous dummy variables (i.e. being male or not).

Colorblind Racial Attitudes. To predict colorblindness, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted using the block ordering as displayed in Figure 2 above. The first block,

demographic variables, created a significant model accounting for 18% of the variance in colorblind attitudes. The next block of variables, religion and personality measures, created a significant model accounting for 58% of the variance in colorblindness (R squared change = .39, F change (10, 295) = 27.40, $p < .001$).

Table 3

Hierarchical Regression Model for Colorblind Racial Attitudes

<u>Model</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R Squared</u>	<u>Adjusted R Squared</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>	<u>R Squared Change</u>	<u>F Change</u>	<u>Sig. of F change</u>
1	.43	.18	.17	17.27	.18	11.40	.000
2	.76	.58	.55	12.64	.39	27.40	.000

In model 2, significant predictor variables included level of education, age, social class, right wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and social desirability. Right wing authoritarianism (RWA) had the highest beta value ($beta = 8.97, p = <.001$), social dominance orientation (SDO) the next highest ($beta = 5.19, p = <.001$), and then education ($beta = -2.47, p = .003$). Older age, right wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and social desirability were all associated with higher levels of colorblindness. Higher education and lower social class were associated with lower colorblind attitudes.

Next a simple linear multiple regression was performed with only the six predictor variables that were significant in model 2 of the hierarchical regression. This resulted in a significant model accounting for 56% of the variance in colorblind racial attitudes (R squared = .56, standard error = 12.69, $F(6, 306) = 64.68, p < .001$). See table 4 below for beta coefficients.

Table 4

Colorblind Racial Attitudes Reduced Model Beta Coefficients

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Standardized Beta</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Significance</u>
RWA***	8.50	9.58	.000
SDO***	5.36	6.07	.000
Education***	-2.69	-3.36	.001
Age**	2.40	3.18	.002
Social Desirability**	1.84	2.48	.01
Social Class*	-1.55	-1.96	.05

Note. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Hypothesis 2 was partially supported for colorblind racial attitudes. The second block of variables containing the religion and personality variables accounted for a 39% increase in variance accounted for after controlling for demographic variables, demonstrating the importance of religion when predicting colorblind attitudes. However, hypothesis 2 was not supported in the sense that social dominance orientation was not the strongest predictor of colorblindness. Right wing authoritarianism had the largest beta coefficient. Hypothesis 2 also did not bear out in terms of religious orientation having stronger predictive ability for colorblind attitudes than all the demographic variables in the model as education, age, and social class contributed significantly, while none of the religious orientation variables did so.

In summary, RWA had the most predictive ability in regression models for colorblind racial attitudes with higher levels of authoritarianism predicting higher levels of colorblindness. SDO had the next highest predictive ability with higher levels of SDO corresponding to higher levels of colorblindness. Higher level of education and lower social class corresponded to lower colorblind attitudes; while older age and higher social desirability were related to increased colorblindness.

Benevolent Sexism. In the hierarchical regression performed with benevolent sexism as the outcome variable (see Figure 2 above for block structure of independent variables), the first block of demographic variables, created a significant model accounting for 13% of the variance in benevolent sexism. The next block of variables, religion and personality measures, led to a 38% increase in variance accounted for creating a significant model accounting for 51% of the variance in benevolent sexism (R^2 change = .38, F change (10, 295) = 22.84, $p < .001$).

Table 5

Hierarchical Regression Model for Benevolent Sexism

<u>Model</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R Squared</u>	<u>Adjusted R Squared</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>	<u>R Squared Change</u>	<u>F Change</u>	<u>Sig. of F change</u>
1	.36	.13	.11	9.82	.13	7.56	.000
2	.71	.51	.48	7.50	.38	22.84	.000

In model 2, significant predictor variables included right wing authoritarianism, heterosexuality, immanence religious orientation, and male gender. Right wing authoritarianism (RWA) had the highest beta value ($beta = 6.36$, $p < .001$), heterosexuality had the next highest ($beta = 5.93$, $p < .001$), and then immanence orientation ($beta = 2.54$, $p < .001$). Right wing authoritarianism, heterosexuality, immanence religious orientation, and male gender were all associated with higher levels of benevolent sexism.

Next a simple linear multiple regression was performed with only the four predictor variables that were significant in model 2 of the hierarchical regression. This resulted in a significant reduced model accounting for 48% of the variance in benevolently sexist attitudes (R^2 = .48, standard error = 7.60, $F(4, 309) = 69.86$, $p < .001$). See table 6 below for beta coefficients.

Table 6

Benevolent Sexism Reduced Model Beta Coefficients

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Standardized Beta</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Significance</u>
RWA***	7.41	15.07	.000
Heterosexuality***	6.05	4.75	.000
Immanence***	3.04	6.10	.000
Male Gender**	2.04	2.17	.03

Note. ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

In summary, hypothesis 2 was partially supported for benevolent sexism. The second block of variables in the hierarchical regression containing the religion and personality variables accounted for a 38% increase in variance accounted for after controlling for demographic variables. Right wing authoritarianism contributed most strongly to the model predicting benevolent sexism with higher levels of RWA corresponding with higher levels of sexism, heterosexuality was the next most powerful predictor with straight identification corresponding to higher sexism, followed by immanence religious orientation, which was strongly associated with higher sexism. Identifying as male also related to higher scores on the benevolent sexism scale. Hypothesis 2 was not supported in that social dominance orientation (SDO) was not a significant predictor variable, though it approached significance with a p value of 0.55. Hypothesis 2 was somewhat supported in that one religious orientation, immanence, was more predictive than most demographic variables, with the exception of sexual orientation.

Classism. To predict classism, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted using the block ordering as displayed in Figure 2 (p. 90). The first block, demographic variables, created a significant model accounting for 8% of the variance in classist attitudes. The next block of variables, religion and personality measures, created a significant model accounting for 55% of the variance in classism (R squared change = .47, F change (10, 295) = 30.43, $p < .001$).

Table 7

Hierarchical Regression Model for Classism

<u>Model</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R Squared</u>	<u>Adjusted R Squared</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>	<u>R Squared Change</u>	<u>F Change</u>	<u>Sig. of F change</u>
1	.28	.08	.06	7.13	.08	4.41	.000
2	.74	.55	.52	5.08	.47	30.43	.000

In model 2, significant predictor variables included right wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, intrinsic religious orientation, identifying as “religious,” immanence orientation, age, and social desirability. Right wing authoritarianism (RWA) had the highest beta value ($beta = 3.72, p = <.001$), social dominance orientation (SDO) the next highest ($beta = 2.21, p = <.001$), and then intrinsic religious orientation ($beta = -1.82, p = .001$). RWA, SDO, identifying as highly “religious”, immanence orientation, and social desirability were all associated with higher levels of classism. Aging and intrinsic religious orientation were associated with lower levels of classist attitudes.

Next a simple linear multiple regression was performed with only the six predictor variables that were significant in model 2 of the hierarchical regression. This resulted in a significant model accounting for 53% of the variance in classist attitudes (R squared = .53, standard error = 5.10, $F(7, 304) = 49.10, p < .001$). See table 8 below for beta coefficients

Table 8

Classism Reduced Model Beta Coefficients

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Standardized Beta</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Significance</u>
RWA***	3.97	8.57	.000
SDO***	2.31	6.28	.000
Intrinsic***	-1.76	-3.84	.000
Religious***	1.40	3.29	.001
Immanence**	1.03	3.00	.003
Social Desirability*	.68	2.27	.02
Age	-.51	-1.72	.09

Note. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Hypothesis 2 was partially supported for classism. The second block of variables in the hierarchical regression containing the religion and personality variables accounted for a 47% increase in variance accounted for after controlling for demographic variables. However, hypothesis 2 was not supported in the sense that social dominance orientation was not the strongest predictor of classism. Right wing authoritarianism had the largest beta coefficient. Hypothesis 2 was supported in that religious orientation had stronger predictive ability for classism than all the demographic variables in the model as intrinsic and immanence were more significant predictor variables than all demographic factors. In fact, age, which was the only significant demographic predictor in the hierarchical model, fell out of significance in the reduced model.

In summary, RWA had the most predictive ability in regression models for classist attitudes with higher levels of authoritarianism predicting higher levels of colorblindness. SDO had the next highest predictive ability with higher levels of SDO corresponding to higher levels of colorblindness. All other variables in the reduced model also had a positive relationship with

classist attitudes with the exception of intrinsic religious orientation which was associated with lower classism.

Homonegativity. To predict negative attitudes towards sexual minorities, a hierarchical multiple regression was conducted using the block ordering as displayed in Figure 2 (p. 90). The first block, demographic variables, created a significant model accounting for 16% of the variance in homonegativity. The next block of variables, religion and personality measures, created a significant model accounting for 75% of the variance in homonegativity (R^2 change = .59, F change (10, 295) = 70.11, $p < .001$).

Table 9

Hierarchical Regression Model for Homonegativity

<u>Model</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>R Squared</u>	<u>Adjusted R Squared</u>	<u>Standard Error</u>	<u>R Squared Change</u>	<u>F Change</u>	<u>Sig. of F change</u>
1	.40	.16	.14	11.64	.16	9.60	.000
2	.87	.75	.74	6.44	.59	70.11	.000

In model 2, significant predictor variables included right wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, immanence orientation, age, identifying and “spiritual,” and social class. Right wing authoritarianism (RWA) had the highest beta value ($\beta = 9.20, p = <.001$), social dominance orientation (SDO) the next highest ($\beta = 1.74, p = <.001$), and then immanence orientation ($\beta = -1.42, p = .01$). RWA, SDO, older age, and identifying as “spiritual” were all associated with higher levels of homonegativity. Higher social class and immanence scores were associated with lower homonegativity.

Next a simple linear multiple regression was performed with only the six predictor variables that were significant in model 2 of the hierarchical regression. This resulted in a

significant model accounting for 73% of the variance in homonegativity (R squared = .73, standard error = 6.55, $F(6, 305) = 140.25$ $p < .001$). See table 10 below for beta coefficients.

Table 10

Homonegativity Reduced Model Beta Coefficients

Predictor Variable	Standardized Beta	T	Significance
RWA***	8.60	15.78	.000
SDO***	2.07	4.53	.000
Age***	1.32	3.43	.001
Social Class**	-1.20	-3.12	.002
Immanence**	-1.15	-2.61	.01
Spiritual	.18	.45	.65

Note. * = $p < .05$, ** = $p < .01$, *** = $p < .001$

Hypothesis 2 was partially supported for homonegativity. The second block of variables containing the religion and personality variables accounted for a 59% increase in variance accounted for after controlling for demographic variables, demonstrating the importance of religion when predicting anti-homosexual attitudes. However, hypothesis 2 was not supported in the sense that social dominance orientation was not the strongest predictor, as right wing authoritarianism had the largest beta coefficient. Hypothesis 2 also did not bear out in terms of religious orientation having stronger predictive ability for homonegativity than all the demographic variables in the model as age and social class contributed significantly. Immanence, however, was a religious orientation that preserved significance in the reduced model. Simply identifying as “spiritual” did not maintain significance when entered into the reduced model.

In summary, right wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation had the most predictive ability in regression models for homonegativity with higher levels of these variables predicting higher levels of homonegativity. Lower social class and older age also corresponded to higher homonegativity; while immanence orientation was related to decreased homonegativity.

Summary of hypothesis 2 analyses. For hypothesis 2, right wing authoritarianism was the strongest predictor variable for all prejudice types, with higher RWA corresponding to higher prejudice. For all prejudice outcome variables, except for benevolent sexism, social dominance orientation was the second strongest predictor of prejudice with higher SDO corresponding to higher prejudice. Interestingly, SDO did not emerge as a significant predictor for benevolent sexism. The other personality variable, social desirability was predictive of higher prejudice in the case of colorblind racism and classism. The hypothesis that religious orientations (ROs) would have greater predictive power than all demographic variables was supported in part. None of the religious orientations emerged as significant predictors in the final model for colorblindness. Quest and extrinsic religious orientations never emerged as significant. Immanence and intrinsic, however, were important predictor variables in the other three prejudice types. Intrinsic predicted lower classism. Immanence painted an interesting picture in that it predicted higher benevolent sexism and classism, but predicted lower homonegativity. See Figure 3 below for all significant predictive variables (in order by beta weights) for each outcome variable.

