



**An Investigation of Ethnicity as a Variable Related to US
Male College Athletes'
Sexual-Orientation Behaviors and Attitudes**

Journal:	<i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i>
Manuscript ID:	RERS-2009-0343.R2
Manuscript Type:	Original Manuscript
Keywords:	Organization, social organization, sports, Sexual Racism, Culture, Diversity



Ethnicity and Male College Athletes' Sexual Orientation Behaviors and Attitudes

Running head: SEXUAL-ORIENTATION BEHAVIORS AND ATTITUDES

An Investigation of Ethnicity as a Variable Related to US Male College Athletes'
Sexual-Orientation Behaviors and Attitudes

For Peer Review Only

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 2

Abstract

While most often forbidden by university policy, homophobic attitudes and intolerance of gay/lesbian athletes may still exist within intercollegiate athletic departments. Against this backdrop, this study examines attitudes toward sexual orientation from a sample of Division I & III male university athletes ($N = 397$) from four universities in the Southeastern United States. The study's primary research questions are: a) Utilizing ethnicity as the independent variable, what are the sampled male athletes' attitudes toward sexual orientations? and b) Is there a relationship between male college athletes' ethnicity and their sexual-orientation attitudes? Using the frameworks of Social-Script and Critical-Race Theories, this article, discusses the results' significance for university athletic administrators, faculty, and college athletes.

Key Words: organization, social organization, sports, sexual racism, culture, diversity.

Introduction

The benefit of diversity is espoused as an accepted core value of many colleges and universities. Through developed mission statements, and implemented programs, predominately white US colleges and universities have increasingly demonstrated an organizational endorsement of multiculturalism. For many universities increased ethnic diversity has been partially achieved through admission of minority athletes (Watford and Comeaux 2006). College sport has been viewed as a means for lower-class students from a wide variety of ethnic backgrounds to gain access to a college education.

This commitment to diversity is reflected in university and athletic-department policy statements prohibiting discrimination. For example, one major United States university currently prohibits discrimination ‘...on the basis of an individual’s race, color, gender, national origin, age, religion, creed, disability, veteran’s status, **sexual orientation**_[authors’ emphasis], gender identity or gender expression’ (The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill n.d. para. 1).

Within this landscape, however, scholars have noted acceptance of sexual-orientation diversity within college athletic departments, while improving, may not be universal. Though sexual orientation is considered a protected class on college campuses, many gay, lesbian, and bisexual (GLB) college athletes still fear being discovered or ‘outed’ (Griffin 1998; Anderson 2005a). Furthermore, as Griffin (2005) and Anderson (2005a) have noted, few college athletic departments have adopted specific sexual-orientation policy statements or developed in-house programs or workshops to discuss or address athletes’ sexual-orientation attitudes or behaviors

Most college coaches and athletic administrators are not formally educated in prejudice’s covert nature. Athletic administrators may have little inkling whether college

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 4

athletes are more or less *sexually prejudiced* (i.e. homophobic) than the general student population, or whether male athletes' attitudes are similar or different from female athletes. While some administrators' personal homophobia may keep them from being more inclusive (Anderson 2005b), others may believe prejudice against gay and lesbian athletes simply does not exist on their campus.

In addition, even if coaches or administrators are interested in being inclusive, there is little research investigating homophobia within the college-sport culture. Brown et al. (2004) noted that although researchers have examined *campus climate* related to gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender issues (Evans 2001; Rankin 2003), few studies have assessed the athletic-culture's climate for gay, lesbian, and bisexual (GLB) college athletes (e.g. Wolf-Wendel, Toma, and Morpew 2001; Gill et al. 2006). There have been even fewer studies that have investigated US college-athletes' attitudes and behaviors related to sexual orientation (Southall et al. 2004, 2006, 2009), and no studies that have examined the relationship between US college athletes' ethnicity and such attitudes.

Accordingly, utilizing Social-Script and Critical-Race Theories, this study investigated US male college-athletes' sexual-orientation attitudes and behaviors. Based upon previous findings of a significant relation between US college athletes' gender and expressed sexual prejudice (Southall et al., 2009), this study utilized ethnicity as the independent variable to look for a possible relationship between US male college athletes' ethnicity and expressed sexual prejudice.

Review of Literature

North-American sport, particularly the male athletic culture, has historically been theorized as a bastion of cultural and institutional homophobia (Pronger 1990; Curry 1991; Messner 1992; Clarke 1998; Griffin 1998; Hekma 1998; Wolf-Wendel et al. 2001; Bryant 2003; Price

and Parker 2003). In 1990 Pronger noted, ‘Many of the [gay] men I interviewed said they were uncomfortable with teamsports... [O]rthodox masculinity is usually an important subtext if not *the* leitmotif in teamsports’ (p. 26). In 1992, Messner wrote, ‘The extent of homophobia in the sports world is staggering. Boys [in sports] learn early that to be gay, to be suspected of being gay, or even to be unable to prove one’s heterosexual status is not acceptable’ (p. 34). Hekma (1998) noted, ‘Gay men who are seen as queer and effeminate are granted no space whatsoever in what is generally considered to be a masculine preserve and a macho enterprise’ (p. 2).

Male *teamsports* have often been described as a setting where hegemonic conservative masculinity is reproduced and defined, since such athletes represent the ideal in contemporary masculinity — a definition which traditionally contrasts with what it means to be gay (Brannon 1976; Curry 1991; Messner 1992; Anderson 2002; 2005a; 2005b; Connell 2005). In 2002 Wolf-Wendel et al. contended most American college teamsports athletes maintain *hypermasculine* attitudes that preclude the possibility a teammate might be gay, since homosexuality is synonymous with physical weakness and emotional frailty. Highlighting this gendered division, in 2006 and 2009 Southall et al. found a significant relationship between college athletes’ gender and degree of sexual prejudice. Specifically, US male college athletes demonstrated more hostile attitudes and behaviors toward gay athletes than female college athletes.

Within this hypermasculine sport context, male college athletes believe that being gay is to simultaneously reject masculinity and be relegated as feminine and weak. This categorical sexual mythology (involving a dichotomous polarization of sexuality) forces athletes to choose between heterosexuality and homosexuality (Pronger 1990). In addition,

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 6

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

this bifurcation allows the majority to assume ‘their’ dominant orientation is correct, right, or normal, while the ‘other’ becomes incorrect, wrong, deviant and stigmatized.

