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When Identities Collide: Conflicts in Allegiances Among LGB People of Color

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Little research has examined the management of multiple minority identities among lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people of color, despite a growing theoretical literature on such identity intersections. The present study focused on the intersectional construct of conflicts in allegiances (CIA), defined as perceived incompatibility between one's racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities. CIA was investigated in relation to experiences of parental heterosexism, racism in LGB communities, outness, and racial/ethnic and sexual orientation group identity. Participants were 124 LGB people of color (main sample) and 124 LGB White people (comparison sample) who completed self-report measures of the main variables as part of a larger survey of same-sex couples. CIA was positively correlated with experiences of racism within LGB communities and perceived heterosexism in one's mother (but not one's father), and negatively correlated with outness to family (but not outness to others in one's everyday life). An interaction was found between racial/ethnic and LGB group identity with respect to behavioral engagement: CIA levels were highest among participants with high racial/ethnic behavioral engagement and low sexual orientation behavioral engagement. Results highlight the role of minority and family contexts in CIA among LGB people of color, and, more broadly, the potential value of studying intersectional variables using quantitative methods. Longitudinal and experimental studies are needed to address questions about direction of influence raised by findings.

Keywords: identity development, intersectionality, outness, racial/ethnic minorities, sexual minorities

A growing body of scholarly work has enriched knowledge regarding the identity-related experiences of people of color and lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people, respectively. However, less theory and research has focused on the management of multiple minority identities among LGB people of color, although such work is needed to provide culturally informed psychological services (Bieschke, Hardy, Fassinger, & Croteau, 2008; Huang et al., 2010). Despite the relatively small literature on LGB people of color, one conclusion is evident: The experiences of LGB people of color cannot be fully understood by considering the independent contributions of racial identity and sexual orientation identity (DeBlaere, Brewster, Sarkees, & Moradi, 2010). Scholars have highlighted the importance of examining unique issues that can arise when racial and sexual minority statuses exist within the same person (e.g., Bieschke et al., 2008; DeBlaere et al., 2010). This perspective reflects the notion that some elements of experience are "distinctive and not necessarily divisible into their component identities or experiences" (Parent, DeBlaere, & Moradi, 2013, p. 640), which is one of the central arguments of intersectional theory (Cole, 2009; Crenshaw, 1991) and Black feminist thought more generally (Collins, 1991; Hooks, 1981; Lorde, 1984).

Despite an increase in research on individuals with multiple identities and emerging guidelines for integrating intersectionality into psychological research (e.g., Bowleg, Burkholder, Teti, & Craig, 2009; Cole, 2009), progress in this scholarly area has been hampered by a focus on variables related to single identities. Efforts to understand multiple social group memberships have often relied on an additive model in which experiences relevant to single identities are examined and then summed (e.g., experience as a Muslim + experience as a transgender person + experience as a woman) rather than an intersectional model that examines the unique experience of overlapping identities (e.g., experience as a Muslim transgender woman). Some research has examined interactions among variables related to multiple group memberships (e.g., Szymanski & Gupta, 2009), testing the possibility that aspects of one identity (e.g., gender identity) may influence experience differently depending on aspects of a different identity (e.g., cultural identity). Despite the greater complexity of this approach to studying intersectional processes, it is limited in its focus on variables related to single identities. Also, research using additive or interactional models often focus on questions regarding differences in the importance of various group identities, with little attempt to understand the phenomenology of and contextual influences on the identity intersections studied. It is perhaps for this reason that some scholars view such models as offering a watered-down form of the intersectional perspective (Dill & Kohlman, 2012).

The influence and sophistication of intersectional frameworks in the field of psychology is, however, expanding. Much of this work relies on qualitative methods, given their potential for highlighting the phenomenology of multiple minority status (Parent et al.,

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2013). Although this does not reflect an inherent limitation of quantitative methods, researchers who wish to use quantitative methods do face special challenges, such as the lack of scales that assess intersectional phenomena (Bowleg et al., 2009; DeBlaere et al., 2010). As a result, quantitative studies on LGB people of color have typically investigated effects of multiple minority status using the additive and interactive models discussed above (DeBlaere et al., 2010).

The present research is among the first quantitative studies to assess intersectional constructs in investigating the experiences of LGB people of color. The inspiration for the study is Morales's (1989) pioneering model of identity development for LGB people of color, in which experiencing and resolving conflict between one's racial/ethnic identity and sexual orientation identity is a normative step within a larger process of identity integration. An important construct within this model is *conflicts in allegiances* (CIA), a state in which

> the simultaneous awareness of being the member of an ethnic minority [group] as well as being gay or lesbian presents anxiety around the need for these lifestyles to remain separate. Anxiety about betraying either the ethnic minority or the gay/lesbian communities, when preference is given to one over the other, becomes a major concern. (Morales, 1989, p. 231)

This construct is inherently intersectional in that it reflects the extent to which LGB people of color experience their racial/ethnic identity and sexual minority identity as compatible. Because this construct has not been studied using quantitative methods, we developed a new measure of CIA for use in this study and investigated the reliability and validity of scores on the new scale.