Figure 3

Significant Predictors in Final Hierarchical Regressions

Outcome:	Colorblindness	Benevolent Sexism	Classism	Homonegativity
Predictors:	RWA SDO - Education Age S. Desirability -Class	RWA Heterosexuality Immanence Male Gender	RWA SDO - Intrinsic RO Religious Immanence RO S. Desirability	RWA SDO Age -Class -Immanence RO

Note. - = negative relationship with outcome variable

Hypothesis 3. *The relationships between each religious orientation and each type of prejudice are expected to vary in strength and direction. This is expected to be particularly true for intrinsic orientation, which is predicted to have negative relationships with racism and classism, and positive relationships with sexism and homonegativity. Extrinsic religiosity is expected to have strong positive correlations with all prejudice types, Immanence near-zero correlations, and quest strong negative relationships with the covert prejudices. Quest relationships with sexism, and all relationships with classism are exploratory.* To assess this hypothesis, four multiple regression analyses were performed, one with each prejudice type as the outcome variable. The predictor variables were the same in all four regressions: the four core religious orientations.

Multiple regression analyses were conducted to detect any unique relationships that might exist between the core religious orientations and the prejudice measures. Significant but small R squared values were found for all prejudice types (colorblindness R squared= .15, $F(4, 321) = 13.61, p < .001$; benevolent sexism R squared= .13, $F(4, 318) = 11.81, p < .001$; classism R squared= .11, $F(4, 316) = 9.462, p < .001$; and homonegativity R squared= .28, $F(4, 316) = 30.67, p < .001$).

Colorblindness. For colorblind attitudes, the expected positive beta coefficient was found for extrinsic ($beta = .13, p = .03$) and an unexpected positive beta coefficient was found for intrinsic ($beta = .13, p = .04$) RO. Immanence had a small negative beta ($beta = -.13, p = .05$), which was expected to be nearer to zero. Quest had the expected moderate negative relationship ($beta = -.22, p = .00$). All ROs were significant at the $p < \text{or} = .05$ alpha level. Quest orientation emerged as the strongest and most statistically significant partial correlation. This differs from what was suggested in the correlation matrix (Table 2.1), where immanence had the strongest

(negative) Pearson correlation. The partial correlations suggest extrinsic and intrinsic ROs are related to higher colorblind attitudes and immanence and quest ROs are related to lower colorblind attitudes.

Table 11

Colorblind Racial Attitudes Multiple Linear Regression Beta Coefficients

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Standardized Beta</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Extrinsic RO	.13	2.20	.03
Intrinsic RO	.13	2.06	.04
Immanence RO	-.13	-1.98	.05
Quest RO	-.22	-3.61	.00

Benevolent Sexism. For benevolent sexism, all religious orientations showed relationships in the expected direction. Extrinsic had a moderate, positive beta coefficient ($beta = .26, p < .001$), intrinsic had a small positive beta ($beta = .16, p = .02$), immanence had a near-zero, insignificant relationship ($beta = .03, p = .67$), and quest had a negative relationship ($beta = -.17, p = .01$) with benevolent sexism. The model suggests that extrinsic and intrinsic religious orientation types are related to higher benevolent sexism whereas quest orientation is related to lower sexism. Immanence appears to be unrelated.

Table 12

Benevolent Sexism Multiple Linear Regression Beta Coefficients

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Standardized Beta</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Extrinsic RO	.26	4.26	.000
Intrinsic RO	.16	2.43	.02
Immanence RO	.03	.43	.67
Quest RO	-.17	-2.64	.01

Classism. Extrinsic and quest were the orientations that showed the strongest relationships with classism. Extrinsic showed the expected, moderate, positive relationship ($beta = .28, p < .01$)

and quest had the expected, moderate, negative relationship ($beta = -.21, p < .01$). Intrinsic ($beta = .01, p = .92$) and immanence ($beta = -.05, p = .47$) orientations showed near-zero, insignificant relationships to classism. This was predicted for immanence. However, this was unexpected for intrinsic orientation, which was hypothesized to be a negative relationship. These multiple regression analyses suggest that extrinsic religiosity relates to higher classism, quest religiosity relates to lower classism, and intrinsic and immanence orientations are unrelated to classism.

Table 13

Classism Multiple Linear Regression Beta Coefficients

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Standardized Beta</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Extrinsic RO	.28	4.52	.00
Intrinsic RO	.01	.10	.92
Immanence RO	-.05	-.73	.47
Quest RO	-.21	-3.32	.00

Homonegativity. For homonegativity, hypothesis 3 was partially supported. Extrinsic and intrinsic religiosities had the expected positive relationships and quest had the expected negative relationship with homonegativity. Hypothesis 3 was not supported regarding immanence orientation. A near-zero relationship was expected, but this was the strongest beta weight for all regressions conducted for hypothesis 3. Immanence was a strong, inverse predictor for homonegativity ($beta = -.31, p < .01$). All other beta weights were small in size, but statistically significant with intrinsic ($beta = .19, p < .01$) and extrinsic ($beta = .17, p < .01$) yielding positive coefficients, and quest ($beta = -.15, p = .01$) yielding a negative coefficient. Immanence and quest orientations appear to be related to lower attitudes against sexual minorities, whereas intrinsic and extrinsic orientations were related to higher homonegativity.

Table 14

Modern Homonegativity Multiple Linear Regression Beta Coefficients

<u>Predictor Variable</u>	<u>Standardized Beta</u>	<u>T</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Extrinsic RO	.17	2.96	.00
Intrinsic RO	.19	3.28	.00
Immanence RO	-.31	-4.96	.00
Quest RO	-.15	-2.66	.01

Summary of hypothesis 3 analyses. To compare the beta weights found in each of the multiple linear regressions with religious orientation predictor variables and prejudice outcome variables, see Table 15 below.

Table 15

Combined Beta Coefficients for Prejudice Outcome Variables

	Colorblindness	Benevolent Sexism	Classism	Homonegativity
Extrinsic	.13*	.26***	.28**	.17**
Intrinsic	.13*	.16*	.01	.19**
Immanence	-.13*	.03	-.05	-.31**
Quest	-.22**	-.17**	-.21**	-.15**

Note. * = p is less than or equal to .05, ** = p is less than or equal to .01, *** = p is less than or equal to .001

The trends observed for extrinsic and quest orientations were as hypothesized. Extrinsic religiosity had positive relationships with all prejudice outcome variables, as expected, though beta weights were small to moderate. Extrinsic religiosity was the strongest religious orientation predictor for both sexist and classist attitudes. Quest showed an inverse relationship with all prejudice outcome variables, as expected, with small to moderate beta weights. Quest orientation was the strongest religious orientation predictor for lower colorblindness and lower classist attitudes.

The intrinsic and immanence orientations showed some surprising results. Intrinsic was expected to have a negative relationships with colorblind and classist attitudes and positive relationships with benevolent sexism and homonegativity. However weak positive relationships were found with all the –isms except classism. Intrinsic orientation appeared to be unrelated to classism. Immanence orientation painted an interesting picture. For most –isms, immanence had the expected small to near-zero relationship, however it was the strongest predictor for homonegativity, with greater immanence corresponding to less homonegativity. See Figure 4 below for a comparison of the expected positive, negative, and near-zero relationships versus the found positive, negative, and near-zero relationships.

Figure 4

Expected Versus Found Relationships for Hypothesis 3

Expected:	Colorblindness	Benevolent Sexism	Classism	Homonegativity
Extrinsic	+	+	+	+
Intrinsic	-	+	-	+
Immanence	0	0	0	0
Quest	-	-	-	-

Found:	Colorblindness	Benevolent Sexism	Classism	Homonegativity
Extrinsic	+	+	+	+
Intrinsic	+	+	0	+
Immanence	-	0	0	-
Quest	-	-	-	-

In terms of predictive power, the most evident relationships existed between extrinsic orientation and higher levels of benevolent sexism and classism, between quest orientation and lower colorblind attitudes, and between immanence orientation and lower levels of anti-homosexual attitudes. Relationships concerning anti-homosexual attitudes in general were highly significant.

Hypothesis 4. *For the indiscriminately pro-religious and the indiscriminately anti-religious orientations, higher levels of indiscriminateness are expected to be associated with higher levels of covert prejudice regardless of target. Indiscriminate orientations are expected to show positive relationships with covert prejudice of all types.* To test hypothesis 4, a one-way between-groups multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed with the four types of prejudice (colorblind attitudes, benevolent sexism, classism, and homonegativity) as the four dependent variables, and group membership as the independent variable. Membership in one of four groups was defined according to quartile splits on the indiscriminately pro-religious calculation. The 81 most indiscriminately anti-religious participants fell in the bottom quartile (with scores of 51 or lower), 84 semi anti-religious participants fell in the second quartile (with scores from 52 to 69), 80 semi pro-religious participants fell in the third quartile (with scores from 70 to 79), and the 72 most indiscriminately pro-religious fell in the top quartile (with scores of 80 or higher). The *n* for each cell was sufficiently large to protect against abnormalities in distribution and linearity.

Checking assumptions. As MANOVA tests can be highly sensitive to outliers, the author searched the data for both univariate and multivariate outliers. For univariate outliers, boxplots showed homonegativity and classism each had 5 outliers with high scores, and colorblind attitudes had 1 outlier with a high score. However, none of these outliers, once eliminated,

changed the dependent variable means more than 1.2 points and all 5% trimmed means (which eliminated all outlier cases) fell within the 95% confidence interval for the original mean. For the summary variable, Mahalanobis distances were calculated. Only three cases had Mahalanobis distances greater than the chi-square critical value of 18.47. These three cases had Mahalanobis distances of 18.76, 20.22, and 26.55. A one-way between-groups MANOVA was conducted eliminating the 2 cases with the largest distances. This did not change trends in the mean differences yielded in the MANOVA using the complete data set. Therefore, all cases were maintained for the analyses described below.

The Box's test of equality of covariance matrices and the Levene's test of equality of error variances were significant for all dependent variables except for benevolent sexism. This indicates unequal covariances and a violation of the assumption of equal variances. To compensate for this violation, a Bonferroni adjustment was employed, to the regular alpha level of .05, which was divided by 4, the number of dependent variables. This resulted in an adjusted alpha level of .0125 to assess statistical significance.

MANOVA results. There was a statistically significant difference between indiscriminant groups on the combined dependent variables with medium effect sizes, $F(12, 317) = 5.05$; Wilks' Lambda = .83; partial eta squared = .06; $p < .001$. For a more robust test of significance, Pillai's Trace was also examined: $F(12, 317) = 4.81$; Pillai's Trace = .17; partial eta squared = .06; $p < .001$. Therefore, indiscriminant group accounted for about 6% of the variance in covert prejudice levels. When the results for the dependent variables were considered separately using a Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .0125, there were statistically significant differences for each type of prejudice by indiscriminant group. See Table 16 below for tests of between-subjects effects for each dependent variable.

Table 16

Indiscriminant Group Between-Subjects Effects

<u>Dependent Variable</u>	<u>Type III Sum of Squares</u>	<u>Mean Square</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Partial Eta Squared</u>
Colorblindness	8756.18	2918.73	8.91	.000	.08
Benevolent Sexism	2976.72	992.24	10.15	.000	.09
Classism	1002.41	334.14	6.50	.000	.06
Homonegativity	7269.70	2423.23	17.47	.000	.14

An inspection of the mean scores indicated that a different pattern emerged than expected. Mean prejudice scores did not increase with level of indiscriminateness as hypothesized. Rather, mean prejudice scores increased with more pro-religious attitudes. For all types of covert prejudice, participants in the indiscriminately anti-religious group had the lowest mean prejudice scores, the semi anti-religious group had higher mean prejudice scores, participants in the semi pro-religious had even higher mean prejudice scores, and the indiscriminately pro-religious group had the highest mean prejudice scores of all. See Table 17 below for all group means.