Social Script Theory

Social script theory (Gagnon and Simon 1973) allows investigation of hypermasculine expressions in specific male teamsports contexts (e.g. football, wrestling, baseball, basketball, hockey, or lacrosse), and examination of behaviors and attitudes related to sexual orientation. It suggests people use guidelines or beliefs (scripts), which they learn from an early age, to shape their experience and direct behavior (Weis 2002). Individuals and groups constantly rehearse such scripts and play them out through their behavior and actions. Rose and Frieze (1993) contend sexual scripts are internalized cognitive models used to evaluate social and sexual interactions and create individual realities.

According to Gagne and Simon (1973; 1987), differing social scripts are learned within different social locations. As Messner (1992) detailed, within the male teamsports setting, accepted scripts - including hypermasculinity, hyperheterosexuality and homophobia - are heavily peer-policed. This severe collective policing of masculine borders led Anderson (2005a) to describe male competitive teamsports athletes as members of ‘a cult of athleticism’ who “tithe” their agency and vow compliance to rigid team norms. Through near uniformity in thought and action, cult members express their reverence to orthodox masculinity ideology. Anderson (2009a, 2009b) found athletes emulating accepted social scripts are more often promoted to positions of management, helping reproduce these scripts in the next generation. In addition, such replication is complicated by many sports’ sex-segregated structures.

Largely a product of men’s preferences, men and women occupy separate sport spaces. Few other institutions so extensively naturalize such segregation. While in most

1
2
3
4
5
6
7 occupational settings such segregation is declining (Rotolo and Wharton, 2004), teamsports'
8
9 segregation remains largely acceptable. Combined with this segregation, masculine social
10
11 scripting perpetuates male teamsports' homophobic character. From an early age boys learn a
12
13 hypermasculine script in which they demonstrate their manhood in athletic competition. This
14
15 heterosexist ideology is rehearsed on the field, in the locker room (Curry 1991), and in
16
17 associated social settings (Anderson 2009a). Collectively, sport is a near-total sex-segregated
18
19 institution. Much like the military, sport uses myths of glory, patriotism, and masculine
20
21 idolatry, along with corporeal discipline and rank, division, uniform, rules, and punishment
22
23 structures to subordinate individual agency and construct a fortified ethos of orthodox
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

These combinatory factors allow sport, as a sex-segregated institution, to develop a particularly resilient subculture, even when embedded within a larger institution (e.g. military or university settings). Sport, of course, is not alone in its segregation and sexual prejudice. Sanday (1996, 2007) suggests the masculinity exhibited in fraternities is almost monolithically based upon sexual aggression toward women, and that heterosexual masculinity in fraternities is constructed over the use of women's bodies. Wright (1996) contends [hetero]sexual aggression so permeates fraternity members' language, lifestyle, and morals, [that] fraternity houses have become a virtual breeding ground for sexism and sexual harassment. The same holds true for men's teamsports, which – just as fraternities - may often be characterized by overt sexism and elevated rates of violence against women (Kreager 2007).

Male social scripting is not the same for all ethnicities. Billston (1992) suggested black men's social scripts are tougher, more violent, and "cooler" than are white men's. This is particularly true for black men in teamsports. Within the male athletic culture, black

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 8

American male athletes constitute a subculture whose members are normally viewed as participants in highly competitive and combative team sports (e.g. American football and basketball), or individual sports that require strength and explosiveness, such as track and field, and boxing (Van Sterkenburg and Knoppers 2004). These images (of strength, speed, and muscularity) problematically naturalize black men's abilities, thus contributing to the disempowered status of many black men in American sport (Carrington and McDonald 2001) while also contributing to a hypermasculine sporting culture

Something not discussed in the sport literature, however, is the juxtaposition of stereotypes of ostensibly black and gay-white male athletes, and how such stereotypes contribute to the cultural subjugation of the gay (white or black) male athlete. In contrast to the power associated with black men's (ostensibly heterosexual) athleticism, sport participation for gay (presumptively white) male athletes has often been associated with feminized terrains like ice-skating, cheerleading and gymnastics; and other non-aggressive sports, such as swimming, distance-running, and diving (Adams 1993). Whereas black men's bodies are thought to compete by collision, gay men are thought to achieve athletic excellence through endurance and intellectual decision-making. Historically, black male athletes have been perceived as hypersexual and hypermasculinized, while simultaneously intellectually inferior (Harrison 2001). As Smith and Hattery (2006) noted, "The fusing of the African America culture with sport culture produces the explicit *hypersexualization* found in the stud image so sought after and glorified by high-profile male African American athletes" (p. 214).

More specific to our discussion – and consistent with the use of Social Script Theory – as a result of sporting-space discourses, black American males learn to portray themselves as not only hypermasculine, but also hyperheterosexual (Majors and Billson 1992; Harrison

and Harrison 2002; Azzarito and Harrison 2008). Conversely, gay white athletes have traditionally been feminized by sport (Azzarito and Harrison). Representative of this categorical exclusivity, McBride (2001) pointed out that within the view of black men as protectors, progenitors, and defenders of the race, they must be heterosexual.

As such, dominant discourses pertaining to black and gay American men in sport are similar to the perception of both in the broader culture, which has long held black and gay to be incompatible categories (Boykin 2005). The bifurcation of black and gay identities has historically been strengthened by cultural (though ostensibly with foundations in psychology) models of homosexual development, which maintain homosexuality is only 'a problem' for whites. Freudian and post-Freudian theorists (falsely) attributed male homosexuality to two factors: an overbearing mother and an absent father figure (Freud 1986; Spencer 1995). However, these factors have, seemingly, never applied to black men. For example, when the *Moynihan Congressional Report* (1965) attributed the deterioration of the black American family to the absence of the black American father – something even President Barack Obama has discussed – nowhere was (or is) it proclaimed these black children are more at risk of 'becoming' gay (United States Department of Labor 2009). Models of pathological homosexual genesis, whatever their etiology, appear to only apply to white families. Thus, despite the gains of both the civil-rights movement and progress toward gay and lesbian social inclusion, Boykin (2005) contends the predominant belief in society (and sport) remains all black men – and especially black male athletes – are heterosexual, while all gay male athletes are white.

Critical Race Theory

Scholars who study race and sport have almost exclusively held women at the focal point of investigations of the intersectionality of gender and/or sexuality (see Birrell and Cole 1990;

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 10

Griffin 1998; Koivula 2001; Krane 2001; Horn 2007; Russell 2007). This article, however, seeks to expand the boundaries of the sport and intersectionality literature by examining attitudes and behaviors regarding sexual orientation among black and white male US college athletes.