Conflict between one's racial/ethnic identity and sexual orientation identity may be a familiar experience for LGB people of color as a result of racism within LGB communities and sexual orientation prejudice within racial/ethnic minority communities (Balsam, Molina, Beadnell, Simoni, & Walters, 2011; Morales, 1989; Ramirez-Valles, 2007). Those who are LGB and also members of racial/ethnic minority communities may feel that the gay liberation movement and LGB identification is a White, middle-class phenomenon and that, by identifying as LGB, they would be rejecting their racial/ethnic culture of origin (Harper, Jernewall, & Zea, 2004). LGB people of color may also experience sexual orientation prejudice in their racial/ethnic community because, in many communities, same-sex attraction is viewed as violating cultural and religious traditions, particularly those related to gender roles (e.g., expectations of marriage and childbearing; Bieschke et al., 2008; Bridges, Selvidge, & Matthews, 2003; Chan, 1989; Espín, 1993; Greene, 2000). In Asian cultures, for example, sexual minority status has been viewed as a phenomenon relevant only in Western society (Bridges et al., 2003) and a rejection of core cultural values related to the importance of parenting and continuing the biological family line (Chan, 1989). African American culture emphasizes a strong religious/spiritual orientation that often legitimizes homophobia (Greene, 2000). Latino culture is characterized by strict gender roles and high religiosity, two factors associated with anti-LGB stigmatization (Ramirez-Valles, 2007). Although these circumstances may lead some LGB people of color to separate their racial and sexual minority statuses, others, including noteworthy leaders in the arts and social activism, have found ways to integrate their minority identities (Moradi, DeBlaere, & Huang, 2010).

Little research has investigated CIA among LGB people of color, even though such work has the potential to contribute to the literature in both basic areas of psychology (e.g., social identity, stigma management) and applied areas (e.g., minority stress and health, role of identity conflicts in treatment). Most knowledge on conflicts between multiple minority statuses has come from qualitative studies relying on small samples of LGB people of color. Such studies have provided valuable evidence of the conflict that some LGB people of color experience between multiple minority identities (Goode-Cross & Good, 2009; Mao, McCormick, & Van de Ven, 2002). However, little is known about the extent to which conflict between racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities is experienced and related to other facets of racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identity. The present study addresses this gap in the literature by investigating identity conflicts in relation to variables explored in previous research with LGB people of color, including racial/ethnic and sexual orientation group identity, experiences of racism and heterosexism, and outness.

Our first hypothesis concerned the relation of CIA to perceptions of racism and heterosexism. Research has indicated that LGB people of color experience racism in LGB communities and dating relationships, as well as heterosexism in racial/ethnic communities and family relationships (Balsam et al., 2011; Bieschke et al., 2008). Such signs of racism and heterosexism may foster a sense of incompatibility between one's racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities. Thus, we proposed the following hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis 1:* CIA will be positively correlated with perceptions of racism within the LGB community and heterosexism in one's racial/ethnic group (which, for the present study, focused on parental heterosexism).

CIA may also be related to coming out experiences for LGB people of color. Research has indicated that LGB people of color are less likely to be out than their White counterparts (Moradi et al., 2010; Morris, Waldo, & Rothblum, 2001). Although the decision to disclose one's sexual orientation to family is significant for most LGB individuals (Rothman, Sullivan, Keyes, & Boehmer, 2012), it could involve an additional layer of anxiety for LGB people of color related to embarrassing or losing support from members of their racial/ethnic minority communities (Díaz, Ayala, Bein, Henne, & Marin, 2001; Parks, Hughes, & Matthews, 2004). The central role of family in racial/ethnic minority communities may make CIA especially salient for outness to family members relative to others. Based on this reasoning, we formulated the following hypothesis:

> *Hypothesis 2:* CIA will (a) be negatively related to outness to both family members and others in one's everyday life (e.g., coworkers, heterosexual friends, strangers) but (b) be more strongly related to outness to family than outness to others.

Our last hypotheses concerned the relation of CIA to facets of racial/ethnic and sexual orientation group identity among LGB people of color. Research suggests that the experiences of LGB people of color are influenced not only by their membership in racial/ethnic and sexual minority groups, but also by the relative strength of their orientation to these groups (Bowleg et al., 2009;

Goode-Cross & Good, 2009). We examined two facets of identity strength, one reflecting level of affective connection to one's group and the other reflecting behavioral involvement in activities related to one's group. In considering ways that group identity might be related to CIA, we developed two competing perspectives that both seemed compatible with writing on the experiences of LGB people of color.

The first perspective, which we have labeled the "strong but separate identities" view, suggests that identity conflicts are most likely to occur among people with strong racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities, based on the idea that a strong connection to one identity may increase a person's exposure to prejudice regarding the other identity. Among LGB people of color, a strong racial/ethnic identity may increase their contact with the anti-LGB cultural norms and attitudes that characterize some racial/ethnic minority communities and are often rooted in heterosexist religious beliefs and traditional gender roles (Bieschke et al., 2008; Espín, 1993). Similarly, LGB people of color who have a strong sexual orientation group identity are also more likely than others to encounter and feel invalidated by the White cultural norms and markers of racial prejudice that characterize some LGB communities, such as segregation in gay establishments, exclusion from leadership in LGB political movements, and racial eroticization in interracial relationships (Han, 2007; Morales, 1989; Wilson et al., 2009). LGB people of color may prioritize one group identity, thus reducing the impact of prejudice regarding the other (Harper et al., 2004). However, this prioritization of one group identity may be difficult or undesirable for those who place great importance on the other. For such people, the risk of CIA may be high since engaging one's racial/ethnic minority community may fuel a sense that one is betraying one's valued LGB identity, or vice versa.