Table 17

Estimated marginal means of covert prejudice by indiscriminant group

<u>Prejudice Type:</u>	<u>Indiscriminate Group:</u>			
	<u>Indiscriminately Anti-Religious</u>	<u>Semi Anti-Religious</u>	<u>Semi Pro-Religious</u>	<u>Indiscriminately Pro-Religious</u>
Colorblindness	43.73	48.58	56.04	56.21
Benevolent Sexism	14.20	18.21	21.19	22.08
Classism	14.00	17.00	17.71	18.83
Homonegativity	18.53	23.30	29.61	30.21

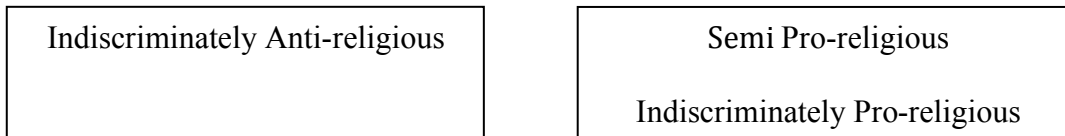
Follow-up univariate tests. Since there were more than two independent variable levels, follow-up univariate analyses and post-hoc tests were conducted to identify the location of significant differences in prejudice scores by indiscriminant group. Four one-way between-groups analyses of variance (ANOVAs) were performed, one for each prejudice type. Tukey's Honestly Significant Difference and Scheffe's tests were chosen for post-hoc analyses. As multiple

analyses were conducted, Bonferroni’s Adjustment was employed for the alpha level. Only analyses significant at the .0125 level were considered reportable results. All group differences were examined instead of planned comparisons, since the MANOVA demonstrated an unexpected consistent pattern in each of dependent variables’ mean values. In general, follow-up tests suggested the indiscriminately anti-religious group was significantly different from both of the pro-religious groups. The one exception to this was homonegativity, which suggested the two anti-religious groups were significantly different from the two pro-religious groups. For a visual of these group differences, see Figure 5 below.

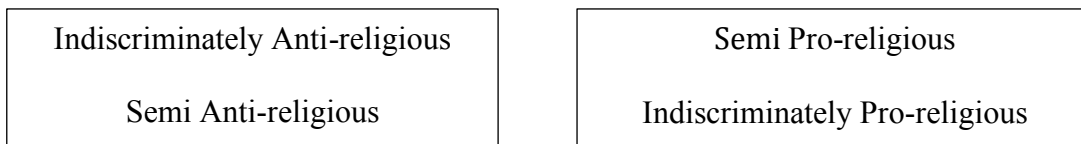
Figure 5

Significant differences between indiscriminant quartiles

Colorblindness, Benevolent Sexism, and Classism:



Homonegativity:



Colorblindness. The one-way between-groups analysis of variance for colorblind racial attitudes showed statistically significant difference at the $p < .0125$ level in colorblind attitudes scores, as measured by the CoBRAS, for the four indiscriminant groups: $F(3, 318) = 9.5, p < .001$. The effect size was eta squared = .08. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score for the indiscriminately anti-religious quartile ($M = 43.55, SD = 15.22$) was significantly different from the semi pro-religious ($M = 56.12, SD = 19.79$) and from

the indiscriminately pro-religious quartiles ($M = 56.35$, $SD = 19.64$). The semi anti-religious group ($M = 48.58$, $SD = 17.44$) did not differ significantly from any of the other quartiles. The Scheffe test, which is more conservative, yielded the same results.

Benevolent Sexism. The one-way between-groups analysis of variance for benevolent sexism, which had a Levene's test within normal limits ($p = .14$), showed a statistically significant difference at the $p < .0125$ level between indiscriminant groups: $F(3, 315) = 10.6$, $p < .001$. There was a medium effect size of eta squared = .09. Tukey HSD test indicated the same patterns that emerged for colorblind attitudes. The mean score for the indiscriminately anti-religious quartile ($M = 14.20$, $SD = 9.07$) was significantly different from the semi pro-religious ($M = 21.19$, $SD = 10.92$) and from the indiscriminately pro-religious quartiles ($M = 22.34$, $SD = 10.41$). The semi anti-religious group ($M = 18.21$, $SD = 9.28$) did not differ significantly from the other quartiles. Scheffe test yielded the same results.

Classism. The one-way between-groups analysis of variance for classism showed a statistically significant difference at the $p < .0125$ level between indiscriminant groups: $F(3, 313) = 6.50$, $p < .001$. Eta squared was .06. Post-hoc comparisons for Tukey HSD and Scheffe differed. Tukey HSD test suggested the indiscriminately anti-religious quartile ($M = 14.00$, $SD = 5.65$) was significantly different from both the semi pro-religious ($M = 17.71$, $SD = 7.84$) and the indiscriminately pro-religious ($M = 18.83$, $SD = 7.58$) quartiles. The semi anti-religious group ($M = 17.00$, $SD = 7.44$) did not differ significantly from the other quartiles. Scheffe test suggested only the indiscriminately anti-religious and the indiscriminately pro-religious quartiles differed significantly.

Homonegativity. The one-way between-groups analysis of variance for homonegativity showed a statistically significant difference at the $p < .0125$ level between indiscriminant groups:

$F(3, 313) = 17.47, p < .001$. There was a large effect size (eta squared = .14). Tukey HSD and Scheffe tests indicated there was a clear differentiation in anti-homosexual attitudes: the indiscriminately anti-religious group ($M = 18.53, SD = 7.53$) and semi anti-religious group ($M = 23.30, SD = 10.76$) differed significantly from the indiscriminately pro-religious group ($M = 30.21, SD = 14.12$) and the semi pro-religious group ($M = 29.61, SD = 13.84$). Results indicated that the two anti-religious quartiles were a homogeneous subset differing significantly from the other homogeneous subset comprised of the two pro-religious quartiles.

Summary of hypothesis 4 analyses. In summary, hypothesis 4 was supported in the sense that the level of indiscriminateness in religious orientation matters for prejudice endorsed for all types of covert prejudice. However, the hypothesized pattern of increasingly indiscriminate religious orientations being associated with increasing levels of prejudice was not what emerged from the between-groups MANOVA. Instead, the pattern appears to be that with increasing pro-religiosity there are increasing levels of prejudice across covert prejudice types.

Hypothesis 5. *It is also expected that the characteristics of the religious group in which participants have been socialized (as measured by the Lilly Survey of Congregations) will be related to participants' attitudes. Congregational racial variables are expected to have a negative relationships with covert racism, congregational SES variables are expected to have a negative relationships with classist attitudes, female leadership variables are expected to reduce sexist attitudes, and the congregational stance that homosexuality is not a sin, is expected to reduce anti-homosexual attitudes. The more progressive the congregation, the more tolerant attitudes are expected to be.* To examine this hypothesis, Pearson correlations between congregational factors and each –ism were examined, when appropriate. For categorical variables (i.e. sex of the lead pastor/rabbi/priest), independent-samples t-tests conducted to investigate if group means

differed significantly. Some variables were explored for all –isms: simply belonging to a congregation or not, lead pastor/rabbi/priest sex, lead pastor/rabbi/priest level of education, degree of permitted female leadership, rated theological conservatism of the congregation, and the estimated political leaning of the majority of congregants. The rest of the variables were specific to each –ism and are reported below.

Colorblindness. The lead pastor/rabbi/priest’s race, whether the congregational membership is 80% one race or not (‘not’ indicates a multiracial church), racial socialization, and identity as a multiracial church were investigated in addition to the congregational variables explored for all prejudice types.

Pearson correlations with colorblind attitudes that were significant at the $p = .05$ level were: degree of permitted female leadership ($r = -.15$) with increased female leadership associating with decreased colorblind attitudes, pastor’s education ($r = -.19$) with higher levels of education associating with lower colorblind attitudes, and more segregated racial socialization associating with less colorblind attitudes ($r = -.16$). Pearson correlations significant at the $p = .01$ level were: congregational conservatism ($r = .36$) with conservatism corresponding to higher levels of colorblind attitudes, and political leaning ($r = .41$) with participants from more Republican congregations endorsing higher levels of colorblind attitudes.

For categorical variables, pastor’s race did not emerge as significant for colorblind scores; however, few participants ($n = 31$) reported having a lead pastor/rabbi/priest of Color. There was a significant difference in colorblind scores for congregants led by a male pastor ($M = 55.64$, $SD = 19.15$) verses congregants led by a female pastor ($M = 46.07$, $SD = 15.48$); $t(179) = 2.46$, $p = .02$, two-tailed). The magnitude of the difference was small (mean difference = 9.57, 95% CI: 1.88 to 17.26, eta squared = .03). There was a significant difference in colorblind scores for

participants that were not part of a congregation ($M = 46.71$, $SD = 17.88$) versus participants who were members or regular attenders at a specific congregation ($M = 54.14$, $SD = 18.83$); $t(317) = -3.6$, $p = .001$, two-tailed). However, the magnitude of the difference (mean difference = -7.43 , 95% CI: -11.55 to -3.32) was very small (eta squared = $.01$).

Benevolent Sexism. The variables explored for benevolent sexism were those explored for all -isms. All of these variables showed significant relationships with benevolent sexism. Pearson correlations that were significant at the $p = .01$ level were: female leadership ($r = -.24$) with increased levels of female leadership associating with lower levels of sexism, theological conservatism ($r = .30$) with higher conservatism correlating with higher sexism, political leaning of congregants ($r = .24$) with participants from more Republican congregations endorsing higher levels of benevolent sexism, and lead pastor/rabbi/priest education level ($r = -.19$). The participants who had more highly educated religious leaders expressed lower levels of benevolent sexism.

For categorical variables, significant independent-samples t-tests emerged for those led by a male pastor/rabbi/priest ($M = 21.38$, $SD = 10.05$) versus those led by a female pastor/rabbi/priest ($M = 15.22$, $SD = 9.20$); $t(179) = 2.3$, $p = .003$, two-tailed). The magnitude of the difference was small (mean difference = 6.16 , 95% CI: 2.07 to 10.25 , eta squared = $.03$). There was also a significant difference in benevolent sexism scores for participants that did not have a congregation ($M = 16.51$, $SD = 10.12$) versus those who were members or regular attenders at a specific congregation ($M = 20.55$, $SD = 10.14$); $t(317) = -3.52$, $p = .001$, two-tailed). The magnitude of the difference was small (mean difference = -4.05 , 95% CI: -6.31 to -1.78 , eta squared = $.04$).

Classism. In addition to the variables explored for all –isms, classism-specific variables were the following: congregational class diversity, whether or not the surrounding neighborhood has working class or poor residents. Since racial and class factors can be highly correlated, religious leader’s race, congregational racial make up, interracial socialization among congregants, and multiracial identity as a church were also investigated as they relate to classism.

Pearson correlations with classism that were significant at the $p = .01$ level were: political leaning of congregants ($r = .23$) with more Republican leaning associating with higher classism, feminine leadership ($r = -.21$) with higher degrees of permitted female leadership correlating with lower classism, theological conservatism ($r = .35$) with congregants from more conservative religious groups endorsing more classism, and senior pastor/rabbi/priest’s education level ($r = -.23$) with higher pastor education relating to lower levels of classism. Interestingly, level of congregational class diversity, interracial socialization, and multiracial identity were unrelated to classism scores.

For categorical variables, significant independent-samples t-tests emerged for senior religious leader’s sex, senior religious leader’s race, and whether or not the participant belonged to a congregation or not. There was a significant difference in classism scores for those led by a male pastor/rabbi/priest ($M = 18.66, SD = 7.47$) verses those led by a female pastor/rabbi/priest ($M = 14.41, SD = 6.87$); $t(179) = 2.76, p = .01$, two-tailed). The magnitude of the difference was small (mean difference = 4.25, 95% CI: 1.21 to 7.29, eta squared = .04). There was a significant difference in classism score by pastor’s race with those led by a White senior pastor/rabbi/priest endorsing lower classism ($M = 17.37, SD = 6.97$) and participants led by a senior pastor/rabbi/priest of Color endorsing higher classism ($M = 21.10, SD = 9.26$); $t(179) = -2.55, p = .01$, two-tailed). The magnitude of the difference was small (mean difference = -3.73, 95% CI: -

6.61 to -.84, eta squared = .04). There was a significant difference in classism scores for non-congregants ($M = 15.28$, $SD = 6.89$) verses those who were members or regular attenders at a specific congregation ($M = 17.99$, $SD = 7.49$); $t(317) = -3.30$, $p = .001$, two-tailed). The magnitude of difference was also small (mean difference = -2.72, 95% CI: -4.33 to -1.1, eta squared = .03).

Homonegativity. The degree to which the congregation believes the practice of homosexuality is sinful was examined for homonegativity, along with the variables explored for all -isms. Moderate strength Pearson correlations significant at the $p = .001$ level were: congregational belief regarding the practice of homosexuality ($r = -.59$) with beliefs that it is not sinful correlating with lower homonegativity, female leadership ($r = -.27$) with more permitted feminine leadership correlating with less homonegativity, theological conservatism ($r = .53$) with higher conservatism associating with higher homonegativity, political leaning ($r = .44$) with participants from more Republican congregations endorsing higher homonegativity, and senior pastor/rabbi/priest's education level ($r = -.24$) with congregants led by more educated individuals endorsing less homonegativity.

