ALLIES IN SPORT ORGANIZATIONS

A Dissertation

by

ELIZABETH NICOLE MELTON

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2012

Major Subject: Kinesiology

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Approved by:

Chair of Committee,   George B. Cunningham
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ABSTRACT

Allies in Sport Organizations. (August 2012)

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Employee support is a key factor in creating more welcoming and accepting work environments for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals in sport. As such, organizations need to understand what factors encourage employees to display attitudes and behaviors that support inclusion. Thus, the purpose of my dissertation was to advance the literature by examining antecedents and outcomes related to employee support for LGBT inclusion and equality in the workplace.

In Study 1, I provide LGBT employees the opportunity to share their perceptions of support for LGBT inclusion, particularly how the attitudes and behaviors of their coworkers foster or inhibit acceptance in the workplace. Results indicate that various micro-level (demographics, personality, experiences with LGBT individuals) and meso-level factors (organizational culture for diversity, support of relevant others) influenced the level of employee support for LGBT inclusive policies. Furthermore, power meaningfully influenced these dynamics, such that individuals in low status positions within the athletic department were hesitant to show support for LGBT equality. However, those who did champion LGBT inclusive initiatives successfully modeled

supportive behaviors and positive attitudes toward LGBT individuals, vocally opposed discriminatory treatment, and provided sexual minorities with a safe space at work.

In Study 2, I develop a multilevel model that addresses factors at the macro-level (i.e., mass media, inclusive community), meso-level (i.e., sexual orientation diversity, presence of other allies), and micro-level (i.e., personality, personal values, attitudes toward LGBT individuals, contact with LGBT individuals) that influence ally support. In addition, I differentiate between attitudinal and behavioral support for LGBT equality, and discuss various factors that may encourage allies to engage in more active ally behaviors.

In Study 3, I drew from the multilevel model to examine how micro-, meso-, and macro-level factors influence attitudinal support for sexual LGBT inclusion among sport employees, and determine if these attitudes affect behavioral support for LGBT inclusion in the workplace. The results from the study offered support that multilevel factors relate to support for LGBT inclusion. Specifically, sex, supervisor support, and typed of media consumed were related to attitudinal support for LGBT inclusion, and these attitudes positively associated with championing behaviors.

DEDICATION

To my parents, for saying, and believing, that I could do anything in this world; my faithful companions Bogey and Winston, for always greeting me with smiling faces and wagging tails; and Christa, for being my everything.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In many respects, attitudes toward lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) individuals have drastically improved over the past two decades, and overt forms of prejudice and discrimination have noticeably decreased (Herek, 2009). In fact, recent survey data from national opinion polls indicate a majority of Americans view same-sex relationships as acceptable, and express support for legalizing same-sex marriage (Herek, 2011). This shift in attitudes has had a considerable impact on policies and practices at the state, local, and organizational level. For instance, as of 2012, six states and the District of Columbia allow same-sex marriage, 11 states provide civil unions or domestic partnerships, and a number of states and municipalities have nondiscrimination policies protecting LGBT individuals. And, while these strides are encouraging, the efforts among corporations to ensure LGBT inclusion are perhaps the most noteworthy. According to the Human Rights Campaign's Corporate Equality Index, nearly 90% of Fortune 500 companies, and 96% of Fortune 100 companies, have implemented some form of LGBT inclusion policy, with the majority of these firms also offering domestic partner benefits. The actions of privately held organizations are particularly interesting considering no federal mandate requires them to include sexual orientation in their nondiscrimination polices.

Research examining the benefits of inclusive polices may point to why

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This dissertation follows the style of the *Journal of Sport Management.*

organizations have made such strides in terms of LGBT inclusion. First, studies consistently demonstrate how workplaces that are antagonistic towards sexual minorities can lead to a number of negative outcomes—for both the employee and the organization. For instance, in Ragins (2008) review of invisible stigmas (e.g.,, sexual orientation) in the workplace, she notes that sexual minorities oftentimes feel forced to conceal their sexual orientation in an effort to avoid prejudice and discrimination. According to Ragins and Cronwell's (2001) findings, the physical and psychological stress that accompanies having to constantly monitoring one's behavior, due to the real or perceived threat of stigmatization, tends to adversely impact job satisfaction, organizational commitment, turnover intentions, and organizational self-esteem among LGBT employees. These negative effects are not limited to their work experiences, as the mental health of sexual minorities can also suffer: persons who face discrimination and prejudice at work are more likely to experience greater anxiety (Herek & Garnets, 2007), depression (Smith & Ingram, 2004) and psychological distress (Waldo, 1999).

What's more, failing to create a workplace that accepts and supports sexual minorities can also hurt an organizations processes and performance. Specifically, when organizations have a diverse and inclusive work culture, they are better able to attract talented and diverse job applicants (Fink et al., 2001; 2003), decrease turnover intentions (McKay et al., 2007), and create goodwill among consumers (Robinson & Dechant, 1997)—this is particularly the case when organizations demonstrate public support for sexual minorities (Cunningham & Melton, 2011; Florida, 2003; 2004). Furthermore, there is empirical evidence that suggests organizational performance is enhanced when

organizations couple high sexual orientation diversity with an inclusive work climate. For instance, Cunningham's work examining college athletic programs shows that having these characteristics positively relates to athletic performance in terms of championship wins (2011b), and greater creativity among athletic department staff and administrators (2011a). Collectively, the aforementioned literature suggests it may be in the best interest of the organization to ensure their workplace is accepting and supportive of LGBT employees.

As such, more research now examines factors related to LGBT inclusion because scholars and practitioners alike recognize the social and business implications of providing accepting and safe workplaces for all employees. Much of this work focuses on formal organizational support—nondiscrimination statements, LGBT diversity training, domestic partnership benefits—(Button, 2001; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Ragins et al., 2007), and shows that inclusive policies relate to greater disclosure, which can then enhance the work experiences of sexual minorities. While this work is both needed and beneficial, it rarely considers outcomes other than disclosure or how other forms of support may impact inclusion. In one exception, Huffman et al. (2008) examined three unique types of support for LGBT employees—organizational, supervisor, and coworker. Their results suggest each type of support led to a distinct outcome: organizational support predicted disclosure decisions, supervisor support related to job satisfaction, and coworker support was associated with overall life satisfaction. The later two findings highlight the important role individuals can play in creating and sustaining inclusive work environments.

Furthermore, Avery (2011) argues the success of any diversity and inclusion initiative rests on the efforts of individual employees, and as such, organizations need to understand what factors encourage employees to display supportive attitudes and behaviors. Unfortunately, few empirical investigations have sought to answer these questions. This is a regrettable omission considering research suggests (a) inclusive policies are ineffective without supervisor and coworker support (Griffith & Heble, 2002), and (b) the attitudes and actions of employees can effectively create more inclusive work environments even in the absence of formal, organizational support (Brooks & Edwards, 2009; Fink et al, 2012). Rather, most studies examine causes and consequences of sexual prejudice (for an extensive review see Herek, 2009) or focus on why individuals support LGBT equality outside of the work domain (Russell, 2011), such as campaigning for same-sex marriage, or volunteering for PFLAG (Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays). Thus, investigation's examining the antecedents and outcomes associated with employee support in the workplace are warranted and can offer both theoretical and practical contributions to this area of study.

Thus, in this dissertation I attempt to further the field in this direction by carrying out three studies. In Study 1, I provide LGBT employees the opportunity to share their perceptions of support for LGBT inclusion, particularly how the attitudes and behaviors of their coworkers foster or inhibit acceptance in the workplace. Such an examination is meaningful because of the impact inclusion can have on the professional and personal well-being of these employees. Also, by interviewing sexual minorities, I am able to gain a greater understanding of how employees' attitudes and behaviors can support

causes or issues that are unique to the LGBT population. Specifically, I asked participants what forms of support were most meaningful in terms of creating inclusion for sexual minorities. In addition, I drew from systems theory and ask them to discuss organizational and individual factors that might encourage employees to take a stand for LGBT equality.

In study 2, I further extend the employee support literature by developing a multilevel theoretical model for explaining ally support in sport organizations. In line with Study 1, I drew from systems theory to examine how factors at the macro- (societal), meso- (organizational), and micro-level (individual) influence employees' attitudes toward sexual minorities. From there, I discussed how attitudes toward sexual minorities (i.e., ally support) can manifest in various behavioral forms, which vary in level of commitment (compliance, cooperation, and championing)—with championing behaviors being the highest level of commitment (see also Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002; Cunningham, 2010b). Drawing from findings in Study 1 and the extant championing literature, I then discussed what factors might inspire or discourage an ally to engage in championing behaviors, Specifically, I identified three possible moderators that can influence this relationship: organizational culture, power and status, and the ally's expectancy beliefs.

Studies 1 and 2 showed the importance of employee support for people who differ from the typical majority and then articulated a multilevel model to understand the antecedents of ally support. The next step was to test the assertions found in the theoretical model. Thus, the purpose of Study 3 was to empirically examine the proposed

relationships. Drawing from the multilevel model in Study 2, I predicted that macro-level (i.e., marriage equality, media type), meso-level (i.e., sexual orientation diversity, supervisor support, coworker support) and micro-level (i.e., race, sex, openness to experience, extraversion, social justice orientation) factors would be positively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities. These attitudes were then expected to positively relate to championing behaviors. In addition, I expected the organizational commitment to diversity would moderate one's behavioral support (i.e., championing behaviors) for LGBT-inclusion in the sport organization, such that employees would be more willing to champion LGBT inclusion when their organization displayed a strong commitment to diversity.

In sum, this dissertation research explores the antecedents and outcomes associated with employee support for LGBT inclusion. Through three studies, I (a) demonstrate the importance of, and factors related to, employee support for sexual minorities working in sport, (b) develop a multilevel theoretical model explaining antecedents and outcomes for ally support, and (c) empirically test this model in the sport context. The remainder of the dissertation is organized in the following manner. In Chapters II, I discuss the qualitative analysis from Study 1; in Chapter III, I present the theoretical arguments from Studies 2; and, in Chapter IV I report the findings from Study 3. Finally, in Chapter V, I provide a general discussion of the three studies, discuss contributions and offer practical implications of the findings, discuss limitations of the research, and suggest areas of future research.

CHAPTER II

WHO ARE THE CHAMPIONS?

USING A MULTILEVEL MODEL TO EXAMINE EMPLOYEE PERCEPTIONS OF

SUPPORT FOR LGBT INCLUSION IN SPORT ORGANIZATIONS

Individuals who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) continue to face prejudice and discrimination in the workplace (Sartore & Cunningham, 2010; Ragins, 2008). According to Ragins, Singh, and Cornwell (2007), nearly 40 percent of employees who are LGBT report facing some form of hostility or harassment while at work, and almost one out of 10 LGBT individuals state they have been dismissed unfairly, or pressured to voluntarily resign from their position, because of their sexual orientation. In addition, nearly three quarters of heterosexual employees believe LGBT people are the most likely minority group to experience discrimination (i.e., termination, harassment, denied promotion) in the workplace (Ragins et al., 2007).

Instances of sexual prejudice in the workplace are especially apparent in sport organizations. For instance, Krane and Barber's (2005) qualitative analysis revealed how lesbian coaches continuously encounter heterosexist work environments and feel forced to conceal their sexual orientation as a way to escape the negative consequences of being labeled a lesbian in sport. This negative treatment is not isolated to lesbian coaches, as recent investigations report similar findings among gay men (Cavalier, 2011) and heterosexual women presumed to be lesbian who work in sport organizations (Sartore & Cunningham, 2010). The effects of such treatment can be immense: LGBT employees

who work in unsupportive work environments report experiencing greater work-related stress, lower job satisfaction, decreased organizational commitment, and increased employee withdrawal behaviors (Garnets & Herek, 2007; Hammer, Bauer, & Grandey, 2003; Ragins, 2008).

To circumvent these negative outcomes and ensure LGBT employees feel welcomed in the workplace, much research now focuses on how organizations can create a more inclusive work environment for sexual minorities (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Huffman, Watrous, & King, 20008; Martinez & Hebl, 2010; Ragins, 2008). This work has primarily investigated how organizational policies, such as statements prohibiting discrimination, the provision of domestic partner benefits, offering diversity training that focus on LGBT issues, or establishing networking opportunities for LGBT employees, influence LGBT employees' experiences. For example, research suggests sexual minorities are more likely to disclose their sexual orientation at work when organizations have such policies, which can then lead to higher job satisfaction and lower job anxiety among LGBT employees (Griffith & Hebl, 2002). In addition, Button's (2001) work demonstrated that the more prevalent these policies, the less likely it will be that sexual minorities experience treatment discrimination. Button also observed that equitable treatment was associated with higher levels of overall job satisfaction and organizational commitment.

Having such policies can also positively relate to organizational outcomes. For instance, Cunningham (2011b) examined performance outcomes related to sexual orientation diversity in NCAA Division I athletic programs. In his study, athletic

departments that combined high sexual orientation diversity with a proactive diversity strategy (i.e., a strategy that values diversity and emphasizes inclusion) were able to significantly outperform other programs—in fact, some programs earned almost seven times the NACDA (National Association of Collegiate Directors of Athletics) cup points—a competition that honors institution for achieving success in many sports—of their peers. In a follow-up study conducted by Cunningham (2011a) with NCAA Division III athletic departments, he found that high sexual orientation diversity positively related to a creative work environment when the organization had a strong commitment to diversity. Of particular interest, the least creative work environments were characterized by high sexual orientation diversity and low commitment to diversity. Thus, these studies provide empirical evidence of how sexual orientation diversity can substantially improve organizational performance, but only in a context that values diversity and inclusion.

Cunningham's work is noteworthy for several reasons. First, the results provide clear, empirical evidence of how sexual orientation diversity can substantially improve organizational outcomes. Second, in both studies the impressive gains were only realized when the organization valued diversity and inclusion—further highlighting the importance of context. Considering the advantages of sexual orientation diversity are most likely to materialize when work environments fully include sexual minorities, there is a need to examine what factors create this type of work environment.

Although a number of empirical studies examine reasons for and outcomes of organizational support for diversity, a limited amount of research examines why

individual employees support or oppose inclusive policies or practices. This is an unfortunate omission for several reasons. First, employee support is vital to the success of diversity initiatives (Avery, 2011). For instance, when employees or supervisors do not show support for LGBT-inclusive practices, many of the benefits gained by offering formal forms of organizational support are lost (Griffith & Hebl, 2002). Second, research suggests the attitudes and actions of employees can effectively create more inclusive work environments and can be a tremendous source of support for sexual minorities—even in the absence of formal, organizational support. In fact, athletes in Fink et al.'s (2012) study expressed how having even one supportive teammate, coach, or administrator made a considerable difference in how they dealt with their identify disclosure experience. Collectively, the aforementioned research suggests employee support is one of the key determinants in creating and sustaining inclusive work environments; however, limited research has examined the causes and consequences of this form of support.

Thus, the purpose of this qualitative study was to understand the characteristics of employees who are more or less likely to endorse and advocate for LGBT inclusiveness. In doing so, I adopt a systems perspective, which recognizes that employee behaviors are shaped by multiple factors at various levels of analysis (Chelladurai, 2009). By adopting such a perspective, I gain a more complete understanding of how individuals can both shape and be shaped by their sport environment (cf. Cunningham, 2010a)—other diversity researchers have also demonstrated the efficacy of adopting a systems approach to understanding diversity-

related phenomena (e.g., Bruening & Dixon, 2007; Cunningham, 2010b; Dixon & Bruening, 2007). Thus, I adopted a systems theory approach to develop an overall picture of how factors at the micro- (i.e., individual forces) and meso- (i.e., organizational and group forces) levels of analysis influence an individual's level of support for LGBT inclusiveness. In the following sections, I present the conceptual framework used to guide the investigation (see Figure 1 for an illustrative summary).

Conceptual Framework

Employee Support for Diversity

According to Herscovitch and Meyer (2002) employee behavioral support for different organizational initiatives can take one of two forms: focal or discretionary. With respect to the first form, focal behaviors are those to which the employee is obligated to perform based on her or his employment and association with the company. Herscovitch and Meyer (2002) term focal behaviors of support for organizational initiatives as *compliance*, whereas employee efforts that fail to provide such obligatory support are described as *resistance*.

Contrasting focal behaviors, discretionary behaviors represent actions taken by employees that go above and beyond what is expected or required by the organization. Discretionary behaviors may take the form of *cooperation*, in which the employee accepts the merits of the initiative and makes modest sacrifices to ensure its success. However, *championing* behaviors occur when an employee's efforts require considerable personal sacrifice, or are intended to encourage others inside and outside the organization to realize the value of the initiative (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002).

By many accounts, championing is considered the ideal form of discretionary behavior because it is the most effective behavior in terms of gathering employee support for organizational initiatives (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002). Champions truly embrace the change and work toward persuading others of its merits, even when the initiative is considered unpopular. Particularly relevant to the current study, Zitek and Hebl (2007) observed that individuals who openly support LGBT equality and inclusiveness are particularly effective in persuading peers to also express inclusive beliefs. The results in their study suggest employees can act in powerful ways to successfully improve the work experiences of persons who are LGBT, even when organizations lack formal policies that protect LGBT rights (cf. Martinez & Hebl, 2010).

As evidenced by this research, championing behaviors exhibited by employees is key to creating inclusive work environments for sexual minorities and, therefore, serve as the primary interest in the current study. However, several factors can influence whether a person engages in champion behaviors. Thus, in the next section, I outline the micro- and meso-level forces that may impact championing behaviors among employees.

Micro-Level factors

Micro-level forces that may influence employee level support for LGBT-inclusiveness are those that are unique to the individual. In this study, I focused on three individual-level factors: personal demographics, personality, and personal experiences with sexual minorities.

Demographics. Demographic characteristics such as gender, religious affiliation, and level of education oftentimes relate to attitudes toward LGBT individuals (see Herek, 2009). According to national surveys, fieldwork, and laboratory experiments, negative attitudes toward sexual minorities consistently correlates with several demographic characteristics. Specifically, those who express sexual prejudice are more likely to be male, older, less educated, hold fundamentalist or conservative religious beliefs, and describe themselves as politically conservative (Herek, 2009).

These trends have implications for the current study. Specifically, it is reasonable to assume that those who hold negative attitudes toward sexual minorities will be less prone to actively support LGBT-inclusive policies and practices in the workplace. Furthermore, those who do not share these characteristics may be more inclined to support LGBT-inclusiveness. Such reasoning is consistent with research that suggests women and those who have more liberal political leanings generally support LGBT rights, such as marriage equality (Herek, 2009; Vescio & Biernat, 2003).

Personality. Personality may also influence one's support for LGBT-inclusiveness. The five-factor model of personality suggests one's personality is best conceptualized as consisting of extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and openness to experience (see McCrae & Costa, 1996). Of particular interest to this study are extraversion and openness to experience. According to Mount & Barrick (1995), extroverts are perceived to be "sociable, gregarious, talkative, assertive, adventurous, active, energetic, and ambitious" (p. 165). Research suggests that people who possess this type of personality are more likely to emerge as

leaders within a group (Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002), and can effectively influence the opinions of others. Additionally, researchers have observed extraversion is strongly associated with one's propensity to engage in behaviors that champion diversity initiatives (Cunningham & Sartore, 2010).

Openness to experience might also influence's one support for LGBT inclusion in the workplace. Individuals with this personality characteristic are more willing to consider perspectives that differ from their own and tend to make adjustment to existing attitudes or behaviors when they are introduced to new ideas or situations (Flynn, 2005). Further, they tend to be more creative, cultured, open-minded, intelligent, curious, and imaginative. These individuals tend to become leaders within group settings and are successful in convincing others to realize the value in certain initiatives (Judge et al., 2002). Most importantly, individuals with an open mind generally show less prejudice attitudes toward minority group members (Flynn 2005).

Contact with LGBT individuals. A considerable amount of research has shown contact with individuals who are LGBT is associated with reduced instances of sexual prejudice. These researchers primarily draw from Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, which contends contact with dissimilar others will reduce the prejudice and discrimination. For instance, in their longitudinal study of American adults, Herek and Capitanio's (1996) discovered sexual prejudice was significantly lower for individuals who had extended contact with LGBT individuals and who had friends who had disclosed their sexual orientation to the participant. In addition, results from Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis showed heterosexuals' contact with sexual minorities

was negatively associated with sexual prejudice. Given these findings, it is reasonable to assume contact may increase the likelihood that one will support practices that are LGBT inclusive—though limited research has examined if contact will influence overt forms of support for inclusion.

Meso-Level Factors

Research also suggests various meso-level factors can influence employees support for inclusiveness. These forces are observed at the organizational- or group-level of analysis and can include organizational culture for diversity and the support of others in the workplace.

Organizational culture for diversity. Organizational culture refers to the pattern of shared values, beliefs, and norms that organizational members develop over time (Schein, 1990). In most instances, the organization's culture will dictate employee behaviors and serve as a model for newcomers to know what is appropriate conduct in the workplace. Several researchers have examined the impact of culture in regards to diversity and inclusion initiatives in sport organizations (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999; Fink & Pastore, 1999). This literature suggests that when diversity is not valued in the workplace, the organization's culture will revolve around the norms and preferences of those who have traditionally held leadership positions in sport organizations— specifically, White, heterosexual, males. Thus, persons working in an inclusive culture might be more willing to express support for sexual minorities.

Support of others. Leaders and coworkers can play a vital role in creating inclusive work environments for individuals who are LGBT. Their attitudes, behaviors,

and policies they support establish a model for others to follow in the organization.

Bandura (1986), in presenting his social learning theory, noted, "virtually all learning

phenomena, resulting from direct experience, can occur vicariously by observing other

people's behaviors and the consequences for them" (p. 19). Thus, when a leader or

coworker expresses explicit or implicit negative attitudes toward sexual minorities, it is

likely that others in the organization will, as well.

Several theoretical and empirical arguments have advanced this idea. For

instance, research suggests leaders can inspire coworkers to champion diversity

initiatives (Cunningham & Sartore, 2010) and also discourage them from exhibiting

prejudice (Umphress, Simmons, Boswell, & Triana, 2008). As one example, in

Umphress et al.'s (2008) study, even when employees held prejudice attitudes, they do

not act in discriminatory ways when specifically instructed by their supervisors not to do

so. The influence of coworkers can act in similar ways, as Cunningham and Sartore

(2010) observed that employees were more likely to champion diversity initiatives when

they perceived their coworkers showed high levels of support for diversity. In addition,

coworker support can be especially important if employees are dissatisfied with the

organizational practices. For instance, Zhou and George (2001) found employees were

more likely to voice their frustration and suggest improvements to organizational polices

when the amount of perceived coworker support was high. In this vein, employees who

oppose non-inclusive behaviors may be willing to speak out against discriminatory

actions if they believe others in the organization share their concerns.

In sum, the framework presented above is one that uses a systems approach to

explore the various factors that may influence employee support for LGBT-inclusion in the workplace. Specifically, micro-level (demographics, personality, contact with LGBT individuals), and meso-level (organizational culture for diversity, support of others) factors are thought to enhance or deter one's endorsement of inclusive policies and practices. This model helped guide the current investigation, which examined the characteristics of inclusive work environments. The views expressed by the participants assisted in answering the following research questions:

RQ1: What are the individual-level characteristics of employees who support LGBT-inclusion in the workplace?

RQ2: What organizational-level factors influence LGBT-inclusion in the workplace?

RQ3: How can sport organizations create more inclusive work environments for LGBT employees?