In contrast with this perspective is one we labeled the "strong and integrated identities" view, wherein identity conflicts are viewed as least likely to occur among people with strong racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities. From this perspective, people will develop simultaneous strong connections to both identities only when it is safe or meaningful to do so. Thus, for people with a strong connection to one identity, increasing levels of connection to the other identity are viewed as an implicit sign of greater ability to hold a positive and integrated view of oneself as an LGB person of color (i.e., a sign of low identity conflicts). This view suggests that, for a person with a strong connection to one facet of identity, the experience of CIA will be greater to the extent that the person has a weak connection to the other identity.

To summarize, we developed two competing hypotheses regarding ways that racial/ethnic group identity and sexual orientation group identity relate to CIA, both positing an interaction between the two facets of group identity:

> *Hypothesis 3:* For people with a strong connection to one facet of identity, the other facet of group identity will be positively associated with CIA (consistent with the "strong but separate identities" perspective).

> *Hypothesis 4:* For people with a strong connection to one facet of identity, the other facet of identity will be negatively associated with CIA (consistent with the "strong and integrated identities" perspective).

For both perspectives, we reasoned that, for people with a weak connection to one facet of identity, the other facet of identity would not be associated with CIA. In the "strong but separate identities" perspective, having a weak connection to one identity decreases the likelihood of being exposed to prejudice regarding the other identity or of experiencing that prejudice as a threat to one's identity. Thus, for such people, there will be relatively few concerns about the need to prioritize one identity over the other. In the "strong and integrated identities" perspective, having a weak connection to one facet of identity indicates a situation in which developing simultaneous and strong connections to both identities is viewed as unsafe or not meaningful. Thus, for such people, levels of CIA should be unrelated to the extent to which they have a strong connection to the other identity.

Method

Participants and Procedure

This study used data gathered for a study of same-sex romantic relationships (Mohr & Fassinger, 2006). Participants in the main sample were 124 LGB people of color, including 52 men and 72 women, whose ages ranged from 19 to 55 ($M = 34.0$, $SD = 9.1$). Participants indicated their race by selecting one of the following checklist categories: Asian ($n = 14$; 11.3%), Black ($n = 27$; 21.8%), Latina/Latino ($n = 28$; 22.6%), Native American ($n = 9$; 7.3%), Middle Eastern ($n = 2$; 1.6%), and Multiracial ($n = 44$; 35.5%). A wide range of personal income levels was reported: < \$15,000 ($n = 29$; 23.4%), \$15,000–24,999 ($n = 18$; 14.5%), \$30,000–34,999 ($n = 23$; 18.5%), \$35,000–44,999 ($n = 20$; 16.1%), \$45,000–54,999 ($n = 12$; 9.7%), > \$55,000 ($n = 22$; 17.7%). Dating partners of these participants were not included in the present study.

To provide preliminary validity evidence for our new scales, we developed a comparison sample of 124 White-identified adults by randomly sampling participants from the same archival data set. First, we eliminated data from anyone whose romantic partner was in the main sample. Then, we continued our random selection process until reaching the desired sample size. This sample featured 53 men and 71 women whose ages ranged from 21 to 63 ($M = 37.3$). Personal income levels were as follows (one person did not report income): < \$15,000 ($n = 15$; 12.1%), \$15,000–24,999 ($n = 24$; 19.4%), \$30,000–34,999 ($n = 29$; 23.4%), \$35,000–44,999 ($n = 16$; 12.9%), \$45,000–54,999 ($n = 13$; 10.5%), > \$55,000 ($n = 26$; 21.0%).

Participants were recruited through solicitations on LGB electronic mailing lists, advertisements in an LGB newspaper, and a national event for LGB people of color. Individuals interested in the study received packets that included the survey, study information, and self-addressed stamped envelopes for survey returns. Completed surveys were received from 1,004 individuals (49% return rate). All completed surveys from self-identified people of color were included in the present sample. The present research questions and results overlap in no way with those from other studies based on this sample.

Measures

All scales were scored by averaging relevant items (after reverse scoring as needed).

Intersectional variables. Both CIA and perceived racism in the LGB community were assessed with subscales developed using data from this sample. The survey included six items intended to assess CIA (e.g., *I have not yet found a way to integrate being [lesbian/gay/bisexual] with being a member of my cultural group*) and four items intended to assess perceived racism in LGB communities (e.g., *I have personally experienced cultural prejudice within the LGB community*). These items were developed by two of the authors familiar with the literature on LGB people of color, and the items were refined on the basis of feedback from other members of the original research team (which included LGB people of color, as well as LGB and heterosexual White people).