For categorical variables, significant independent-samples t-tests emerged for senior religious leader's sex and whether or not the participant belonged to a congregation or not. There was a significant difference in homonegativity scores for those led by a male pastor/rabbi/priest ($M = 29.89$, $SD = 13.29$) verses those led by a female pastor/rabbi/priest ($M = 19.93$, $SD = 7.67$); $t(179) = 5.46$, $p = .001$, two-tailed). The magnitude of the difference was large (mean difference = 9.97, 95% CI: 6.31 to 13.63, eta squared = .14). There was also a significant difference in homonegativity scores for participants that did not have a congregation ($M = 21.04$, $SD = 10.76$) verses those who were members or regular attenders at a specific congregation ($M = 28.4$, $SD =$

13.10); $t(317) = -5.48, p = .001$, two-tailed). The magnitude of the difference was medium (mean difference = -7.35, 95% CI: -9.99 to -4.71, eta squared = .09).

Summary of hypothesis 5 analyses. In summary, hypothesis 5 was largely supported in that many significant relationships emerged between group congregational factors and the various forms of covert prejudice in the expected direction. In general, congregants with highly educated and female leaders endorsed lower levels of prejudice. Congregants from more Republican and theologically conservative religious groups endorsed greater intolerant attitudes. Non-congregants tended to endorse less prejudice than members and regular attenders at a specific congregation. For a compilation of all significant relationships by prejudice type, see Figure 6 below.

Figure 6

Summary of significant congregational variables

<u>Prejudice Type:</u>				
<u>Statistic:</u>	Colorblindness	Benevolent Sexism	Classism	Homonegativity
Pearson r	Female leadership Leader's education Conservatism Political Leaning Segregated racial socialization	Female leadership Leader's education Conservatism Political Leaning	Female leadership Leader's education Conservatism Political Leaning	Female leadership Leader's education Conservatism Political Leaning Congregational belief that homosexuality is not a sin
T-Test	Leader's sex Belongs to a congregation Y/N	Leader's sex Belongs to a congregation Y/N	Leader's sex Belongs to a congregation Y/N Leader's race	Leader's sex Belongs to a congregation Y/N

Some relationships that were not expected, such as more segregated racial socialization between congregants correlating with lower colorblind attitudes, should be interpreted with caution, as this

relationship was weak in strength and this variable relationship did not emerge as significant with classism. Statistics regarding senior female religious leaders and religious leaders of Color should also be interpreted with caution as these n's were small (27 and 31 respectively).

Chapter V

Discussion

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the complicated and multifaceted relationship between religion and modern-day prejudice. Religion can be a motivating ideology for almost anything from mass violence to social justice movements that change lives for the better. Religion has, paradoxically, been central to incredibly painful and destructive moments in history such as the Crusades and the Nazi Holocaust, as well as charitable causes such as the Salvation Army, Samaritan's Purse, and St. Jude Children's Hospital. In this investigation, the religious nuance that, in the words of Allport and Ross, "makes" and "unmakes prejudice" (1967, p. 433) were defined and explored with a diverse sample. Six different religious orientations were examined in this study, as well as the attitudinal climate of the groups in which such religious socialization takes place: the congregation and/or worship community. Finally, as the nature of modern prejudice is frequently covert, aversive, subtle, implicit, and unconscious (Gaertner & Dovidio, 2005; Sue et al, 2007), implicit prejudice was investigated.

Summary of the findings

Correlations between the primary variables supported the construct validity of the measures in the study. The different types of prejudice correlated strongly with one another and with the aspects of personality expected to associate with prejudice. One such relationship was social dominance orientation, which had a strong positive correlation with all of the prejudice types, supporting hypothesis 1. Relationships between the religious orientations and the four types of prejudices were examined in hypotheses 2, 3, and 4. In hypothesis 5, the relationships between endorsement of subtle prejudice and congregational factors were examined for participants who regularly attended a home congregation

Hypothesis 1. The findings in the present study support hypothesis 1. Social dominance orientation (SDO) correlated positively and strongly with each of the four types of subtle prejudice. Individuals with high social dominance orientation favor hierarchy-enhancing systems, while individuals low in SDO favor hierarchy-leveling, egalitarian systems. The fact that classism had the strongest correlation with SDO is no surprise, as class stratification is readily apparent in housing, income, and employment differences. While the vast majority of people do not strive to be a different race or have a different sexual orientation, many individuals place an enormous amount of time, energy, and education into moving or maintaining their social class. Class, then, may be the most salient identity when individuals think about some groups having more than other groups, and may be particularly salient at this point in United States history, given the recent economic recession in 2008.

The fact that benevolent sexism had the weakest correlation with SDO may relate to gender being a less “other-ized” identity. When thinking of groups different from oneself in terms of power, gender may not come to mind, as people of different genders are likely to be among one’s coworkers, siblings, parents, and/or spouse. Isolating from groups different from oneself in terms of race and class may be relatively easy to do if one is selective, but gender is a different situation.

In the present study, Pearson correlations between right wing authoritarianism (RWA) and each of the types of covert prejudice were all greater than the correlations with SDO. This may be due to the religiously and sexually diverse sample, which have increased variability in RWA scores, whereas Christian-only samples may have had a smaller range.

Hypothesis 2. Hypothesis 2 analyses were predictive models for each type of prejudice. Personality variables related to religion (right wing authoritarianism, social dominance

orientation, and social desirability) were, in fact, the most prominent predictor variables as compared to demographics, religious orientation, and self-report items about one's religious self-concept (e.g. how "religious" or spiritual" the participant considers themselves to be). The regression models suggested that right wing authoritarian personality style is profoundly impactful, as it was the strongest predictor variable for each prejudice outcome variable. Social dominance orientation was the second most powerful predictor variable in all models except for benevolent sexism.

Hypothesis 2 was not supported in that right wing authoritarianism was the strongest predictor rather than Social Dominance Orientation. Hypothesis 2 was partially supported in that religious orientation was an integral piece for predicting levels of prejudice. However, there were mixed results in terms of religious orientation having more predictive ability than demographic factors for the prejudice outcome variables. Two religious orientations and zero demographics variables were significant in the final model for classism. Immanence religious orientation was significant for benevolent sexism and homonegativity, but was a weaker predictor than some demographics (heterosexuality in the case of benevolent sexism; age and class in the case of homonegativity). Hypothesis 2 was most conclusively refuted by the model that included colorblind attitudes. Three demographic variables (education, age, and class) were significant and zero religious orientations emerged as significant.

Hypothesis 2 was supported in the sense that religious orientation does appear to be more important than merely identifying as religious, spiritual, or orthodox. Spiritual identification and orthodoxy were not significant in any of the models. Considering oneself "religious" was only predictive of classist attitudes; however this was a weaker predictor than was intrinsic religiosity.

RWA may have been a stronger predictor than SDO because the RWA items contain

overt anti-gay attitudes and favor traditional gender roles, so it is not surprising that individuals scoring high on RWA tended to have more homonegativity and benevolent sexism. Many of the RWA items also place importance on trusting and obeying authorities. Such a view does not align with questioning systemic injustice. Participants high in RWA may not have had the critical consciousness to note institutional levels of injustice, or if noted, did not consider it important to challenge the shortcomings of institutions in terms of equality. Some of the items on the prejudice scales simply assess for knowledge of power differentials in society. Acknowledging awareness on these scales is scored as having less covert prejudice. Individuals high in SDO may recognize these unequal power dynamics in society, but agree with them. These are possible reasons for the emergence of RWA as a stronger predictor than SDO.

The fact that social desirability was a positive predictor of prejudice in two out of the four models supports the study's effectiveness in including prejudice measures that were not overly susceptible to desirable responding. The fact that scoring high on a social desirability measure actually was a predictor for higher colorblindness and benevolent sexism highlights how insidious these forms of bias really are. Colorblind and benevolently sexist approaches such as "treating everyone the same" or "putting women on a pedestal" are valuable ideals for many. These styles of relating do little to reverse the impact of oppression in the lives of people of Color and women, and can ultimately operate to maintain the status quo.

The fact that quest and extrinsic did not emerge as significant predictors may have theoretical and psychometric underpinnings. Questers as a group hold religious doubts, ask questions during spiritual development, and see truth-seeking as a journey. As a consequence, questers may have some unarticulated beliefs and social attitudes, thus making them a diverse group. There may not be clear predictive relationships emerging between quest and prejudice

because the quester may still be deciding what they believe in regard to some social issues. This may be why the strong protective relationship between quest and prejudice was not observed. Extrinsic may not have emerged as a significant predictor due to psychometric reasons. The extrinsic scale has few items and, though at one time this orientation was seen as the opposite of intrinsic orientation, the two are highly correlated. There are many items that assume the individual attends church and engages in personal prayer, which may not have resonated for unaffiliated individuals.

It may be that immanence, as the newest orientation in the literature, is only partially understood. Immanence orientation is described as a boundaries-transcending and difference-embracing orientation. This description matches with the tendency for such individuals to be less homophobic. However, it does little to explain the connection between immanence and increased sexist/classist attitudes. There may be aspects to immanence that remain undefined. When reviewing the immanence items, there is a tone of decisiveness to the statements. Immanence individuals may be further along in the exploration, selection, and pruning of their religious beliefs than questers. Someone high on immanence may also consider themselves enlightened. There is also an emphasis on trusting one's own experience. Holding such beliefs may be easier for privileged individuals who have had their values and their racial/gender/class experience reinforced by cultural norms. Enlightenment may be understood as a result of one's hard work, while those struggling economically may be understood to be in their situation because they are less enlightened.

Intrinsic orientation may guard against classist views because intrinsic individuals deeply hold the beliefs proclaimed by their particular faith. In the case of Protestants, which was the largest religious group in the sample, Biblical scriptures refer to the poor as "blessed," and Jesus

Christ, the ultimate role model for a life well-lived in the Christian tradition, regards the poor with care and compassion rather than blame or disdain. For this reason, intrinsic may be less classist.

Colorblindness was the outcome variable least related to religious orientation. The fact that increased education and younger age predicted lower colorblind attitudes points to the fact that social location may matter more for this type of racial bias than spirituality. Highly educated individuals, though they may have more privilege, may also have developed more critical consciousness and received more teaching on multicultural issues. The fact that younger individuals tended to be less colorblind may also represent a changing tide in the current cultural norm in light of recent discourse on racial inequalities and police violence toward young men of Color (e.g. the “Black Lives Matter” movement). Younger highly-educated people in particular are also coming of age at a time when women’s studies and African-American studies are seen as legitimate, while these fields did not enjoy such regard in decades past. Some of the results related to colorblind attitudes may also be the result of sampling bias. Identifying as a member of a lower social class was a predictor of more colorblind attitudes. Poor Whites in particular may feel more identified with the material struggle that a disproportionate amount of people of Color face but may be less inclined to attribute this struggle to race. Doing so might be a shame-inducing experience. There might be a hesitance or difficulty to recognize one’s racial privilege when living in poverty and feeling the burden of class disadvantage.

While colorblind attitudes had many demographic predictors, classism had none. Classist attitudes were much more influenced by religious orientation variables and by identifying as “religious.” This may be due to class status being linked to faith, fate, God’s provision, neglect, punishment, blessings, and thankfulness. Such things as shelter, food, income, employment, comfort, leisure, or struggle in one’s life may be understood as destiny or as fruit from a healthy

relationship with God.

In summary, this study indicates that simply identifying as “religious” has little relationship to how prejudiced one might be. Rather, it is important to know details about personality and the role that religion plays in one’s life. Additionally, being “religious” is not synonymous with being “spiritual.” While identifying as religious was related to higher classism, being highly “spiritual” was not related to any of the prejudice outcome variables. Such results suggest there are many dimensions of religiosity and spirituality that may influence -- or may even mitigate against -- discrimination. Furthermore, not all factors significant to one type of discrimination are relevant for all types of discrimination.

Hypothesis 3. As only half of the religious orientation variables emerged as significant predictor variables in Hypothesis 2, it was difficult to decipher the strength and direction of relationships between each religious orientation and each prejudice type. These relationships were examined in Hypothesis 3 via four multiple linear regressions containing only the religious orientations as predictor variables.