Method

Case Study Approach

A multimethod, qualitative approach was appropriate in this study to garner a greater understanding of the employees' perception of inclusion. This involved using participant observation, interviews, and analysis of secondary documents to investigate the particular case. Adopting the case study method allowed me to develop a more complete understanding

of the phenomena (i.e., support for LGBT-inclusion), while also enabling the

distinctiveness of the participants and the context to be taken into account during the

research process (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

Research Setting

This research took place at a large, public university in the United States. Over

the past ten years, the university has recognized its responsibility to create and maintain

a climate that affirms diversity of all persons as well as diversity in views. As such, the

university has made considerable efforts with respect to increasing the diversity of the

student body and faculty. And, while the school has made vast improvements in terms of

racial and gender diversity, they still struggle to create a campus environment that is

welcoming for individuals who are LGBT.

In order to provide a more inclusive atmosphere on campus, the university has

implemented several programs to support LGBT students, faculty, and staff. For

example, there is now an LGBT resources center, which "educates all campus and

community constituencies on LGBT issues through programming about sexual

orientation and gender identity/expression, advocacy, leadership, and visibility." In

addition to providing a "safe space" on campus for persons who are LGBT, the center

also works with other student organizations, departments on campus, and local

community organizations to ensure students have access to a number of resources,

activities, and support services. There are also two social organizations, one for students

and one for faculty and staff, which offers LGBT individuals an opportunity to form

connections and relationships with similar others on campus. Finally, the university also

supports an "ally" group that is composed of students, faculty and staff, and community members who are willing to provide support for LGBT people or others dealing with sexual orientation issues. Despite these advances, the university continues to rank as one of the most unsupportive campuses for sexual monitories.

In terms of LGBT inclusive polices within the athletic department, there is a formal statement that reads "no athlete or athletic department staff member will be discriminated on the basis of race, creed, color, sex, religion, national origin, age, disability, veterans' or marital status, sexual orientation, or any other protected group status". Also, a new committee has recently been formed to address ways the athletic department may better serve the needs of athletes who are lesbian, gay, or bisexual. However, according to participant accounts, the athletic department as a whole has done little to promote LGBT inclusiveness, and none of the participants felt they could freely express their sexual orientation to everyone in the department.

Participants

I conducted interviews with 13 athletic department coaches and staff who worked in a variety of departmental units. The participants were mostly female (53.8%), White (84.6%), and had earned an advanced degree (57.2%). They ranged in age from 25 to 43 years ($M = 31.49$; $SD = 5.46$) and had all worked in the athletic department for a significant amount of time ($M = 5.32$; $SD = 2.87$). Nine of the participants were in committed relationships and four were single. They identified as lesbian ($n = 7$), gay ($n = 5$), or bisexual ($n = 1$). All of the employees had disclosed their sexual orientation to at least one other staff member. To respect the participants' concern for anonymity,

pseudonyms (chosen by the participants) are used and specific job titles and tenure are not presented.

Procedures

Participants were recruited through a modified snowball sampling method (Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Specifically, I contacted individuals I knew met the selection criteria for the study and asked if they would be willing to participate. To be considered for the study, participants must (a) identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender, and (b) work within the athletic department. The individuals identified were then emailed a letter describing the purpose of the study. The letter explained exactly what would be required of the participants and stated the Human Subject Review Board had reviewed and approved the investigation. Those who were interested were instructed to contact the researcher, and to also provide names of other individuals they knew who met the participant selection criteria and would be willing to participate. In sum, 13 people were willing to participate in the study, and subsequent face-to-face interviews were scheduled. All interviews were between 60 and 90 minutes in length. In order to ensure a safe, comfortable space for the participant, all interviews were conducted at an off-campus location chosen by the participant.

Interview Guide

The interview guide was developed with the intent of capturing the participants' perceptions and experiences regarding LGBT inclusion in the workplace. Specifically, I sought to understand what inclusion meant to LGBT employees, their personal experiences with individuals who had made them feel included in the workplace, and

their perception of who and how individuals made the workplace more LGBT

inclusiveness. The conceptual framework used to guide this study informed the

questions regarding employee support for inclusion (see Figure 1). Questions either

pertained directly to the framework (e.g., Can you describe the characteristics of

individuals who support LGBT inclusion at work?), or were framed in a more general

way (e.g., How do you define inclusion? Have you experienced an inclusive workplace?

If so, can you describe it?). The latter approach was taken in order to elicit responses that

could provide more understanding and insight regarding employee support for LGBT

inclusiveness (cf. Kvale, 1996). Taking this approach allowed me to extend beyond the

preconceived theoretical image of the employee support, and develop a sense of how the

social world appeared to those under investigation (Patton, 1987). The final interview

guide consisted of questions regarding perceptions of employee support from the

participant's perspective (e.g., What does employee support mean to you? When do you

feel supported by your coworkers? Do your coworkers or supervisors support LGBT

inclusion? Which coworkers are more likely to support LGBT inclusion? What

behaviors are more or less successful in creating a more inclusive work environment?

Why do you think some employees support LGBT inclusion and others do not?).

Data Analysis

Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim. NVivo 9 was used

to store the data and assist with analysis. Complete Word file transcripts were imported

into NVivo where free nodes (cf. open coding, Strauss & Corbin, 1990) were used to

categorize portions of text. Once free nodes ($n = 53$) were created, they were then

grouped into 12 trees (cf. axial coding, Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Using the concepts in the theoretical framework as a guide, all tree concepts were subjected to a visual inspection by the author and were combined to develop higher order themes. Such an approach is consistent with an a priori, content- specific approach to data analysis (Schwandt, 2007), in which codes are "developed from careful study of the problem or topic under investigation and the theoretical interests that drive the inquiry" (p. 32). If a higher order theme did not appear in the theoretical framework, the decision to include it in the findings was made according to the frequency of occurrence in the data. The findings and discussion are presented in the following section.

Finally, several steps were taken to improve credibility and trustworthiness of the research findings. First, considering limited research examines employee support for LGBT inclusive policies, two scholars who research LGBT issues served as my peer debriefers. The advice they provided was quite valuable when I originally developed the theoretical framework for this study. Also, their knowledge and expertise enhanced the dependability of the interview guide and helped create interview questions that (a) reflected the theoretical framework and (b) also made it possible to capture the unique experiences of the participants. Second, to monitor my personal positions and potential bias, I recorded notes in a reflexive journal throughout the investigation. This allowed me to remain cognizant of when the interviewee's words differed from (a) my preconceived impressions of support, and (b) previous research that has examined employee support for inclusion. Finally, to improve credibility, participants were sent a

copy of the transcript and given the opportunity to provide clarity and ensure their words and experiences were portrayed accurately.

Findings and Discussion

Employee support for LGBT-inclusive policies and practices is instrumental in creating a more accepting and inclusive work environments for sexual minorities (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Martinez & Hebl, 2010; Ragins, 2008). Coworkers can provide needed assurance and affirmation during the coming out process (Ragins, 2008), create safe havens where LGBT employees feel free to express their sexual identity (Ragins, 2004; Fink et al., in press), and become vocal advocates for LGBT equality in the workplace (Martinez & Hebl, 2010; Russell, 2011). Results from this study certainly demonstrate the employees' perceptions regarding the benefits of this type of support; however, and of equal importance, they also highlight the perceived forces that influence whether a sport employee will support or resist LGBT inclusion in the workplace. Higher order themes pertaining to employee support include: (a) definition of inclusiveness, (b) micro-level factors for employee support, (c) meso-level factors from employee support, (d) power and status, and (e) friends versus champions of inclusion. Each of these is described in further detail below (see Figure 1 for an illustrative summary).

Definition of Inclusiveness

According to workplace inclusion literature (Shore et al., 2011; Ely & Thomas, 2001), diverse employees feel accepted and included when their needs for belongingness and uniqueness are satisfied in by their membership in the work group. Consistent with

this view, when asked how they would describe inclusion in the workplace, all of the participants discussed needing to feel as though they belonged in the work group, were accepted by others, and received equal treatment. However, only two of the participants felt their sexual orientation needed to be viewed as unique in order to create accepting work atmospheres. In fact, many times the participants' definitions stated how one's sexual orientation should not be significant. For instance, when describing inclusive work groups, John noted "for me, the department is inclusive when people don't care if your gay or not. It's just a non-issue." Jimmy desired a somewhat more affirming environment, but still did not believe the organization needed to value sexual orientation diversity. Rather, he simply wanted to be treated in the same way heterosexual employees were treated.

> I just want my coworkers and the athletic department to be okay with me being gay, and show that it's okay that I'm gay. Give domestic partner insurance benefits, let my boyfriend go on the "spouse" away game trip with me. I don't think they need a gay appreciation day at work or something like that. Just give me the same rights and luxuries that my straight coworkers have.

In many respects, these participants may not have seen their sexual orientation as a valued characteristic because they had never worked in organizations that effectively communicated the value of diversity. This might help explain why having diverse employees does not automatically translate into performance gains (Cunningham, 2011a, 2011b). For instance, employees may be unable to effectively utilize the advantages of having diversity because they (minority and majority group members) do not realize

how diversity can enhance organizational outcomes (for similar arguments, see Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999).

Given that many of the participants had never worked in an athletic department with formal LGBT-inclusive polices, participants assessed the attitudes and actions of supportive coworkers and supervisors to determine the level of inclusiveness in the organization. For example, Tanya believed the department was inclusive if individuals showed explicit or implicit signs of acceptance.

> I was really worried before my interview that I wouldn't fit it. I knew about the culture here and knew it wasn't exactly gay-friendly… When I came on my interview everyone was great, they were really nice and didn't say any over-the-top homophobic comments (laughs). And I noticed one of the (specific job title) had an ally sticker on her door. So I knew there was at least one person who supported gays and lesbians.

Tanya's concluding comment suggests the presence of just one LGBT support can make a significant impact regarding whether LGBT individuals feel included in the sport setting.

Micro-Level Factors

In order to gain a better understanding of which individuals were perceived to be more likely to support LGBT inclusion, I asked participants to describe people who were supportive or accepting of LGBT people or who acted as allies in the workplace. For the purposes of this investigation, an ally was described as an individual who, regardless of sexual orientation, advocated for LGBT rights and equality. Though perhaps surprising,

all of the participants had received support, to varying degrees, from their coworkers—even though the athletic department made very few attempts to incorporate LGBT issues into their diversity strategy. When asked what qualities these individuals displayed, the participants discussed a variety of micro-level factors, including personality, demographic characteristics, and coworkers' past experiences with sexual minorities.

Demographics. Overall, employees who supported LGBT inclusiveness at State University tended to be female, raised in progressive areas of the country, and politically liberal. In fact, as the participants recounted instances when coworkers had been particularly supportive of sexual minorities, 23 different women were identified as being supportive of LGBT issues in the athletic department, but only four men were mentioned. When asked why she felt women were more understanding of LGBT issues, Blakely expressed, "I think women are just more comfortable with it (one's LGBT sexual identity)." Women were particularly more supportive if the participant was a gay male, as opposed to a lesbian. As John describes

> For the most part, all the women I work with are totally fine with me being gay.
> They think nothing of it. Some of the men have a problem with it, or I think they
> think I shouldn't be so open with it or something like that.

In addition to women, the participants also mentioned coworkers who were liberal or who were from areas that were more progressive tended to behave in ways that created a more inclusive work environment. As Mia explains

> The allies I know are all liberal or they grew up in a liberal part of the country…
> Like Paige, she grew up in California, she's like your typical tree-hugging

liberal, supports Obama, just a huge Democrat… The other day we were all at lunch and someone brought up Don't Ask, Don't Tell and said they thought it was good and needed to stay… When he said it, Paige immediately jumped on her soapbox and told the guy how gay marriage should be legal and how gays and lesbians should have the same rights as straight people… Then, our boss, who served in the military but has never said anything about Don't Ask Don't Tell, chimed in and said it should be repealed and it's a stupid policy.

Paige's reaction is significant for two reasons. First, she instantly responded to a coworker who voiced support for a policy that has now been deemed discriminatory and overturned by the federal government—setting an example for how to support LGBT inclusion. Second, by publically rebuking her coworker, she also inspired their supervisor to express his support for LGBT equality.

Unfortunately, when employees do not take a stand, instances of sexual prejudice may persist in the workplace. As an illustrative example, Ryan, who does not work in Paige's department, explained how two of her coworkers perpetuated a non-inclusive work atmosphere by saying disparaging comments.

Everyone is relatively accepting, but we have like one or two ultra-conservatives that just seem to ruin it. Like the least offensive thing they'll say is someone or something is so gay. But I've heard them call other (heterosexual) coworkers queers or fags… They've both said you don't want to work with certain women's teams because you'll just be around lesbians, and girls shouldn't go pro because they'll be around so many (lesbians)… or worse, they'll try to turn the girl into a

lesbian… I can't believe anyone would ever say that at work, like no matter how you feel about homosexuality. But no one says anything so they just keep saying that stuff.

Personality. As previously articulated in the theoretical framework, extraversion and openness to experience have been empirically linked to employee support for diversity in the work context. However, few researchers have examined if personality relates to support for LGBT inclusiveness. In the current study, all of the participants described supportive employees as "having an open mind" or being "open-minded", which is consistent with previous research examining individual support policies that ensure LGBT equality (Fynn, 2005). Participants further explained how being open-minded and accepting differed from being tolerant of homosexuality, in that the open-minded individuals they encountered at work did not view homosexuality as a sin or has a conscious choice. As Sarah noted,

People who are open-mined are more accepting of gays and lesbians. They don't judge you. They're open to the possibility that people are just gay, we don't choose to be gay.

Contrary to arguments proposed in the conceptual framework, none of the participants mentioned extroversion where describing individual characteristics of employees who support LGBT inclusion. Instead, the participants described how supportive employees were confident, not only in themselves but also in the message they were sending by being an advocate for LGBT rights. When discussing one of her coworkers that acted as an ally at work, Jen explained,

Lori is just a really confident, assertive person. I think you have to be, especially

here. It's never popular to tell someone they're discriminating against someone

else.

Tanya expressed similar sentiments regarding the personal characteristics of an ally,

"It's a controversial issue. You have to be pretty sure of yourself and believe in what

you're saying to make a difference."

Experiences with LGBT individuals. Research examining the motivations of

heterosexual allies suggests many people advocate for LGBT individuals because they

have a family member or close friend who is LGBT (Russell, 2011). Consistent with

these examinations, participants in the current study revealed how a person's

experiences or relationships with LGBT individuals may influence her or his willingness

to support LGBT equality. Perhaps more interesting, several participants believed their

coworkers became allies after they developed a friendship with the participant and later

discovered he or she was LGBT. As Marisa explains,

I'd say James was completely homophobic before he met me. He thought gays

were gross, weird, against God, just not acceptable. But, he didn't know any gay

people… After we worked together for a year or so, he still didn't think he knew

any gay people (laughs)… If he ever said anything homophobic I challenged him

on it, and he eventually started to come around… Finally I got the courage to tell

him I was gay. And when I did, he was completely supportive, which was really

surprising… Now he's my biggest ally. He goes after anyone who says anything

the least bit homophobic.

This example points to how important it is for sexual minorities to disclose their sexual orientation in the work place. Without learning that his coworker was lesbian, James may have never become an advocate for LGBT equality and inclusion.

Meso-level Factors

  Culture of diversity. According to Doherty and Chelladurai (1999), organizations with a culture of diversity focus on people and respect the differences their employees bring to the organization. This culture encourages managers to have a greater tolerance for risk and ambiguity, which in turn gives employees the freedom and flexibility to develop new and innovative ways to accomplish tasks. This environment contains open lines of communication, multilevel decision-making systems, and open group membership. In contrast, a culture of similarity views differences as deficits or a source of conflict that will inevitably limit productivity and performance. Consequently, these organizations have closed lines of communication, one-sided decision-making systems, and closed group membership. Managers and employees working within a rigid culture of similarity are typically task versus people oriented, avoid risk and conflict, and rely on traditional modes of operation when making business decisions.

  According to the participants' perceptions, diversity was seen as a means to an end, rather than a value. Specifically, they discussed how policies were primarily implemented so that the athletic department could avoid discrimination lawsuits, similar to Fink and Pastore's (1999) description of compliance strategies. For instance, when Jacob was in the process of interviewing job applicants for a vacant position, an associate athletic director told him that he needed to hire a woman to ensure the athletic

department was not sued for gender discrimination. Those who were interviewed perceived that this view of diversity inhibited some people from taking proactive step to create inclusive work environments. As John notes,

> The department might say diversity is important, but they don't do anything to show it. If they did something, anything really, I think more people would support LGBT inclusiveness.

Megan also expressed how she believed top administrations only viewed diversity as a way to attract diverse athletes to the athletic program.

> Our AD doesn't value diversity; he just knows you have to have it to help recruiting. I think he sees it as a checklist when hiring someone new. If the person is African   American, check. If she's a woman, check. If you hire an African American woman, double check… Gay isn't on his checklist. If anything, if you hire a lesbian assistant coach it's considered a mark against you.

Megan's words also highlight how, many times, sexual orientation is not a valued diversity dimension in sport. However, some of the smaller units within the athletic department did support all forms of diversity and created policies and statements that reflected these inclusive beliefs. For example Josh, who works within the compliance department, said

> We created our own mission statement, and it specifically states how we respect all types of diversity… We're just a small department, but we really try to live up to that mission in all we do… It shows in our hiring practices, it shows in the way we treat student-athletes, and it shows in how we treat each other.

Support of others in the organization. Huffman (2008) and her colleagues discuss how supervisors and coworkers can be particularly influential in creating more inclusive environments for LGBT employees. In fact, some researchers suggests employees often look to their leaders for cues on how they should act in regards to diversity initiatives (Avery, 2011). This was certainly the case in the current study, as participants discussed how, in some instances, the behavior of their supervisor inspired others to be more supportive of LGBT inclusion. For instance, Shannon shared events that took place after her coworker was required to attend diversity training for saying disparaging remarks about sexual minorities.

> I think a lot of good things came out of making Lee attend that diversity sensitivity class. For one, it set the tone that you can't act that way in our department. And two, people started to talk about it (issues related to sexual orientation diversity). For the first time since I had been there, people were saying we needed to think about what we said, and consider how it affected others.

In addition to supervisors, the attitudes and behaviors of coworkers can also significantly influence employee support for inclusion (Avery, 2011). John discussed how his coworkers, who were also close friends, modeled inclusive behavior for others in the department and rebuked anyone who expressed negative attitudes for sexual minorities.

> It's not easy being an out gay guy in (State University's) athletic department. But if a couple of your friends stand up for you, you really don't have many problems. They'll tell other folks how it is and how it's going to be.

Though not extensively addressed in the support literature, subordinate support for inclusion can also impact employee behaviors. Social exchange theory (Blau, 1964) helps explain why a subordinate would engage in behaviors that demonstrate support for their supervisor. Specifically, if subordinates feel their supervisor is providing them with opportunities, resources, emotional social support, etc., they are more likely to reciprocate the treatment by showing loyalty to their supervisor. This was certainly the case in the current study. As Taylor describes:

> I think I'm a pretty good boss, but I didn't know how much my employees liked me until last year… A new student-worker had been saying inappropriate gay jokes and calling people fags. I had heard it, but since everyone knows I'm gay, I didn't want to be *that guy*… You know, the one that makes an issue out of being gay… Well, I was told that one of my employees over heard it and completely told the guy off. He said he didn't want to hear those kinds of comments and he should watch what he says and quit sounding like an uneducated idiot.

When Taylor shared this experience, he believed his subordinate's loyalty motivated him to engage in championing; however, subordinates' views toward inclusion may be what actually inspire them to advocate for LGBT equality. For instance, one of Randi's top players had been involuntary "outed" by a teammate and afterwards was harassed and treated unfairly by some of the juniors and seniors on the team. Randi explained how the newer members of the team held more progressive views toward homosexuality and did not tolerate the unsupportive behaviors of others on the team.

They confronted the upperclassmen who were being so awful, and told the

coaches that we needed to do something to stop what was going on… We held a

team meeting with all the players, coaches, and support staff. We made it clear

that we were a team and we were going to respect everyone... During the meeting

the players set team rules that explained how they would treat their teammates,

gay or straight. And, everyone agreed to keep each other accountable. The whole

atmosphere on the team changed after that, everyone came together…The players

were the ones that made the change. And it really helped me. It made me realize

things were getting better and people were becoming more tolerant. It showed me

that I had to make sure our team was a place were players felt loved and

accepted, not hated.

This powerful example illustrates how influential individuals can be with respect to

creating inclusive environments for LGBT individuals.

Friends versus Champions of LGBT Inclusion

Analysis of the data revealed employees created more inclusive work

environments for sexual minorities in two ways. First, employees acted as friendly

supporters by providing a safe space for sexual minorities at work. Within these

supportive spaces, employees felt their sexual identify was respect and affirmed by

others in the workplace. These coworkers provided needed social support that alleviate

various stressors that are associated with minority stress (Meyer, 2003). As Heather

explains,

My coworkers are great. They are completely accepting. They make me feel

okay to be me… Meredith (Heather's coworker) really helped me when I came

out to my parents… After they basically disowned me, Meredith just said I was

now part of her family.

In many respects, this form of support is similar to Herscovitch and Meyer's (2002)

cooperation behavior, in that the employees made modest sacrifices to support inclusion

initiatives. Though these efforts were beneficial in terms of social support and identity

affirmation, they did not encourage others to create or advocate for formal organizational

polices related to LGBT-inclusiveness. However, some employees did act as change

agents by engaging in champion behaviors that persuaded others to express inclusive

beliefs.

The participants considered championing behaviors to be imperative to creating

more inclusive work environments for LGBT employees. In fact, 12 of the13 employees

interviewed stressed the importance of having allies in the workplace. Rachel, who

works in women's athletics, discussed how she felt the sport context was particularly

heterosexist and desperately needed heterosexual employees to support LGBT

inclusiveness. In her words,

Things are starting to improve, but for the most part, it's just okay to discriminate

against gays and lesbians in sport… Lesbian coaches get fired, and the news runs

the story, but in the end, the coach never gets her job back... We need people to

make policies that won't allow the athletic department to fire the coach for being

gay… I can't do it, heck I might get fired. We need more straight coaches to

advocate for anti-discrimination policies.

In many cases, the participants described instances in which they wanted to speak out

when coworkers or supervisors used non-inclusive language or made disparaging

comments regarding gays and lesbians, but they felt their minority status inhibited them

from voicing their grievances. Fortunately, their ally coworkers were oftentimes willing

to take a stand for LGBT-inclusiveness and set an example for what type of behavior

was acceptable in the workplace.

Power

Prior to the beginning the investigation, I expected that employees who held

attitudinal support for LGBT inclusion would also behave in ways that championed

inclusive policies in the workplace (i.e., behavioral support for inclusion). However,

analysis of the data suggests supportive attitudes did not always related to championing

behaviors (see Figure 1). Instead, various factors seemed to influence whether or not a

person displayed inclusive behaviors (e.g., speaking out against homophobic or

heterosexist comments). Specifically, the participants consistently discussed how power

and status can significantly influenced employee support for inclusion. On a number of

occasions, they explained how those who held power in the athletic department were in a

better position to advocate for LGBT equality. As one illustrative example, Randi

described how working in men's sport might afford one more power.

A male coach, especially one who is married with three kids, can publically

support gay and lesbian issues. People will listen; they might even applaud him

for his courage to speak out on a controversial topic. Can a female coach do that? Hell no. She's immediately called a lesbian and all the coaches in her conference are making sure recruits, *and their parents,* know she's lesbian and supports lesbianism on the team.