Cognizant of Critical-Race-Theory (CRT) scholars' (Ladson-Billings 1996; Singer 2005) contentions that those examining race must be aware that their ontological (nature of reality) assumptions and epistemological (methods of knowing) perspectives may result from 'whiteness' being positioned as the dominant and 'correct' perspective from which to conduct such research, this study's purpose is to resist scholarship that dehumanizes or depersonalizes people or communities of color (Ladson-Billings 2000). However, consistent with one of CRT's primary tenets – that race is a crucial social construct to consider in analyzing social, political and educational issues of people in society – this study also contends that 'race matters' in examining college athletes' attitudes regarding sexual orientation. Therefore, our investigation of black and white male college athletes' behaviors and attitudes regarding sexual orientation is not intended to position white male college athletes' behaviors, attitudes or beliefs related to sexual orientation as the norm or standard upon which black male college athletes' beliefs should be judged and evaluated.

It is argued here that investigating the maintenance of black athletes' complex identities, and how these identities are affected by and simultaneously affect sporting culture, allows examination of behaviors and attitudes related to sexual orientation. Our theoretical argument is that limiting an investigation of race, sexuality and gender solely to a social constructionist perspective ignores the contextual ways in which people materially experience their identities (Hooks 1990; Collins 2000). For, as McDonald and Birrell (1999) wrote, 'ideological work... has material consequences' (p. 295).

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 11

As a result, exploring black male college athletes' attitudes toward sexual orientation is important to many constituencies, including the black community. Within the African-American culture, sport is perceived (whether or not justified) as one of America's few meritocracies. As Boykin (2005) reported, 'Sports plays a unique role in the black community. It provides a social ladder that motivates thousands of young black men' (p. 223). Within this setting, black male college athletes' attitudes toward sexual orientation may take on disproportionate significance in the black community.

Despite decreasing cultural (Loftus 2001) and sporting (Anderson, 2005b) homophobia, and consistent with the pervasive view that homosexuality is a 'problem' for and about white men (Froyum 2007), researchers have found elevated sexual prejudice within black culture (Cohen 1999; Waldner, Sikka and Baig 1999; Lewis 2003). When applied to sport, Boykin (2005) noted that black athletes' assumption of 'cool pose,' may allow them to simultaneously demonstrate their athletic prowess, heteromascularity, hypermascularity, hyperheterosexuality, while also expressing homophobic attitudes (Boykin; Azzarito & Harrison 2008).

In a 1999 survey, sport agent Ralph Cindrich found black athletes, when compared to their white counterparts, maintained elevated rates of homophobia (Anderson 2005a). Among 175 first-year National Football League (NFL) players interviewed, 92 per cent of white players were comfortable playing with a gay teammate, compared to only 60 per cent of black players. Similarly, 53 per cent of white NFL players said they would be comfortable sharing a hotel room with an openly gay player, compared to just 29 per cent of black players (Anderson 2005a). When these athletes were asked how they would react if a gay player sexually 'propositioned' them, 29 per cent of blacks indicated they would respond with 'physical assault,' compared to only 5 per cent of white players. While there exists a great

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 12

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

deal of inquiry into ways black athletes, through their portrayals, are culturally, economically, and structurally discriminated against in the sport-media complex (Davis 2002; Boyd 2003; Grainger, Newman and Andrews 2008) little academic literature examining black male athletes as possible oppressors in the sport terrain exists (Anderson 1998).

Athletes, as any societal sub-group, reflect the culture from which they come. Specifically, black American male athletes' attitudes may well be synonymous with reported black men's elevated rates of homophobia (Froyum 2007). There have been multiple explanations proffered for these higher levels of sexual prejudice. One justification is that with black Americans being disproportionately represented in lower socio-economic classes, sexual prejudice (e.g. 'At least I am not gay!') is a way black males can increase their 'masculine capital' (Froyum 2007). In addition, poorer black gay athletes may feel compelled to remain 'closeted,' so as to not disadvantage what they believe to be their primary route out of poverty (Anderson 2005a). Furthermore, gay culture, gay support systems, and much of what can be described as a gay-male identity, have been established in a culture that presumes whiteness and elevated class status (Lewis 2003). Finally, many black athletes may not recognize homophobia's damage within their own community, nor do they recognize the commonalities between oppression of gays and blacks.

Fueling this heterosexual masculine script, mainstream sport media often portray professional male athletes as exhibiting proscribed ideal masculine characteristics of aggressiveness, power, assertiveness, and – of course – heterosexuality (Trujillo 1991; Messner 2002; Connell 2005). More importantly, these images are more often used to portray black athletes, particularly in the masculine-construed United States professional and college sports of men's basketball and football (Grainger, Newman and Andrews 2006). This, in turn, reinforces hegemonic masculinity within US black culture. Accordingly, despite progress

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 13

toward gay and lesbian social inclusion, our understanding of the sport landscape remains twofold: black athletes come in only one sexuality, and gay men in just one color.

While Anderson's (2005a; 2005b; 2009a) findings indicate decreased homophobia levels in sport, others (Wolf-Wendel et al. 2001; Brown et al. 2004; Southall et al. 2009) have suggested less inclusive attitudes toward gay male college athletes and "social acceptance of sexual prejudice" (Gill et al. 2006, p. 562) is prevalent within the US campus environment. Wolf-Wendel, et al. concluded *heterosexist* and homophobic views are still more likely to exist in the athletic culture, and perhaps most acutely among black American male athletes.

In addition, these expressed attitudes seem to be logically inconsistent with significant 'same-sex' sexual activity among college-age males in general. There is evidence that beneath their hyperheterosexual veneer many college male athletes may engage in 'on the down low' (same-sex) sexual behaviors (Boykin 2005). As far back as 1977, Garner and Smith found 36 per cent of sampled National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division-I athletes had engaged in same-sex sexual activity (to the point of orgasm). However, they also noted informants were highly concerned with maintaining their anonymity (Garner and Smith 1977). More recently, Boykin reported instances of black college athletes who, while engaging in same-sex behaviors, did not consider 'their actions to be homosexual' (p. 225). Consistent with CRT, it seems that within the hypermasculine and hyperheterosexual college-sport landscape '...the cultural dominance of black manhood has been acknowledged and commercialized' (Boykin p. 236), to such an extent that white males are still afforded the societal luxury of sexual experimentation rarely granted to African-American youth.

In light of these findings, this research examines the extent to which Anderson's (2005b; 2009a) findings of more inclusive forms of masculinity exists among white and black

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 14

college athletes; how comfortable gay male athletes are with revealing their sexual orientation; and to what degree acceptance of diversity is present within US college athletic departments and, specifically, among US male college athletes.