The extrinsic religious orientation was found to have a positive relationship with all types of prejudice. Extrinsic individuals have been characterized in the literature as those that seek out religion as a way to meet their own needs such as social networking, connectedness, entertainment, and emotional comfort. If this somewhat egocentric characterization is correct, extrinsics may be focused more on their own situation rather than reflecting on the power, privilege, and marginalization of groups other than one’s own. Extrinsic orientation carried the most weight in the regression model for classism. Extrinsics may be involved in religious communities for the practical support and protection that a social group can provide when it comes to the material realm. Extrinsics may also spend more prayer and meditation time focused

on provision of needed resources. This style could lead to a victim-blaming mentality when it comes to poverty, such as citing a lack of faith as the reason for an individual's struggle.

Quest had a negative relationship with all prejudice dependent variables. Questers may exhibit less prejudice across the board due to their tendency to reflect on existential and religious questions. Questers as a group seem able to tolerate the distress that comes from sitting with the cognitive dissonance that troubling social realities can cause. Questers tend to prioritize truth over comfort in their spiritual journeys. This style may lend itself to acknowledging power, privilege, and inequalities. It may also be in questers' nature to recognize that progress has been made in American society while also being able to appreciate there is still work to be done in the journey towards true equality.

Intrinsic had a positive relationship with all prejudice types except for classism. The near-zero relationship with classism may be a product of not controlling for enough variables, as a significant relationship exists in the analyses from hypothesis 2. Positive relationships with benevolent sexism and homonegativity were expected, but the positive relationship with colorblind attitudes was not. Benevolent sexism is characterized by protective paternalism and idealization of heterosexual love. Biblical examples of protective paternalism can be found in the Israelites' instruction from God to have exclusively male leadership in the Old Testament; the suggestion that women should remain quiet during religious meetings in 1st Timothy; and the command for husbands to love and sacrifice themselves for their wives as Christ did for the church in 1st Corinthians. An example of idealization of heterosexual love is the celebration of a newly married husband and wife in the Song of Solomon. There are six verses in the Old and New Testament that also put prohibitions on same-sex relationships and/or sexual activity. Perceived Biblical justification for benevolent sexism and homonegativity is one possible

explanation for the positive relationships between these prejudices and intrinsic orientation. The relationship with colorblind attitudes was not expected due to Biblical examples of transcending racial and ethnic divides, like the Good Samaritan parable. Treating everyone with love and kindness may be an important ideal to intrinsics, but it may actually reinforce colorblindness if the extra steps to acknowledge and act against systemic inequality are not taken. Such steps may be outside of intrinsics' awareness and/or sense of duty. Intrinsics may also make the effort to emotionally connect with racially-diverse others but may employ a difference-ignoring strategy for doing so.

Immanence orientation had the expected near-zero correlation with benevolent sexism and classism, but surprisingly had a significant negative relationship with both colorblindness and homonegativity. These unexpected relationships may be the result of failing to control for demographic variables, as immanence had a significant positive relationship with sexism and classism in Hypothesis 2 analyses. Individuals high in immanence favor boundary-transcending and difference-embracing styles. This may contribute to an ability to recognize differences while connecting with people from differing racial groups. Immanence orientation carried the most weight in the regression model for homonegativity. Individuals high on immanence may embrace diverse love relationships as a boundary-transcending powerful force for good.

Hypothesis 4. The indiscriminately pro-religious and indiscriminately anti-religious orientations were considered in Hypothesis 4. Indiscriminate responding refers to one's response style on the Religious Orientation Scale, which is meant to discern extrinsic religious orientation from intrinsic. Indiscriminant responders tend to answer for or against anything religious in nature. Instead of prejudice increasing with indiscriminateness of response style as expected, prejudice increased the more pro-religious the participant. This was true for all prejudice types.

Potential reasons for this unexpected finding include theoretical, psychometric, and procedural considerations. Theoretically, the indiscriminate religious orientations represent holding overly broad categories and having a simple approach to spirituality. These individuals see religion as simply good or bad. This theoretical picture matches with the concept of stereotyping, which can also be understood as a process of holding overly broad categories and failing to recognize nuance among individuals within a certain race, gender, class, or sexual orientation. However, this theoretical construct maps poorly onto the indiscriminate measure. A lack of differentiation between extrinsic and intrinsic religious orientations may be a poor operationalization of indiscriminateness. A more useful operationalization may be that indiscriminateness is characterized by being for or against all things religious in nature with little appreciation of why others may think differently. Being pro-religious or anti-religious does not necessarily make one indiscriminate. One can be anti-religious personally yet appreciate why others might be religious. There is little room to detect such nuance in the existing Religious Orientation Scale, as the vast majority of items are highly personalized “I” statements. There is also an underlying assumption that the person is religiously active. Therefore, responding with “strongly disagree” to most of these items may simply mean the individual does not attend church, not that they are being indiscriminate. The quartile named “indiscriminately anti-religious” may simply be the atheists, agnostics, and otherwise non-religious participants in the study. A more accurate examination of indiscriminate attitudes about religion may be a measure assessing stereotypes about religion.

Hypothesis 5. Participants who endorsed regularly attending worship services at a home congregation answered questions about their fellow congregants and religious leaders. In general, the more progressive the congregation, the less prejudice attitudes were endorsed. Participants

endorsing having a female and/or highly educated senior religious leader correlated with lower levels of prejudice. Allowing women to occupy leadership roles within congregations (e.g. leading prayer, teaching classes) was also associated with lower prejudice of all types. Theologically conservative teaching and Republican political leaning amongst the congregants was associated with higher levels of endorsed prejudice. Participants who belonged to a congregation, compared to those who did not, exhibited more intolerant attitudes.

These relationships are the product of Pearson correlations and t-tests. These are merely associations. Causal inference cannot be made from these relationships. It may be that having highly educated female leaders in worship communities is good for congregants' tolerance. The relationship could also be the product of self-selection. Perhaps more progressive individuals seek out highly educated leaders and congregations that encourage female leadership. Another possibility is that the observed relationships are spurious in nature.

Segregated racial socialization among congregants was associated with less colorblind racial attitudes. This may be because the congregants' lived reality of segregated racial socialization forces them to face the differing racial realities that various racial and ethnic groups confront. It may be more difficult to embrace the myth that people of all races face the same set of circumstances when they see themselves occupying different social locations. Congregants led by a White senior pastor endorsed less classism as compared to congregants led by a senior pastor of Color. This may be due to racial inequality being at the center of dialogue in a church led by a pastor of Color and therefore class issues are less conscious, or perhaps being a White pastor is merely correlated with higher education. This apparent relationship must be interpreted with caution, as the *n* for pastors of Color was small. Finally, the congregational belief that homosexuality is not a sin was associated with less homonegativity. Same-sex attraction and

relationships are likely seen as valuable, normal, and even moral by such congregants leading to more favorable attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Relevance of Present Findings to the Literature

Results from the present study suggest some consistency with prior research while also highlighting unexplored areas in the literature. The relationship between religion and discriminatory attitudes is complex and many of the earlier findings issue directly from how religion was operationalized. Hunsberger and Jackson put it plainly: “Simply ‘being religious’ or ‘going to church’ were oversimplified ways of measuring religiousness” (2005, p.809). Hinojosa and Park recommended operationalizing religious activity via behavior such as attendance at church, participation in activities outside church services, and membership to a religious group (2004). This recommendation was incorporated within the present study. Nevertheless, worship service attendance, religious group attendance, and frequency of personal religious activity did not emerge as significant predictors for any types of prejudice when demographic factors were controlled.

Religious orientation on the other hand, did have some predictive ability for three of the four prejudice types, supporting Allport and Ross’s claim that religious orientation is “an important causal factor in developing a tolerant or a prejudiced outlook on life” and “to know that a person is in some sense ‘religious’ is not as important as to know the role religion plays in the economy of his life” (1967, p. 442). Findings in the present study supported this claim, as religious orientation more frequently predicted prejudice than simply identifying as “religious.” Researchers subsequent to Allport and Ross affirmed that it “seems to be religious orientation rather than orthodoxy that is relevant” (Hunsberger & Platanow, 1985, p. 527). This was supported as well because neither orthodox belief nor orthodox practices were significant

predictors for any prejudice outcome variables.

Hunsberger and Jackson stated that a “simple tabulation of relationships hides important trends for different targets of prejudice,” and that “the target of prejudice is important when considering prejudice-religious orientation relationships” (2005, p. 811-812). Indeed, different trends were elicited depending on the religious orientation and the target of prejudice.

Intrinsic Religious Orientation. Individuals of intrinsic orientation have internalized the beliefs of their professed creed and make it a priority to meet the standards of the faith (Burris & Jackson, 2000). This conceptualization was corroborated in the present findings by intrinsic orientation’s negative relationship with classism and the positive relationship with homonegativity and benevolent sexism. The tendencies 1) not to blame people for their poverty but 2) to disapprove of same-sex relationships as well as 3) authority roles for women aligns with the ways that Protestant intrinsics may interpret certain Biblical texts. Burris and Jackson found that intrinsics may devalue qualities that are not expressly held as important or central tenets of the faith (2000).

Intrinsic individuals sometimes present as fundamentalist, or as believing that their faith is the one inerrant truth (Burris & Jackson, 2000; Genia 1996). Considering that fundamentalism is a subscale of right wing authoritarianism, these findings from Genia, Burris, and Jackson are also corroborated by the fact that intrinsic religiosity correlated positively with RWA. Additionally, the literature also suggests that intrinsic orientation is correlated with orthodoxy (Hunsberger & Plantanow, 1985; Burris & Tarpley, 1998). In the current study, both orthodox belief and orthodox practice were strongly and positively correlated with intrinsic religious orientation. Finally, Genia found that intrinsics are less susceptible to social desirability bias (1996). In this study, social desirability correlated with intrinsic orientation much stronger than with any other

religious orientation.

The relationship between intrinsic and prejudice (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005) showed different trends for different –isms, but the trends were slightly different than expected. A negative relationship with colorblind attitudes was expected because Yancy and Kim proposed that Christian teachings promote egalitarian attitudes towards minorities (2008) and Shen and colleagues found that racial tolerance was associated with intrinsic religiosity (2013), but other studies have found ethnic prejudice to be unrelated to intrinsic religiosity (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). In the current study, intrinsic orientation had a positive correlation with colorblind racism. This relationship was maintained even when other religious orientations were controlled. Based on their research of American congregations, Yancy and Kim found intrinsics were more amenable to challenging racial and SES hierarchies rather than gender hierarchies (2008). Though this did not bear out in terms of racial hierarchies, the other findings were confirmed in the present study: being high in intrinsic orientation predicted lower classism and higher benevolent sexism when other religious orientations were held constant. It may be worth further examining this relationship. Benevolent sexism was not broken down by subscale in this study but doing so may reveal interesting trends. Burn and Busso found that intrinsic was the biggest predictor of protective paternalism but was unrelated to the other two subscales (complementary gender differentiation and heterosexual intimacy) of benevolent sexism (2005). The present findings also corroborate Jackson and Hunsberger’s findings that intrinsic is positively associated with prejudice towards gays and lesbians (1999). Intrinsic had a positive correlation with homonegativity even when other religious orientations were controlled. The present study corroborates Jackson and Hunsberger’s conclusion that “Allport’s original contention that the intrinsic orientation is associated with tolerance seems to have been overstated” (1999, p. 509-

510) as intrinsic appeared to be related only to class tolerance.

Extrinsic Religious Orientation. Extrinsic has been labeled as “the most bigoted” of the religious orientations (Allport & Ross, 1967) and has been found to correlate with racial/ethnic intolerance, gay/lesbian intolerance (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005), reduced helping intentions (Hunsberger & Plantonow, 1985), and discriminatory attitudes towards women on all benevolent sexism subscales (Burn & Busso, 2005). Indeed, extrinsic religiosity was the only religious orientation that correlated with all four types of covert prejudice when the other religious orientations were controlled, but correlation coefficients for colorblindness and homonegativity were actually smaller than intrinsic religiosity coefficients. The interpretation that extrinsic religiosity is most prejudiced should be stated with caution as it can depend on the norms of the religious group with which the participant identifies (Burn & Busso, 2005).

Quest Religious Orientation. In prior studies, quest orientation has had no relationship with intrinsic orientation, “indicating spiritual inquisitiveness and intrinsic commitment are not mutually exclusive” (Genia, 1996, p. 62). In this study, quest and intrinsic were unrelated, suggesting “the presence of questing intrinsics and fundamentalist intrinsics” (1996, p. 62). Questers’ “appreciation for ambiguity and diversity” (Jankowski, Johnson, & Damron, 2011, p. 177) has made them appear to be the most consistently tolerant compared to the other religious orientations (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999). In the present study, quest was the only orientation with negative relationships for all prejudice types when other religious orientations were controlled.