Conclusion

Champions can play a key role in creating more welcoming and accepting work environments for sexual minorities in sport. Based on the perceptions of the participants, findings in this study illustrate that various micro-level (demographics, personality, experiences with LGBT individuals) and meso-level factors (organizational culture for diversity, support of relevant others) influenced the level of employee support for LGBT inclusive policies at State University. Furthermore, power significantly influenced these dynamics, such that individuals in low status positions within the athletic department were hesitant to vocally support LGBT equality. However, those who did champion LGBT inclusive initiatives successfully modeled supportive behaviors and positive attitudes toward LGBT individuals, vocally opposed discriminatory treatment, and provided sexual minorities with a safe space at work.

This study makes several contributions to the literature. Perhaps the most significant is that it is the first to examine employee support for LGBT inclusion within the sport domain. Past theoretical and empirical investigations have primarily focused on organizational forms of support, and the outcomes associated with such initiatives. This study differs from this focus by adopting a multilevel perspective to understand the various factors that influence employee support. Second, consistent with Martinez and

Hebl's (2010) recommendations, the purpose of this study was to explore how individual employees, rather than organizations, can become champions in creating more inclusive work environments for LGBT individuals.

Future research should examine why employees who hold more powerful positions in sport organization choose to champion LGBT-inclusive initiatives. Specifically, research needs to examine what motivates individuals to be supportive of LGBT inclusion, what types of contexts encourage support, and what organizational outcomes are enhanced when support is provided.

CHAPTER III

A MULTILEVEL MODEL FOR EXAMIINING ALLY SUPPORT

IN SPORT ORGANIZATONS

Despite an increased awareness of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

(LGBT) issues in both mainstream sport media and the sport management literature (see

Cunningham, 2011b), heterosexism and instances of sexual prejudice continue to

diminish the experiences of LGBT individuals in sport (Cavalier, 2011; Sartore &

Cunningham, 2010). Similar to other forms of prejudice, sexual prejudice is typically

negative and characterized by hostility or dislike toward people who are (or perceived to

be) LGBT (Herek, 2009). Heterosexism, on the other hand, is defined as "an ideological

system that denies, denigrates, and stigmatizes any nonheterosexual form of behavior,

relationship, or community" (Herek, 1990, p. 316). Manifestations of these forms of

prejudice may include overt instances of violence against sexual minorities, more subtle

bias, or exclusionary behaviors—all of which have the potential to negatively affect the

psychological well-being, physical health, and opportunities of individuals who are (or

are perceived as being) LGBT.

Within the sport management literature, enactments of sexual prejudice are

prevalent in a variety of sport settings. For instance, lesbian coaches and athletes

frequently encounter heterosexist environments within women's sport—compelling

many of these women to conceal their sexual identity and portray themselves in ultra-

feminine (and thus, presumably heterosexual) manners (Krane 2001; Krane & Barber,

2005). Sadly, disclosing one's sexual orientation, or failing to appear heterosexual, may result in a number of negative outcomes (Griffith & Hebl, 2002). Specifically, research suggests sexual minorities are oftentimes harassed, negatively stereotyped, and socially excluded in team or work settings—experiences their heterosexual counterparts do not typically encounter (Krane, 1997; Griffin, 1998). Although much of the extant sport literature focuses primarily on athletic settings, empirical examinations of gay sport industry professionals (Cavalier, 2011), and women (presumed to be lesbian) working within heath and kinesiology departments (Sartore & Cunningham, 2009b, 2010) have reported similar findings. Furthermore, expressions of sexual prejudice stem from a number of sources, including coaches (Melton & Cunningham, in press-c), athletes (Anderson, 2005; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009a), parents of athletes (Sartore & Cunningham, 2009a), athletic administrators and sport employees (Melton & Cunningham, in press-b, in-press-c), fans (Anderson, 2002), faculty members (Sartore & Cunningham, 2010), and future sport management professionals (Gill et al., 2006). Collectively, these studies point to the urgency of efforts to ensure sport is a more welcoming and supportive place for sexual minorities.

Research suggests an effective way to create more inclusive environments is to elicit the support of both heterosexual and LGBT allies (Brooks & Edwards, 2009; Martinez & Hebl, 2010). Though both groups can inspire change, heterosexual allies particularly are powerful and essential advocates for LGBT equality, as these individuals do not have a stigmatizing identity. As such, they oftentimes have more power and privilege within the workplace, making them effective leaders for change. The

supportive attitudes and actions they display not only set an example for appropriate behavior, but can also successfully persuade others to adopt more inclusive mindsets (Martinez & Hebl, 2010). Given the potential benefits of ally support (i.e., inclusiveness, psychological safety, equality; see Brooks & Edwards, 2009; Martinez & Hebl, 2010), a growing number of scholars have started to examine individual antecedents and motivations for becoming an ally (Brooks & Edwards, 2009; Fingerhut, 2011; Russell, 2011). These studies suggest allies tend to have friends or relatives who are LGBT, know other allies, or hold personal beliefs or values that encourage them to defend minority rights. While these investigations enhance understanding regarding causes of ally support, they focus solely on the individual level of analysis. Such a narrow focus fails to consider how organizational or societal forces impact individual attitudes and behaviors.

Thus, the purpose of this paper is to propose a multilevel theoretical model that outlines the antecedents and outcomes of engaging in ally support. Adopting a multilevel perspective allows researchers to gain a more complete understanding of how individuals can both shape and be shaped by their environment (Chelladurai, 2009). Specifically, I identify how certain macro- (societal), meso- (organizational or group), and micro-level forces influence one's decision to become an ally. From there, I elaborate on the various forms of ally behavior, and finally, identify moderators or boundary conditions that may intensify or diminish one's level of behavioral support for LGBT equality and inclusiveness in sport. In the following sections, we provide a brief description of an ally and various ally behaviors, and then present a multilevel model for

examining ally support in sport organizations. An illustrative summary of the model is presented in Figure 1.

Definition of an Ally

Allies are heterosexual individuals who make conscious and deliberate attempts to support those who are LGBT (Ragins, 2008). These individuals can provide unique and needed forms of support for creating more inclusive work environments. Specifically, they can be a source of affirmation and acceptance during the disclosure process for a particular LGBT individual, such as a friend, relative, or coworker, or they may take a more public role in advocating for the rights of the LGBT community as a whole. Unlike support provided by others who are LGBT, allies do not share the stigmatized social identity (Herek, 2009, Ragins, 2008), and thus, the support one receives through these relationships can be particularly helpful in developing a healthier, more confident self-image. Moreover, receiving positive reactions from allies during the disclosure process allows LGBT individuals to realize supportive relationships can develop, which in turn lessens the fear of disclosing their sexual orientation to others (Ragins, 2008).

In addition to providing social support, allies supply meaningful instrumental support when they act as strong advocates for LGBT individuals (Martinez & Hebl, 2010; Ragins, 2008). This form of support involves taking an active stand against instances of sexual prejudice or heterosexist practices. It may include, but is not limited to, rebuking coworkers for saying discriminatory comments or jokes, promoting the use of inclusive language, encouraging top management to offer domestic partner benefits,

or garnering public support for marriage equality. Considering heterosexual allies do not have a stigmatized sexual orientation, they may have more power and privilege than sexual minorities and may therefore be more successful in persuading others to develop more inclusive attitudes and policies (cf. Martinez & Hebl, 2010).

Recognizing the prevalence of sexual prejudice and heterosexism in sport, several prominent sport figures have recently become allies in hopes of making sport more inclusive for individuals who are LGBT. For instance, a number of past and current professional athletes (e.g., Charles Barkley, Grant Hill, Steve Nash, Sean Avery, Scott Fujita, Brendon Ayanbadejo) have publically come out as straight allies, and several MLB teams have produced "It Get's Better" videos to show their support. In addition to these efforts, recently retired English rugby star Ben Cohen and former NCAA wrestling All-American Hudson Taylor have both started their own non-profit organizations to combat bullying and LGBT-discrimination in sport (Griffin, 2011).

To date, most of the literature on support for LGBT equality in the workplace has recognized the need for ally support, but limited research has examined antecedents of positive attitudes toward sexual minorities and what factors facilitate or discourage people from expressing their attitudes in the workplace. This is somewhat surprising considering the vast amount of scholarly attention devoted to identifying and understanding the causes and consequences of sexual prejudice (see Herek, 2009). Perhaps, scholars have neglected this area of study because of the assumption that low prejudice is akin to positive attitudes or support. However, research suggests that even low levels of prejudice can cause one to hold negative views toward LGBT individuals

(Cunningham & Melton, in press-b). These findings further emphasize the importance of examining antecedents and outcomes of having positive attitudes toward sexual minorities, or what I term ally support in this paper.

Thus, to address this potential gap in the literature, I present a multilevel model that addresses factors at the macro-level (i.e., mass media, climate for sexual orientation diversity), meso-level (i.e., sexual orientation diversity, presence of other allies), and micro-level (i.e., personality, personal values, contact with LGBT individuals, and personal motivations) that influence one's level of ally support. In addition, I differentiate between attitudinal and behavioral expressions of ally support, and discuss various factors that may encourage allies to express their support more publically.

A Multilevel Model to Explain Ally Support

Macro-Level Factors

Macro-level antecedents of ally support are elements that are external to a specific sport organization or team, but may still exert considerable influence on individual attitudes within these contexts. Below, I discuss two macro-level factors that may influence ally support: mass media and the community climate for sexual orientation diversity.

Mass media. Various forms of media, such as television, social media, radio, print, and the Internet, significantly influence individuals, and society as a whole. In fact, research suggests the media is "one of the most powerful institutional forces for shaping values and attitudes in modern culture" (Kane, 1988, p. 89). The images and themes promoted in the media can—explicitly and implicitly—influence one's feelings toward

various subjects, change how one thinks, and even shape people's views concerning sexuality (Coakley, 2009; Melton, 2010).

The media have influenced ally support in a number of ways. First, although violence and harassment of LGBT individuals is not a new phenomenon, the media brought national attention to the issue in 2010 by reporting the shocking number of suicides among LGBT (or persons presumed to be LGBT) children and teenagers who had been bullied by their classmates (e.g., Justin Aaberg, Asher Brown, Tyler Clementi, Jamie Hubley, Billy Lucas, Jamey Rodemeyer). What was equally tragic in these accounts was the realization that the victims felt helpless and alone. School administrators and teachers did little, if anything, to prevent the abuse and failed to provide a safe learning environment for these students (McKinley, 2010). Learning this devastating news, several parents, teachers, student, and elected officials changed their views concerning bullying and the need to end anti-LGBT violence.

The media also gave people a way to voice their support for LGBT individuals. Specifically, through the "It Get's Better Project," individuals uploaded personal YouTube video messages to remind young LGBT people that they were not alone, and show them they could, and would, experience tremendous happiness, joy, and fulfillment in life. After just a year of its existence, the "It Get's Better Project" has inspired over 30,000 personal videos, which have been viewed more than 40 million times (www.itgetsbetter.org). Furthermore, the movement has recently inspired several athletes, and professional sports teams to create YouTube videos in support of LGBT inclusion. For example, the San Francisco Giants used their "It Gets Better Video" to

reach audiences who may not realize the harm of heterosexist or homophobic behaviors, and to unite people who support LGBT inclusion. Soon after the Giants released their video, the Philadelphia Phillies, Tampa Bay Rays, Baltimore Orioles, Boston Red Sox, Chicago Cubs made similar videos supporting LGBT equality and inclusion. As is illustrated by these examples, the media can greatly influences people's perception of LGBT issues, which may then inspire them to act as allies. Thus, I propose:

> **Proposition 1**: Exposure to positive media messages regarding LGBT inclusion will positively associate with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

> **Community climate.** Another macro-level factor that may positively influence

ally support is the community's climate for sexual orientation diversity. Drawing from Kossek and Zonia's (1993) concept of diversity climate, sexual orientation diversity climate refers to an individual's perceptions of how sexual minorities are treated in a given social context. When debating whether or not to accept a job offer, many individuals are influenced not only by their perceived fit in the company, but also by how well they believe they will fit in the surrounding community, and this is particularly the case for job applicants who are LGBT (Barron & Hebl, 2010). Specifically, sexual minorities are attracted to organizations that are located within communities that have an inclusive climate for sexual orientation diversity (cf. Murray, 1996). The climate for sexual orientation diversity is thought to improve as the availability of significant social and instrumental support for sexual minorities' increases (Hurtado, Carter, & Kardia, 1998). Researchers have generally examined the community's antidiscrimination employment laws (Klawitter & Flatt, 1998) and the legality of same-sex marriage

(Melton & Cunningham, in press-a; Cunningham, 2010a) to determine the climate for sexual orientation diversity.

Some anecdotal evidence exists that suggests inclusive communities may encourage heterosexual residents to become allies. For instance, despite being located within a politically conservative state, Dallas is considered one of the friendliest cities for LGBT individuals, which perhaps explains why it has the 9th largest concentration of same-sex couples in the country (Moroney, 2007.). The city has had openly gay city-council members since 1991, has the country's largest LGBT church with over 3,500 members, and hosts one of the most successful Human Rights Campaign (an LGBT advocacy group) fundraising events in the country. Thus, when many evangelical religious organizations began to protest new antidiscrimination law in Dallas, many local, heterosexual business leaders—including Gerard Arpey, American Airlines CEO—mobilized to defend the importance of the proposed protections. These efforts were critical to ensuring the antidiscrimination measure passed ("Dallas Officials Adopt Measure," 2002). Given this evidence, I propose:

Proposition 2: The presence of an inclusive climate for sexual orientation diversity will be positively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Meso-Level Factors

In addition to macro-level factors, meso-level factors can influence ally support for LGBT equality. These factors operate at the group level (e.g., organizational or team level) of analysis and include the sexual orientation diversity in the organization and the presence of other allies.

Sexual orientation diversity. The sexual orientation diversity of the workplace might impact ally support, such that as the proportion of sexual minorities increases, so too do people's support for them. Consider for instance that people typically focus more attention on issues related to social justice and equality as the diversity in a social context increases (cf. Eagly & Chin, 2010; Fassinger, Shullman, & Stevenson, 2010). Martinez and Hebl (2010) make a similar argument when they encourage LGBT individuals to disclosure their sexual orientation at work. The authors suggest being open about one's sexual orientation increases the visibility of LGBT issues in the workplace, reduces instances of sexual prejudice, and allows for friendships to form among LGBT coworkers and their heterosexual counterparts. In essence, as more employees become aware that sexual minorities exist in the workplace and start to build relationships with these individuals, they are more likely to view LBGT individuals in a more positive light and see sexual orientation diversity as a salient issue.

The number of employees who are LGBT can also signal to heterosexual employees that sexual orientation diversity and inclusion initiatives are valued in the organization (Herdman & McMillan-Capehart, 2010). For example, Herdman and McMillian-Capehart investigated the antecedents of diversity climates in organizations and discovered employee support for diversity programs was stronger when the management team was composed of diverse individuals. In this example, coupling inclusive policies with actual diversity proved to be more successful in shaping employee perceptions and garnering support for the programs, as these multiple efforts represented an actual commitment to the diversity on the part of the organization. Thus,

having high sexual orientation diversity may signal that the organization values

inclusion, and expects employees to share these beliefs. Based on this reasoning I

propose the following:

Proposition 3: High sexual orientation diversity will positively associate with

attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Presence of other allies. In addition to the number of sexual minorities with

whom one works, the presence of other allies might influence ally support . Tenants

from both social learning theory (Bandura, 1986) and social information processing

theory (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978) bolster this argument. First, a social learning

perspective holds that nearly all skills or attitudes learned through personal experience

can also be acquired vicariously by observing the actions of others and the resulting

outcomes of such behaviors. Social information processing theory posits similar

assertions, and emphasizes that social interactions shape one's perception of what

attitudes and behaviors are appropriate in a work context. Furthermore, interactions with

supervisors and coworkers particularly influence these beliefs, including the acceptable

response to LGBT-inclusion initiatives (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978).

Several theoretical and empirical arguments have advanced this idea. For

instance, research suggests leaders can inspire coworkers to champion diversity

initiatives (Gilbert & Ivancevich, 2000) and also discourage them from exhibiting

prejudice (Umphress, Simmons, Boswell, & Triana, 2008). As one example, in

Umphress et al.'s (2008) study, even when employees held prejudice attitudes, they do

not act in discriminatory ways when specifically instructed by their supervisors not to do

so. The influence of coworkers can act in similar ways, as Cunningham and Sartore (2010) observed that employees were more likely to champion diversity initiatives when they perceived their coworkers showed high levels of support for diversity. In addition, coworker support can be especially important if employees are dissatisfied with the organizational practices. For instance, Zhou and George (2001) found employees were more likely to voice their frustration and suggest improvements to organizational polices when the amount of perceived coworker support was high. In this vein, employees who oppose non-inclusive behaviors may be willing to speak out against discriminatory actions if they believe others in the organization share their concerns. The aforementioned literature led us to propose the following:

> **Proposition 4***:* The presence of other allies in the workplace will positively
>
> associate with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Micro-Level Factors

Finally, micro-level factors can also influence ally support. These factors manifest at the individual-level and are specific to the person. I highlight three micro-level factors here: personality, personal values, and contact with LGBT individuals.

Personality. One's personality is likely to influence her or his support for LGBT equality, and the likelihood that they would act as an ally in the workplace. Thus, I drew from the five-factor model of personality to examine these dynamics. According to McCrae and Costa (1996) personality is composed of five stable traits: extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability, and opened to experience. Of particular interest to predictors of ally support are extraversion and openness to

experiences. Extraverts are considered to be "sociable, gregarious, talkative, assertive, adventurous, active, energetic, and ambitious" (Mount & Barrick, 1995, p. 165). Such qualities make these individuals natural leaders within group settings. They are comfortable engaging in conversations with people from a variety of backgrounds and are less likely to shy away from discussing topics that may be considered controversial. Therefore, they may be more likely to interact with sexual minorities, thereby giving the opportunity to form more positive attitudes toward this group. Furthermore, because they tend to speak with passion and conviction, they are effective at influencing the opinions of others (Judge, Bono, Ilies, & Gerhardt, 2002). These characteristics are often necessary for individuals who choose to act as allies in the workplace. That is, extraverts may be more willing to take a stand against heterosexist policies and practices and may be more effective at influence others in the organization to support such inclusive initiatives. Cunningham and Sartore's (2010) work on championing diversity initiatives provides some support for this rational, as they observed extraverts were more likely than their more introverted counterparts to champion diversity initiatives. Thus, consistent with previous research, I propose the following:

Proposition 5: Extraversion will positively associate with attitudes toward sexual minorities**.**

Research also suggests a link between openness to experience and ally support. Individuals with this personality trait tend to be more creative, imaginative, cultured, and open-minded. These individuals are more likely to appreciate diverse cultures and welcome viewpoints that differ from their own (Flynn, 2005). Furthermore, in

organizational settings they are (a) more likely to emerge as leaders, and (b) when holding such a position, they are able to effectively articulate the value of organizational initiatives (Judge et al., 2002). These skills allow them to successfully persuade others to embrace change initiatives. Considering employees with this personality characteristic are more likely value individual differences and then encourage others to share the same inclusive mindset, I propose the following:

     Proposition 6: Openness to experience will positively associate with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

     Personal values. According to fairness theory (Folger & Cropanzano, 2001), and specifically the deontological model within this theory (Cropanzano, Goldman, & Folger, 2003), justice is considered a moral value held by all individuals, which guides one's attitudes and behaviors in social settings. Although originally conceptualized as a stable variable, recent research suggests individual differences exist with regard to how, or to what degree, this "justice virtue" is held. To account for these differences, scholars have termed the construct justice orientation, defined as "the extent to which individuals internalize justice as a moral virtue and are attentive to issues of fairness around them" (Liao & Rupp, 2005, p. 244).

     There is some evidence to support the argument that allies may have higher justice orientations. For instance, employees oftentimes feel compelled to establish inclusive workplaces because of their personal sense of justice (Doherty & Chelladurai, 1999). This belief in justice or fairness has also been a key determinant in whether employees support or oppose affirmative action polices (Harrison et al., 2006). With

respect to LGBT inclusion, personally held values and morals are a leading reason why individuals become allies in their organizations (Russell, 2011). For example, in Russell's qualitative analysis with 127 heterosexual allies, participants viewed commitment to LGBT equality as a basic justice value, or felt morally obligated to take a stand for LGBT individuals. When asked why she chose to be an ally, one woman even noted, "I think there's a sense of justice to it; there's a sense of being good people and doing the right thing." (Russell, 2011, p. 384). Based on these findings, I propose the following:

Proposition 7: A high social justice orientation will positively associate with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Contact with LGBT individuals. According to Pettigrew (1998), contact with out-group members can alleviate intergroup tensions when in-group member begin to adjust how they see themselves in relation to out-group members. These experiences allow each group to learn more about the other, reduces negative stereotyping, and has the potential to lead to friendships among in-group and out-group members.

In regards to sexual minorities, research suggests that as these affective ties form, the potential for ally support increases. For instance, in their longitudinal study of American adults, Herek and Capitanio (1996) observed sexual prejudice was significantly lower for individuals who had established relationships with LGBT individuals. In addition, findings from Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis suggest contact with sexual minorities is negatively associated with sexual prejudice among heterosexuals. Furthermore, employees with friends and family members who are

LGBT are oftentimes more aware of the discrimination and prejudice sexual minorities face in society (Russell, 2011). They witness how negative attitudes diminish the experiences and opportunities of those they love. As such, they begin to realize the need for LGBT equality. Given these findings, I propose the following:

Proposition 8: Greater contact with LGBT individuals will positively associate with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Behavioral Ally Support

As illustrated in Figure 1, more positive attitudes toward sexual minorities and LGBT inclusion should lead to behavioral forms of support. However, people do not always display the same level of behavioral support. Thus, it is necessary to distinguish between the various ways allies show their commitment to LGBT inclusion at work. To do so, I primarily draw from Herscovitch and Meyer's (2002) model for commitment to organizational change. Within this model, one's commitment to a behavior (i.e., LGBT inclusion and equality), can manifest in one of two behavioral forms: focal or discretionary. Focal behaviors include actions that are required of the employee. For instance, employees may include the term "partner" or "significant other" on social event or banquet invitations if an organization mandates the use of inclusive language. Adhering to this policy is an example of a c*ompliance* behavior, whereas failing to do so would be *resistance* behavior (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002).

Discretionary behaviors differ from focal behaviors in that they involve the employee going above and beyond what is expected or required by the organization. There are two degrees of discretionary behaviors. First, *cooperation* behaviors ensue

when employees value the initiative and are willing to make modest sacrifices to ensure

its success. Second, *championing* behaviors occur when employees fully embrace the

change beyond what is required by the organization. For instance, rather than simply

promoting inclusion in the workplace, these champions may join outside ally groups that

work to ensure broader from of LGBT equality, such as legalizing same-sex marriage.

At times, these efforts can involve considerable personal sacrifice, especially if the issue

they champion is controversial or unpopular (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002).