Participants were prompted to name the cultural group with which they most strongly identified (other than LGB communities), and to respond to items with respect to that group. Participants who were people of color named their racial/ethnic group, whereas White participants named groups representing several facets of identity (e.g., religious, geographic, ethnic, political, vocational). Items were rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *disagree strongly* to *agree strongly*. Coefficient alpha was .86 for the 6-item CIA scale and .74 for the 4-item perceived racism scale. Findings related to the factor structure and validity of subscale scores are described in the Results. Items are listed in the Appendix.

Parental heterosexism. This variable was assessed using a scale developed by Mohr and Fassinger in a sample of LGB adults (2003). The measure features two parallel 9-item subscales assessing maternal and paternal views of the respondent's sexual orientation on a continuum of support to rejection. Items are phrased in both the positive direction (e.g., *My mother has become a real support regarding my sexual orientation*) and the negative direction (e.g., *My father does not recognize my sexual orientation as legitimate*), and are rated on a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). After reverse scoring items as needed, Mohr and Fassinger summed items to produce subscales assessing parental LGB supportiveness; we reversed the direction of scoring to reflect our focus on parental heterosexism (i.e., high scores represent high levels of heterosexism). Validity support was provided through evidence that parental heterosexism scores were positively associated with measures of negative LGB identity and parental involvement with antigay religious institutions (Mohr & Fassinger, 2003). Internal consistency estimates in the original sample were .92 (maternal) and .91 (paternal), and in the present sample were .95 (maternal) and .92 (paternal).

Group identity. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney, 1992) was used to assess facets of racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identity. This flexible measure was originally designed to assess strength of any ethnic identity; however, it has also been used to assess strength of LGB identity (e.g., Mohr & Fassinger, 2000). In the present study, two versions of the 14-item subscale were included in the survey: one to assess strength of racial/ethnic identity (e.g., *I have spent time trying to learn more about my cultural group*) and one to assess strength of sexual orientation identity (e.g., *I have spent time trying to learn more about the LGB community*). Items were rated on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*). Originally, the measure was scored as a single scale of same-group orientation, and, in a sample of LGB adults, was found to be positively associated with outness and negatively associated with internalized homonegativity (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000).

In the past decade, a number of alternative scoring approaches have been recommended on the basis of factor analytic studies of responses to MEIM items. A 3-factor solution was supported in a recent analysis of data from a large, multiethnic sample of college students (Yap et al., 2014). We scored the MEIM for two of the three subscales indicated by the 3-factor solution: Affective Pride (4 items; $\alpha = .88$ for race/ethnicity and .81 for sexual orientation) and Behavioral Engagement (6 items; $\alpha = .83$ for race/ethnicity and .79 for sexual orientation). These subscales appeared to tap both the internal, attachment component (Affective Pride) and the external, community involvement component (Behavioral Engagement) of group identity that we believed might influence and be influenced by CIA. We could not find research using these subscales with LGB participants, but support for the reliability and validity of scores has been provided in studies with racial/ethnic minority respondents ($\alpha = .81$ for Affective Pride and .72 for Behavioral Engagement; Lee & Yoo, 2004).

Outness. The Outness Inventory (OI; Mohr & Fassinger, 2000) was used to assess the degree to which respondents' sexual orientation was known by people in various spheres of their lives. The four-item Out to World subscale assessed disclosure to people in their everyday lives (e.g., heterosexual friends, work peers), and the four-item Out to Family subscale assessed disclosure to family members (e.g., mother, siblings). Participants rated outness on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (*does not know*) to 7 (*definitely knows and openly talked about*). OI scores were negatively correlated with motivation to maintain privacy of sexual orientation and positively correlated with strength of LGB community identification (Mohr & Fassinger, 2000). In the instrument development study, Cronbach's alphas for the Out to World and Out to Family subscales were .80 and .78, respectively. In the present study, alpha was .73 for both subscales.

Results

The dataset had few missing data. Two participants completed none of the study measures and were dropped from the sample. Data from another participant who did not complete the perceived racism measure were used in all analyses not including that measure. Several participants did not complete the measures of heterosexism in mothers ($n = 13$) and fathers ($n = 35$); inspection of surveys suggested that these measures were left blank because the items did not apply to the respondent's life (e.g., person never knew her father). Because such participants could not provide meaningful responses to these items, we did not treat them as missing data. We therefore chose to use complete case analysis rather than modern missing data techniques for analyses involving these variables.

Psychometric Analyses

We used exploratory factor analysis (EFA) to develop the new CIA and perceived racism scales. Items for both scales were pooled into a single analysis, consistent with the view that including items with related but diverse content can strengthen inferences about which items are relatively pure indicators of constructs (Loevinger, 1957; Reise, Waller, & Comrey, 2000). Our analysis began with a parallel analysis (Horn, 1965), which indicated that a

two-factor solution was optimal. We then subjected items to a series of EFAs, extracting 1-, 2-, and 3-factor solutions using the robust maximum likelihood estimator offered by Mplus software (Muthén & Muthén, 2010). Goodness-of-fit was assessed using the following guidelines for good fit suggested by Hu and Bentler (1999): CFI (>.95), SRMR (<.08), RMSEA (<.06). The one-factor structure fit data poorly: CFI = .684; SRMR = .133; RMSEA = .162; $\chi^2(n = 124) = 149.18$, $p < .001$. In contrast, results from the 2-factor model offered a good fit: CFI = .976; SRMR = .033; RMSEA = .051; $\chi^2(n = 124) = 34.61$, $p = .121$. The rotation algorithm for the 3-factor model failed to converge due to negative residual variance for one of the items.