Many prior studies have found that quest negatively correlates with fundamentalism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992; Genia 1996; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). This was the case in the present study as well. Quest did not emerge as a protective factor in any of the predictive

modeling for the prejudice outcome variables, but this may have been because the significance of the quest variable was overshadowed by the strong relationship of right wing authoritarianism with every type of prejudice.

Hunsberger and Jackson found weak positive relationships with racial-ethnic tolerance and a strong positive relationship with tolerance of sexual identity diversity (2005). The present findings suggest that these relationships are similar in strength. The relationship between quest and benevolent sexism was unexplored prior to this study. The most similar previous findings included a quadratic relationship with rape/domestic violence myth acceptance found by Jankowski, Johnson, and Damron in 2011. Quest had a negative linear relationship with benevolent sexism in the present study.

Immanence Religious Orientation. Immanence is the newest religious orientation to be identified in the literature. Burriss and Tarpley found that immanence has a negative relationship with intrinsic, is positively correlated with extrinsic and quest, and is unrelated to social desirability. The present study's correlation results were in line with these prior findings, though the relationship with extrinsic was weak.

Prior studies have not converged in regards to the findings on immanence religious orientation's relationship to prejudice. Burriss and Tarpley, the creators of the Immanence Orientation Scale, stated that immanence is characterized by "universal acceptance" because it was related to a benevolence scale (1998). However, Jackson and Hunsberger found that immanence was unrelated to attitudes towards many marginalized groups (1999). They suggested that scant attention to "subtle and more overt forms of prejudice" may be to blame for the inconsistent results (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999, p. 520). In the present study, immanence had a weak to moderate negative relationship with colorblindness, benevolent sexism, and a strong

negative relationship with homonegativity. When holding other religious orientations constant in multiple regressions, immanence had near-zero beta values in the prediction of benevolent sexism and classism, a small negative beta for colorblindness, and a large negative beta for homonegativity. When controlling for demographic, personality, and religious orientation variables, immanence appeared to be the most important of the religious orientations for predictive modeling of prejudice, as it was a statistically significant for three of the four outcome variables. This refutes claims that immanence is “unrelated” to prejudice.

Indiscriminately Pro- and Anti-Religious Orientations. Allport and Ross (1967) took an interest in the individuals who did not appear to be either extrinsic or intrinsic, but answered questions on the I-E scale “indiscriminately” in either a pro-religious or anti-religious fashion. They proposed that indiscriminateness is a rigid cognitive style that contributes to higher prejudice, as the more indiscriminate individuals in their study were more prejudiced than either intrinsic or extrinsic individuals. Later, when researching helping behavior, Hunsberger and Platonow (1985) found that the indiscriminate types showed an intermediate level of helping between intrinsics (high in helping) and extrinsics (low in helping). In the present study, a trend of indiscriminateness correlating with prejudice was not observed. Instead, prejudice grew with the degree of pro-religiosity.

Cognition and personality. Personality, which includes the cognitive styles employed to process information, is an important construct to include when investigating the religion-prejudice relationship. Rigid cognitive styles (in which people tend to take in new information only to confirm existing beliefs) have been associated with intolerance (Asoved, Long, & Voller, 2009), fundamentalism, right wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992), and social dominance orientation (Sidanius & Pratto, 2004). Hunsberger and Jackson stated that there is a

“general finding of little or no relationship between Christian *beliefs* and racial/ethnic intolerance” (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005, p.813). Furthermore, Laythe, Finkel, Bringle, and Kirkpatrick (2002) found that orthodoxy of beliefs was negatively correlated with prejudice. In the present study, this trend was supported as orthodoxy of beliefs was not a predictor for any of the prejudice types and was actually negatively correlated with some of the prejudice types. On the other hand, right wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation were highly correlated with one another and with each type of prejudice. Present findings were consistent with prior findings that RWA correlates with prejudice (Rowatt & Lewis, 2009), convergent thinking, and frequent church attendance (Altemeyer & Hunsberger, 1992) and that “most day-to-day encounters with out-group members” are “likely to be determined by one’s personal levels of RWA and SDO” (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003, p. 633).

Yancy and Kim’s summation of the role of personality dynamics in the religion-prejudice relationship is consistent with the present findings. They stated that religious justifications for racism, classism, and sexism are not offered by all religious individuals, but in particular by authoritarian, politically conservative, fundamentalist individuals (Yancy & Kim, 2008). RWA, self-endorsed authoritarianism, conservative political leaning, and being highly identified with the statement “There is only one inerrant truth” were all associated with higher levels of all prejudice types in the current study.

Right wing authoritarianism. In terms of the comparative strength of prejudice-RWA relationships, Hunsberger and Jackson found fundamentalism and authoritarianism were more related to some kinds of prejudice (towards gays, lesbians, women, Communists and religious outgroups) while the racial ethnic relationship was “less clear-cut” (2005, p.812). In the present study, RWA was strongly correlated with all prejudice types including colorblindness and clearly

accounted for the most variance in subtle prejudice when demographic, religious orientation, and orthodoxy variables were considered . Thus the present findings are more consistent with Laythe et al.'s (2002) finding that RWA positively relates with ethnic prejudice and prejudice against gays and lesbians even when controlling for fundamentalism and orthodoxy.

Social Dominance Orientation. Social dominance theory posits that an individual's belief about intergroup relations is the main determinant of their social attitudes and some findings suggest that SDO is a stronger predictor of prejudice than even RWA (Heaven & St. Quintin, 2003). This relationship did not characterize the results of the present study.

This differing result may be due to the fact that more covert prejudice measures were used in this study. Individuals high on SDO believe that some groups should have more power than other groups. Though this is a discriminatory attitude, it is a viewpoint requiring reflection regarding one's attitudes about intergroup relations. If individuals high in SDO do have higher awareness of intergroup relations than individuals high in RWA, this awareness can make them appear less prejudiced on scales used in this study. Awareness of institutional marginalization is scored as lower prejudice and could account or why RWA emerged as more significant than SDO. Taken together, RWA and SDO accounted for a high level of variance, similar to Altemeyer's findings that RWA and SDO each had much more predictive power than any other personality variable, accounted for over 50% of the variance in prejudice, and seem largely independent from each other (1992).

Gaps in the literature addressed in the current study. In several ways, the current study's design and findings supply missing pieces within the existing literature. Reconciling the individual-differences and group-socialization approaches to understanding the religion-prejudice relationship reflects one such gap. Religious beliefs are a product of both social influence and the

individual's unique cognitive and moral development, and their tendency to conform to social influence (Batson, Schoenrade, & Ventis, 1993). An effort was made toward reconciling these individual and group approaches by incorporating the Social Dominance Orientation Measure (which helps shed light on individuals' attitudes toward intergroup relations), the Lilly Survey of Congregations, and questions about religious/spiritual activities.

In general, the principle of homophily (McPherson, 2001) or "birds of a feather flock together" was supported in the congregational data. Less prejudiced individuals attended more progressive congregations. For example, participants endorsed less prejudice if they belonged to a congregation with higher degrees of permitted female leadership. However, the congregational data should be interpreted with caution as it reflects the perception of the participant. It is possible that participants assumed they are more representative of their worship community than they truly are.

Previous studies failed to include all six religious orientations referenced in the literature, a gap that was addressed in this study. Furthermore, less reactive measures of subtle prejudice had not been employed, and classism has been largely absent from the conversation about religious orientation and prejudice, even in content analyses including many types of prejudice (Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005). Classism is relevant to the discussion on how religion and prejudice are linked because religiously informed ideals such as the protestant work ethic (Sears & Henry, 2003) allow for the poor to be blamed for their circumstances. Such thinking allows people to ignore or fail to notice structural reasons for economic inequality (Hinojosa & Park, 2004). In the present study, knowledge and awareness of structural reasons for class stratification were assessed. By doing this, relationships new to the literature were explored. Colorblindness, "the ultramodern form of racism," (Neville, 2006) has rarely been included as a racism measure in

religion studies. Likewise, little was known about what aspects of religion (especially newer religious orientations such as quest and immanence) predicted benevolent sexism. This study responded to the call from Hunsberger and Jackson that “more and better research is needed” to “examine these relationships in a cross-cultural and cross- religious perspective” (2005), and in so doing, a culturally and religiously diverse sample was recruited as opposed to the frequently used narrower samples, such as undergraduate students on Christian college campuses.

Limitations of the Study

The present study has a number of limitations, which should be taken into account when interpreting the data. First, the sample implies issues concerning the generalizability of the results. In general, the sample is similar to national averages on record for most demographics, but notable differences exist with regard to gender, race, and ethnicity. There was an oversampling of female participants and Asians and an under-sampling of African-American and Hispanic participants. The sample contains more sexual minorities than the rates suggested by national percentages. The sample is very highly educated with 26.8% of the sample obtaining a master’s degree and 13.1% obtaining a doctoral degree, while only 6.8% of the U.S. population has an advanced degree. Measures that often correlate with education may have suffered from a restriction of the range based on the sample. Religiously, the sample differs from national data in that more participants report having a home congregation than does the general population. For sampling of particular faith traditions, there were fewer Catholics, unaffiliated, and non-religious individuals than the national average; and more atheists, agnostics, Jewish, Buddhist, Secular Humanist, Unitarian, and New age identified individuals than the U.S. Population percentage. These differences suggest the sample is not precisely representative of the population, which could have affected the results.

The inclusion criteria specified that participants should be adults 18 or older living in the United States with an interest in religion. The interest in religion was included for several reasons. This seems to be a frequent practice in studies concerning religion and spirituality. This is also language inclusive of non-religious individuals. If no language regarding religion was included in the recruitment materials, this would run the risk that items about existential thought and spiritual practice would be irrelevant to many participants' lives. However, it is important to keep in mind that including such language also limits the generalizability of the findings somewhat. Adults living in the U.S. with an interest in religion might be phenomenologically different from the total American adult population. There is no way to quantify these potential differences as the participants did not complete a general measure of religiosity to assess things such as the degree to which they were interested in religion, how much their social networks were influenced by religion, and if they employed spiritual coping mechanisms.

Procedural issues may have contributed to some of the demographic differences from national trends including recruitment and the setting of the survey. Recruitment started from a snowball method beginning with the author's networks. The regional effect of the Northeast participating in high numbers, the very high education level, the oversampling of liberals and Asians, and the under-sampling of African-Americans may be products of this snowballing procedure. There may be additional unobservable ways that these networks influenced the data, such as participants with a counseling psychology background having a higher than average awareness of covert prejudice and institutional discrimination. The setting of the survey may have created a sampling bias as well. The study occurred online, thus, all participants either owned or had access to a computer with Internet service. Such adults likely shared particular characteristics in terms of social class and age as compared to adults without them. Recruitment also occurred

online through email and social media such as Facebook. The adults who belong to Facebook groups and forums may differ from the total adult population. Though 57% of all American adults have Facebook accounts, and adult Facebook use is increasing, about 73% of Facebook users are minors. It is possible that the study did reach many adults without Facebook profiles, as half of Internet users who do not have Facebook live with someone who does (Pew Research Center, 2014).

Another limitation of the study is appropriateness of fit of some of the survey items and the religiously diverse sample. This sample in particular contained many atheists and agnostics. Though many of the scales, including the religious orientation scales have been used with non-Christian populations, some of the items on these scales may not have resonated with atheist, agnostic, non-religious, unaffiliated, or non-practicing individuals. Some items assume the individual attends church or engages in other religious activities, such as “I go to church because it helps me to make friends” and “Prayer is for peace and happiness” on the extrinsic scale. Participants who do not attend church or pray may have simply marked “strongly disagree” for items that did not resonate, but others may have marked a more neutral Likert rating. This lack of fit likely generated differing approaches to some items among non-practicing individuals. Only participants who regularly attend a place of worship answered selected items from the Lilly Survey of Congregations. Some items on the Lilly Scale were minimally reworded to have more inclusive language (e.g. “Pastor” was changed to “Pastor/Rabbi/Priest.”) but items were not changed on religious orientation scales due to concerns about affecting psychometric validity and reliability.

Some of the variables in the study were single-item measures, such as the participant’s self-report of how “religious” and “spiritual” they considered themselves to be. Single-item

measures of orthodoxy were included as well. Full measures of religiosity, spirituality, and orthodoxy were not included to reduce participant burden. Many constructs examined from the Lilly Survey were also single-item measures. There are limitations in variance, range, and normality with such items. There is no opportunity to examine internal-consistency for a construct.