By many respects, championing is the ideal form of discretionary behavior

because it is the most effective in terms of garnering individual support for

organizational initiatives (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002). Consider the actions of former

All-American wrestler, Hudson Taylor. During his senior year, Taylor began to

champion LGBT inclusion on his wrestling team. When teammates would use LGBT

slurs to disparage others, he would openly rebuke them for such actions. Furthermore, he

wore the Human Rights Campaign logo on his wrestling headgear as a way to create

awareness about LGBT issues in sport. Though many teammates discouraged his

actions, and at times opponents harassed him based on the assumption he was gay, he

remained resolute in his convictions to LGBT equality (Buzinski, 2010). In addition to

his efforts in the wrestling domain, he also donated his time and money to various LGBT

rights organizations. He has now started his own nonprofit organization, Athlete Ally,

which encourages heterosexual sport participants, coaches, and employees to take a

stand against heterosexism and homophobia (www.athleteally.com). Today, nearly 5,000

people have signed the Athlete Ally pledge to respect all people, regardless of sexual

orientation, and to make sport more inclusive for LGBT individuals. As is evident by these examples, Taylor is the quintessential champion for LGBT inclusion in sport. His actions point to how instrumental the acts of individuals can be to improving the sport experiences of persons who are LGBT, even when organizations lack formal policies that protect LGBT rights. Based on the aforementioned literature on employee behaviors, I propose the following:

> **Proposition 9**: Favorable attitudes toward sexual minorities will positively associate with championing behaviors.

Potential Moderators to the Aforementioned Relationships

It is also important to discuss factors that may influence the relationship between attitudes and championing behaviors, as specification of moderators and boundary conditions are key elements of theory building (Bacharach, 1989; Colquitt & Zapata-Phelan, 2007). Furthermore, from and applied perspective, is necessary to understand what factors are associated with championing LGBT initiatives in the workplace and how these factors might vary based on context, as doing so allows for sport managers to form more effective ways of garnering support for LGBT inclusion.

Power

There are three potential moderators to the current model, the first of which is power. Several prominent scholars in the field of sport management have argued diversity research, particularly studies focusing on gender equity in sport organizations, must not rely solely on liberal feminist approaches to examining the experiences of marginalized groups in sport (Frisby, 2005; Shaw & Frisby, 2006). Doing so renders the

researcher incapable of understanding the impact of deeply held attitudes within organizational culture toward diversity. Instead, researchers must acknowledge how power, both informal and formal in nature, influences social processes in sport and may serve to impede or facilitate progress toward greater inclusion and equality (Doherty, Fink, Inglis, & Pastore, 2010). One's power or status in a sport organization has the potential to significantly impact their behavioral commitment to LGBT inclusion and equality. For instance, the prototypical sport employee is considered to be White, heterosexual, Protestant, able-bodied male (see Fink & Pastore, 1999). Individual who possess these characteristics typically have more power, prestige, and resources in sport than those who deviate from this norm in one or more ways (Sartore & Cunningham, 2010).

This is significant to the current theoretical model because women or racial minorities may be less apt to champion LGBT inclusion initiatives. There are several reasons for this. First, consider how sexual prejudice limits the opportunities and experiences of women in sport. According to Sartore and Cunningahm (2009b), the lesbian stigma "exists within sport's heterosexist and heteronormative context as a means to subvert women's status, power, influence, and experiences" (p. 289). Consequently, women, regardless of sexual orientation, frequently adopt identity management techniques to ensure they always present an ultra-feminine, heterosexual image. Thus, becoming an ally or associating oneself with LGBT issues may leave women susceptible to stigma by association (Goffman, 1963), in which other assume they must also be lesbian (Herek, 2009). This may explain why so few women in sport

have spoken out against heterosexism and homophobia, whereas a number of men have recently taken a public stand against LGBT discrimination (Griffin, 2011).

Racial minorities might also be hesitant to engage in ally behaviors because of their marginalized status in sport. As Cunningham (2011b) notes, discussing controversial issues or advocating for the rights of the oppressed can be quite unpopular and potentially harmful to a person's career, particularly if the person is a racial minority. Indeed, research suggests academics (Henderson, 2009), sports journalists (Jackson, 2006), professional athletes (Powell, 2008), and collegiate athletes (Agyemang, Singer, & DeLoreme, 2010) all recognize the financial costs (e.g., fewer endorsement deals, limited job opportunities) of becoming an activist. As such, these individuals may be less likely to championing LGBT initiatives so to avoid the risks associated with doing so. While I focus one gender and race above, differences associated with gender, race, national origin, ethnicity, social class, religion, age, physical ability, relationship status, or appearance can all influence one's power and status in a sport organization, and thereby impact one's behavioral support for LGBT inclusion and equality. Therefore, I propose the following:

Proposition 10: Status will moderate the relationship between attitudes toward sexual minorities and championing behaviors for LGBT inclusion, such that those in high power positions within an organization will be more likely than those in low power positions to engage in championing behaviors in the workplace.

Expectancy Beliefs

The second moderator is one's expectancy beliefs, and refers to the ally's perception that her or his efforts will effectively produce change in the organization. Drawing from expectancy theory (Vroom, 1964), expectancy is the belief that one's actions will result in desired outcomes. Generally, individuals base this decision on past experiences, degree of self-confidence, and perceived difficulty of attaining the goal. If allies (a) feel confident in their ability to promote inclusiveness, (b) have witnessed others advocate for LGBT equality not meet substantial resistance, and (c) believe their efforts will create the desired change, they are more likely to champion LGBT inclusion. However, if this is not the case, an ally may be hesitant to take a public stand due to the perception that, regardless of one's actions, nothing will ever change in the organization. This pessimistic attitude may lead allies to engage in more compliance behaviors instead of compliance or champion behaviors. Thus, I propose the following:

> **Proposition 12:** Expectancy beliefs will moderate the relationship between attitudes toward sexual minorities and championing behaviors for LGBT inclusion, such that individuals who believe their actions will successfully create equality in the workplace will be more likely to engage in championing behaviors.

Commitment to Diversity

Finally, the organizational culture related to diversity is the final moderator in the model. According to Fink and Pastore (1999), organizations with a commitment to diversity focus on people and respect the differences their employees bring to the

organization. The organization encourages managers to have a greater tolerance for risk and ambiguity, which in turn gives employees the freedom and flexibility to challenge traditional practices develop new and innovative ways of conducting business. This environment contains open lines of communication, multilevel decision-making systems, and open group membership. In contrast, an organization that does not have a commitment to diversity, views differences as deficits or a source of conflict that will inevitable limit productivity and performance. Consequently, these organizations have closed lines of communication, one-sided decision-making systems, and closed group membership.

Employees who work within an organizational that demonstrates a commitment to diversity may perceive less personal risk to being an ally who champions inclusion, as their environment encourages and embraces different viewpoints. On the other hand, if a sport organization does not display this commitment, it is less likely that employees will have the confidence to challenge the status quo. Thus, I propose the following:

Proposition 13: An organization's commitment to diversity will moderate the relationship between attitudes toward sexual minorities and championing behaviors, such that allies will be more likely to champion LGBT inclusion if the organization displays a commitment to diversity than allies who work in an organization that does not show this commitment.

Discussion

Individuals who are LGBT represent a significant number of employees in today's workplace, as recent estimates suggest 4 to 17 percent of US residents identify as

lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender. Managers who recognize this population and actively promote sexual orientation diversity in their organization can reap many benefits. For instance, Cunningham and Melton (2011) argue greater sexual orientation diversity is positively associated with enhanced decision-making capabilities, improved marketplace understanding of LGBT consumers and fans, and increase goodwill among external stakeholders who value socially responsible practices. In order to realize these positive outcomes, organizations must create an inclusive work atmosphere that allows sexual minorities to reach their full potential and effectively contribute to the goals of the organization. This includes establishing a work environment where LGBT individuals can freely disclose their sexual orientation without the fear of enduring negative consequences (such as job termination, negative stereotyping, harassment, social isolation) for doing so. Past research has primarily examined how organizational polices can foster inclusion in the workplace, and devoted less attention to the role individuals play in regards to endorsing and actively promoting LGBT equality (for exceptions see Brooks & Edwards, 2009; Cunningham & Sartore, 2010). Thus, the purpose in articulating this theoretical framework was to outline the specific macro-, meso-, and micro-level antecedents of ally support, identify the behavioral outcomes of such support, and discuss potential moderators associated with these relationships. The following section addresses implications, future research directions, and conclusions of this conceptual framework.

Implications

There are several potential implications of the proposed model. First, whereas previous literature examines micro-level factors for why people become allies for LGBT equality and inclusion, limited attention has explored higher-level factors that may shape individual attitudes or experiences. Our theoretical model addresses this potential shortcoming, and follows the suggestion of other sport scholars who encourage researchers to develop multilevel conceptual frameworks to examine social phenomena in sport. Doing so allowed me to account for the complex nature of sport organizations while also creating a more holistic understanding of causes, and subsequent effects, of ally support (cf. Bruening & Dixon, 2007; Chelladurai, 2009).

Second, this model proposes that support or endorsement of LGBT equality does not always translate to ally behaviors, and if it does, behaviors may vary in degree of commitment (cf. Avery, 2011). Thus, managers should not assume, that based on certain characteristics, a person will take an active stand against acts of sexual prejudice. Rather, an employee's power or status within the organization, expectations regarding whether individual actions will produce change, or the organization's commitment to diversity may serve to inspire or dissuade one from publically supporting LGBT inclusion.

Finally, recent research has demonstrated sexual orientation diversity can meaningfully enhance organizational outcomes. Cunningham (2011c) observed such dynamics when examining the influence this diversity form has on an athletic department's success. His investigation demonstrated that NCAA athletic departments significantly outperformed their peers in term of total NACDA points if the organization

had both high sexual orientation diversity and a culture for diversity. In a later study,

exploring the effects of sexual orientation diversity in Division III athletic departments,

Cunningham (2011a) observed that high sexual orientation diversity, when coupled with

a strong organizational commitment to diversity, led to more creative work

environments. It is important to emphasize, the benefits associated with sexual

orientation diversity were only realized when the organization had policies and practices

that promoted inclusion in the workplace.

Thus, it is imperative that managers attempt to attract and select individuals who

will endorse and champion inclusion initiatives. One effective means of accomplishing

this goal is to promote an LGBT-friendly image during the recruiting process. Research

examining diversity-friendly organizations suggests having such an image attracts

applicants who endorse, rather than oppose diversity initiatives (Avery & McKay, 2006).

Furthermore, with respect to LGBT issues, Melton and Cunningham (in press-a)

discovered both heterosexual and LGBT job applicants are more attracted to sport

organizations with LGBT inclusive polices. Thus, the benefits of having an inclusive

workplace are many.

CHAPTER IV

CHAMPIONING SEXUAL ORIENTATION DIVERSITY: PREDICTORS OF ALLY

SUPPORT AMONG SPORT EMPLOYEES

By many accounts, societal attitudes toward lesbian, gay, bisexual, or

transgender (LGBT) individuals have significantly improved over the past few decades

(Herek, 2009), and heterosexist practices are frequently challenged (Anderson, 2011).

For instance, survey results in 2011 marked the first time in United States' history that a

majority of Americans' polled consider homosexuality to be an acceptable lifestyle

(Herek, 2011), and over 50 percent of eligible voters expressed they would support

same-sex marriage. As of 2012, six states (including Connecticut, Iowa, Massachusetts,

New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont), the District of Columbia, and two Native

American tribes (i.e., Oregon's Coquille and Washington states' Suquamish Indian

tribes) allow same-sex marriage. While recent marriage equality laws certainly signal

accepting attitudes, perhaps a greater testament of progressive views is the increase in

LGBT-inclusive policies and practices offered by many Fortune 500 companies. Indeed,

now 86 percent of these firms include "sexual orientation" in their non-discrimination

employment statement, and a majority provide domestic partner insurance benefits

(www.HRC.org).

The shift in attitudes that has been observed at the national level has also

influenced attitudes toward LGBT sport employees and participants (Cunningham,

2012). Indeed, a number of heterosexual athletes and coaches have recently formed

organizations aimed at confronting sexual prejudice and homophobia in sport, such as Athlete Ally (www.athleteally.org) and Equality Coaching Alliance (equalitycoachingalliance.org). In addition, *Changing the Game: The GLSEN (Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network) Sports Project* is an initiative designed to equip schools (K-12) with the skills and knowledge necessary to create safe and accepting sport and physical education environments for all coaches, teachers, and students irrespective of sexual orientation (sports.glsen.org).

The aforementioned organizations recognize how athletics and physical education programs provide a unique setting to teach values of respect, acceptance, and equality. Specifically, sport participation allows persons from diverse backgrounds to experience competitive and collaborative activities that promote teamwork, sportsmanship, fair play, and friendships with dissimilar others. These organizations stress, in order to realize these benefits, individuals (e.g., coaches, players, spectators) must create and maintain inclusive sport climates. Interestingly though, while practitioners routinely emphasize the important role coaches, players, administrators, and sport employees play in establishing such environments, sport scholars have devoted relatively little attention to this issue. Rather, examinations of LGBT issues focus primarily on sources, expressions, and consequences of sexual prejudice in sport. And, while these investigations are warranted, researchers have failed to explore factors related to an individual's support for LGBT inclusion and equality. Such an omission is unfortunate, as identifying key antecedent variables can enhance practitioner efforts to foster inclusion and acceptance for sexual minorities in sport.

Thus, the aim of this study was to remedy this situation by examining the antecedents of individual support for sexual orientation diversity in sport organizations. Specifically, I drew from the multilevel model explaining ally support (outlined in Study 2) to investigate the influence of certain micro- (i.e., individual), meso- (i.e., group or organizational), and macro-level (i.e., societal) factors on attitudes toward sexual minorities among sport employees. In doing so, I also explore the relationship between attitudes toward sexual minorities and behavioral support for sexual orientation diversity. In the following sections, I outline the theoretical framework and present specific hypotheses.

Multilevel Model for Examining Ally Support

The multilevel model for ally support identifies factors at the micro-level (individual), meso-level (organizational), and macro-level (societal) that influence attitudes toward sexual minorities. In addition, it explains that these attitudes then relate to one's behavioral support for LGBT inclusion in the workplace (see Figure 3). Below, I discuss these processes.

Micro-Level Factors

As demonstrated in Studies 1 and 2, micro-level factors can influence ally support. These factors manifest at the individual-level and are specific to the person. I highlight three micro-level factors here: demographic variables, personality, and personal values.

Demographic variables. Research focusing on support for LGBT equality demonstrates several trends related to differences based on demographic variables. First,

there is some evidence to suggest racial differences in attitudes toward sexual minorities; however, most of these research focuses on expressions of sexual prejudice. Specifically, authors have observed differences related to race when examining sexual prejudice among college students (Ahrnold & Meston, 2010; Brown & Henriquez, 2008; Whitley et al., 2011), undergraduate women (Vincent, Peterson, & Parrott, 2009), and urban youth (Gastic, 2012). In the one analysis I could identify that examined the influence of race on LGBT support (rather than sexual prejudice), Gastic's results suggest White youth hold more supportive attitudes toward sexual minorities than Latino and African American youth. Racial differences have also been observed in the sport literature. When examining attitudes among White and African American men, Southall, Anderson, Nagel, Polite, and Southall's (2011) work shows African Americans are more likely to identify as homophobic, reject the idea of having a LGBT coach, and would be would be unwilling to have a gay teammate. Findings from Cunningham and Melton (in press-b) also show racial differences among parents of athletes. Specially, they found Asian American parents expressed more sexual prejudice toward LGBT coaches than did Latinos or Whites. Given this collective evidence, I hypothesized:

Hypothesis 1a: Race will be negatively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities, such that racial minorities will express less favorable attitudes toward sexual minorities.

There is also evidence to suggest gender differences may explain one's attitudes toward sexual minorities. For instance, empirical investigations on social movements suggest women are more likely than men to act as advocates for a number of social

causes (Jasper & Poulsen, 1995). Furthermore, women who engage in activist activities generally form close alliances with out-group members, which influences their attitudes toward these individuals (cf. Fingerhut, 2011).

Gender is also associated with attitudes toward LGBT individuals. For instance, Herek's (2009) work on sexual prejudice consistently shows heterosexual men report more negative views of sexual minorities when compared to heterosexual women. Kite and Whitley's (1996) meta-analysis also demonstrated a similar gender difference, such that women held less negative views toward lesbian and gay individuals than did men. In addition to gender being related to lower levels of sexual prejudice, Fingerhut (2011) found woman were more likely to hold more positive attitudes toward gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals. Therefore, I hypothesized:

Hypothesis 1b: Gender will be associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities, such that women will express more positive attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Personality. In addition to demographic variables, personality can also impact attitudes related to sexual orientation. One's personality is the unique set of "thoughts, feelings, and behaviors that distinguishes one person from another and that persists over time" (Phares, 1994, p. 4). A number of studies have shown personality traits can influence one's opinions (cf. Heaven, Mak, Barry, & Ciarrochi, 2002), and the same association holds for attitudes toward sexual minorities. In fact, there is some evidence to suggest openness to experiences (OTE), extraversion, and self-confidence relate to more favorable opinions concerning LGBT issues.

According to Costa and Widiger (1994) people who exhibit higher OTE "are curious, imaginative, and willing to entertain novel ideas and unconventional values" (p.3). Furthermore, these individuals generally appreciate diverse viewpoints and seek out relationships with people from a variety of cultures and backgrounds. Thus, they may be more likely to form positive attitudes toward sexual minorities because they allow themselves to learn about diverse people and perspectives that deviate from societal norms. Shackelford and Besser's (2007) findings provide support for this linkage. Specifically, participants in their study who scored high on OTE were more likely to support marriage equality, civil unions, and adoption rights for LGBT persons. In addition, in Study 1, those interviewed held the perception that more "open-minded" coworkers tended to express more favorable attitudes toward sexual minorities and were more likely to support LGBT inclusion in the workplace. Based on these findings, I hypothesized the following:

Hypothesis 2a: Openness to experiences will be positively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Extraversion is another personality trait that may be linked to attitudes toward LGBT individuals. People with this trait tend to be "sociable, gregarious, assertive, talkative, and active" (Barrick & Mount, 1991, p.3). Researchers have shown that these qualities allow extraverts to develop valued social skills, work well in teams, and be more satisfied with coworkers (Morgeson, Reider, & Campion, 2005). Furthermore, extraverts interact with dissimilar others more frequently, increasing the possibility that meaningful relationships will form (Perry, Dubin, & Witt, 2010). These interactions can

challenge or reduce previously held stereotypes as extraverts gain a better understanding of out-group members (Flynn, Chatman, & Spataro, 2001). Thus, these experiences may increase the likelihood that extraverts will form more positive attitudes toward out-group members, including those who are LGBT. Thus, I hypothesized the following:

Hypothesis 2b: Extraversion will be positively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

In addition to OTE and extraversion, a person's level of confidence can also hold an association with attitudes toward sexual minorities, although limited research has examined this relationship. Confidence represents a state of being certain that one's thoughts are correct, or that certain behaviors or a course of action is most appropriate (Hogarth, 2006). Some research demonstrates confidence influences one's attitudes, particularly if these attitudes are considered to be controversial in society. For instance, Zorn, Roper, Broadfoot, and Weaver (2006) observed that confident individuals were more likely to express support for human biotechnology (i.e., genetic research that can include cloning and embryology, pharmaceuticals composed of genetically modified organisms, stem-cell research, or genetically modified food), than those who exhibited less confidence. Specifically, those with high confidence felt more at ease with their opinions, and embraced their positive attitudes toward the controversial research. In addition, in Study 1, participant perceptions indicated confident individuals were more likely to express positive views regarding sexual minorities and LGBT inclusion. To empirically test the findings in Study 1, I hypothesized:

Hypothesis 2c: Confidence will be positively associated with attitudes toward

sexual minorities.

Personal values. An individual's concern for social justice may also influence

attitudes toward persons who are LGBT. Social justice pertains to how recourses in

society are distributed to individuals (Miller, 1999). Those who have a high concern for

social justice believe practices in society should ensure resources are distributed equally

to all citizens. And, if some groups are disproportionally advantaged in society,

individuals should attempt to rectify the situation (Miller, 1999).

Beliefs related to justice or fairness has been shown to shape people's attitudes

toward various marginalized groups. For example, concern for social justice is a key

predictor in support for affirmative action policies (Harrison et al., 2006), state funding

for communities with low socioeconomic status (Kluegel & Miyano, 1995), and

programs for persons with HIV (Werth et al., 2008). With respect to LGBT inclusion,

there is evidence to support the notion that one's concern for social justice influences her

or his attitudes toward sexual minorities. For instance, in a study examining attitudes

toward homosexuality, 42% of undergraduate students indicated their views toward

sexual minorities stem from their belief in social justice (Hans, Kersey, & Kimberly,

2012). Furthermore, students who felt all people should be treated equally and that

discrimination should not be accepted in modern societies were more likely to hold

positive attitudes toward same-sex relationships. Considering this evidence, I

hypothesized the following:

Hypothesis 3: Social Justice beliefs will be positively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Meso-Level Factors

As discussed in Study 2, certain meso- or organizational-level factors influence employee support for sexual orientation diversity, including the number of sexual minorities working in the organization (i.e., SOD or sexual orientation diversity), and the presence of allies in the workplace.

Sexual orientation diversity. The number of LGBT employees (i.e., sexual orientation diversity) working within a sport organization can also influence employee attitudes toward sexual minorities. According to Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, contact with out-group members should reduce prejudice because it provides an opportunity for people to learn about dissimilar others, challenges myths and negative stereotypes, decreases anxiety associated with being around out-group members, and allows people to reevaluate their opinions of these individuals. A number of researchers have demonstrated that contact with sexual minorities can decrease sexual prejudice (de Bruin & Arndt, 2010; Herek, 1988; Herek & Capitanio, 1996), and create positive attitudes toward persons who are LGBT (Hans et. al, 2012; Martinez & Hebl, 2010). Martinez and Hebl (2010) contend when LGBT individuals are open about their sexual orientation at work, heterosexual coworkers gain a greater awareness of LGBT issues in the workplace, reduce enactment of sexual prejudice, and can form more positive opinions of sexual minorities.

Sexual orientation diversity can also signal that the organization values, and thus wants employees to value, diversity and inclusion initiatives (Herdman & McMillan-Capehart, 2010). For example, Herdman and McMillian-Capehart (2010) found employee support for diversity was associated with the amount of the diversity in the workgroup. In this example, employees developed a more favorable view of diversity programs because the organization demonstrated, in both policy and action (e.g., hiring diverse candidates), diversity was important. Thus, having high sexual orientation diversity may signal that the organization values sexual minorities and expects employees to share these views. As such, I hypothesized the following:

Hypothesis 4: The sexual orientation diversity of the organization will be positively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Presence of allies. In addition to the sexual orientation diversity within sport organization, the presence of allies might influence attitudes toward sexual minorities. The multilevel model presented in Study 2 drew from both social learning theory (Bandura, 1986) and social information processing theory (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978) to support this argument. First, a social learning perspective argues that many skills and attitudes can be learned vicariously by observing the actions of others. Social information processing theory provides similar arguments, and emphasizes that social interactions will influence one's notion of what attitudes are acceptable in a work context. Furthermore, exchanges with supervisors and coworkers particularly influence these views, including the appropriate and expected response to LGBT-inclusion initiatives (Salancik & Pfeffer, 1978).

A number of theoretical and empirical arguments have supported this assertion. For instance, research suggests leaders can inspire coworkers to champion diversity initiatives (Gilbert & Ivancevich, 2000; Hans et al., 2012) and also discourage them from expressing prejudice (Umphress, Simmons, Boswell, & Triana, 2008). Tooms and Alston's (2006) investigations of leaders on university campuses draw similar conclusions. These authors suggest, that with proper diversity training, student leaders can improve attitudes toward sexual minorities among undergraduate students. In addition to the importance of leaders, Gastic's (2012) findings provide evidence for how peers influence attitudes. Although his study was not in a work context, participants had more positively attitudes toward homosexuality when their friends and acquaintances held similar views. Based on these findings, I hypothesized the following:

Hypothesis 5a: Supervisor support for sexual orientation diversity will be positively associated with attitudes toward LGBT inclusion.