Methods*Description of the Sample*

This study was conducted at five NCAA-affiliated universities (three Division I-A, one Division I-AAA, and one Division III) located in the Southeastern United States. Data was obtained from 397 male athletes from 10 sports. Individual sport (cross country, tennis, golf, track, and swimming) athletes constituted approximately 49 per cent of the sample, with the teamsports of football, baseball, basketball and soccer comprising the remaining 52 per cent. Twenty percent ($n = eighty$) of the sampled athletes self-identified as ‘black or African-American alone.’ Another 243 (61 per cent) of athletes identified themselves as ‘white alone.’

Methods and Procedures

The study’s purpose was to measure respondents’ self-expressed sexual orientations, sexual behaviors and attitudes toward athletes (both teammates and non-teammates) of various sexual orientations, and also investigate their responses to specific college-sport related situations. While we are aware de-constructing the conflation between athletes’ ethnicity and sport played would allow examination of cultural elements that arise in sex-segregated institutions - such as teamsports - and their relation to masculinity, gender role attitudes, homo-eroticism, and attitudes related to sexual orientation, this particular paper discusses our focused analysis of ethnicity as an independent variable within this cultural milieu.

The developed survey contained questions designed to uncover US male college athletes’ behaviors and attitudes, as well as levels of *homosociality*. The survey’s scales and

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 15

items were derived from previous campus-climate studies, as well as conversations with scholars engaged in gender or sexuality research, and piloted in a 2003-2004 study (Southall et al. 2004). In order to estimate the survey's internal consistency and reliability, parallel scales and questions were tested utilizing *Cronbach's alpha*. High internal consistency ($\alpha = .79$) was found on questions designed to measure single unitary variables.

In addition to nominal descriptive data analysis involving development of frequencies based upon ethnicity - and in order to answer the research question: 'Is there a significant relationship between male athletes' ethnicity and their expressed attitudes toward sexual orientation?' - Pearson Chi-square and likelihood ratio chi-square tests were conducted. Chi square (χ^2) tests are used to test the difference in proportion in two or more independent groups of which the level of measurement for independent variable is the nominal level (Li, Pitts and Quarterman 2008). The results of these analyses are summarized in the following section.

Results

Summary of descriptive statistics

When sampled male athletes were asked to identify their sexual orientation, 387 self-identified as heterosexual. Six athletes, all white, listed themselves as gay males. These athletes participated in football ($n = two$), baseball ($n = two$), basketball ($n = one$), and track and field ($n = one$).

While these six white male college athletes described their sexual orientation as gay, a total of fifteen males (4 per cent), fourteen who still classified themselves as heterosexual, reported having engaged in same-sex sexual behavior. Of these fifteen males, five were black, seven white, and three of some other ethnic group. Within this sample, five of the six

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 16

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

athletes who self-identified as gay reported not yet having engaged in same-sex behavior. In addition, five athletes reportedly hid their sexual orientation from teammates.

Another series of questions dealt with whether or not male athletes ever displayed what they considered ‘masculine’ or ‘hypermasculine’ behaviors in order to demonstrate their sexual orientation. While no specific behaviors were identified, thirty-seven blacks and forty-six whites reported acting ultra-masculine in order to demonstrate their sexual orientation. In addition, another twenty-six blacks and 102 whites said they acted somewhat masculine to demonstrate their sexual orientation.

Respondents were also asked if they ‘thought or knew’ if any teammates were gay or bisexual. In addition, respondents were asked what would cause them to think a particular athlete was gay or bisexual. Finally, male athletes were specifically asked if they thought or knew any current teammates who were gay or bisexual. Table 1 summarizes the responses to these questions.

Table 1 about here.

In addition, athletes were asked how they discovered a gay/bisexual teammate’s sexual orientation. Six male (one black and five white) athletes reported discovering a teammate’s sexual orientation as a result of a same-sex sexual encounter. This confirms male athletes who engage in same-sex sexual behavior do not automatically assume they or their sexual partner are gay (Boykin 2005).

Athletes were also asked how they would or do treat a teammate they think or know is gay or bisexual. Approximately 66 per cent ($n = 254$) of male athletes who answered the question reported they would or do accept a gay or bisexual teammate. Examining these ‘accepting’ athletes’ ethnicities revealed this sub-set to be comprised of thirty black and 180 white athletes. However, it must be noted that 110 (28 per cent) of the sampled male athletes

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 17

1
2
3
4
5
6
7 still reported they would/do 'reject' a gay/bisexual teammate, and – sadly – another twenty-
8
9 four (6 per cent) male athletes reported they would or do 'harass' a gay or bisexual teammate.

10
11 Further examination of these 110 rejecting male athletes reveals sixty-eight were
12
13 football players. Of these rejecting/harassing football players, 40 were black and 17 white.
14
15 More importantly, especially for the sample's two gay football players, these 68 rejecters
16
17 constitute 57 per cent of all sampled football players. In addition, it emerged that 69 per cent
18
19 of black football players and 41 per cent of white football players reported they "would/do"
20
21 reject a gay/bisexual teammate. While these numbers may be viewed as discouraging, it
22
23 should be noted that only two black and one white football players (only 3 per cent of black
24
25 and white players) reported they "would/do" harass a gay/bisexual teammate. In addition, 28
26
27 per cent of black and 56 per cent of white football players reported they would/do accept a
28
29 gay or bisexual teammate.
30
31
32
33
34

35
36 When compared to football, baseball has a smaller percentage of players (30 per cent)
37
38 who classified themselves as harassing/rejecting teammates. Since the baseball sample was
39
40 overwhelmingly white (Eighty-four of the ninety-six baseball players were white; and only
41
42 one baseball player reported his ethnicity as black), investigating differences in the ethnicity
43
44 of the twenty-nine rejecting/harassing players was not possible. However, it should be noted
45
46 that a higher percentage of baseball players than football players – five – (6 per cent of all
47
48 white baseball players) reported they would/do harass a gay/bisexual teammate.
49
50

51
52 Since many survey questions were hypothetical in nature, but asked participants about
53
54 their attitudes related to sexual orientation, the researchers felt it important to develop several
55
56 real-world questions that might reveal attitudes toward sexuality and/or sexual orientations.
57
58 From interviews with coaches and athletes conducted as part of the initial (2003-2004) pilot
59
60 study, it was discovered – as a result of budgetary considerations – many sports have athletes

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 18

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

share beds on road trips (e. g. traveling to away athletic contests). Therefore, several questions investigated how athletes felt about the possibility of sharing a bed with a same-sex teammate (both heterosexual and GLB). Table 2 summarizes responses to these questions based upon respondents' ethnicity.

(Insert Table 2 about here.)

A final series of questions dealt with respondents' attitudes related to 'don't ask, don't tell', whether they felt GLBs should be allowed to coach, how they felt about possibly having a GLB coach, and whether they considered themselves to be 'homophobic.'