Several limitations were present for the congregational data. Participants answered questions regarding their knowledge and perception of their congregation. Therefore, the validity of this data is questionable. Depending on how involved, informed, and aware the participant, their answers may or may not be accurate to the actual make-up of their worship community. The data suggested that individuals tend to be a part of congregations that profess similar social attitudes as they do. However, this could be confirmation bias. Participants may have judged their congregations to be more similar to themselves than they actually are. Other limits to the congregational data include the fact that there is a dearth of psychometric data and validation for the Lilly Survey of Congregations, and only selected items were used instead of the full scale in an effort to reduce participant burden. Therefore, the congregations represented in this study cannot be easily compared to typical American worship communities to evaluate representativeness. It is also impossible to identify if any of the individuals in the survey were part of the same congregation or do any comparisons between congregation profiles. Therefore, true intergroup comparisons were not possible within the design of the present study. Another limit to the congregational data is that there were few pastors of Color and few female pastors. Therefore, findings that suggest congregations with such pastors are associated with tolerant congregants should be interpreted cautiously.

Directions for Future Research

The present study addressed the question of how prejudice and religion are related in a more comprehensive way than was typical in the existing literature. All six religious orientations were accounted for, prejudice was measured in a more relevant way that reflects the covert, modern-day manifestations of intolerant attitudes, neglected types of prejudice such as classism are included, and the sample was religiously diverse. Many of the present findings were therefore groundbreaking, and thus repeated examination is needed to see if such findings are replicated among different samples. The present study also highlighted some weakness in existing measures, as well as some unaddressed questions in the field.

One clear future direction for the religious orientation literature concerns a revision of the indiscriminately pro-religious and indiscriminately anti-religious orientations. These orientations need an update in terms of operationalization, conceptualization, and measurement. When these two religious orientations were defined, only two other religious orientations existed in the literature: extrinsic and intrinsic. However, there is now a richer understanding of diverse approaches to religion with the quest and immanence orientations. Recent research also supports the notion that individuals have varying levels of each religious orientation; therefore not being strongly differentiated as intrinsic or extrinsic may simply mean one has an orthogonal approach to religiosity, such as being an unaffiliated quester. The question of whether or not a narrow, highly stereotyped relationship with religion is related to other kinds of stereotyping is a valuable one. However, the indiscriminate religious orientations do a poor job of exploring this idea and may not even be correlated with prejudice at all, as increased levels of indiscriminateness did not correspond to increased prejudice in this study. New measures to identify extreme pro-religiosity and anti-religiosity might better address the question: “Do individuals who strongly value or

strongly devalue religion and spirituality as important entities tend to be intolerant when it comes to other social identities as well?”

Replication studies are needed to investigate whether present results are valid and generalizable. Useful strategies for replication may include doing an offline study with paper and pencil measures or a combined online-offline study. There is a need for similar studies to be reproduced with more representation from communities of Color, particularly African-American and Hispanic participants. To better assess congregational trends, more worship communities with female leaders and leaders of Color are needed to fully capture the relationship between identities of the senior religious leader and congregant attitudes. The current findings may also be highly sensitive to the type of prejudice measures selected. Though the scales used in the study were selected carefully, there are other good options for testing aversive racism, heterosexism, attitudes about welfare, etc. A similar study design with different prejudice measures could help assess if the present results are repeatable.

There is also more work to be done in terms of researching methodologically appropriate ways of including and comparing religious and non-religious participants. Similarly, sound methodological strategies are needed for including participants from majority religious groups and minority religious groups. One clear deficit in the tools currently available to take on this task is the measures for religious orientation and congregational factors. Current measures were born out of a tradition of research on Judeo-Christian attitudes, thus much of the language used and concepts addressed are from a Judeo-Christian perspective. There is a need for validation studies to test the psychometrics of religious orientation measures when some of the language is made more inclusive, such as changing “church” to “place of worship.” Conceptually, the usefulness of religious orientation could be maximized if more diverse religious views were captured in

orientation measures. It is likely that there are additional orientations yet to be defined. For example, current orientation measures do not incorporate concepts such as offerings, karma, reincarnation, the afterlife, and human nature. There are also few items that address socialization factors which are likely an important part of the role religion plays in one's life such as characteristics of one's religious development and how much of one's closest social contacts are religious, religiously similar, or from the same worship community.

There are many future directions for better addressing group socialization and intergroup dynamics in the religion-prejudice research. It was outside the scope of this study to compare prejudicial attitudes by faith tradition or congregation. Focused intergroup comparison studies could shed more light on the role of religious socialization on prejudiced attitudes.

All of the findings in the present study involve correlations and the comparison of means. Although relationships have been identified, causation remains to be illuminated and there are ripe opportunities for experimental future directions. Experimental studies could shed light on what situational factors can influence attitudes and how effective educational interventions can be for reducing covert prejudice. Sidanius and colleagues found that social dominance orientation shifts with contextual factors that change the amount of salient power the individual feels in an environment (Sidanius et al., 2004). There is a need for this kind of research to better understand the construct of SDO and whether shifts in SDO also create changes in other biases (Aosved & Long, 2006)

Implicit Association Tests (IATs) may be effective tools for expanding the experimental research that exists on religion and prejudice. IATs have the capacity to assess prejudicial attitudes at their most covert, unconscious levels. Studies that incorporated implicit, covert, and overt measures of prejudice in the same sample could shed light on the complexity of intolerant

attitudes and our understanding of how religion and spirituality relate to prejudiced inclinations at conscious and unconscious levels.

Future researchers could also incorporate other religion-related personality variables to better account for what individual factors are most associated with prejudiced attitudes. Personality characteristics such as right wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation were powerful predictors in the present study. Including measures for orthodoxy, fundamentalism, and scriptural literalism could add to the knowledge of personality characteristics associated with covert prejudice.

Lastly, the present study was exploratory in nature and many new relationships between variables were identified. However, the results from the present study do little to, in the words of Hunsberger & Jackson, “adequately address the important question of *why* religion and prejudice are linked,” (2005). The concept of group socialization starts to get at this question, but there are many steps between identifying the relationships that exist between religious group and the individual’s attitudes to understanding how the individual came to hold such beliefs. Hunsberger and Jackson identified 4 levels of spiritual meaning: cognitive, motivational, societal, and intergroup (2005). More research on cognitive and motivational levels of meaning is needed. Knowing what thoughts, feelings, and desires were related to religious belief development may help inform social and clinical interventions to promote tolerance among communities.

Implications for Clinical Practice and Training

The present study sheds light on how one multicultural aspect of identity, religion, may be related to personality factors and prejudiced attitudes. Religion as an identity can be influential for a person’s worldview, self-concept, and purpose in life. Religion can also be an important factor for building internal coping resources and external social support through spiritual communities.

Thus, the findings from the present study have important implications for the training, clinical practice, and service administration because religion and spirituality can greatly impact mental health.

The APA guidelines for multicultural competence state “Psychologists strive to apply culturally-appropriate skills in clinical and other applied psychological practices” and “Psychologists are encouraged to use organizational change processes to support culturally informed organization (policy) and development and practices” Integrating religion into clinical work can be considered a culturally-appropriate practice, as religion is a resource for organizing information about the world, understanding one’s experience, meaning-making, and coping. However, little or no attention is given to religion in many training programs.

Psychologists-in-training must build awareness, knowledge, and skills to be multiculturally-responsive clinicians. Part of this work is self-reflecting on one’s biases and taking a critically conscious view of traditions in the field. As trainees are encouraged to reflect on their racial and gender development, reflection on their own meaning-making, and value-forming processes as they relate to the development or rejection of religious beliefs. Increasing awareness around the religiously-informed values that are embedded in the field such as the Protestant work ethic, rugged individualism, monogamy, independence, and gender roles can help trainees notice assumptions and moralism entering their own judgments about a client’s current problems, degree of pathology, and appropriate therapeutic goals. This is an important way in which trainees can learn to develop the habits of reflection required to “know thyself” and check stereotypes” (Sue, Arredondo, & McDavis, 1992, p.481).

On a macro level, while therapists tend to be less religious than clients, clients can benefit from spiritually-sensitive interventions, and highly religious clients often request an integration of

spirituality into therapy (Worthington & Sandage, 2001). These are important considerations to keep in mind for interactions at the group and dyadic levels of assessment, therapy, and referral. The results of the present study highlight just how important religious orientation can be for attitude formation. It is not only important that therapists do not skip over religious identification questions in the evaluation process, but that they ask more questions about the role religion plays in a client's life: Do they have a religious community? Do they attend worship services? How active are they in their religious community? *Why* are they active in the community? What religious benefits and stressors does the client currently have? These types of questions will be much more useful to the clinician than a cursory knowledge of religious identification.

Religious assessment should be considered ongoing beyond the formal evaluation phase of treatment, as knowledge of what role religion plays in the areas of love, work, play, and worldview will help the therapist be able to enter the client's world and bring their empathy and perspective-taking abilities to the next level. There is also potential to be more effective as the therapist may have a better understanding of how to meet the client where they are. Heightened awareness of how religion enters the therapeutic process might help therapists make better therapeutic use of the inadvertent disclosures that are spiritually laden. Religion may enter the therapy room in many unexpected ways from saying "bless you," to wearing jewelry with religious symbols, to what holidays both therapist and client observe.

Having a working hypothesis of a client's religious orientation, or even having them complete a religious orientation measure, may help the therapist to better understand where client are in their religious journeys. This may help therapists better "walk alongside" questers in the spiritual development journey and appreciate the anxiety, dissonance, and distress that can come from sitting with religious doubts. Assessing how individuals came to their beliefs may also help

therapists recognizing belief foreclosure, so that they may encourage clients to examine superficially-held or partially-articulated beliefs. Learning how the client views differing beliefs systems (e.g. a threat, apathy, fascination, respect) relays important information regarding how the individual integrates new information and handles being confronted with difference.

Finally, the present study has implications for the clinical referral process. Therapists may want to expand their options regarding referrals, including encouraging a churchless religious individual to seek out a worship community, referrals to religious bereavement groups, and referrals to spiritually-focused coping skills classes. There is great potential benefit to translating secular coping (e.g. CBT strategies) to be religious in nature for clients who consider their higher power to be their greatest source of strength.

Implications for Policy

As Lee, Rosen, and Burns point out, the “intentions of counseling psychologists” are often “to address sociopolitical concerns” (2013). The present study relates to many current policy issues especially morally motivated laws (such as restrictions on abortion and contraceptives) and permitted exceptions to compliance with federal law due to religious beliefs. The current study highlights some potentially underlying phenomena that occur during opposition to progressive policy change such as right wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation.

Psychologists could have a critical role in facilitating the conversation on what blocks progressive policy change. Psychologists could assist in the naming of this dynamic to help policymakers analyze the blocking of progressive change, whether it might be a lack of information, lack of empathy, perceived threat to beliefs, conflict over material resources, or conflict over symbolic resources. In realistic group conflict theory, “prejudice and intergroup tension are exacerbated when groups are, or perceive themselves to be in conflict with other groups for valued resources

such as money or power” (Jackson & Hunsberger, 1999, p. 510). Psychologists might play a role in helping opposing sides to identify the resource being sought, to consider whether this resource is concrete, symbolic, and sharable; to consider whether opposing sides are really in competition; to educate conflicting sides; and identify ways to negotiate. Psychoeducation on the construct of right wing authoritarianism and its influence in morally motivated legislation could help raise the level of critical consciousness among voters and politicians to protect a true separation of church and state.

Conclusion

The conversation around religion and prejudice is often two-dimensional in nature, and religious individuals are assumed to be more prejudiced or perhaps more moral, while non-religious individuals are cast in the opposite role. We may often struggle to talk about such issues because they are both highly complex and highly important to how we see the world. In reality, religious individuals are often highly accepting of others different from themselves. Religion can be both a safeguard and/or a justification for prejudice. Both trends were observed in the current study. One global assertion is that the role religion plays in one’s life is more important for determining social attitudes than religious (or non-religious) identification alone. In fact, many highly religious and spiritual people that participated in the study had less prejudiced viewpoints than people who did not consider themselves spiritual.

To deepen the conversation around religion and discrimination, we must appreciate nuance. There are many constructs that play a role in this relationship such as religious orientation, personality, demographic factors, and congregational factors just to name a few. Another added layer of complexity is that the driving forces behind each type of prejudice may be different, as different aspects of religion were related to different kinds of biases. In order to

understand how some individuals fall into the trap of prejudice and others do not, it is important to avoid stereotyping the investigation into the prejudice-religion relationship and to appreciate the diversity of factors that influence the development of oppressive attitudes.