Hypothesis 5b: Coworker support for sexual orientation diversity will be positively associated with attitudes toward LGBT inclusion.

Macro-Level Factors

Macro-level antecedents of ally support are elements that are external to a specific sport organization or team, but may still exert considerable influence on individual attitudes within these contexts. Below, I discuss two macro-level factors that may influence ally support: mass media and marriage equality.

Mass media. Research suggests the media can influence attitudes toward sexual minorities. In fact, Kane (1988) contends the media is "one of the most powerful

institutional forces for shaping values and attitudes in modern culture" (p. 89). The images and themes promoted in the media can—explicitly and implicitly—influence one's feelings toward various subjects, change how one thinks, and even shape people's views concerning sexuality (Coakley, 2009; Melton, 2010). Furthermore, Kingdon (1995) suggests that the media can be instrumental in moving issues into public dialogue and can have a profound influence on people's opinions related to public policy. While Kingdon's finding were based on qualitative interviews, other research has provided quantitate evidence to support his arguments (Birkland, 1997).

The primary way the media influences opinion is by framing an issue. Specifically, framing is the process by which a communication source, such as cable news channels or Internet blogs, define and construct a national or local issue (Nelson, Clawson and Oxley, 1997). It is important to note, the media does not tell an audience what to think; it simply suggests issues an audience should think about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), which according to Entman (1989), can significantly affect attitudes. With regards to attitudes toward sexual minorities, there is some evidence to suggest liberal news outlets frame LGBT issues in a more favorable light when compared to conservative news media (Lewis & Rogers, 2000; Nelson & Oxley, 1999). Furthermore, research suggests those who watch more liberal news outlets, tend to have more favorable opinions of LGBT equality (Lee & Hicks, 2012). Based on this literature, I hypothesized:

Hypotheses 6: People who consume more liberal types of media will have more positive attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Marriage equality. Another macro-level factor that may positively influence attitudes toward sexual minorities is the state law regarding same-sex marriage. While most research has examined how changing attitudes influence laws, there is some evidence that the law can have a significant impact on attitudes. For instance, after *Roe v. Wade* was passed, reproductive rights for women became a national topic of conversation, and for some citizens, it was the first time they had heard arguments in support of legalized abortion. These public debates are perhaps why many people now concede abortion is sometimes in the best interest of the woman (Shaw, 2003), even if they view it as morally wrong. In the same way, when a state is debating whether to legalize same-sex marriage, citizens are exposed to a number of arguments related to the law. Thus, these discussions may have a positive impact on one's attitudes toward sexual minorities, particularly if the person has more liberal or moderate political leanings. Based on this reasoning, I hypothesize the following:

Hypothesis 7: People in states with same-sex marriage will have more positive attitudes toward sexual minorities than those who do not.

Championing Behaviors

Thus far, I have hypothesized associations between factors at the micro-, meso-, and macro-level and attitudes toward sexual minorities. In all of these hypotheses, I suspect that these factors will be positively related to attitudes toward sexual minorities, which will then by positively associated with behavioral support for LGBT equality. In other words, these factors will have a direct effect on attitudes and an indirect effect on behaviors regarding support for sexual minorities in the workplace (See Figure 3).

Of course, people can engage in different types of behaviors. According to Herscovitch and Meyer's (2002), employees' behavior support of an organizational initiative (i.e., LGBT inclusion and equality), can manifest in the form of either focal or discretionary behaviors. Focal behaviors relate to actions the organization requires the employee to do—failure to exhibit these behaviors could result in negative consequences (e.g., poor appraisals, job termination). The authors use the term *compliance* to refer to instances when employees adhere to organizational policies, and use *resistance* to describe when employees fail to perform such actions (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002).

It is also possible, though, for employees to display discretionary behaviors, which involve behaving in ways that exceed the organization's requirements and expectations (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002). This is shown when employees engage in *cooperation* or *championing* behaviors. Cooperation requires employees to make modest sacrifices to ensure an organizational policy is successful, while championing relates more to when employees fully embrace the merits of an initiative.

Scholars contend championing behaviors are the most effective at initiating change within an organization (Cunningham & Sartore, 2010a; Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002). Champions are successful because they inspire others, by their words and actions, to support a cause. These individuals are willing to turn their attitudes into action because they believe the initiative symbolizes their core values and represents part of their self-concept. As such, in an effort to remain true to their personal beliefs, they will sometimes endure personal sacrifice to ensure others realize the importance of the change. For example, consider the efforts of the Freedom Riders who attempted to end

segregation in the South. Frustrated with the federal government for neglecting civil

rights issues, in 1961, the Freedom Riders (more than 400 White and Black Americans)

chose to deliberately violate Jim Crow laws by traveling together on buses and trains

throughout the Deep South (Arsenault, 2006). During their journey, many riders were

threatened, brutally beaten, imprisoned, had buses set on fire, and some were even killed

for sitting next to a person of a different race. After five months of risking their lives, the

government finally realized the negative consequences of segregation and ordered that

all bus and rail stations be integrated. These brave individuals were able to change

history because they not only believed Blacks and Whites should have equal rights, but

they were also willing to publically display their beliefs (Arsenault, 2006). The Freedom

Riders were true champions of racial equality. Similarly, it is reasonable to assume that

those who strongly believe in LGBT equality and have positive attitudes toward sexual

minorities will be more likely to champion LGBT inclusion in the workplace. Therefore,

I hypothesized:

> **Hypothesis 8**: Positive attitudes toward sexual minorities will be positively
>
> associated with championing behaviors.

Of course, certain situational factors may influence this relationship. According to Hogg

(2006), context can drastically influence one's behaviors to the extent that individuals

will act in accordance with prevailing social norms in a particular setting—even if the

behaviors contradict their personal beliefs or attitudes. As such, one's championing

behaviors related to LGBT inclusion initiatives might vary depending on the nature of

the workplace. For instance, sport organizations that show an overt commitment to

diversity create work environments where employees feel safe to express divergent views (Fink & Pastore, 1999), which can include their pro-LGBT attitudes. Organizations that display this commitment encourage open lines of communication with the intent of capturing the benefits diversity can bring. Furthermore, formal and informal diversity strategies, practices and policies are put in place so that organizations can capitalize on the individual differences within their diverse staff (Fink & Pastore). Findings from Study 1 suggest that when an organization does not value diversity or display a commitment to diversity and inclusion, employees may be less likely to take a stand for LGBT equality. Melton and Cunningham (in press) also observed a similar pattern in their qualitative analysis, in that employees were more likely to show support for their LGBT coworkers when they worked in departments that valued diversity; however, few coworkers took a stand when the department did not express this value. Thus, a sport organization's commitment to diversity might inspire employees to exhibit behavioral support for sexual orientation diversity or discourage them from doing so. Thus, I hypothesized the following:

Hypothesis 9: The relationship between attitudes toward sexual minorities and championing behavior will be moderated by the organization's commitment to diversity, such that employees will engage in more championing behaviors when the organization displays a commitment to diversity than employees who work in organizations that do not demonstrate a commitment to diversity.

Method

Participants

NCAA Division I athletic department administrators and staff (*N*=309) participated in the study. The sample was comprised of 207 women (67.0%), 101 men (32.7%), and one person who did not indicate her or his sex (0.3%). The participants' ages ranged from 22 to 77 years (*M* = 38.33; *SD* = 11.60), and the mean organizational tenure was 7.96 years (*SD* = 7.90). Most of the sample was White (*n*=242, 78.3%), followed by African Americans (*n*=40, 12.9%), Latinos (*n*=10; 3.2%), Samoans (*n*=5, 1.6%), Asian Americans (*n*=1; 0.3%), Native Americans (*n*=1; 0.3%), and persons who did not report their race (*n*=10, 3.2%). With respect to sexual orientation, the majority of participants indicated they were heterosexual (*n*=269, 87.1%), followed by gay or lesbian (*n*=33, 10.6%), bisexual (*n*=5, 1.6%), and two (0.6%) persons who did not provide their sexual orientation. Finally, 179 (57.9%) participants identified as an ally for LGBT inclusion (57.9%), whereas 122 (39.5%) reported they were not allies, and 8 (2.6%) did not respond.

Measures

Participants completed a questionnaire requesting them to provide their demographic information and to respond to items measuring their OTE, extraversion, general confidence, social justice orientation, type of media they consumed, the support their supervisors and coworkers showed for sexual orientation diversity, degree of sexual orientation diversity in the department, the department's commitment to diversity, their

attitudes toward sexual minorities, and championing behaviors related to LGBT

inclusion.

Personality. I used 6 items from Rammestedt and John's (2007) instrument to

measure OTE (3 items, with 1 reverse coded) and extraversion (3 items, with 1 reverse

coded). Sample items include "I see myself as someone who avoids philosophical

discussions" and "I see myself as someone who is reserved." To assess confidence, I

used Wells and Tigert's (1971) 3-item scale, with a sample item being "I am confident in

my abilities". Other business scholars have consistently used this scale when examining

attitudes toward controversial issues (Belleau et. al, 2001; Summer et al., 2006; Xu et al.,

2004; Xu, 2000). Responses were made on a 7-point Likert-type scale anchored from 1

(*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). All scales demonstrated acceptable reliability

(OTE, α = .72; extraversion, α = .86, confidence, α = .85)

Personal values. To measure one's personal values related to social justice, I

relied on four items from Rupp, Byrne, and Wadlington's (2003) social justice

orientation scale. The scale is designed to assess the extent to which individuals are

aware of issues of fairness and equity around them. A sample item includes "I am prone

to notice people being treated unfairly in public." Scale items are arranged in a Likert-

type format and range from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). This scale had

moderate reliability (α = .61).

Presence of other allies. To determine the presence of allies in the workplace, I

used items adapted from Cunningham and Sartore's (2010) 3-item scale for coworker

support for diversity (e.g., "My supervisor really supports sexual orientation diversity in

the department.") and their 3-item scale for supervisor support for diversity (e.g., My

coworkers are very supportive of sexual orientation diversity at work"). I modified the

items to specifically reflect sexual orientation diversity, instead of general diversity

support. Items were measured on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7

(*strongly agree*). The scales for supervisor support ($\alpha = .75$) and coworker support ($\alpha = .75$) both demonstrated good reliability.

Sexual orientation diversity. Drawing from Harrison and colleagues' (Harrison,

Price, & Bell, 1998; Harrison, Price, Gavin, & Florey, 2002) and Cunningham (2011a,

2011b), sexual orientation diversity was measured with a single item: "As a whole, how

different are members of your athletic department with respect to sexual orientation.''

Responses were made on a 7-point scale from 1 (*very similar*) to 7 (*very different*).

Harrison et al. (1998, 2002) research consistently demonstrated the sound psychometrics

of this measure.

Media type. One item was used to measure the type of media consumed.

Participants responded to the question, "How would you describe the type of news

media you consume?" on a 7-point scale from 1 (*Conservative*) to 7 (*Liberal*).

Marriage equality. Same-sex marriage is legal in six states—Massachusetts,

Connecticut, Iowa, New Hampshire, New York, and Vermont. Sport organizations

located in these states were coded as 1. States without such laws were coded 0.

Attitudes toward LGBT individuals. To assess attitudes toward sexual

minorities, I adapted 5 items from Pittinsky, Rosenthal, and Montoya's (2011) allophila

scale, which assess positive attitudes toward minority groups. Participants indicated the

degree to which they agreed or disagreed with items anchored from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Sample items include "I think LGBT people should have the same rights as heterosexual people" and "In general, I have positive attitudes about LGBT people." The reliability was acceptable ($\alpha = .83$) for this scale.

Championing sexual orientation diversity. I adapted four items from Cunningham and Sartore (2010) scale to measure the degree to which participants champion sexual orientation diversity in university settings. While Cunningham and Sartore measured championing in the context of general diversity initiatives, I altered the items to reflect championing of initiatives related to sexual orientation diversity. A sample item is "I try to overcome coworkers' resistance to sexual orientation diversity initiatives." The items were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The scale demonstrated high reliability ($\alpha = .90$).

Organizational commitment to diversity. I assessed the organization's commitment to diversity by using McKay, Avery, & Morris' (2008) four-item scale. Scale items include "I trust people in our department will be treated fairly," "My department maintains a diversity friendly work environment," "My department respects the views of all people," and "Top leaders demonstrate a visible commitment to diversity." Items were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The scale showed high reliability ($\alpha = .91$).

Procedures

Potential participants were first identified by using member contact information available on university ally club websites, and contacting members of Allies in N4A

(National Athletic Academic Advisors Association), which is a national ally group comprised of athletic academic advisors in collegiate athletics. This process resulted in the identification of 100 allies from a variety of NCAA Division I athletic departments from across the United States. Next, I employed systematic random sampling to select nine other persons who worked in the athletic department with the ally who was previously identified. This process resulted in a total sampling frame of 1000 persons from 100 different universities.

To increase response rate, researchers recommend making multiple contacts with potential participants (Dillman, 2000). Thus, I mailed a pre-notification postcard, a study packet (i.e., cover letter, questionnaire, questionnaires for coworkers, and postage paid return envelopes); and second study packet to each person to encourage non-respondents to complete the questionnaire. A total of 233 returned the first questionnaire, and another 76 responded during round 2, for a final sample of 309, or a 31.6 percent response rate— some study packets (*N*=22) were returned because the address was incorrect or the person no longer worked for the department.

Steps were taken to assess non-response bias. First, some researchers suggest late respondents and non-respondents have similar characteristics, and as such, one can test for non-response bias by examining differences between early and late responders (Rogelberg & Luong, 1998). Analysis of variance indicated the two groups did not differ on any of the study variables. Furthermore, chi-square analyses indicate that differences did not exist based on race or gender. Based on these results, non-response bias may not be a significant concern (cf. Rogelberg & Stanton, 2007).

Results

Data Analysis

Confirmatory factor analysis. I first conducted a confirmatory factor analysis to examine the validity evidence of the scales. Results indicate that the model was a close fit to the data: χ^2 ($n = 527$, $df = 398$) $= 637.36$, $p < .001$; $\chi^2 / df = 1.60$; confirmatory fit index (CFI) $= .95$; root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) (90% CI: .04, .05) $= .05$, $p_{close} = .94$. All items significantly loaded to their respective factors. I also tested a three-factor model. In this model, the three latent factors included (a) micro-level factors (i.e., OTE, extraversion, confidence, SJO), (b) meso-level factors (supervisor support, coworker support, CTD), and (c) the ally support variables (i.e., attitudes toward sexual minorities, championing behaviors). This model was a poor fit to the data: χ^2 ($n = 527$, $df = 431$) $= 2306.93$, $p < .001$; $\chi^2 / df = 5.35$; CFI $= .63$; RMSEA (90% CI: .11, .12) $= .12$, $p_{close} < .001$. Finally, I tested a single-factor model in which all items loaded on one latent factor. This model was also a poor fit to the data: χ^2 ($n = 527$, $df = 434$) $= 3748.22$, $p < .001$; $\chi^2 / df = 8.64$; CFI $= .35$; RMSEA (90% CI: .15, .16) $= .16$, $p_{close} < .001$. These findings offer further validity evidence for the measures used in the study.

Descriptive statistics. The means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations are provided in Table 1. Results for the entire sample indicate that mean scores for most of the variables were high, with the expectation of championing ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 1.53$) and sexual orientation diversity ($M = 3.02$; $SD = 1.80$). A one sample t-test indicated that all other variables were all significantly higher than the midpoint of the scale: OTE,

t (307) = 8.82, *p* < .001; extraversion, *t* (307) = 14.97, *p* < .001; confidence, *t* (307) =

43.36, *p* < .001; SJO, *t* (307) = 26.83, *p* < .001; supervisor support, *t* (307) = 2.87, *p* =

.004; coworker support, *t* (307) = 11.08, *p* < .001; media type, *t* (306) = 9.45, *p* < .001;

and attitudes toward sexual minorities, *t* (308) = 23.72, *p* < .001. The scale for

championing behaviors was not significantly different from the midpoint of the scale, *t*

(307) = 0.56, *p* = .875; and, SOD was significantly lower than the scale's midpoint, *t*

(304) = -9.56, *p* < .001. With the exception of marriage equality, all the antecedents held

moderate to large associations with attitudes toward for sexual minorities.

Hypothesis Testing

Hypotheses were tested through structural equation modeling (SEM). I included

marriage equality, media type, SOD, supervisor support, coworker support, SJO,

confidence, extraversion, OTE, sex, and race variables as exogenous variables, all of

which correlated with one another. Following Marsh, Wen, and Hau's (2004) guidelines

for interactions, I then created the commitment to diversity × attitudes toward sexual

minorities interaction term using the standardized scale items for the two variables. To

create this term, I used the four standardized item indicators for both commitment to

diversity and attitudes toward sexual minorities. Considering the scale for attitudes had

five items, I parceled the fourth and fifth item indicators, with the parcel representing

"an aggregate-level indicator comprised of the sum (or average) of two or more items,

responses or behaviors" (Little, Cunningham, Shahar, & Widaman, 2002, p. 152).

Attitudes toward sexual minorities and championing behaviors were both specified as

latent variables.

Results of the SEM indicated that the data were a close fit to the data: χ^2 (n = 860, df = 676) = 1146.27, $p < .001$; χ^2 / df = 1.70; CFI = .92; RMSEA (90% CI: .04, .05) = .05, p_{close} = .80. The model accounted for 56% of the variance in attitudes toward sexual minorities and 64% of the variance in championing behaviors. An illustrative summary is presented in Figure 4.

The first six hypotheses related to micro-level factors (i.e., demographics, personality, and personal values). Hypothesis 1a predicted that race would be negatively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities. This hypothesis was not supported, as the relationship between race and attitudes was not significant (β = -.83, p = .10). Hypothesis 1b, which predicted sex would be associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities, was supported (β = -.18, $p < .001$), as women expressed more positive attitudes than men.

With respect to personality variables, Hypothesis 2a predicted OTE would be positively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities. This relationship was significant (β = .38, $p < .001$), thus supporting the hypothesis. However, Hypotheses 2b and 2c were not supported, such that the relationships between attitudes toward sexual minorities and extraversion (β = .07, p = .28) and attitudes toward sexual minorities and confidence (β = .03, p = .56) were not significant.

Hypothesis 3 expected SJO to be positively associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities. The relationship between these two variables was not significant (β = .12, p = .07), therefore this hypothesis was not supported.

The next three hypotheses examined meso-level factors (i.e., SOD, supervisor support, coworker support) related to attitudes toward sexual minorities. Of these, only Hypothesis 5a was supported. Specifically, the relationship between supervisors support and attitudes toward sexual minorities was significant ($\beta = .21$, $p = .003$), while the relationships between SOD and attitudes toward sexual minorities (H4; $\beta = .08$, $p = .14$), and coworker support and attitudes toward sexual minorities (H5b; $\beta = .02$, $p = .77$) were not significant.

Next, Hypotheses 6 and 7 examined macro-level factors. As expected, the type of media consumed did relate to attitudes toward sexual minorities ($\beta = .18$, $p = .002$). Thus, hypothesis 6 was supported. However, marriage equality was not associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities ($\beta = -.02$ $p = .73$). Therefore, Hypothesis 7 was not supported.

As expected, the relationship between attitudes toward sexual minorities and championing behaviors was significant ($\beta = .79$, $p < .001$). Thus, Hypothesis 8, which stated attitudes toward sexual minorities would be positively associated with championing behaviors, was supported.

Finally, Hypothesis 9 was not supported. The attitudes toward sexual minorities x commitment to diversity interaction and championing behaviors was not significant ($\beta = .01$, $p = .77$). Thus, the department's commitment to diversity did not moderate the relationship between attitudes toward sexual minorities and championing behaviors. Though not hypothesized, the direct relationship between commitment to diversity and championing behaviors was significant ($\beta = -.08$ $p = .03$).

Discussion

Scholars and practitioners alike are beginning to devote more attention to the issue of workplace inclusion (cf. Shore et al., 2011; Ragins, 2004). The motivation to do so primarily stems from the belief that creating inclusive work environments will lead to a host of positive outcomes—for both the individual employee (Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Martinez & Hebl, 2010; Ragins, 2008) and the organization as a whole (Cunningham, 2011a, 2011b; King & Cortina, 2010). In this study, I contribute to this line of inquiry by focusing on antecedents and outcomes of employee support for LGBT inclusion. I drew from the multilevel model developed in Study 2, and explored how micro- (i.e., race, sex, OTE, extraversion, confidence, SJO), meso- (i.e., SOD, supervisor support, coworker support), and macro-level (i.e., type of media consumed, same-sex marriage laws) factors influence ally support for LGBT inclusion among sport employees. In addition, I examined if these positive attitudes toward sexual minorities affected behavioral support for LGBT inclusion in the workplace (i.e., championing behaviors).

Findings from the study offered support for 5 of the 13 hypotheses. Specifically, sex, OTE, supervisor support, and type of media consumed were related to attitudinal support for LGBT inclusion, and these attitudes positively associated with championing behaviors. Based on these results, those who are female, are open to new experiences, have supervisors who support LGBT inclusion, and consume more liberal media are more likely to express positive attitudes toward sexual minorities.

In addition, one of the primary aims of this research was to test the model developed in Study 2. And, while not all hypothesized associations were significant in

the final model, the bivariate correlations show all the study variables, except marriage

equality, related to attitudes toward sexual minorities. These results further buttress the

assertion that the factors identified at the micro- (i.e., demographics, personality, values),

meso- (i.e., SOD, supervisor support, coworker support) and macro-level (i.e., type of

media consumption) influence one's attitudes toward sexual minorities.

There are some explanations for why some associations were not observed in the

SEM model. First, findings from the SEM model failed to show that race related to

attitudes toward sexual minorities. This was surprising considering the significant

amount of literature that suggests there should be a racial difference. Some researchers

offer suggestions for why a racial difference may not be observed. First, Schulte and

Battle (2004) contend underlying beliefs, such as traditional gender beliefs or religious

ideologies, may contribute more to attitudes than race alone. This argument may explain

the findings.

The measures used in the study might also explain why we some of the expected

relationships were not significant. For instance, the SJO measure's reliability may have

been a reason I did not observe a relationship between SJO and attitudes toward sexual

minorities. Perhaps, if more items were included on the scale, the association would

have been significant. Indeed, research suggests Cronbach's alpha estimation of

reliability increases with scale length (Cronbach, 1951; Voss, Stem & Fotopoulos,

2000). Furthermore, Swailes and McIntyre-Bhatty (2002) provide evidence that when

the number of items is six or less, the effect on alpha is particularly noticeable. Thus, the

low number of scale items most likely caused the relative moderate coefficient.

Given the limited theoretical evidence supporting the linkage between confidence and attitudes toward sexual minorities, it is not especially surprising that this relationship was not significant. This hypothesis was primarily based on findings from Study 1. As the results indicate, those qualitative findings did not transfer here.

With respect to the SOD, a positive relationship between this form of diversity and attitudes toward sexual minorities may have been difficult to detect given the low mean of the SOD variable ($M = 3.02$). This indicates the athletic departments in the sample employed few sexual minorities, or that participants were unaware of their LGBT counterparts.

The low number of participants who resided in states with marriage equality may also explain why this variable was not significant. Therefore, to increase the number, I also included states that ban employment discrimination based on sexual orientation; however, this relationship was not significant. While these finding were unexpected, they may emphasize the importance of individual employees in creating more inclusive work environments, as state and national laws did not significantly impact one's attitudes toward sexual minorities. Moreover, the findings suggest that the focus of the current study—individual employees' impact on LGBT inclusion—was appropriate and warranted.