We proceeded to inspect the 2-factor solution, given the strong support for this model compared with the 1- and 3-factor solutions. Structure coefficients conformed to the expected pattern of factor loadings (see Table 1): Items with the strongest correlations on the first factor were all created to assess CIA, whereas items with the strongest correlations on the second factor were all created to assess perceived racism in the LGB community. We used Worthington and Whittaker's (2006) suggested decision rules for item deletion: Delete items with (a) factor loadings less than .32 on all factors, (b) cross-loadings less than .15 difference in magnitude from the item's highest factor loading, and (c) loadings higher than .32 in magnitude on more than one factor. Based on these rules, all items were retained.

We investigated the validity of subscale scores through two sets of analyses. First, to study the face validity of the items, we asked seven doctoral students with interest and training in diversity issues to rate each item for degree of relatedness to each of the two constructs. We offered brief definitions of CIA ("the extent to which LGB people of color experience a conflict between their cultural identity and their sexual orientation identity, such that allegiance to one identity is at odds with allegiance to the other identity") and perceived racism in LGB communities ("the extent to which LGB people of color believe they [or members of their cultural group] are treated or viewed poorly within LGB communities because of their culture"). Ratings were made on a 4-point scale (1 = *not at all related*, 2 = *slightly related*, 3 = *moderately related*, 4 = *highly related*), first for relatedness to CIA and next for relatedness to perceived racism. For each set of ratings, we averaged items intended to assess CIA and separately averaged items intended to assess perceived racism. For items intended to assess CIA, the mean relatedness scores were 3.74 ($SD = 0.36$) for CIA but 2.07 ($SD = 0.67$) for perceived racism ($d = 1.85$). In contrast, for the items intended to assess perceived racism, the mean relatedness scores were 3.79 ($SD = 0.37$) for perceived racism but 2.43 ($SD = 0.93$) for CIA ($d = 1.15$). Thus, on average, raters were much more likely to view items as related to their intended construct than to the other construct.

We next investigated the construct validity of the scales using a known-groups approach, wherein we compared mean scores from the main sample with the corresponding means from the sample of White LGB people. We hypothesized that people of color would have higher scores than the White people on both subscales, given the personal salience of race/ethnicity in the lives of people of color relative to White people. For CIA, the mean for people of color ($M = 2.64$) was significantly higher than that for White participants ($M = 2.13$), $t(227.71) = 3.14$, $p = .002$ ($d = 0.40$). For perceived racism, the mean for people of color ($M = 2.94$) was significantly higher than that for White participants ($M = 2.28$), $t(240.14) = 3.79$, $p < .001$ ($d = 0.48$).

In short, results supported both the hypothesized structure and validity of subscale scores.

Descriptive Statistics and Hypotheses

Examination of descriptive statistics (see Table 2) indicated that average levels of CIA and perceived racism in the LGB community were below the midpoint of the possible range of scores, and average levels of outness were generally above the midpoint. Means for the group identity variables were all above the midpoint of the possible range, with racial/ethnic Behavioral Engagement closest to the midpoint and sexual orientation Affective Pride furthest from the midpoint. Deviations from normality were not substantial enough to raise concerns about violation of statistical assumptions.

The hypothesis that the association between CIA and perceived racism within the LGB community would be positive (Hypothesis 1) was supported, $r = .30$, $p < .001$. CIA was positively related to perceived heterosexism in mothers, $r = .20$, $p = .038$ but not fathers, $r = .12$, $p = .277$. Hypothesis 2a was partially supported. As predicted, CIA was negatively correlated with outness to family, $r = -.31$, $p < .001$. However, contrary to hypothesis, CIA was not significantly correlated with outness to world, $r = -.14$, $p =$

Table 1
Structure Coefficients From Exploratory Factor Analysis

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
I feel as if my sense of cultural identity is at odds with my [l/g/b] identity.	.86	.21
It is easy for me to be both [l/g/b] and a member of my cultural group.	−.85	−.27
I have not yet found a way to integrate being [l/g/b] with being a member of my cultural group.	.79	.24
I feel little or no conflict between my cultural identity and my identity as [l/g/b].	−.64	−.22
I often feel like I'm betraying either my cultural community or the LGB community.	.57	.32
I separate my [l/g/b] and cultural identities.	.56	.04
I have found the LGB community to be embracing of my cultural identity.	−.20	−.87
I have felt rejected by the LGB community because of my cultural identity.	.24	.79
I have personally experienced cultural prejudice within the LGB community.	.27	.66
I am angry at the way the LGB community treats members of my cultural group.	.27	.45

Note. Factor 1 = Conflicts in allegiances; Factor 2 = Perceived racism.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics

Variable	*n*	*M*	*SD*	Range	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Conflicts in allegiances	124	2.63	1.47	[1.00, 6.83]	1.00								
2. R/E affective pride	124	3.26	0.75	[1.00, 4.00]	−.04	1.00							
3. R/E behavioral engagement	124	2.76	0.82	[1.00, 4.00]	.01	.75***	1.00						
4. SO affective pride	124	3.52	0.59	[1.00, 4.00]	−.21*	.11	.15	1.00					
5. SO behavioral engagement	124	3.20	0.69	[1.00, 4.00]	−.26**	.16*	.30**	.76***	1.00				
6. Racism	123	2.92	1.46	[1.00, 6.75]	.30***	.28**	.48***	−.04	.08	1.00			
7. Outness to world	124	4.98	1.52	[1.00, 7.00]	−.14	.15	.15	.11	.21*	.05	1.00		
8. Outness to family	124	5.10	1.36	[1.00, 7.00]	−.31***	−.02	−.08	.04	.14	−.14	.36***	1.00	
9. Maternal heterosexism	111	3.06	1.71	[1.00, 7.00]	.20*	−.08	−.07	−.23*	−.19*	.01	−.12	−.42***	1.00
10. Paternal heterosexism	89	3.36	1.82	[1.00, 7.00]	.12	−.11	−.16	−.13	−.17	.04	−.27*	−.41***	.52***

Note. Scores on the measures of behavioral engagement and affective pride had a possible range of 1 to 4; all other measures had a possible range of 1 to 7. R/E = Racial/Ethnic; SO = Sexual orientation.
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

.102. Finally, the hypothesis that CIA would be more strongly correlated with outness to family than outness to world (Hypothesis 2b) was investigated using a test of differences of dependent correlations (Meng, Rosenthal, & Rubin, 1992). Results were in the expected direction at the .10 level, $z = -1.71$, $p = .087$.

To test the hypothesis that the effects of one type of group identity on CIA depend on the other type of group identity (Hypotheses 3 and 4), hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted in which the corresponding racial/ethnic and sexual orientation group identity variables were entered as predictors of CIA in the first step. The interaction between these variables was then entered as a predictor in the second step. The group identity variables were standardized before computing the interaction term and conducting the analysis. It is worth noting that our interaction hypothesis was general and did not specify which facet of identity was the moderator. To facilitate a thorough understanding of results, we planned to probe each significant interaction effect in both possible ways (first with sexual orientation identity as the moderator, and then with ethnic/racial identity as the moderator).

For Affective Pride, results from the first step of the regression indicated that racial/ethnic identity was unrelated to CIA, $t(120) = 0.19$, $p = .849$, but sexual orientation identity was negatively associated with CIA, $t(120) = -2.37$, $p = .019$. The interaction term added in the second step was not statistically significant, $t(120) = -1.14$, $p = .259$.

A different pattern of findings emerged for Behavioral Engagement. Results from the first step indicated that racial/ethnic identity was unrelated to CIA, $t(120) = 0.95$, $p = .346$, but sexual orientation identity was negatively associated with CIA, $t(120) = -2.74$, $p = .007$. The interaction term added in the second step was statistically significant, $t(120) = -3.34$, $p = .001$, and increased the R^2 by .08. To probe this interaction effect, we conducted two simple slopes analyses. First, the regression of CIA onto racial/ethnic group identity was tested at three levels of sexual orientation group identity: one standard deviation below the mean, the mean, and one standard deviation above the mean. The association between CIA and racial/ethnic group identity was positive for participants with low sexual orientation group identity, $t(120) = 2.79$ ($p = .006$), but nonsignificant for participants with sexual orientation group identity levels that were moderate, $t(120) = 0.69$ ($p = .495$), and high, $t(120) = -1.55$ ($p = .124$). When considering racial/ethnic group identity as the moderator, the association between CIA and sexual orientation group identity was nonsignificant for participants with low racial/ethnic group identity, $t(120) = -0.26$ ($p = .796$) but negative for participants with levels of racial/ethnic group identity that were moderate, $t(120) = -3.12$ ($p = .002$) and high, $t(120) = -4.36$ ($p < .001$). As Figure 1 indicates, the highest levels of CIA were found among participants with high racial/ethnic group identity and low sexual orientation group identity, contrary to both our "strong but separate identities" and "strong and integrated identities" hypotheses.

Discussion

This article presents what may be the first quantitative study to assess and investigate conflicts in allegiances—a construct that Morales (1989) proposed as part of his model of identity formation for LGB people of color. Such conflicts may be familiar, given evidence that many LGB people of color experience discrimination in both the LGB communities and their racial/ethnic communities (Balsam et al., 2011). CIA levels were assessed with a new measure developed using exploratory factor analysis and supported by preliminary reliability and validity evidence. Nearly the full range of possible CIA scores was represented in this sample, although average levels of CIA were relatively low.

Findings supported the hypothesized positive associations of CIA with both perceived racism within LGB communities, and—for mothers only—perceived parental heterosexism. Research is needed to explore plausible explanations for these relations. For example, perceived racism in LGB communities may lead LGB people of color to view participation in these communities as a rejection of their racial/ethnic culture. Such rejection concerns could then fuel CIA, consistent with Morales' (1989) view: "Anxiety about betraying either the ethnic minority or the gay/lesbian communities, when preference is given to one over the other, becomes a major concern" (p. 231).