White and black male athletes were about evenly divided when it came to their views on 'don't ask, don't tell', with 46 per cent of respondents saying they favored such a policy. Overall, 224 (56 per cent) of the male athletes felt that GLBs should be allowed to coach, but only 35 per cent of African-American male athletes, versus 62 per cent of white male college athletes, approved of GLBs being allowed to coach. Finally, when asked if they considered themselves to be homophobic, 101 respondents (35 per cent) self-identified as being homophobic. The percentage breakdown by ethnicity revealed 28 per cent of white male athletes, compared to 43 per cent of black male athletes, considered themselves to be homophobic.

Chi Square

After developing initial descriptive statistics, and in order to evaluate whether there was a statistically significant relationship between identified sexual-orientation behaviors and attitudes and US male college athletes' ethnicity, chi-square analyses were conducted. The results of this analysis are highlighted in Table 3. Of the twenty-two questions for which chi-square analyses were performed, sixteen revealed significant relationships between athletes' attitudes and their ethnicity. The six items for which there was not a relationship to athletes'

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 19

1
2
3
4
5
6
7 ethnicity included: (a) engaging in same-sex sexual behavior, (b) how athletes thought their
8
9 teammates feel about having a GLB teammate, (c) how they felt about sharing a bed with a
10
11 GLB teammate, (d) how sharing a bed with a GLB teammate makes them feel about their
12
13 sexuality, (e) the use of derogatory words when referring to GLBs, and (f) belief in a 'don't
14
15 ask, don't tell' policy.
16

17
18 For all other items, the results revealed a significant relationship between athletes'
19
20 ethnicity and their responses.
21

22
23 (Insert Table 3 about here.)
24

25 Discussion

26
27 This study's results support previous research and suggest a US male college athlete's
28
29 ethnicity is significantly related to his behaviors and attitudes related to sexual orientation.
30
31 Our findings confirm previous research (Froyum 2007) that concluded the US black male
32
33 college-sport culture is significantly different in its degree of expressed sexual prejudice,
34
35 compared to the US white male college-sport culture. While it is encouraging a significant
36
37 percentage (61 per cent) of heterosexual college-male athletes reported they would or do
38
39 accept a gay male teammate, it should be noted only 38 per cent of black athletes, as
40
41 compared to 74 per cent of white athletes, expressed such acceptance. Furthermore, while our
42
43 results confirm previous reports of elevated sexual prejudice among US male college students
44
45 and athletes (Pronger 1990; Curry 1991; Messner 1992; Clarke 1998; Griffin 1998; Hekma
46
47 1998; Wolf-Wendel, et al. 2001; Bryant 2003; Price and Parker 2003; Thompson and Cracco
48
49 2008), and highlight elevated homophobia among surveyed black male athletes, there is
50
51 evidence that overall the US male college-sport culture may no longer be a uniform bastion
52
53 of cultural and institutional homophobia. At least for sampled athletes, this research confirms
54
55 Anderson's findings (2009a, 2009b) that white university athletes are becoming much more
56
57
58
59
60

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 20

1
2
3
4
5
6
7 inclusive than sport/gender literature has traditionally suggested. While the near-total
8
9 institutional aspects of sport (sex-segregation, complicity to authority, and selection of those
10
11 who over-conform to positions of leadership) remain (Anderson 2009b; Sanday 1996, 2007),
12
13 the sporting subculture is beginning to be impacted by decreasing homophobia within the
14
15 larger culture (Anderson 2009b). Social progress is always an uneven process, and this
16
17 research provides evidence that one variable of influence is ethnicity.
18
19

20
21 This study's finding of elevated rates of rejection and harassment among US black
22
23 male college athletes should be of particular concern to athletic department administrators
24
25 and coaches. While expressed attitudes do not necessarily mean homophobic behaviors will
26
27 be actualized, these findings do suggest higher levels of sexual prejudice among US black
28
29 male athletes.
30
31

32
33 Moreover, within this research setting, a higher percentage of black male athletes
34
35 reported adopting ultramasculine-gendered personas in order to demonstrate their
36
37 heterosexuality. These findings are consistent with older social script theory and sport. It
38
39 confirms previous research that within the US male college-sport sub-culture, black
40
41 teamsports athletes (specifically football players) learn to portray themselves as not only
42
43 hyper-masculine, but hyperheterosexual (Harrison and Harrison 2002; Boykin 2005; Azzarito
44
45 and Harrison 2008). Thus, social script theory continues to be a useful lens through which to
46
47 examine the degree to which hypermasculine and hyperheterosexuality behaviors and
48
49 attitudes are part of the college teamsports culture. The high proportion of football and
50
51 baseball players reporting they demonstrate stereotypical masculine behaviors is consistent
52
53 with orthodox notions of the college-teamsports environment as a hyperheterosexual enclave
54
55 (Messner 1992).
56
57
58
59
60

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 21

Although we do not provide data in this specific article, results suggest there is a (predictable) relationship between attitudes toward sexuality and gender among teamsports and individual sport athletes. Not surprisingly, our findings suggest college football, baseball, and (to a lesser extent) male basketball players still feel the need to overtly display their heterosexual masculinity to their peers, compared to other athletes (Southall et al. 2009). Such displays may take the form of rejecting or harassing either openly gay male athletes—including teammates – suspected of being gay.

Conclusions, Limitations and Future Research

This research indicates even in a more politically and religiously conservative part of the United States Messner's (1992) reported levels and extent of male homophobia are no longer universal. Consistent with General Social Survey (GSS) trends that indicate increasing acceptance of homosexuality (National Opinion Research Center 2009), reported rejection/harassment and self-described homophobic levels among male college athletes are less than previously reported (Messner 1992). This suggests sexual prejudice, among both black and white male college athletes, may be diminishing. While it seems more black college athletes occupy the "homophobic male-athletic citadel," it may be – as Anderson (2005a, 2005b, 2009b) has reported – the 'outer walls' of masculine homophobia are at least under siege.

Since this study's sample was drawn from universities in the Southeastern United States, a geographic region noted for its religious evangelism and conservative politics (Philips 2006), the reported sexual prejudice and homophobia levels among both white and black college male athletes may result from factors other than athletic participation or ethnicity. Future research into the intersectionality of ethnicity and sport will help address these limitations. Consistent with CRT, life histories would help illuminate these issues.