It is interesting that the organization's commitment to diversity did not moderate the relationship between attitudes toward sexual minorities and championing behaviors, but it did have a direct effect, albeit in the negative direction. This was surprising considering participants in the Study 1 felt formal policies would encourage more

employees to promote LGBT inclusion. However, based on the findings, it appears

employees are more likely to behave in supportive manners when the organization does

not show a strong commitment to diversity. Perhaps, as a possible explanation for these

unexpected findings, when organizations have already created an inclusive climate, there

is a less of a need for champions. Thus, an inclusive climate may have a greater impact

on reducing resistance among people with negative attitudes toward sexual minorities or

who oppose LGBT inclusion initiatives. In the following space, I provide contributions

and implications of these findings and offer suggestions for future research.

Contributions, Implications, and Limitations

This study makes several theoretical and practical contributions. First, I add to

the limited body of research examining antecedents of LGBT-inclusion in the

workplace. This study is unique, though, in that I focused on factors related to support

for LGBT inclusion among heterosexual employees rather than outcomes associated

with organizational forms of support, the latter of which characterizes most analyses of

LGBT inclusion. In doing so, I empirically tested the propositions of multilevel model

for ally support that I developed in Study 2. Thus, this study provided empirical support

for the model and also identified areas that need further research. Finally, this is one of

the few studies that examines the influence of positive attitudes toward sexual minorities

(for an exception see Fingerhut, 2011), and how such attitudes can impact behavioral

forms of support for LGBT inclusion.

From a practical standpoint, the positive relationship between supervisor support

for sexual orientation diversity and attitudes toward sexual minorities is significant.

Indeed, this finding suggests leaders are in a unique position to influence the behaviors of their employees. Specifically, as was mentioned earlier, setting an overt example of acceptance in the workplace encourages others to exhibit similar attitudes and behaviors. Thus, organizations should devote more attention to providing educational programs and seminars that train managers how to be champions for sexual orientation diversity in the workplace.

Although this research provides several contributions, it is also important to recognize its limitations. First, the response rate (31.6%) in Study 3 might signal non-response bias; however, I previously provided data showing this is likely not the case. Second, the sample consisted of adults working in university settings, which is sometimes described as a liberal context. Indeed, the mean scores indicated the participants had more liberal political leanings and tended to consume more liberal news media. However, they were also more likely to be more religious, which is generally related to negative attitudes toward sexual minorities (Herek, 2009). Future researches should attempt to broaden the sampling frame so that people with a variety of political orientations are included in the research. Third, I collected data on a single questionnaire, which increases the probability for common method variance. However, a number of items were reverse coded to mitigate these effects. Further, given the three-factor CFA was a poor fit to the data suggests that common method variance should not be a significant concern (Korsgaard & Roberson, 1995).

In addition, I did not directly assess one's contact with LGBT individuals outside the workplace. Researchers have consistently shown such interactions strongly relate to

attitudes toward sexual minorities (Cunningham & Melton, in press-a; Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), and ally behaviors (Fingerhut, 2011). Instead, I chose to indirectly examine contact by measuring the sexual orientation diversity of the workplace. Thus, these findings offer insights that go beyond what is already firmly established in the literature.

Finally, the same person responded to scale items assessing the predictor variables and the outcomes variables, thus allowing for the possibility of common method bias. This could increase the possibility that participants responded in a socially desirable fashion, and as such, some researchers contend that responses to questionnaire items may not be completely accurate or in accordance with participants' true feelings and beliefs (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964). However, the questionnaire was completed voluntarily and private; therefore, it is assumed that participants responded honestly and truthfully to the questions asked.

CHAPTER V

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Inclusive work environments have a tremendous effect on work-related outcomes for sexual minorities such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment; furthermore, working in such an atmosphere can significantly improve employees' physical and mental health (Cunningham, 2011a; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Meyer 2003; Ragins, 2008). The benefits of inclusion also have a considerable effect on organizational processes and performance, particularly in the case of LGBT-inclusion (Cunningham, 2011a, 2011b). Consequently, it is critical to understand ways to create and maintain inclusion in the workplace, such as implementing non-discrimination policies or ensuring employees promote inclusive practices, as they directly impact employees who are LGBT and the organization as a whole. In addition, knowing what factors have the most meaningful impact on support for LGBT employees would be advantageous to organizations because these efforts should provide a safe and equitable workplace (Brooks & Edwards, 2009), and communicate to all employees that intolerance or prejudice will not be accepted in the organization (Martinez & Hebl, 2010).

Much of the research on sexual orientation in the workplace focuses on organizational forms of support for LGBT inclusion (Button, 2001; Griffith & Hebl, 2002), with limited attention examining how attitudes and behaviors of individual employees impact perceptions of acceptance and fairness. This is an unfortunate oversight as emerging literature shows employee support tends to have a greater impact

on job satisfaction and overall life satisfaction for sexual minorities than formal polices. Moreover, theoretical and empirical arguments contend individuals are vital to the success of diversity initiatives (Avery, 2011). In fact, qualitative investigations examining teammates and coaches, in both male (Anderson, 2011) and female (Fink et al., 2012) sport settings revealed the actions of just one person can inspire inclusion and acceptance among an athletic team, even in the absence of formal inclusion polices. Thus, individuals are key in creating safe workspaces because they can (a) actively combat instances of prejudice and discrimination, or (b) serve as passive bystanders whose inaction limits the effectiveness of inclusive policies. Understanding what factors can inspire employee action is important, as it can help organizations identity potential champions and allies for LGBT-inclusion.

As such, the purpose of my dissertation was to advance the inclusion literature by examining factors that relate to LGBT-inclusion in sport organizations. I did this by conducting three studies. In Study 1, I examined perceptions of employee support among LGBT sport employees. The participants indicated that various micro-level (i.e., demographics, personality characteristics, personal experiences with LGBT individuals) and meso-level (organizational culture for diversity, support of relevant others) factors influenced an individual's support for LGBT-inclusive policies and practices. Furthermore, from the participants' perceptions, power meaningfully influenced these dynamics, such that individuals in low status positions within the athletic department were hesitant to show support for LGBT equality. However, those who did champion LGBT inclusive initiatives successfully modeled supportive behaviors and positive

attitudes toward LGBT individuals, vocally opposed discriminatory treatment, and provided sexual minorities with a safe space at work. Thus, according to the participants, these champions significantly influenced their daily work experiences and overall satisfaction.

In Study 2, I develop a multilevel model to explain support for LGBT-inclusion among sport employees. Based on the findings in Study 1 and relevant literature, I identified factors at the macro-level (i.e., mass media, climate for sexual orientation diversity), meso-level (i.e., sexual orientation diversity, presence of other allies), and micro-level (i.e., personality, personal values, attitudes toward LGBT individuals, contact with LGBT individuals, and personal motivations) that relate to support for LGBT inclusion. In addition, I differentiate between attitudinal and behavioral support for LGBT equality, and discussed various issues that may encourage allies to engage in more championing behaviors, such as one's status in the department, expectancy beliefs, and the diversity culture in the department.

Finally in Study 3, I empirically tested many of the propositions outlined in the multilevel model explaining support for LGBT inclusion (developed in Study 2). The results from this study show, with the exception of marriage equality, all the micro- (demographics, personality characteristics, personal values), meso- (sexual orientation diversity, presence of other allies), and macro-level (type of media exposure) factors univariately related to attitudes toward sexual minorities. However, based on the SEM, only sex, one's openness to experiences, supervisor support, and type of media exposure

were significantly associated with attitudes toward sexual minorities, and these attitudes significantly related to championing behaviors.

Contributions

This body of research makes several contributions to the LGBT inclusion literature. First, it extends the literature by examining employee support for LGBT inclusion in the workplace. All three studies provided empirical and theoretical evidence that employees make a meaningful impact on the creation and sustainability of inclusive work environments for sexual minorities. The findings in Study 1 are particularly noteworthy, as they revealed the perceptions and lived experiences of sexual minorities working within the sport industry—a group that is oftentimes neglected in the sport management literature (Cunningham, 2012: Fink et al., 2012; Krane, 2001). At times, when investigating issues related to marginalized groups, scholars may inadvertently ignore research questions or endeavors that are relevant to a certain population. Thus, by first conducting a qualitative investigation with LGBT sport employees, I was able to "listen to their voices" and gain a deeper understanding of their perceptions of inclusion (hooks, 1980). This is a warranted addition to the literature, as most work in this area has relied on quantitative methods (Button, 2001; Griffith & Hebl, 2002; Ragins, 2004; Ragins et al., 2007), or focused on heterosexual samples (Russel, 2011).

Second, this dissertation also provides new theoretical and empirical insights concerning factors related to positive attitudes toward sexual minorities, which offers a drastic contrast to the pleather of research examining sexual prejudice, its predictors, consequences, and moderators (see Herek, 2009 for a review). Indeed, research has

consistently shown high levels of prejudice are associated with various forms of discriminatory behavior. This prejudice can then influence one's support for diversity initiatives in an organization (Avery, 2011; Harrison et al., 2006). For example, Cunningham and Sartore (2010) observed that individuals with higher levels of racial prejudice and sexual prejudice were less likely to engage in behaviors that championed diversity initiatives (see also Harrison et al., 2006). However, though this work provides strong evidence that high levels of sexual prejudice relate to fewer champion efforts, it should not necessarily be assumed that low sexual prejudice would translate to additional support for such initiatives. In fact, Cunningham and Melton (in press-b) argue, "expressing a little sexual prejudice is akin to being a little bit pregnant," such that low levels of sexual prejudice are still likely to influence one's behaviors. Many psychology researchers have supported this notion empirically, as their findings suggest the absence of a negative does not equate to the presence of a positive (Watson, Clark, & Telegen, 1998). Therefore, this study acknowledges support is distinct from low prejudice, and extends the literature by focusing on positive attitudes toward sexual minorities.

In addition, this work makes a unique contribution to the ally literature because it considers individuals who may not identify as allies for LGBT inclusion, but nonetheless express support for sexual minorities and LGBT equality. Indeed, according to participants in Study 1, most of the supportive employees had no formal ally training, did not identify as such, yet these individuals were still perceived as making a positive impact on inclusion in the workplace. Thus, by also examining the attitudes and

behaviors of employees who are not self-identified allies, researchers are able to develop a more complete knowledge of the influences related to employee support for LGBT inclusion.

Finally, from a theoretical perspective, the findings and arguments made in all three studies buttress the assertion that multilevel factors influence employee support for LGBT inclusion. Specifically, participant perceptions in Study 1 suggested individual factors, as well as well as the organizational environment contributed to one's level of support for LGBT inclusion. Furthermore, many of these perceptions were supported, both theoretically and empirically in Studies 2 and 3 respectively. Specially, results from Study 3 suggest allies are more likely to be employees who are women, open to new experiences, have supervisors who support LGBT inclusion, and consume more liberal media. Collectively, the three studies included in my dissertation provided further evidence that scholars should account for multilevel influences when examining human behavior in organizations.

Implications

The studies offer several practical implications which can benefit sport organizations in their quest to become for inclusive for sexual minorities. For instance, sport organizations should realize the importance of identifying allies in the workplace, as these employees are key to creating safe and accepting work environments for sexual minorities. This can be accomplished by engaging in open and honest conversations regarding sexual orientation diversity in the workplace. Specially, mangers should effectively communicate both the consequences of discrimination, as well as the benefits

of inclusion to their employees. Doing so can tremendously affect attitudes toward sexual minorities, which should then increase championing behaviors.

Secondly, for employees who do express an interest in championing LGBT equality, resources should be available for them to do so. Namely, organizations should offer training and educational programs that enhance employees' efforts to promote inclusion. As mentioned by the LGBT employees in Study 1, while all forms of support are appreciated, certain actions are more successfully in establishing accepting and equal workspaces for sexual minorities.

In addition to providing the necessary resources, organizations should also examine barriers to inclusion. For instance, do low-level employees feel as though their jobs would be in jeopardy if they took a stand? Or, do employees feel they will be socially stigmatized if they support LGBT equality? To mitigate these concerns, leaders should make concerted efforts to model inclusive attitudes and behaviors. Furthermore, leadership that sets this example demonstrates how these behaviors are appropriate and expected, and as shown in Study 3, can have a positive impact on attitudes toward sexual minorities.

Finally, sport organizations need to be aware of what images and content their employees are consuming in the media, as findings from Study 3 highlight, media messages can have a significant effect on attitudes toward sexual minorities. And, while managers cannot forbid their employees from watching the Fox News channel, they can certainly expose them to educational videos or speakers that may present LGBT issues in a more positive light. For instance, athletic departments could invite prominent allies,

such as Hudson Taylor to conduct training workshops on how to combat sexual prejudice in sport, or have "out" athletes come and share their experiences with the staff. Having the opportunities to hear counter narratives may inspire employees to reevaluate how they view sexual monitories.

Future Research

Finally, there are several avenues for future research. First, additional research should explore the associations among the study variables and other forms of employee behavior, such as resistance, compliance, and cooperation (Herscovitch & Meyer, 2002). Doing so would allow for a better understanding of what differentiates a "champion" from a "cooperator." Considering participants in Study 1 noted the importance of allies (akin to champions) versus friends (akin to cooperators), this is a warranted area of inquire.

Second, future investigation should empirically examine the motivations of allies in workplace. To date, most work related to this issue has been qualitative (Russell, 2011), or focused on why individuals become allies outside the work setting. However, there may be more personal risk associated with championing LGBT inclusion in the workplace: allies may fear they will be ostracized by their coworkers, or that they may be disadvantaged in future job opportunities. Pat Griffin, respected sport scholar and advocate for LGBT rights, makes this point when discussing the absence of female allies in sport. She notes that, due to the combined effect of heterosexism and sexism, women may not advocate for LGBT coaches and players because they may be labeled a lesbian (Griffin, 2011). Having such a label can then lead to a host of negative outcomes, such

as job terminations, becoming the victim of negative recruiting tactics, or social isolation within the athletic department (Sartore & Cunningham, 2010). Thus, it is interesting to understand why allies have taken on this risk so to ensure workplaces are inclusive for LGBT employees.

Third, arguments from this dissertation suggest even if employees have positive attitudes toward LGBT inclusiveness, they oftentimes face a number of impediments to engaging in championing behaviors. Thus, future research should examine if educational seminars, guest speakers, or ally training workshops can results in more championing behaviors among heterosexual allies.

Finally, the sample was limited to athletic department administrators and staff. Future researchers should consider examining these relationships among coaches, players, or industry professions, as these are all key players in making sport a more inclusive environment.

Conclusions

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the antecedents and outcomes of employee support for LGBT inclusion in the workplace. The findings highlight how multilevel factors influence employee attitudes toward sexual minorities, which can then influence championing behaviors. In addition, the results provided here provide new theoretical and practical insights regarding individual support for diversity and inclusion initiatives. Finally, given the limited research examining employee or ally support, I have attempted to spark more scholarly interest into an area of study that has a plethora of future research opportunities.

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APPENDIX A

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Individuals who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) continually face stigmatization across a number of social settings because of their sexual orientation. They are oftentimes subjected to overt and subtle forms of discrimination, marginalized or ignored by many social institutions, and, at times, vilified by public figures in society. These instances of prejudice and discrimination are not absent in the sport context. Rather, traditions and values in sport routinely reinforce the norm of heterosexuality, rendering those who deviate from this norm as devalued "others." Given their devalued status, many sexual minorities conceal their sexual orientation, as a way to escape social isolation or discrimination. Their concerns are not without merit, considering the significant amount of evidence in both the academic and popular press that depicts how persons who are LGBT suffer discrimination within sport organizations and on the playing field, where at times, they report instances of physical abuse.

The purpose of this paper is to gain a deeper understanding of these issues. Thus, this paper presents a review of literature examining the intersection of sexual orientation and sport. To do so, I first define key terms and provide a historical overview of how sexual orientation has been conceptualized in modern societies. Then, I expand on concepts such as sexual stigma and sexual prejudice, including a definition of the terms and their antecedents and outcomes. The discussion then focuses on issues related to sexual orientation in the workplace. From there, I discuss positive signs of change, with particular attention devoted to how sport employees can create more inclusive sport

environments for persons who are LGBT by offering support, such as supervisor support, coworker support, and ally support. Such a review will identify gaps in the literature and focus attention on issues that warrant further research.

Key Terms and Conceptualizations

To begin, it is necessary to explain the terminology that appears throughout the review of literature and dissertation. I will primarily use the terms LGB (i.e., lesbian, gay, and bisexual) or LGBT (i.e., lesbian, gay, bisexual, and members of the trans community). In general, I will only use the term LGB when discussing specific populations or proportions of individuals who are lesbian, gay, and bisexual in the United States. In most other cases, I use the term LGBT to include individuals in the trans community (e.g. transgender, transsexual, and gender queer). Relying on such terminology is not meant to suggest individuals in the LGBT community share the same or similar experiences; rather, it is simply an attempt to remain consistent with the past researchers and theorist who refer to persons who are LGBT in the collective. Therefore, I will follow suit when appropriate. Finally, I also use the term *sexual minority* interchangeably with the phrase *individual who is LGBT*. This term is preferable to "homosexual", as the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (2010) considers the later term "to be associated with negative stereotypes, pathology, and the reduction of people's identities to their sexual behavior" (p. 75).

Population

Most researchers agree that between 4 to 17 percent of the United States population identifies as LGB (Gonsiorek & Weinrich, 1991). This is a sizable amount

considering that the 2010 census estimated the US population to be 310 million people. Thus, to quantify the percentage, between 12.4 and 52.7 million US citizens were LGBT at this time. This percentage is comparable to estimates for Asian American (3%), African American (12%), and Hispanic (15%) populations (Day & Greene, 2008), thereby illustrating the prevalence of LGB persons in the workforce. As such, scholars devote considerable attention to understanding the experiences of LGBT people across a variety of social contexts, including the sport setting.

When considering the previously mentioned percentage, it is important to understand how one conceptualizes being lesbian, gay, or bisexual. Historically, scholars and laypersons alike have viewed sexual orientation as a binary construct—one either behaves in a heterosexual or homosexual manner (Lubensky, Holland, Wiethof, & Crosby, 2004). However, Kinsey and his colleagues challenged this notion, and argued sexual orientation existed on a continuum from completely homosexual or completely heterosexual sexual behaviors. This view allowed for variations in the heterosexual-homosexual binary to be recognized and opened the possibility for bisexuality.

Most researchers now conceptualize sexual orientation on a similar continuum; however, this approach remains limited because it ignores the multidimensional aspect of sexual orientation. Specifically, Kinsey and his colleagues' measurement only focuses on the behavior component of sexual orientation, and fails to consider other dimensions, including self-image, fantasies, and attractions (Lubensky et al., 2004; Ragins & Wiethhoff, 2005). At times, these elements can interact in such a way that it becomes difficult to classify someone as heterosexual or homosexual. For instance, a woman can

have attractions and fantasies for both men and women, exhibit homosexual behaviors exclusively, yet view herself as a heterosexual. Variation such as this can make it difficult to obtain and accurate estimate of the LGBT population.

The manner in which sexual orientation is conceptualized not only has implications for determining the size of the population, it can also influence one's attitudes toward LGBT individuals (e.g., Haslam, Rothschild, & Ernst, 2002; Jayaratne et al., 2006). Thus, to gain a more complete understanding of prejudice directed at sexual minorities it is necessary to examine how researchers conceptualize sexual stigma.

Sexual Stigma

In the sexual stigma framework, Herek (2009) draws from Goffman's (1963) account of the basic definition of stigma. In this original piece, he emphasizes that a stigma is social constructed and refers to "an undesired differentness" (p. 5) and "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (p. 3). Because social stigmas have socially constructed meanings, they can vary depending on the situation or context. However, power relations within a society significantly influence the meanings stigmas hold. When compared to others in society, stigmatized individuals are typically allowed less valued resources, have limited influence over others, and social structures and processes make it difficult for them to control their own fate. Thus, in the sexual stigma and sexual prejudice framework, stigma refers to the "negative regard and inferior status that society collectively accords to people who posses a particular characteristic or belong to a particular group or category… stigma constitutes shared knowledge about which

attributes and categories are valued by society, which ones are denigrated, and how theses values vary across situations" (Herek, 2009, p. 66).

Sexual stigma is a particular from of stigma and is associated with any behavior, identity, or attraction that is not heterosexual. Similar to other stigmas, it is accompanied by a set of social roles and expectations, which dictate how sexual minorities interact with others in society. And, due to the devalued status the stigma produces, sexual minorities are negatively stereotyped and afforded little status and power in society. Furthermore, regardless of whether one personally endorses society's negative view of sexual minorities, virtually all members of society recognize that LGBT people endure stigmatization to varying degrees.

Heterosexism

The power differentials that characterize sexual stigma are perpetuated by institutional practices and ideological systems embedded in society, and are referred to as heterosexism. Heterosexism has historically manifested in religious, legal, and medical discourses, and ensures sexual minorities have less power and value than heterosexuals. This is done through two processes. First, within these discourses, sexual minorities are made invisible because it is assumed that all people are heterosexual. Second, if lesbian, gay, and bisexual people are acknowledged, heterosexism perpetuates the belief that this behavior is abnormal and unnatural, when compared to heterosexual behavior, and thus inferior (Herek, 2009). It is important to note, although sexual stigma remains ubiquitous in modern society, it is frequently challenged, and some institutional manifestations have disappeared over time. In the space below, I provide a brief

historical account of the operation of heterosexism through various social institutions including religion, law, and psychiatry.

Heterosexism and religion. In the United States, Christianity has also been the dominant religion. One aspect of traditional Christianity is the condemnation of homosexual behavior. This opposition toward homosexual acts was once part of a larger condemnation of a whole class of behaviors including sexual conduct with no intent of procreation (e.g. masturbation), sexual relations before marriage (e.g., fornication), not sanctioned sexual relations during marriage (e.g. adultery), and marital sex that focused on sensual gratification (e.g., any intercourse position except the one that involves a man lying on top of a woman). Around the eleventh century, these behaviors were classified under the rubric of "sodomy." By the late twelfth century, most religious and secular institutions considered these acts as "sins against nature" (Boswell, 1980).

To date, homosexuality remains a subject of intense religious antipathy; however, the church no longer condemns some acts once considered as sodomy (Herek et al., 2007). According to most religious teachings, being lesbian, gay, or bisexual is not, in itself, considered to be a sin. Instead, allowing oneself to act on his or her homosexual feelings by engaging in a sexual relationship with someone of the same sex would classify as a sin. Thus, to be welcomed in the church, individuals who are LGB must display heterosexual behaviors or remain celibate (Herek et al., 2007).

Some denominations have also expressed opposition to laws prohibiting discrimination based on sexual orientation. For instance, the Catholic Church advocates that people who are LGBT should not be allowed to adopt or foster children, or serve as

teacher or athletic coaches (Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith, 1992). In the late

1970's, members of what came to be known as the Religious Right or the Christian

Right fought to repeal antidiscrimination laws in Dade County (Florida) aimed at

protecting employment rights for lesbians and gay men. By the late 1990's, increased

animosity and political strength by members and supporters of the Christian Right led to

several states adopting anti-LGBT laws through voter initiatives. In contrast to the

previous examples, there are other denominations that welcome LGBT members. For

example, Unitarians, the United Church of Christ, and Reform Judaism accept sexual

minorities into their ministry and bless same-sex marriages or unions (Dewan, 2005). In

addition, in several Protestant denominations, certain congregations label themselves as

"open and affirming" of individuals who are LGBT.