The finding that CIA was positively associated with maternal, but not paternal, heterosexism could be explained by previous research indicating that LGB adults were more likely to disclose their sexual orientation to their mothers than their fathers (Rothman et al., 2012), and that LGB people of color were most likely to have first disclosed their sexual orientation to a female relative,

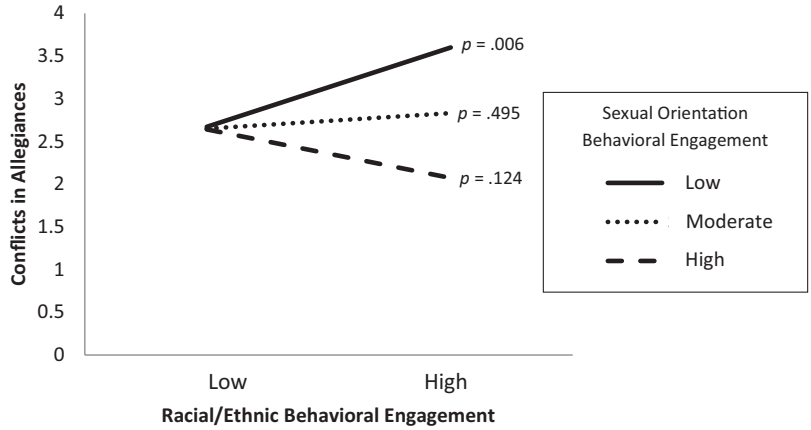

Figure 1. Simple slopes of racial/ethnic behavioral engagement predicting conflicts in allegiances at low, moderate, and high levels of sexual orientation behavioral engagement.

and least likely to have disclosed their sexual orientation to their fathers (Parks et al., 2004). Such differences in disclosure to mothers and fathers may explain why a lack of maternal support for one's sexual orientation had particular relevance for participants' sense of conflict between their sexual orientation and racial/ethnic identities. Moreover, the relatively lower levels of outness to fathers suggests that fathers are less likely than mothers to raise issues germane to the person's sexual orientation, thus limiting paternal behavior that is likely to fuel a sense of CIA.

We also hypothesized that CIA would be negatively related to outness to family and, to a lesser extent, to outness to others in one's everyday life. CIA was not significantly correlated with outness to others in one's everyday life. However, it was negatively correlated with outness to family, and this correlation was stronger than that between CIA and outness to others in one's life (with a p value of .09, approaching significance). This is consistent with evidence that LGB people of color experience unique challenges when coming out (Morris et al., 2001), and that family is a particularly important source of support from one's racial/ethnic group (Parks et al., 2004).

Perhaps the most intriguing results of this study relate to associations among racial/ethnic group identity, sexual orientation group identity, and CIA. Levels of CIA were highest among participants with a pattern of high racial/ethnic behavioral engagement and low sexual orientation behavioral engagement. Put another way, racial/ethnic group identity was positively related to CIA only for participants with low sexual orientation group identity. This result is clearly inconsistent with our "strong but separate identities" framework, which suggested that CIA would be highest among participants with high levels of both facets of group identity. In contrast, the result is somewhat consistent with our "strong and integrated" identities framework, which suggested that CIA would be lowest among participants with high levels of both facets of group identity. As Figure 1 suggests, such participants certainly had low CIA levels. However, CIA levels were nearly as low for participants with high levels of sexual orientation group identity but low levels of racial/ethnic group identity, suggesting that our "strong and integrated identities" framework may not offer the best explanation of results.

There are several alternative explanations for this finding that may be profitable to explore in future research. It might be that the impact of sexual orientation prejudice within racial/ethnic communities on perceived identity conflicts is buffered by involvement in LGB communities. This community engagement may provide people of color with resources—both internal (e.g., self-acceptance) and external (e.g., LGB affirming social support)—that allow them to connect with their racial/ethnic communities without a need to separate their racial/ethnic and sexual identities. Also, LGB people of color with high levels of sexual orientation behavioral engagement may be more likely than others to have sought and developed supportive relationships with other LGB people of color. This seems especially plausible in the current study given that many participants were recruited at a national event for LGB people of color, that is, an event involving behavioral engagement in a community reflecting both racial/ethnic and sexual orientation minority identities. Such friendships may naturally weaken any effect of racial/ethnic group identity on CIA by offering a venue for connecting with members of one's racial/ethnic group that does not conflict with one's LGB identity.

Another explanation could be proposed that assumes CIA influences group identity rather than the reverse. For example, consider the finding that sexual orientation behavioral engagement was negatively associated with CIA only for those with moderate-to-high racial/ethnic behavioral engagement. This could indicate that, when paired with strong racial/ethnic community involvement, CIA may hinder involvement in LGB communities because of its perceived incompatibility with racial/ethnic community norms. In this case, the established racial/ethnic identity takes precedence over one's emerging sexual orientation, resulting in low sexual orientation behavioral engagement. This interpretation is consistent with Morales's (1989) proposition that high CIA is followed by a period in which a "primary identification to the ethnic community prevails . . . and feelings of resentment concerning the lack of integration among the communities becomes a central issue" (p. 231). The idea that CIA may motivate individuals with a strong racial/ethnic identity to deprioritize their sexual orientation fits our findings; however, it is important to emphasize that some LGB people of color prioritize their sexual orientation identity over their racial/ethnic identity (as was evident in our sample).