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 22

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Finally, the rates of homophobia we report support previous calls (Fink and Pastore 1999; Anderson 2002; Cunningham 2004; Gill et al. 2006; Southall, et al. 2006, 2009) for proactive diversity educational and training initiatives specifically targeting male college athletes and coaches within intercollegiate athletic departments. Specific to this study, it is suggested that football and baseball may be the two sports most in need of such educational and training initiatives. Without such proactive steps, this study offers evidence that – as Jacobson (2002) reported – it is likely the loneliness and fear of discovery felt by many deeply-closeted male athletes will an unnecessary part of their college-sport experience.

References

- ADAMS, MARY LOUISE 1993 'To be an ordinary hero: Male figure skaters and the ideology of gender', in T. Haddad (ed), *Men and Masculinities*, Toronto: Canadian School Press, pp. 163-181.
- ANDERSON, ERIC 2002 'Openly gay athletes: Contesting hegemonic masculinity in a homophobic environment', *Gender & Society*, vol. 16, no. 6, pp. 860-877.
- 2005a *In the Game: Gay athletes and the cult of masculinity*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press
- 2005b 'Orthodox and inclusive masculinity: Competing masculinities among heterosexual men in a feminized terrain', *Sociological Perspectives*, vol. 48, no. 3, pp. 337-356
- 2009a *Inclusive masculinity: The changing cature of heterosexual masculinities*, London: Routledge
- 2009 'The masculinization of sport and its stakeholders', *Sport Management Review*, vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 3-14
- AZZARITO, LAURA and HARRISON, LOUIS JR. 2008. 'White men can't jump: Race, gender and natural athleticism', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 347-364
- BIRRELL, SUSAN and COLE, CHERYL 1990 'Double fault: Renee Richards and the construction and naturalization of difference', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 1-21
- BOYD, TODD 2003 *Young, Black, rich, and famous: The rise of the NBA, the hip hop invasion and the transformation of American culture*, New York: Doubleday.
- BOYKIN, KEITH 2005 *Beyond the down low: Sex, lies, and denial in Black America*. New York: Carroll & Graf

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 24

- BRANNON, ROBERT 1976 'The male sex role: Our culture's blueprint of manhood, and what it's done for us lately', in D. S. David and R. Brannon (eds), *The forty-nine percent majority: The male sex role*, Reading, MA: Random House, pp. 1-45
- BROWN, ROBERT D. *et al.* 2004, 'Assessing the campus climate for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender (GLBT) students using a multiple perspectives approach', *Journal of College Student Development*, vol. 45, no. 1, pp. 8-26
- BRYANT, ALYSSA 2003 'Changes in attitudes toward women's roles: Predicting gender-role traditionalism among college students', *Sex Roles*, vol. 45, no 3/4, pp 131-142
- CARRINGTON, BEN and MCDONALD, IAN 2001 *Race Sport and British Society*, London: Routledge
- CLARKE, GILL 1998 'Queering the pitch and coming out to play: Lesbians and physical education in sport', *Sport, Education, and Society* vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 145-160
- COHEN, KENNETH 1999 *The biology of male sexual orientation: Relationship among homoeroticism, childhood sex-atypical behavior, spatial ability, handedness, and pubertal timing*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Detroit Mercy, Detroit.
- COLLINS, PATRICIA H. 2000 'Gender, black feminism, and black political economy', *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 568, pp. 41-53
- CONNELL, RAEWYN W 2005, *Masculinities* (2nd ed.), Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- CUNNINGHAM, GEORGE B. 2004 'Strategies for transforming the possible negative effects of group diversity', *Quest*, vol. 56, pp. 421-438
- CURRY, TIMOTHY 1991 'Fraternal bonding in the locker room: A profeminist analysis of talk about competition and women', *Sociology of Sport Journal* vol. 8, pp. 5-21
- DAVIS, TRACY 2002 'Voices of gender role conflict: The social construction of college

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 25

men's identity', *Journal of College Student Development*, vol. 43, no. 4, pp. 508–521

EVANS, NANCY J. 2001 'The experiences of lesbian, gay, and bisexual youths in university communities', In A. R. D'Augelli & C. Patterson (Eds.), *Lesbian, gay and bisexual identities and youth: Psychological perspectives*, New York: Oxford Press, pp. 181-198

FINK, JANET and PASTORE, DONNA 1999 'Diversity in sport? Utilizing the business literature to devise a comprehensive framework of diversity initiatives', *Quest*, vol. no. 51, pp. 310-327

FREUD, SIGMUND 1986 'Three essays on the theory of sexuality', In J. Strachey (Ed. & Trans.), *The standard edition of the complete psychological works of Sigmund Freud*, London: Hogarth, pp. 7–243 (Original work published 1905)

FROYUM, CARISSA M. 2007 "'At least I'm not gay": Heterosexual identity making among poor black teens', *Sexualities*, vol. 10, pp. 603-622

GAGNON, JOHN H. and SIMON, WILLIAM 1973 *Sexual conduct: The social sources of human sexuality*, Chicago, IL: Aldine

-- 1987 'The scripting of oral-genital sexual conduct', *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, vol. 16, pp. 1-25

GARNER, BRIAN and SMITH, RICHARD 1977 'Are there really any gay male athletes? An empirical study', *The Journal of Sex Research*, vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 22-34

GILL, DIANE L. *et al.* 2006 'Attitudes and sexual prejudice in sport and physical activity', *Journal of Sport Management*, vol. 20, no. 4, pp. 554-564.

GRAINGER, ANDREW *et al.* 2008 'Sport, the media and the construction of race', In A. A. Raney & J. Bryant (Eds.), *Handbook of Sports and Media*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp. 447-468

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 26

1
2
3
4
5
6
7 GRIFFIN, PAT 1998 *Strong women, deep closets: Lesbians and homophobia in sport*,

8
9 Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics

10
11 HARRISON, LOUIS Jr. 2001 'Understanding the influence of stereotypes: Implications for
12 the African American in sport and physical activity', *Quest*, vol. 53, pp. 97-114

13
14 HARRISON, LOUIS Jr. and HARRISON, C. KEITH 2002 'African American racial identity
15 and sport: Theory and application to education, race and sport in America', *African American
16 Research Perspectives*, vol. 8, pp. 35-46

17
18 HEKMA, GERT 1998 "'As long as they don't make an issue of it...'" Gay men and lesbians
19 in organized sports in the Netherlands', *Journal of Homosexuality*, vol. 35, no. 1, pp. 1-23

20
21 HOOKS, BELL 1990 *Yearning: race, gender and cultural politics*, Cambridge, MA: South
22 End Press

23
24 HORN, STACCY 2007 'Adolescents' acceptance of same-sex peers based on sexual
25 orientation and gender expression', *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, vol. 36, no. 3, pp.
26 363-371