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APPENDIX A: Right Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Altemeyer, 1992)

1. Our country desperately needs a mighty leader who will do what has to be done to destroy the radical new ways and sinfulness that are ruining us
2. Gays and lesbians are just as healthy and moral as anybody else.
3. It is always better to trust the judgment of the proper authorities in government and religion than to listen to the noisy rabble-rousers in our society who are trying to create doubt in people's minds.
4. Atheists and others who have rebelled against the established religions are, no doubt, every bit as good and virtuous as those who attend church regularly.
5. The only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas.
6. There is absolutely nothing wrong with nudist camps.
7. Our country *needs* free thinkers who have the courage to defy traditional ways, even if this upsets many people.
8. Our country will be destroyed someday if we do not smash the perversions eating away at our moral fiber and traditional beliefs.
9. Everyone should have their own lifestyle, religious beliefs, and sexual preferences, even if it makes them different from everyone else.
10. The "old-fashioned ways" and the "old-fashioned values" still show the best way to live.
11. You have to admire those who challenged the law and the majority's view by protesting for women's abortion rights, for animal rights, or to abolish school prayer.
12. What our country needs is a strong, determined leader who will crush evil, and take us back to our true path.
13. Some of the best people in our country are those who are challenging our government, criticizing religion, and ignoring the "normal way things are supposed to be done."
14. God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before it's too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished.
15. There are many radical, immoral people in our country today, who are trying to ruin it for their own godless purposes, whom the authorities should put out of action.
16. A "woman's place" should be wherever she wants to be. The days when women are submissive to their husbands and social conventions belong strictly in the past.
17. Our country will be great if we honor the ways of our forefathers, do what the authorities tell us to do, and get ride of the "rotten apples" who are ruining everything.
18. There is no "ONE right way" to live life; everybody has to create their *own* way.
19. Homosexuals and feminists should be praised for being brave enough to defy "traditional" family values.
20. This country would work a lot better if certain groups of troublemakers would just shut up and accept their group's traditional place in society.

APPENDIX B: Social Dominance Orientation Scale, Version 6 (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999)

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.

5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
9. It would be good if groups could be equal.
10. Group equality should be our ideal.
11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
13. Increased social equality.
14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.
15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
16. No one group should dominate in society.

APPENDIX C: Religious Orientation Scale-Revised (Gorsuch & McPherson, 1989)

1. I enjoy reading about my religion.
2. I go to church because it helps me to make friends.
3. It doesn't much matter what I believe so long as I am good.
4. It is important to me to spend time in private thought and prayer.
5. I have often had a strong sense of God's presence.
6. I pray mainly to gain relief and protection.
7. I try hard to live all my life according to my religious beliefs.
8. What religion offers me most is comfort in times of trouble and sorrow.
9. Prayer is for peace and happiness.
10. Although I am religious, I don't let it affect my daily life.
11. I go to church mostly to spend time with my friends.
12. My whole approach to life is based on my religion.
13. I go to church mainly because I enjoy seeing people I know there.
14. Although I believe in my religion, many other things are more important in life.

APPENDIX D: Interactional Scale-Revised (Batson & Schoenrade, 1991)

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

12. There are many religious issues on which my views are still changing.

APPENDIX E: Immanence Scale (Burris & Tarpley, 1998)

1. For me, being religious means learning to accept life as it is.
2. My personal religion is more a matter of direct experience than faith.
3. There is no sin, only ignorance of God.
4. Learning to appreciate one's dark or "sinful" side is essential to spiritual growth.
5. What my religious tradition labels falsehood is often misunderstood truth
6. Being in touch with the present moment is for me the heart of religion.
7. I often find it necessary to suspend my own religious beliefs in order to perceive clearly the needs of others.
8. Evil must be embraced before it can be changed.
9. I view each moment as sacred, to be experienced fully.
10. Faith can be an obstacle to true religious understanding.
11. All religions have some value.
12. To truly know God, one must trust one's own experience.
13. All of God's knowledge can be found in one religion.
14. In matters of faith, I would rather try to understand and reconcile opposing viewpoints than "take sides."
15. For me, prayer feels more natural than silent meditation.

APPENDIX F: The Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (Neville et al, 2000)

1. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
2. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or day care) that people receive in the U.S.
3. It is important that people begin to think of themselves as American and not African American, Mexican American or Italian American.
4. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality.
5. Racism is a major problem in the U.S.
6. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not.
7. Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.
8. Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S.
9. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color of their skin.
10. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.
11. It is important for political leaders to talk about racism to help work through or solve society's problems.
12. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
13. Immigrants should try to fit into the culture and values of the U.S.
14. English should be the only official language in the U.S.
15. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities.
16. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.

17. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.
18. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
19. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.
20. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison.

APPENDIX G: Benevolent Sexism Scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996)

1. No matter how accomplished he is, a man is not truly complete as a person unless he has the love of a woman.
2. In a disaster, women ought not necessarily to be rescued before men.
3. People are often truly happy in life without being romantically involved with a member of the other sex.
4. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
5. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
6. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
7. Men are complete without women.
8. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
9. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
10. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
11. Women, as compared to men, tend to have a more refined sense of culture and good taste.

APPENDIX H: Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003)

1. Many lesbians and gay men use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.
2. Lesbians and gay men seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.
3. Lesbians and gay men do not have all the rights they need
4. The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in Gay and Lesbian Studies is ridiculous.
5. Celebrations such as “Gay Pride Day” are ridiculous because they assume that an individual’s sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.
6. Lesbians and gay men still need to protest for equal rights.
7. Lesbians and gay men should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people’s throats.
8. If lesbians and gay men want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.
9. Just because someone is gay or lesbian does not mean he or she has a mental disorder.
10. Lesbians and gay men should have the same rights as straight people.
11. Lesbians and gay men should not be allowed to work with children.
12. Lesbians and gay men are immoral.
13. Lesbians and gay men who are “out of the closet” should be admired for their courage.
14. Lesbians and gay men should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.

15. Those who support the rights of lesbians and gay men are probably gay themselves.
16. In today's tough economic times, Canadians' tax dollars shouldn't be used to support gay and lesbian organizations.
17. Lesbians and gay men should be avoided whenever possible.
18. Lesbians and gay men have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

APPENDIX I: Intolerant Schema Scale- Classism Subscale (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009)

1. People who stay on welfare have no desire to work.
2. Welfare keeps the nation in debt.
3. People who don't make much money are generally unmotivated.
4. Homeless people should get their acts together and become productive members of society.
5. Too many of my tax dollars are spent to take care of those who are unwilling to take care of themselves.
6. If every individual would carry his/her own weight, there would be no poverty.
7. There are more poor people than wealthy people in prisons because poor people commit more crimes.
8. Poor people are lazy.
9. Most poor people are in debt because they can't manage their money.

APPENDIX J: Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale- Short Form C (Reynolds, 1982)

1. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.
2. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.
3. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.
4. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.
5. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.
6. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.
7. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.
8. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
9. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
10. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.
11. There have times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.
12. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.
13. I have never deliberately said something that hurt someone's feelings.

APPENDIX K: Lilly Survey of Congregations

1. Our members tend to come from the same economic class---Our members are in very different economic classes (7 point Likert measure).
2. According to the theology of your congregation can women: (select 'yes', 'no', or 'I don't know').
 Lead group prayer during the primary worship service?

Be ushers?
Teach adult classes where there are men?
Serve on a lay governing body (e.g. Board of Elders)?
Be a pastor who is not the senior pastor?
Be the senior pastor?

3. Theologically, which **best** describes your congregation?

Fundamentalist
Evangelical
Moderate-Mainline
Theologically Liberal
Other
Don't Know

4. About how many persons—both adults and children—regularly participate in the religious life of your congregation whether or not they are officially members of your congregation?

5. To the best of your ability, please check the economic group(s) that have the largest representation in your congregation's neighborhood or surrounding area.

Lower Class/Poor
Working Class
Middle Class
Upper Middle Class
Upper Class

6. Which best describes the area in which your congregation's primary worship building is located?

Rural to open country
Town or Village < 10,000
Metropolitan Area of < 50,000
Metropolitan Area 50,000-249,000
Metropolitan Area 250,000-999,999
Metropolitan Area 1 million-2 million
Metropolitan Area > 2 million

7. What is the senior pastor's level of formal education?

High school graduation or less
Two-year college degree, some college, or technical training
Four-year college degree
Some graduate education, but no degree
Masters Degree (including M.Div)
Doctoral Degree (including D.Min and ThD)

8. In what year was your congregation founded?

APPENDIX L: Demographics

1. What is your age? _____
2. I identify my gender as:
 - a) female
 - b) male
 - c) trans
3. Mark the Race that best describes how you identify:
 - a) Black or African-American
 - b) White
 - c) Asian
 - d) American Indian or Alaska Native
 - e) Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
 - f) Other _____
4. Ethnicity
 - a) Hispanic or Latino/a
 - b) Not Hispanic or Latino/a
5. Mark the sexual orientation that best describes how you identify:
 - a) heterosexual
 - b) homosexual
 - c) bisexual
 - d) queer
 - e) questioning
 - f) pansexual
 - g) asexual
6. Mark the social class that best describes how you identify:
 - a) living in poverty
 - b) working poor
 - c) working class
 - d) lower middle class
 - e) middle class
 - f) upper middle class
 - g) owning class
7. Mark the level of education you have obtained:
 - a) Did not graduate high school
 - b) GED
 - c) High school diploma
 - d) Technical Training
 - e) Some college
 - f) Associate's Degree

- g) Bachelor's Degree
- h) Some graduate school
- i) Master's Degree
- j) Doctoral Degree

8. Mark the United States region in which you live:

- a) Northeast
- b) Northwest
- c) Midwest
- d) Southwest
- e) Southeast

9. Mark the political leaning that best describes you:

- a) Republican
- b) Democrat
- c) Independent
- d) Green Party
- e) Libertarian
- f) Non-partisan conservative
- g) Non-partisan liberal

10. Mark your religious/spiritual identity (you may mark up to two):

- a) Catholic
- b) Protestant
- c) Muslim
- d) Hindu
- e) Buddhist
- f) Jewish
- g) Folk/Traditional Religion (including Santeria, Chinese folk religions, Native American spirituality, etc.)
- h) Secular Humanist
- i) Unaffiliated/ Personal Religion/ Spiritual
- j) Atheist
- k) Agnostic
- l) Unitarian
- m) Non-religious

11. I attend religious services:

- a) Never
- b) A few times a year
- c) On holidays
- d) A few times a month
- e) Weekly
- f) More than once a week
- g) Daily
- h) More than once a day

12. I participate in other religious group activities:

- a) Never
- b) A few times a year
- c) On holidays
- d) A few times a month
- e) Weekly
- f) More than once a week
- g) Daily
- h) More than once a day

13. I engage in personal prayer/meditation/scripture reading:

- a) Never
- b) A few times a year
- c) On holidays
- d) A few times a month
- e) Weekly
- f) More than once a week
- g) Daily
- h) More than once a day

14. Some religious and/or spiritual people follow the tenets, traditions, beliefs, and practices of an organized religion, whether an official member of a church/synagogue/temple/mosque or not. How religious do you consider yourself to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Religious At all						Very Religious

15. Some people, whether adherent to an organized religion or not, consider themselves to be spiritual. They may have personal, unique, and sometimes private ways in which they pursue connection with the sacred/divine. How spiritual do you consider yourself to be?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Spiritual At all						Very Spiritual

16. Some people adhere very closely to the beliefs endorsed by their religious/spiritual group. These individuals consider themselves representative of their group's beliefs, stick closely to the central creed of the religion, and can be described as orthodox. How orthodox are your beliefs?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not						Very

Orthodox
At all

Orthodox

17. Some people adhere very closely to the practices endorsed by their religious group such as prayer, sacred ceremonies, rites of passage, group worship participation, dietary restrictions, periods of fasting, group fellowship, etc. These individuals consider themselves representative of their group's practices, stick closely to the practices of the religion, and can be described as orthodox. How orthodox are your practices?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Not Orthodox At all						Very Orthodox

18. Some people believe that their religious/spiritual/existential beliefs, or their particular religious/spiritual/existential group has the one, inerrant truth; while other people believe that there are many ways to find truth, interact with the divine, or connect with the sacred. How do you feel about your religious/spiritual/existential beliefs?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
It is The One True Religion						There are Many Ways to Find Truth