Another intriguing aspect of the interaction between racial/ethnic identity and sexual orientation identity is that it emerged with respect to behavioral but not affective dimensions of identity. This finding, although not anticipated, makes sense in light of the above explanations of the significant interaction effect. These interpretations center on the potential for an LGB person of color to encounter oppressive norms within a community, that is, an experience that clearly involves behavioral engagement in a community rather than an internal sense of connection to a community. The lack of an interaction for the affective facet of identity indicates relative independence of attachment to one's racial/ethnic group and sexual orientation group, at least with respect to CIA. Examination of these independent effects reveals that attachment to one's sexual orientation group is negatively associated with CIA, but no such association emerged for attachment to one's racial/ethnic group.

The potential for conflicts between racial/ethnic and sexual orientation identities has been identified as an important area of consideration in clinical work with LGB people of color. Indeed, the American Psychological Association's (2012) *Guidelines for Psychological Practice With Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients* encourages psychologists to "consider as critical factors in treatment the ways in which clients may be affected by how their cultures of origin view and stigmatize homosexuality and bisexuality . . . as well as the effects of racism within the mainstream lesbian, gay, and bisexual communities" (p. 20). Findings from this study highlight some of the issues that may be useful for clinicians to address with LGB clients of color who are experiencing CIA, including outness to family members, perceived maternal heterosexism, perceived racism in LGB communities, and involvement in racial/ethnic communities relative to LGB communities.

Although this study provides the first quantitative data on CIA—a construct that has been considered for more than two decades in clinical theory—it is important to interpret findings in light of some limitations. The study features the lack of ability to make inferences about direction of influence typical of cross-sectional studies. The measures of CIA and perceived racism in one's LGB community are new and require additional validation with alternative samples. The development of these instruments also could have been strengthened through the use of a larger preliminary pool of potential items. Our study was also limited by use of an existing data set from a sample of same-sex couples. Ideally we would have included a measure of perceived heterosexism in racial/ethnic communities that paralleled the measure of perceived racism (rather than one focused exclusively on parental heterosexism), but this measure was not included when the data were collected. Also, it is unclear how generalizable results are to the larger population of LGB people of color. Scores on the measure of sexual orientation group identity were quite high and limited in variability in the present sample, which may reflect the fact that all participants were in same-sex romantic relationships and recruited largely through LGB-oriented venues. Moreover, recruiting participants at an event for LGB people of color may have contributed to the moderate positive correlation between behavioral engagement in both racial/ethnic and sexual orientation communities. A broader sampling of LGB people of color may have yielded greater variability on the identity-related variables (potentially increasing the magnitude of observed associations), and reduced the observed link between the two behavioral engagement variables (potentially changing results for the interaction analyses).

Finally, the limited numbers of participants identifying with each racial/ethnic group did not allow for separate analysis by group. The concerns and experiences of LGB people are known to differ across racial/ethnic groups as a result of differences in cultural norms and practices, as well as differences in manifestations of racism and ethnocentrism (Bieschke et al., 2008). These differences notwithstanding, our literature review (and the original theory proposed by Morales, 1989) suggests that CIA is a phenomenon that likely cuts across racial/ethnic groups and is similar in causes and consequences across groups. Thus, even if groups differ in levels of CIA and the precise circumstances in which CIA is experienced, the cultural hegemony may give rise to a similarly structured challenge for those who are members of both racial/ethnic and sexual minority groups. Of course, although we could not identify a theoretical reason that results should differ substantially among groups, the assumption of similarity must be tested empirically.

We hope this study stimulates additional quantitative intersectional research on the experiences of LGB people of color. There has been a relative neglect of variables, like CIA, that concern the confluence of identities (DeBlaere et al., 2010). The potential importance of studying such variables is evident in qualitative studies (Parent et al., 2013) and models, like Morales' (1989), indicating that the experience of having a double minority status is more complex than can be understood through simultaneous consideration of a person's separate minority statuses. For this reason, we believe the quantitative study of intersectional variables will provide a richer and more complete understanding of the lives of LGB people of color.

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(*Appendix follows*)

Appendix

Culture and LGB Identity

These questions focus on your cultural identity and your identity as [lesbian/gay/bisexual]. Please indicate the extent to which these statements describe you at this time.

	Disagree strongly						Agree strongly
1. I feel little or no conflict between my cultural identity and my identity as [l/g/b].	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. I have personally experienced cultural prejudice within the LGB community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. I have not yet found a way to integrate being [l/g/b] with being a member of my cultural group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. It is easy for me to be both [l/g/b] and a member of my cultural group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I am angry at the way the LGB community treats members of my cultural group.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. I separate my [l/g/b] and cultural identities.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I have found the LGB community to be embracing of my cultural identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I have felt rejected by the LGB community because of my cultural identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I often feel like I'm betraying either my cultural community or the LGB community.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. I feel as if my sense of cultural identity is at odds with my [l/g/b] identity.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Note. Subscale scores are computed by reverse-scoring items as needed and averaging subscale item ratings. Subscale composition is as follows (underlined items should be reverse-scored): Conflicts in Allegiances (1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10) and Perceived Racism in LGB Communities (2, 5, 7, 8). Instructions and questions were worded using whichever sexual orientation identity was reported by the participant (i.e., lesbian, gay, or bisexual).