27
28 JACOBSON, JENNIFER 2002, November 1 'The loneliest athletes: Facing derision in a
29 macho culture, many gay athletes in team sports hide their sexuality', *The Chronicle of
30 Higher Education*. Retrieved March 17, 2007, from

31
32 <http://chronicle.com/weekly/v49/i10/10a03601.htm>

33
34 KOIVULA, NATHALIE 2001 'Perceived characteristics of sports categorized as gender-
35 neutral, feminine and masculine', *Journal of Sport Behavior*, vol. 24, pp. 377-393

36
37 KRANE, VIKKI 2001 'We can be athletic and feminine, but do we want to? Challenging
38 hegemonic femininity in women's sport', *Quest*, vol. 53, pp. 115-133

39
40 KREAGER, DEREK 2007 'Unnecessary roughness? School sports, peer networks, and male
41 adolescent violence', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 72, no. 5, pp. 705-724

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 27

- LADSON-BILLINGS, GLORIA 1996 "'Your blues ain't like mine": Keeping issues of face and racism on the multicultural agenda' *Theory Into Practice*, vol. 35, no. 4, pp. 248-255
- - 2000 'Racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies', In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- LEWIS, GREGORY B. 2003 'Black-White differences in attitudes toward homosexuality and gay rights', *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 67, no. 1, pp. 59-78
- LI, MING *et al* 2009 *Research methods in sport management*. Morgantown, WV: Fitness Information Technology, Inc.
- LOFTUS, JENI 2001 'America's liberalization in attitudes toward homosexuality, 1973 to 1998', *American Sociological Review*, vol. 66, no. 5, pp. 762-782
- MAJORS, RICHARD and BILLSON, JANET 1992 *Cool pose: The dilemmas of Black manhood in America*. New York: Lexington Books
- MCBRIDE, DWIGHT 2001 'Can the Queen speak? Racial essentialism, sexuality, and the problem of authority', In Constantine-Simms, D. (Ed.), *The greatest taboo: Homosexuality in black communities*, Los Angeles: Alyson Books, pp. 24-43
- MCDONALD, MARY and BIRRILL, SUSAN 1999 'Reading sport critically: A methodology for interrogating power', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, vol. 16, no. 4, pp. 283-300
- MESSNER, MICHAEL 1992 *Power at play: Sports and the problem of masculinity*, Boston: Beacon Press
- 2002 *Taking the field: Women, men, and sports*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press
- NATIONAL COLLEGIATE ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION 2009 'Diversity Education', Retrieved January 3, 2009 from <http://www.ncaa.org/wps/ncaa?ContentID=320>

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 28

1
2
3
4
5
6
7 NATIONAL OPINION RESEARCH CENTER 2009 *General social survey* [Data

8
9 file]. Available from National Opinion Research Center Web site:

10
11 <http://www.norc.org/GSS+Website/>

12
13 PHILIPS, KEVIN 2006 *American theocracy: The peril and politics of radical religion, oil,*
14
15
16
17 *and borrowed money in the 21st century*, New York: Viking

18
19 PRICE, MICHAEL and PARKER, ANDREW 2003 'Sport, sexuality, and the gender order:
20
21 Amateur rugby union, gay men, and social exclusion', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, vol. 20,
22
23 pp. 108-126

24
25 PRONGER, BRIAN 1990 *The arena of masculinity: Sports, homosexuality, and the meaning*
26
27
28 *of sex*, New York: St. Martin's Press

29
30 RANKIN, SUSAN 2003 'Campus climate for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender people:
31
32 A national perspective', National Gay and Lesbian Task Force. Washington, DC.

33
34 ROSE, SUZANNA and FRIEZE, IRENE 1993 'Young singles' contemporary dating scripts',
35
36
37
38 *Sex Roles*, vol. 28, pp. 499-509

39
40 ROTOLO, THOMAS AND WHARTON, AMY 2004 'Living across institutions: Exploring
41
42 sex-based homophily in occupations and voluntary groups', *Sociological Perspectives*, vol.
43
44
45 46, no. 1, pp. 59-82

46
47 RUSSELL, KATE 2007 "'Queers, even in netball?': Interpretations of the lesbian label
48
49 among sportswomen', In C.C. Aitchison (Ed.), *Sport and gender identities: Masculinities,*
50
51
52 *femininities and sexualities* New York: Routledge, pp. 106-121

53
54 SANDAY PEGGY REEVES 1996 'Rape prone versus rape-free campus cultures', *Violence*
55
56
57 *Against Women*, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 191-208

58
59 SANDAY PEGGY REEVES 2007 *Fraternity Gang Rape: Sex, Brotherhood, and Privilege*
60
on Campus, New York: New York University Press

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 29

1
2
3
4
5
6
7 SINGER, JOHN 2005 'Understanding racism through the eyes of African American male
8 student-athletes', *Race Ethnicity and Education*, vol. 8, no. 4, pp. 365-386

9
10
11 SMITH, EARL and HATTERY, ANGELA J. 2006 'Hey stud: Race, sex, and sport',
12
13 *Sexuality & Culture*, vol. 10, no. 2, pp. 3-32

14
15
16 SOUTHALL, RICHARD *et al* 2004, November '*Homophobia: Just a "thing" on United*
17
18 *States college campuses*'? Paper presented at the annual meeting of the North American
19
20 Society for the Sociology of Sport, Tucson, AZ.

21
22
23 --2006, November '*A Study of Attitudes Regarding Sexual Orientation among NCAA*
24
25 *University Athletes*', Paper presented at the annual meeting of the North American Society
26
27 for the Sociology of Sport, Vancouver, BC.

28
29
30 -- 2009 'An investigation of male college athletes' attitudes toward sexual-orientation'
31
32 *Journal of Issues in Intercollegiate Athletics*, pp. 62-77.