Heterosexism in the law. By and large, the legal system in the United States has

relied on traditional religious views of homosexuality and during different times in

history, has defined same-sex behavior as criminal, excluded same-sex relationships

from family law, and condoned or encouraged discrimination based on sexual

orientation. Laws that codify sexual stigma have come in a variety of forms including (a)

laws prohibiting or restricting two consenting adults from engaging in sexual relations,

(b) laws that deny basic civil liberties to individuals who are LGBT, and (c) laws that

perpetuate the power differential between heterosexuals and members of the LGBT

community (Herek et al., 2007).

Beginning in the thirteenth century, laws in various European countries began to

criminalize acts of sodomy (Fone, 2000). Over the next few centuries men suspected of

homosexual conduct were prosecuted, and in several instances, executed for their behavior (Fone, 2000). Starting in the late eighteenth century, women could also be prosecuted solely because they engaged in a same-sex sexual relationship. Laws in the American colonies mirrored European laws, in that sodomy was considered a "wickedness not to be named", and was punishable by death (Katz, 1976). By and large, the colonial laws pertained to acts conducted by men. These laws carried over to state laws created in the 1700s and 1800s—some of which remained in until the U.S. Supreme Court ruled them unconstitutional in 2003 (Lawrence et al., v. Texas, 2003).

After World War II, stigma and prejudice directed toward sexual minorities began to intensify as the media began to devote considerable coverage to sexual crimes. It is important to note, police records to not indicate in sexual crimes during this era; however, the media routinely reported sensationalized accounts of several brutal sexual murders of children. In response to these news reports, Americans demanded law officials take action against sexual deviants, and in the public's opinion, sexual minorities were akin to child molesters, rapists, and sexual murders. Thus, these individuals were all labeled "sexual psychopaths", and sexual minorities faced being arrested and subjected to sexual psychopath statutes during a time known as the sex crime panics.

During this period, a person convicted as a sexual psychopath could be incarcerated until the individual was considered to be "cured" of her or his sexual deviance. Many times these individuals were not arrested, but their sexual orientation was made public, which often meant they would lose their job, be ostracized by their

friends and family, and endure public shame and ridicule. Laws created during the sex crime panics impacted society in a variety of ways. First, the majority of laws denying civil liberties to LGBT individuals were written and approved during this time. Furthermore, these laws made it possible for employees, housing providers, and other service providers to legally discriminate against sexual minorities (Katz, 1976).

In many respects, the U.S. legal system continues to advantage heterosexuals and limit the power and status of sexual minorities. For instance, there is still no federal antidiscrimination law based on sexual orientation, per the 1996 Defense of Marriage Act, same-sex couples who are married cannot receive federal benefits and state are not required to recognize such unions, and many states ban marriage (and several prohibit domestic partnerships or civil unions) for same-sex couples (Herek, 2011). In terms of parenting and adoption, some states prohibit same-sex couples from adopting children (e.g., Utah and Mississippi), have laws stating that a gay man or lesbian cannot adopt a child (i.e., Florida), or forbid second-parent adoption (when a same-sex partner can legally form a parental relationship with a partner's biological or adopted child). The aforementioned laws related to marriage and adoption serve to reinforce the notion that same-sex relationships are inferior to heterosexual relationships, and foster the belief that same-sex couples do not deserve recognition in society. Furthermore, provide justification for the law status of sexual minorities by routinely affording more resources, power, and privileges to heterosexuals (Herek, 2009).

Heterosexism and medicine. When those in the fields of psychiatry and medicine began to examine issues related set sexual orientation they were considered

progressive for viewing sexual orientation as pathology, as it was better to think of someone as being sick than as a sinner (Herek et al., 2007). It was also during this time in the late 1800's, that modern ideas of heterosexual and homosexual began to appear in medical discussions. Homosexual behavior was determined to be the opposite of heterosexual behavior, thereby creating the dichotomy between the two. However, the term homosexual was not considered to be a negative, in fact Karl Maria Benkert, who is credited with creating the term homosexual did so to avoid using the pejorative term "pederast" (Katz, 1976). It was not until 1880 at the term heterosexual was used to describe its binary opposite (Katz, 1976). Furthermore, early in the 20th century those in medicine and psychiatry did not agree homosexuality was a mental illness, though Kraft – Ebing described it as an illness, others such as Havelock Ellis viewed sexuality as a normal variant of human behavior, such as left-handedness (Herek et al., 2007). In addition, Sigmund Freud (1951) contended homosexuality should not be viewed as a source of shame, a vice, or illness.

However, between World War I and World War II, psychoanalysis rejected Freud's assertions regarding homosexuality and held to the believe that homosexuality was a pathological departure from heterosexuality. Once this view was widely accepted, homosexuality was considered a sociopathic personality disturbance in the first edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Health Disorders* (Katz, 1976).

Considering homosexuality was pathology, steps were taken to prevent the illness and cure it once to had been diagnosed. As a result, a number of LGBT people underwent psychotherapy to change their sexual or indication. If psychotherapy proved

unsuccessful, many turned to more drastic measures including hypnosis, hormone treatment, electroshock therapy, administration of nausea-inducing drugs, lobotomy, or castration (Katz, 1976).

In the late 1950s, researchers began to challenge the assumption that homosexuality was an illness. Of particular importance was the work of Evelyn Hooker (Herek et al., 2007). Her study was significant for several reasons. First, she rejected the assumption that sexual minorities and heterosexuals significantly differed in their psychological adjustment. Second, her LGBT participants were functioning normally in society—they were not psychiatric patients. Finally, she allowed random experts—with no interest in study and no knowledge of the participants' sexual orientation—to evaluate with the participants psychological adjustment. Results showed no discernable difference between heterosexuals and sexual minorities. Thus, Hooker concluded homosexuality is not inherently related to psychopathology. Her findings were replicated in several other studies by different researchers among gay and lesbian populations. Given this overwhelming empirical evidence, in 1973, the Board of Directors for the ABA voted to remove homosexuality from their diagnostic handbook, and in 1974 a vote by the entire membership supported their decision. Since then, the APA has shown tremendous support with sexual minorities, and in 2011 a unanimous vote by its membership expressed support of same-sex marriage.

As outlined above, sexual stigma will manifest at the societal level in the form of heterosexism; but there are also distinct manifestations of sexual stigma at the individual level. These manifestations appear when individual behaviors express stigma (enacted

stigma), individuals become cognizant of the stigma and its consequences (felt stigma), and when individuals accept or justify the stigma (internalized stigma). Below I will discuss these manifestations of sexual stigma in greater detail.

Individual-Level Sexual Stigma

      Enacted stigma. Enacted stigma refers to when sexual stigma is overtly expressed through a person's actions. This may include avoidance, physical attacks, and derogatory jokes, hiring discrimination or antigay comments. In most instances, enacted stigma is directed at sexual minorities. However, friends and family members of these individuals, and people who advocate for LGBT rights may experience stigma by association—what Goffman (1963) terms a courtesy stigma. Furthermore, because LGBT identities are invisible or concealable stigmas, any heterosexual can be mistakenly labeled as gay, lesbian, or bisexual. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume anyone has the potential to experience the negative outcomes associated with enacted stigma.

      Felt stigma. In contrast to overt forms of sexual stigma, felt stigma describes a person's expectation or belief that enactments of sexual stigma will occur in various situations. Because sexual minorities are aware of their devalued status in society, they oftentimes behave in ways that reduce the likelihood of becoming victimized by sexual stigma. For example, sexual minorities may avoid places that are unsupportive of LGBT-rights (e.g., Westborough Baptist Church), or use passing techniques to conceal their sexual orientation (pretend to be attracted to people of the opposite sex).

Internalized stigma. The final individual manifestation of sexual stigma is termed internalized stigma. This refers to an individual's "personal acceptance of stigma as a part of her or his own value system and self-concept (Herek, 2009, p. 73). When this happens, a person supports or justifies society's denigration of the stigmatized group. Internalized stigma can be experienced by nonstigmatized and stigmatized person; however, the social and psychological processes associated with this form of sexual stigma will differ with respect to which group is examined. For sexual minorities, internalized stigma is termed self-stigma and refers to when these individuals have poor self-concepts because they view their sexual desires negatively. This feeling has also been labeled "internalized homophobia" by some scholars (Weinberg, 1972; Shidlo, 1994).

Sexual prejudice. When nonstigmatized individuals hold these attitudes toward same-sex behaviors, it is termed sexual prejudice. Thus, sexual prejudice refers to the negative attitudes held toward an individual based on that person's sexual orientation (Herek, 2009). This type of prejudice is typically negative and characterized by hostility or dislike toward people who are (or are perceived to be) LGBT. Sexual prejudice differs from homophobia, which was coined by George Weinberg in 1960 to describe the fear or dread heterosexuals felt toward sexual minorities and the self-hatred persons who were LGBT experienced as a result of their sexual orientation. Although some individuals may fear sexual minorities or homosexual behaviors, sexual prejudice is a more appropriate construct to use when examining attitudes toward individuals who are LGBT (Herek, 2009).

Prevalence of Sexual Prejudice

Though general attitudes toward sexual minorities are improving, the stigma associated with being LGBT continues to be quite powerful and pervasive across an array of social spheres, including schools, organizations, and sport. For instance, sexual minorities are twice as likely as their heterosexual counterparts to experience some form of prejudice in their lifetime (Meyer, 2003). Typically persons who are LGBT are the victims of disparaging remarks, anti-LGBT epithets, social exclusion, discrimination or violence (Herek, 2009). Furthermore, these expressions of sexual prejudice come from a variety of people, including coworkers, peers, school administrates, teachers, coaches, and even the parents of LGBT persons (Anderson, 2002; Herek, 2009; Krane & Barber, 2005; Ragins, 2008). It can be difficult to find a place of refuge from discrimination, as sexual prejudice is deeply engrained into American culture.

Given the prevalence of prejudice directed toward sexual minorities, as well as the negative consequences for individuals and organizations, a number of scholarly investigations focus attention toward understanding this phenomenon. The research conducted by Herek (2009) and his colleagues is perhaps the most influential for several reasons. First, his work examines how to conceptualize and define prejudiced towards sexual minorities. Drawing from stigma theory (Goffman, 1963), Herek (2009) explains that those who are not heterosexual are generally stigmatized in society, such that LGBT persons receive fewer valued resources, are afforded less power, and hold a lower social status when compared to heterosexuals. He terms this sexual sigma and identifies how

the stigma manifests at both the societal level (i.e., heteosexism) and the individual level (i.e, sexual prejudice).

As previously discussed, heterosexism refers to institutionalized sexual stigma. This manifestation of sexual stigma and has been observed in a variety of social institutions throughout history, and continues to persist today (Herek et al., 2007). As one illustrative example, consider the impact of the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which bans the federal recognition of same-sex marriage. When examining the effects of this law, a research group from the Williams Institute estimated there are over 581,300 same-sex couples in the United States, nearly 80,000 are legally married, and an additional 85,000 same-sex couples are in civil unions or registered domestic partnerships. However, due to DOMA, these couples are denied Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA) benefits, denied benefits for spouses of federal employees, denied veteran partner benefits (which negatively impacts over 68,000 veterans), denied equal treatment in taxation of employee health benefits, denied equal treatment under spousal impoverishment protection for Medicaid Long Term Care (MLC), denied equal treatment in inheritance tax, denied joint income tax filings, denied equal social security survivor or spousal benefits, and denied equal treatment for bi-national couples (over 26,000 couples).

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Predictors of Sexual Prejudice

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In addition to heterosexism, sexual prejudice manifests at the individuals level and refers to when a person incorporates the negative views associated with the stigma into his or her personal belief system and embrace society's disparagement of sexual

minorities, thereby perpetuation the status difference that exists among LGBT persons and heterosexuals. Within the sexual prejudice literature, scholars have examined a number of issues; including its antecedents, outcomes, and ways to reduce this form of prejudice. These efforts have led to the identification of various demographic, psychological, and social variables that relate to sexual prejudice (see Herek, 2009).

Collectively, this research suggests individuals with high levels of sexual prejudice are more likely to be male, older, less educated, and live in geographic locations where group norm condone sexual prejudice. They are also more likely to hold fundamentalist religious believes, and be Republican or politically conservative. Finally, they generally ascribe to traditional gender role beliefs, exhibit authoritarian personality traits, tend to believe homosexual is a choice, and have few friends or family member who are LGBT (cf. Herek, 2009).

Consequences of Sexual Prejudice

Minority Stress

According to social stress theory, social stressors (e.g. poverty, high crime rate) produce negative effects similar to those created by individual stressors (e.g., career ending injury, failing a college course), which may lead to physical and mental strain in a person's life (Meyer, 1995). Minority stress is an extension of social stress theory, and recognizes that members of stigmatized groups chronically encounter certain stressful events solely because of their devalued social position. Meyer's (1995; 2003) minority stress model provides a framework for understanding the unique stressors minorities experience, the consequences of those stressful events, and coping mechanisms

individuals use to help assuage minority stress and improve personal wellbeing. When applying the model to sexual minorities, Meyer (2003) discussed three stress processes that individuals who are LGBT face. Moving from the most distal to the most proximal, these include (a) the stressful events and activities that affect sexual minorities; (b) the expectations of such events on the part of the LGBT individual, including requisite accompanying vigilance; and (c) the sexual minority's internalization of heterosexism and sexual prejudice.

With regard to the consequences of minority stress, several trends have emerged in regards to the physical and mental health of sexual minorities. First, those who are LGBT (or presumed to be) appear to be at greater risk for anxiety or mood disorders than their heterosexual counterparts (Cochran & Mays, 2006), irrespective of gender (see Herek & Garnets, 2007). Second, sexual minorities are more likely to display suicidal tendencies, especially among adolescences (Russell, 2003). Third, when compared to heterosexual women, lesbians tend to consume alcohol in larger quantities, which puts them at a greater risk for alcohol related problems (Cochran, Keenan, Schober, & Mays, 2000). Finally, experiencing three forms of discrimination (i.e., race, gender, and sexual orientation), significantly affects mental health outcomes, and can drastically increase a person's risk of substance abuse (McCabe, et al., 2010).

It is worth noting that not all sexual minorities report higher instances of stress, and many successfully cope with their minority stress (Herek & Garnets, 2007). Research suggests two possible reasons as to why this occurs. First, if a person views their sexual orientation identity as part of a collective, they are less likely to experience

stress (Herek & Garnets, 2007). For instance, if people perceive themselves as part of a collective, affiliate with the sexual minority community, and derive enhanced self-esteem from membership in this group, they will be better able to cope with stressors associated with their minority status.

Second, multiple minority statuses affect how sexual minorities experience stress. Although having multiple minority statues does increase one's likelihood of experiencing stigma or discrimination, according to Herek and Garnets (2007) "integrating multiple identities may enhance a minority individual's overall psychological resilience and increase one's available resources for coping with stigma" (p. 363). Specifically, recourses (e.g., social support, positive evaluations) individuals receive from other social group affiliations (e.g. African American or Latino community) help them manage, and strive in spite of negative situations they encounter because of their sexual orientation. Though Herek and Garnets (2007) make a compelling argument, it is still unclear if having a multiple minority status is actually advantageous for the individual. In fact, Szymanski and Gupta (2009) found that racial minorities were less equipped to handle the stress associated with sexual prejudice, and internalized heterosexism significantly related to psychological distress and low self-esteem among African Americans who are LGBT. The social groups one associates with may help us understand if he or she will have higher or lower levels of stress.

In the sport literature, scholars note that minority stress generally inhibits the physical, psychological, and professional well-being of individuals in sport who are (or perceived as being) LGBT (see Anderson, 2005; Sartore & Cunningham, 2010). In terms

of physical consequences, women oftentimes feel pressured to meet heterosexual feminine ideals that permeate the sport culture. In an effort to constantly portray a heterosexy image (see Griffin, 1998), women may engage in a host of unhealthy habits, such as risky sexual behaviors, exercise addiction, substance abuse, or eating disorders (Krane, 1997; Krane & Barber, 2005). Furthermore, although most research focuses on how the lesbian stigma impacts women of all sexual orientations, men are also victims of sexual prejudice. For instance, Anderson (2005) describes how one of his heterosexual players was brutally beaten simply because he played for a coach who was openly gay.

With respect to psychological health, Krane's (1997) qualitative interviews revealed how unsupportive athletic environments contribute to low self-esteem, low confidence, high stress, and substance abuse among lesbian student-athletes. Similarly, Rotella and Murray's (1991) results suggest negative psychological conditions among athletes who are LGBT are associated with instances of sexual prejudice and heterosexism they encounter in their respective sports. Furthermore, Melton and Cunningham's (2012) work provides some empirical evidence to supports the notion that multiple marginalized identities can augment these negative experiences. Specifically, during their interviews with lesbian athletes of color, participants discussed how they were unable to fully express their identities in certain contexts. Within the LGBT community, they felt as if their racial identity was not always valued, whereas in the Black or Latino community, their perception was that the lesbian identity was unacceptable and a source of shame. Participants who shared these views, tended to

experience social isolation and feelings of guilt and shame because of their identity

(Melton & Cunningham, 2012).

Possible moderators. In the sport literature, three factors have been found to

influence one's level of minority stress. First, Sartore and Cunningham (2010) proposed

that the level of stigma consciousness, or "the degree to which women focus on their

stereotyped social identify within the sport context" (p. 298), can exacerbate or

circumvent the negative outcomes associated enactments of sexual prejudice. Thus,

LGBT person with high levels of stigma consciousness are more likely to anticipate that

they will experience negative stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination. Second, these

authors also suggest that sport/job type will serve as a moderator. Specifically, women

who participate in sports viewed as gender-appropriate (i.e., more feminine sports such

as figure skating or gymnastics) or who hold low-status positions, will be more likely to

avoid the lesbian stigma than women who participate in sports considered gender-

inappropriate (i.e., more masculine sports such as football or ice hockey), or who occupy

high status positions (e.g., head coach or athletic director) within sport.

Finally, social support may also exaggerate or minimize the possibility that

sexual minorities will be stigmatized in sport. Social support can provide instrumental,

psychological, and physical support (Vaux, 1988). Research suggests that minorities

who receive support from similar others are less likely to be adversely effected by social

stigmatization (Meyer, 2003), this is especially true for sexual minorities (Herek and

Garnets, 2007). Furthermore, LGBT employees who have supportive coworkers

generally report high levels of life satisfaction (Huffman, Watrous-Rodriguez, & King,

2008) and feel more comfortable disclosing their sexual orientation in the workplace (Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007). These dynamics have also been observed among athletes and employees in various sport settings (Fink et al., 2012; Melton & Cunningham, in press-b, 2012).

Identity management techniques. Considering the negative consequences that generally accompany social stigmatization, many LGBT people adopt identity management techniques as a way to evade the stigma and promote a sense of self-worth and affirmation in the sport context. Though there are similarities, identity management strategies can differ based on one's sexual orientation. For gays and lesbians in sport, this usually entails using passing or revealing strategies (Clair, Beatty, & MacLean, 2005). Passing is the practice of disguising or withholding one's sexual identity and it can take three forms—fabrication, concealment, or discretion. On the other hand, revealing involves disclosing one's sexual orientation to others. Individuals who are LGBT can reveal their sexual orientation by using signaling, normalizing, or differentiating techniques. In the sport context, research has consistently shown that most sexual minorities adhere to the norm of silence in sport and subsequently use various strategies to conceal (rather than reveal) their sexual orientation (Griffin, 1998; Krane & Barber, 2005; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009a; 2010).

Considering the lesbian or gay stigma is also used to limit the power and opportunities of heterosexuals (Krane, 2001; Sartore & Cunningham, 2009a; 2010), they too develop a number of coping mechanisms to escape this form of stigmatization. For instance, research suggests, that women, particularly when participating in sports viewed

as more masculine, will engage in "defensive othering"—the process in which subordinate group members distance themselves from other subordinates by displaying attitudes and behaviors that reinforce and legitimize their devalued status (Ezzell, 2009, p. 111). Specifically, women will take on the views of dominant group members (i.e., emphasizing the notion that men's sport is superior to women's sport, support the view that women should not appear too muscular or masculine, or reinforce the belief that heterosexuality is and should be the norm) in response to the lesbian stigma and backlash women encounter in sport settings. When relying on this strategy, women cast themselves as the exception to the stereotype, thereby unintentionally reinforcing masculine hegemony and heteronormative ideology in sport. And, while there are differences among lesbians and heterosexual women in terms of how the manage their identity in the sport context, both groups routinely present themselves as ultra-feminine (Krane, 2001), or what Griffin (1998) terms heterosexy, in order to prove their heterosexuality.

The gendered nature of sport also influences how men express their sexuality and masculinity. Specifically, traditional views of gender, gender roles, and sexuality are used as organizing principles to reinforce male superiority, female subordination, and norms of heterosexuality (Krane, 2001). As such, research continually characterizes sport as a site that produces and perpetuates masculine and heterosexual dominance (Messner, 2002). Within this gendered setting, White, Protestant, able-bodied, heterosexual males are considered to embody the characteristics of a prototypical sport employee or participant, and are subsequently afforded greater power, privilege, and

status than those who do not resemble this prototype (Fink, Pastore, & Reimer, 2001).

Men will perform hyper-masculine traits in order to improve their status in sport;

whereas, women, seen as trespassers in this masculine domain, must perform hyper-

feminine behaviors as a way to gain limited acceptance from dominant group members

(i.e., prototypical sport employees and participants). Furthermore, the norms of

masculinity and femininity are coupled with the assumption of compulsory

heterosexuality (i.e., all individuals are or should be heterosexual; Rich, 1980). Those

who deviate from any of these expected forms of behavior are likely to face

discrimination and stigmatization. According Messner (2002), it is virtually impossible

to be a gay male in sport. To do so would contradict the deeply ingrained belief that men

who participate in sport are hyper-masculine, heterosexuals. Therefore, men must

adhere to these gendered guidelines and prove their heterosexuality, to reduce the

negative effects of minority stress and avoid losing status and power within the sporting

world.

Organizational or team performance. Manifestations of minority stress at the

individual-level (depression, low self-esteem, low job satisfaction) can also significantly

influence group, team, or organizational outcomes. For instance, research suggests

employees who report high level of work related stress are more likely to experience

poor physical and psychological well-being, with limits their performance and/or

production at work (Cryer, McCraty, & Childre, 2003). However, when diverse

employees feel valued and included in the workplace, they are more likely to experience

high job satisfaction, which relates to positive organizational outcomes (Milliken &

Martins, 1996). Some evidence in the sport literature provides support for this argument.

For instance, Cunningham (2011b) examined performance outcomes related to sexual

orientation diversity in NCAA Division I athletic programs. In his study, athletic

departments that combined high sexual orientation diversity with a proactive diversity

strategy (i.e., a strategy that values diversity and emphasizes inclusion and positively

relates to job satisfaction among minorities) were able to significantly outperform other

programs—in some instances, these programs earned almost seven times the NACDA

points of their peers. In a follow-up study with athletic departments from all NCAA

divisions (2011a), findings indicated high sexual orientation diversity positively related

to a creative work environment when the organization had a strong commitment to

diversity. Of particular interest, the least creative work environments were characterized

by high sexual orientation diversity and low commitment to diversity.

Sexual Orientation at Work

Though heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

(LGBT) individuals have improved over time (Herek, 2009), sexual prejudice is still

pervasive. This is particularly the case within workplace settings. There are no federal

laws prohibiting workplace discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender

identity, and although some states and municipalities have passed such mandates, they

are in the minority (Human Rights Campaign, 2012). Perhaps not surprising given the

lack of legal protection, Ragins et al. (2007) report that nearly 40 percent of LGBT

employees tell of facing some form of hostility or harassment while at work;

furthermore, almost 1 of 10 sexual minority employees indicate that they have been

dismissed unfairly or pressured to voluntarily resign from their position because of their sexual orientation or gender identity. Experimental studies also show that LGBT job applicants face access discrimination when seeking employment (Cunningham et al., 2010; Hebl et al., 2002).

The psychological and physical tolls of facing workplace discrimination are considerable. Sexual prejudice serves as a social stressor and can negatively impact one's psychological and physical well-being (Meyer, 2003; see also Herek et al., 2009). Indeed, researchers have shown that, because of the differential treatment they experience, LGBT employees are more likely than their heterosexual counterparts to report decreased job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and overall career success (Ragins, 2008; Ragins & Cornwell, 2001).

Given the negative effects of sexual prejudice on LGBT employees, some organizations have made concerted efforts to improve the organizational diversity climate. This is achieved in several ways, such as having inclusive workplace policies, implementing anti-discrimination policies, and providing a supportive workplace environment (see Button, 2001; Cunningham, 2011; Huffman et al., 2008). A number of theoreticians have convincingly argued for the benefits of inclusive workplaces, as such settings should benefit sexual minorities, work teams, and the organization as a whole (Ely & Thomas, 2001; Shore et al., 2011). In one of the few studies to empirically test such propositions, Cunningham (2011b) observed that organizations that had high sexual orientation diversity within an inclusive workplace culture far outperformed their peers on objective measures of performance (see also Cunningham, 2011a).

Forms of Support

Organizational support. According to social exchange theory (Blau, 1964), individuals generally assume their relationships will be reciprocal. As such, when employees feel their contributions enhance the wellbeing of the organization, they may believe the organization should support their personal wellbeing. Formal policies and practices that promote or protect LGBT-rights can symbolize inclusiveness for LGBT employees (Huffman et al., 2008; King & Cortina, 2010). Furthermore, previous research suggests providing this form of support can produce a number of benefits. Specifically, empirical evidence suggests organizations support strongly relates to disclosure among sexual minorities (Huffman et al., 2008; Griffith & Hebl, 2002), which is beneficial for a number of reasons. First, from an organizational standpoint, out employees tend to report higher levels of job satisfaction (Day & Schoenrade, 1997) and job commitment (Day & Schoenrad, 1997; 2000). In addition, being open in the workplace is generally associated with improved health and wellbeing (Van Den Bergh, 1999; Ragins, 2008). Thus, organizations should establish formal inclusive polices to ensure their diverse employees feel fully supported and accepted by the organization.

Supervisor support. Supervisor support is a more proximal source of organizational support that can influence perceptions of inclusiveness in an organization (Huffman et al., 2008). Within the management literature, supervisors are considered a form of organizational support, and not social support, because they (a) hold power over the employee who is receiving the support, (c) and their actions generally act in accordance with organizational policy or values.

Social support from coworkers. Having social support in the workplace can positively relate to work and personal outcomes for employees who are LGBT (Huffman, Watrous, & King, 2008). Past researchers have emphasized organizational support and specific policies an organization can implement (i.e., non-discrimination policy, domestic-partner benefits) to demonstrate LGBT inclusiveness (see Ragins, 2004). However, support can also emanate from informal relationships with supervisors or coworkers. Supportive coworkers create a safe place at work for employees—a place where workers feel their identity is affirmed and accepted. Moreover, coworkers, who are also close friends, can be a source of tremendous support during the coming out process (Ragins, 2008).

Research contends the need for interpersonal affiliation is essential for physical and psychological wellbeing across the life span, including life at work (Cacioppo, 2008). Thus, social support in the workplace can be particular beneficial for sexual minorities, similar to the safe havens Ragins (2004) has discussed. Specifically, the coworker support can create a work environment where the employees feel they belong and are valued for their uniqueness (Avery, 2011).

Ally support. Martinez and Hebl's (2010) authors argue that social norms may dictate the type of culture and climate within an organization. The actions and directives from allies can make it clear that prejudice and discrimination will not be tolerated in the workplace. Empirical evidence also supports the contention the individuals can be effectively influence the inclusive beliefs of others. Most notable, Zitek and Hebl (2007)

observed that individuals were more likely to hold positive attitudes towards gay men when they had witnessed someone model such attitudes.

Furthermore, while formal policies and strategic goals are important, employees who champion diversity represent key elements of an inclusive workplace (Avery, 2011). Illustrative of these effects, Huffman et al. (2008) found that as support for sexual minority employees increased, so too did the quality of LGBT employees' work outcomes. Heterosexuals are particularly important in this process (Brooks & Edwards, 2009; Martinez & Hebl, 2010). As persons who are not stigmatized (Ragins, 2008), heterosexual employees enjoy power and privilege in the workplace and therefore have the social capital needed to support and advocate for LGBT equality. They do so by providing inclusiveness, safety, and equity (Brooks & Edwards, 2009) and they can potentially shape the attitudes of other employees (Zitek & Hebl, 2007). Thus, employees who support LGBT equality in the workplace, or allies, put inclusive policies and mandates into action.

Ally Motivations

Scholars who investigate heterosexual advocacy for LGBT rights approach the issue in a variety of ways. One approach draws from literature examining the process majority group members go through when developing an awareness of the power and status they hold in society. Within this stream of inquiry, Bieschke (2002) suggests developing one's heterosexual identity involves "a complex counter-discourse" (p.576) in which an individual begins to question deeply ingrained, taken-for-granted assumptions that foster heterosexual dominance in society. As one continues to examine

what it means to be heterosexual in modern societies, he or she should develop a greater understanding of people who are LGBT. Thus, a person's increased awareness of heterosexual privilege motivates him or her to display behaviors that support LGBT people and causes (for similar arguments see Mohr, 2002).

Worthington and his colleagues (Worthington et al., 2002; Worthington et al., 2005) also emphasize the importance of self-reflection, but did not draw exclusively from the heterosexual identity development literature. Rather, their interviews with future counselors showed allies increased their activism once they thoughtfully reflected on (a) how they were initially taught to regard same-sex behaviors, (b) their own aversion to being labeled gay or lesbian, and (c) their realization of heterosexual privilege in society.

Additional work that focuses on heterosexual ally motivations explores various factors related to attitudes and behaviors that support LGBT equality. Much of this work is qualitative in nature and seeks to understand what experiences encourage heterosexual to become allies. For instance, Vela-McConnell's (1999) interviews revealed some participants learned of LGBT concerns through their activism with other civil rights issues. Other allies, as they began to gain a greater understanding of LGBT issues through initial volunteer efforts, began to increase their activism and developed a deep sense of personal responsibility. In addition, a significant amount of research also suggests contact with sexual minorities can encourage people to be allies. For instance, Vernaglia's (1999) work examines parents become active in organizations (i.e., PFLAG; Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays) aimed at increasing acceptance and

equality for individuals who are LGBT as a way to demonstrate their love and acceptance for the lesbian or gay child.

Finally, Russell (2011) conducted extensive interviews with over 100 allies and determined ally motivations are either based on personal experiences or one's fundamental principles. With respect to the later, motives may stem from a commitment to justice, civil rights, patriotism, religious beliefs, or moral principles. However, allies are motivated by personal experiences when they advocate because of their professional role or they have an LGBT friend or family member.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the purpose of this chapter was to provide a brief overview of the sexual orientation literature and propose avenues of future research regarding LGBT inclusion in sport organizations. In doing so, I first defined key terms and provided a historical overview of how sexual orientation has been conceptualized in modern societies. Then, I expand on concepts such as sexual stigma and sexual prejudice, including a definition of the terms and their antecedents and outcomes. The discussion then focuses on issues related to sexual orientation in the workplace. From there, I forms of support for LGBT, such as supervisor support, coworker support, and ally support. This review highlighted gaps in the literature and focused attention on issues that warrant further research.

Specifically, the foregoing discussion suggests four key points: (a) employee support, and particularly heterosexual allies, play a vital role in creating an inclusive workplace for LGBT employees; (b) even if employees have positive attitudes toward

LGBT inclusiveness, they still face a number of obstacles to engaging in championing behaviors; and (c) most work in this area has focused primarily on predictors of sexual prejudice rather than positive attitudes toward sexual minorities (d) understanding what individual and situational factors lead to ally support in the workplace can help increase championing behaviors. Thus, the purpose of and rationale for this dissertation research is to examine antecedents and outcomes of ally support in the work context.
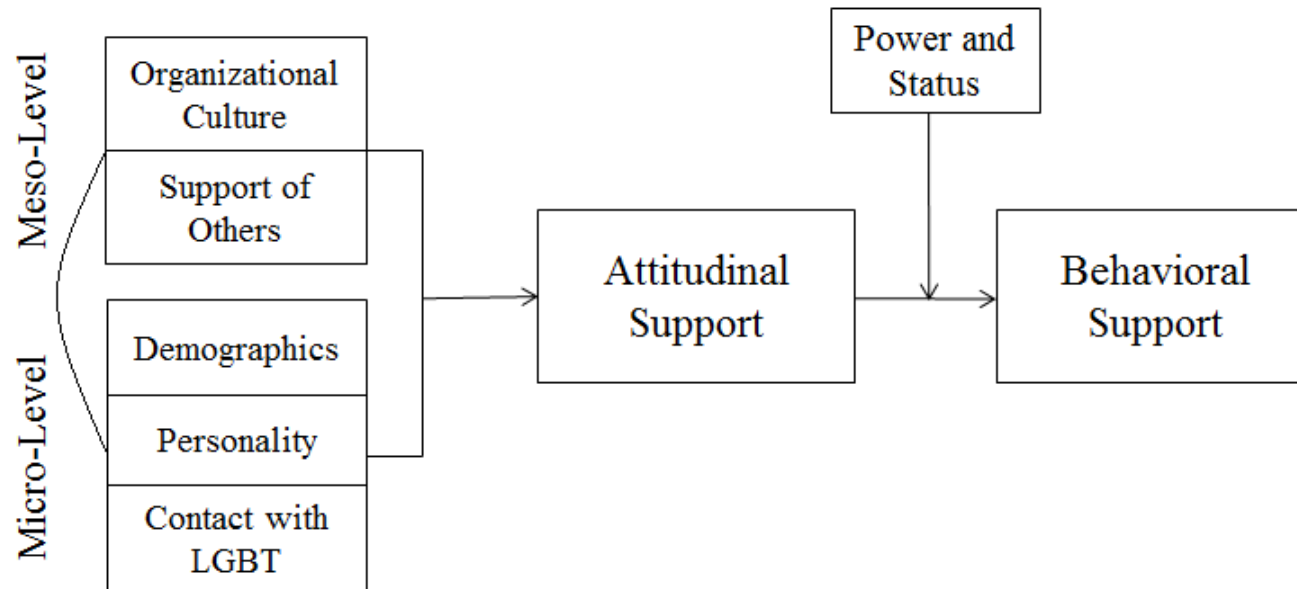
Figure 1: A Conceptual Model for Understanding Employee Support for LGBT Inclusion in Sport Organizations
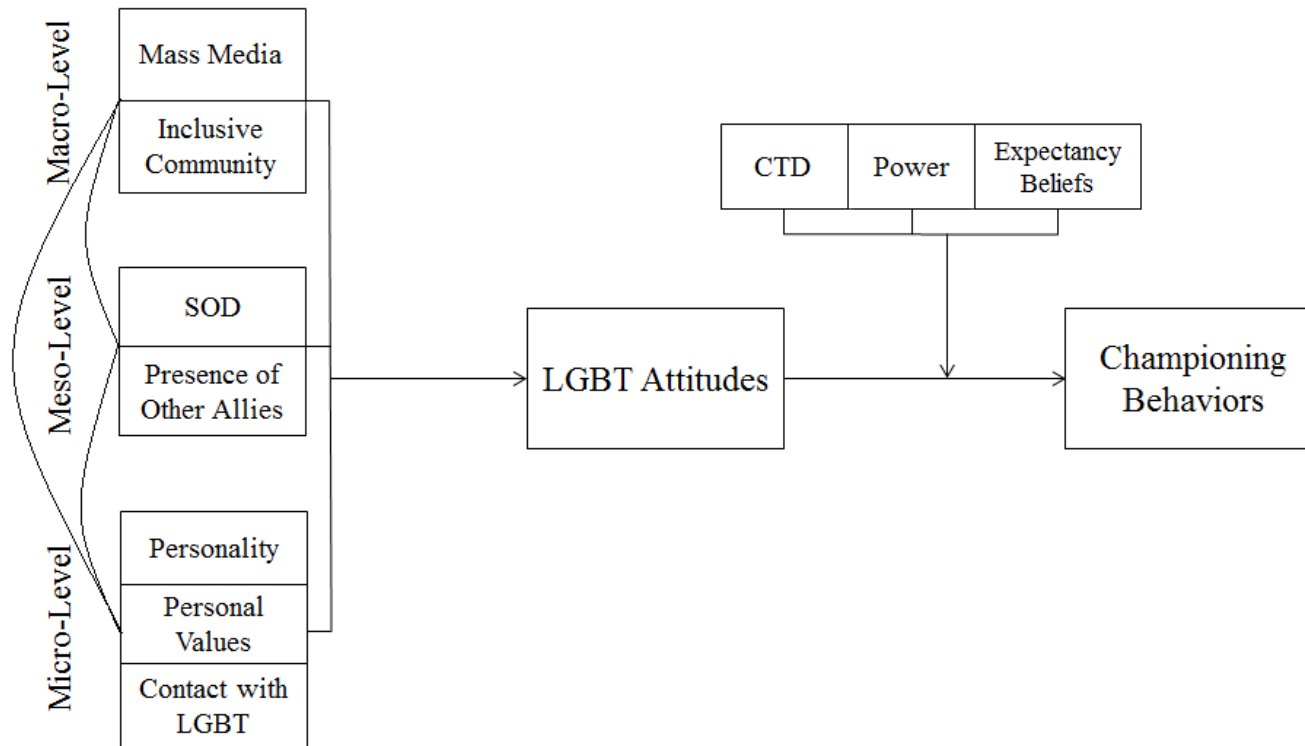
Figure 2: A Multilevel Model for Explaining Ally Support in Sport Organizations
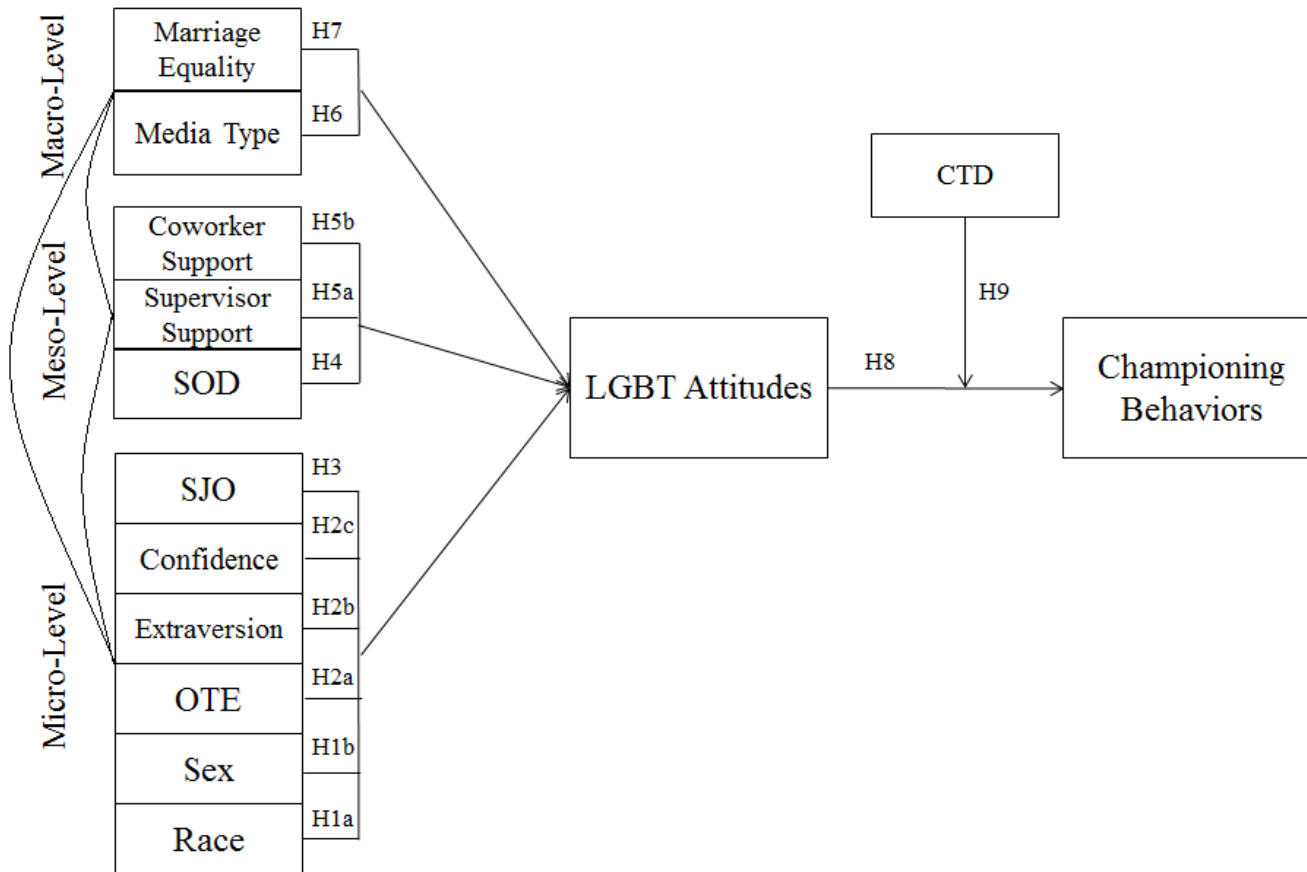
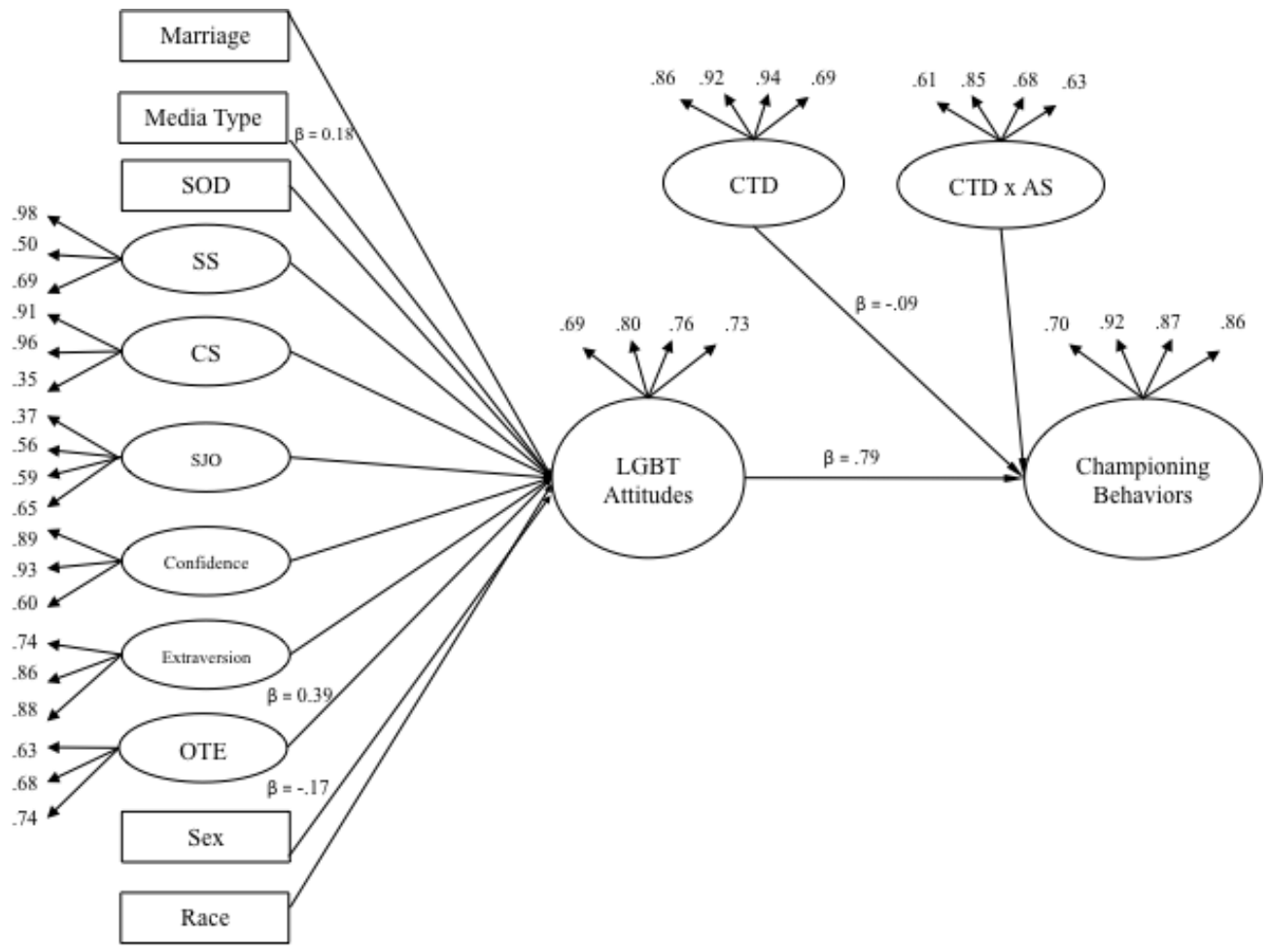Figure 3: Illustrative Summary of Study 3 Predictions

Figure 4: Illustrative Summary of Hypothesized Model in Study 3

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations

Item	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Marriage Equality	0.06	0.24	---													
2. Media Type	4.74	1.38	.10	---												
3. SOD	3.02	1.80	.02	.09	---											
4. SS	4.44	1.36	.16**	.24**	.30**	---										
5. CS	4.76	1.21	.01	.20**	.23**	.46**	---									
6. SJO	5.33	0.87	-.05	.13*	.09	.02	.05	---								
7. Confidence	6.00	0.81	.11	-.01	.07	.08	.08	.12*	---							
8. Extraversion	5.08	1.27	.10	.16**	-.02	.09	.12*	.19**	.36**	---						
9. OTE	4.60	1.18	.00	.38**	.11	.14*	.21**	.20**	.14*	.32**	---					
10. Sex	0.33	0.47	.05	.12*	-.04	.02	.02	-.09	.02	.03	-.11	---				
11. Race	0.19	0.39	-.05	-.06	-.11	-.07	-.11	.04	.114*	-.04	-.04	.22**	---			

Table 1 Cont.

Item	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
12. CTD	5.12	1.40	.12*	.04	.08	.39**	.43**	.09	.18**	.07	.10	.13*	.01	---		
13. LGBT Attitudes	5.36	1.01	.03	.41**	.22**	.23**	.23**	.23**	.15**	.25**	.45**	-.25**	-.14*	.12*	---	
14. Championing Behaviors	4.01	1.53	.07	.37**	.26**	.38**	.28**	.21**	.12*	.25**	.47**	-.19**	-.19**	.01	.65**	---

Notes. *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001. Race coded as 0 = White, 1 = Racial Minority. Sex coded as 0 = Female, 1 = Male. SOD = Sexual Orientation Diversity, SS = Supervisor Support, CS = Coworker Support, OTE = Openness to Experience, SJO = Social Justice Orientation, CTD = Commitment to Diversity.

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