33
34
35 SPENCER, COLIN 1995 *Homosexuality: A history*, London: Fourth Estate

36
37 THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL n. d. 'Policy on
38
39 prohibited harassment and discrimination', Retrieved July 29, 2009 from
40
41 http://www.unc.edu/campus/policies/prohib_harass_and_discrim.html

42
43
44 THOMPSON, EDWARD and CRACCO, ELIZABETH 2008 'Sexual Aggression in Bars:
45
46 What college men can normalize', *Journal of Men's Studies*, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 82-96,
47
48 Retrieved September 12, 2009, from GenderWatch (GW). (Document ID: 1426085551)

49
50
51 TRUJILLO, NICK 1991 'Hegemonic masculinity on the mound: Media representations of
52
53 Nolan Ryan and American sports culture', *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, vol. 8,
54
55 no. 3, pp. 290-308

56
57
58 UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR 2009 '*The Negro family: The case for*
59
60 *national action*', Retrieved September 4, 2009 from Office of Policy Planning and Research

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 30

1
2
3
4
5
6
7 United States Department of Labor History Online via

8
9 <http://www.dol.gov/oasam/programs/history/webid-meynihn.htm>

10
11 VAN STERKENBURG J. and KNOPPERS, ANNELIES 2004 'Dominant discourses about
12 race/ethnicity and Gender in sport practice and performance', *International Review for the*
13 *Sociology of Sport*, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 301-321. doi: 0.1177/1012690204045598

14
15
16
17
18 WALDNER, LISA *et al* 1999 'Ethnicity and sex differences in university students'
19 knowledge of AIDS, fear of AIDS, and homophobia', *Journal of Homosexuality*, vol. 37, no.
20
21 3, pp. 117-133. doi: 10.1300/J082v37n03_07
22
23 West 1994

24
25
26 WATERFORD, TARA and COMEAUX, EDDIE 2006 'Merit matters: Race, myth and
27 UCLA admission – 2006 CAPAA findings', *Bunche Research Report*, vol. 3, no. 3, pp. 1-8.
28
29 Retrieved December 12, 2009 from

30
31
32 <http://www.bunche.ucla.edu/publications/BuncheResearchReport952006.pdf>

33
34
35 WEIS, DAVID L. 2002 'The need to integrate sexual theory and research', in Michael
36
37 Wiederman and Bernard Whitley (eds.), *Handbook for Conducting Research on Human*
38
39 *Sexuality*, London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp. 7-24

40
41
42 West 1994

43
44
45 WOLF-WENDEL *et al* 2001 'How much difference is too much difference? Perceptions of
46
47 gay men and lesbians in intercollegiate athletics', *Journal of College Student Development*,
48
49 vol. 42, no. 5, pp. 465-479

50
51
52 WRIGHT, ESTHER 1996 *Torn Togas: The Dark Side of Greek Life*. Minneapolis, MN:
53
54 Fairview Press.

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 31

Table 1

Orientation demonstration, and Knowledge of Sexual Orientation of Others

Question	Response	African	White	Other
		American <i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	
When you travel with your team, do you share a bed with a teammate?	Yes	8	68	17
	No	63	167	52
Does sharing a bed with teammate make you feel uncomfortable...?	Yes	37	37	18
	No	40	198	54
Would your comfort level change if the teammate was GLB?	Yes	51	180	51
	No	25	59	19
Does possible bed sharing with a GLB teammate make you uncomfortable?	Yes	62	192	58
	No	16	49	13

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 32

Table 2

Responses to Bed-Sharing Questions

Question	Response	African American (n)	White (n)	Other (n)
Demonstrate Orientation				
	Did not answer	15	91	19
	Act Ultra-masculine	37	46	23
	Act somewhat masculine	26	102	29
	Act ultra-feminine	2	0	2
	Act somewhat feminine	0	4	1
Think athlete				
	Did not answer	6	7	4
	Mannerisms	54	182	53
	Being a female athlete	6	9	1
	Sport in which they participate	7	31	7
	Mannerisms and sport	0	10	3
	Other	7	4	6
Think Teammate				
	Yes	39	48	18
	No	41	198	54
	Did not answer	1	0	1
Know Teammate				
	Yes	18	11	10
	No	55	230	62
	Did not answer	8	5	1

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 33

Table 3

Chi-Square Results

Item	Value	df	Sig.
Have you used any of the following actions in order to demonstrate your sexual orientation to your teammates?	34.134	8	.000
In what sport(s) do athletes you think are GLB participate?	1.46	32	.000
Do you know any GLB athletes here at this school?	13.661	4	.008
Do you think any of your teammates are Gay or Bisexual?	33.252	4	.000
Do you know if any of your teammates are Gay or Bisexual?	41.498	4	.000
How did you find out that such teammates were Gay or Bisexual?	68.865	12	.000
How do you treat an athlete who you know or think is GLB?	47.952	6	.000
How would you treat a teammate if you "knew" he was Gay Bisexual?	45.398	6	.000
Have you engaged in same-sex sexual behavior?	3.799	4	.434
How do you think your team members feel about GLBs in general?	22.112	4	.000
How do you think your team members feel about having a Gay or Bisexual teammate?	7.303	4	.121
When you travel with your team, do you share a bed with a teammate?	16.296	4	.003
Does sharing a bed with a teammate make you feel uncomfortable?	33.292	4	.000
Would your opinion about bed-sharing change if you knew a teammate was Gay or Bisexual?	6.038	4	.196
Does the possibility of sharing a bed with a Gay or Bisexual teammate make you feel uncomfortable about your sexuality?	3.886	4	.422
In general, do you feel a GLB athlete's athletic skill contributes to their being accepted or rejected by teammates?	3.187	4	.527
Do you believe in a "Don't ask, don't tell" policy?	4.971	4	.290
Should a GLB person be allowed to coach a college-sport team?	40.188	8	.000
Would you like to know if your coach was GLB?	13.624	4	.009
Would you mind having a GLB coach?	18.250	4	.001

Sexual-Orientation Attitudes Among Male College Athletes 34

1
2
3
4
5
6
7 RICHARD M. SOUTHALL is Assistant Professor in the Department of Exercise and Sport
8 Science at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

9 ADDRESS: Department of Exercise and Sport Science, The University of North Carolina at
10 Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, 27599, USA. Email: southall@email.unc.edu
11

12 ERIC D. ANDERSON is Lecturer in the Department of Education at the University of Bath.

13 ADDRESS: Department of Education, University of Bath, Bath, BA2 7AY, UK. Email:
14 ericandersonphd@aol.com
15

16
17 MARK S. NAGEL is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sport and
18 Entertainment Management at the University of South Carolina.

19 ADDRESS: Department of Sport and Entertainment Management, 2012 Carolina
20 Coliseum, The University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208, USA.

21 Email: nagel@sc.edu
22
23

24 FRITZ G. POLITE is Director of the Institute for Leadership, Ethics and Diversity at the
25 University of Tennessee at Knoxville.

26 ADDRESS: Institute for Leadership, Ethics and Diversity at the University of Tennessee at
27 Knoxville, Knoxville, TN 37996, USA. Email: fpolite@utk.edu
28
29

30 CRYSTAL SOUTHALL is Doctoral Candidate in the School of Sport and Exercise Science
31 at The University of Northern Colorado.

32 ADDRESS: School of Sport and Exercise Science, University of Northern Colorado,
33 Greeley, CO, 80639, USA. Email: crystal.southall@unco.edu
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60