UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

DAVID SCHWARTZ, Plaintiff, -v- THE CITY OF NEW YORK, and LORELEI SALAS, in her official capacity as Commissioner of the New York City Department of Consumer Affairs, Defendants.	Case No. 1:19 Civ. 00463 (RJD) (ST)

DECLARATION OF DOUGLAS C. HALDEMAN IN SUPPORT OF DEFENDANTS' OPPOSITION TO PLAINTIFF'S MOTION FOR A PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION

DOUGLAS C. HALDEMAN, Ph.D, a licensed psychologist, declares the truth of the following under penalty of perjury, pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1746:

1. I have been retained by counsel for Defendants as a consultant in connection with the above-referenced litigation. I have personal knowledge of the contents of this declaration, and if called upon to testify, I could and would testify competently to the contents of this declaration.

EXPERT BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS

2. My background and experience are summarized in my *curriculum vitae*, which is attached as Exhibit A to this Declaration. My *curriculum vitae* also includes a list of publications I have authored.

3. I am a licensed psychologist in the State of Washington. I maintained a full-time independent clinical practice in Seattle from 1983 to 2013. The majority of my full-time clinical practice involved individual, couple, family, and group counseling to the LGBT communities.

Since that time I have been Professor and Program Director of the doctoral program in Clinical Psychology at John F. Kennedy University in Pleasant Hill, CA.

4. I received my Doctorate in Counseling Psychology from the University of Washington in 1984. From 1988 to 2013, I served as a Clinical Instructor in the Department of Psychology at the University of Washington. In addition, I have been an active member of the American Psychological Association (APA) since 1985, and have served in a number of positions in APA Governance, including its Board of Directors, the American Psychological Foundation, and (currently) as Chair of the Board of the American Insurance Trust. I have also been a member of the Washington State Psychological Association (WSPA) since 1984, and of the California Psychological Association (CPA) since 2007, serving as the CPA President in 2017.

5. One of the primary foci of my 30 years of clinical practice has been to counsel men who have been harmed, both emotionally and physically, by undergoing "sexual orientation change efforts" ("SOCE"). For almost thirty years, I have written extensively about issues relating to SOCE, including more than forty papers and chapters in scholarly journals and books. I have a book on the subject scheduled for publication later this year ("Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity Change Efforts: Evidence, Effects and Ethics," Columbia University Press). All of my publications are summarized in my *curriculum vitae* (Exhibit A).

SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS AND ETHICAL ISSUES

6. SOCE is not an accepted therapeutic practice among mainstream mental health organizations and mainstream mental health providers and academics. This is because: (1) there is no valid evidence that it achieves the stated goal; and (2) there is significant and valid evidence that it can cause serious harm, including serious emotional consequences such as depression, anxiety, suicidal ideation, and suicide. Professional psychological ethics proscribe

the use of methods that are ineffective and potentially harmful. For these reasons, numerous professional organizations in mental health, medicine, social work and nursing have long opposed SOCE.

7. A review of the SOCE research literature reflects that the premise underlying treatments designed to change homosexual orientation is that homosexuality is a mental disorder that needs to be "cured." When homosexuality was declassified as a treatable mental disorder nearly forty years ago, it was assumed by many that the popularity of treatments intended to change sexual orientation would come to an end. While some of the most notorious aversive change therapies have largely fallen into disfavor, including the application of electric shock to the hands and/or genitals, or nausea-inducing drugs, some practitioners have continued to engage in other types of SOCE premised on the unscientific belief that homosexual orientation is undesirable, pathological, and the result of learned behavior, which can be reconditioned through various means.

8. Other SOCE practitioners claim that their approaches are not based on a pathological view of same-sex attraction and behavior, but simply are offered to provide an adult who "freely chooses" to change their sexual orientation in order to conform to expectations of the individual's social world, including their family and/or culture. As discussed below, I would submit that: (1) the considerable social pressure of a homonegative culture does not provide an individual "freedom of choice" with regard to same-sex attraction and behavior; (2) regardless, there are a number of treatments that a client may request which a psychologist is ethically prohibited from offering if said treatments are likely to be ineffective and/or harmful; and (3) evidence-based therapeutic alternatives to SOCE exist for those conflicted about their sexual orientation that do not involve an *a priori* therapeutic goal of changing one's sexual orientation.

SOCE IS NOT EFFECTIVE

9. Proponents of SOCE base their claims of success largely on anecdotal reports of shifts in sexual orientation, of competence in heterosexual expression, or of ability to refrain from engaging in same-sex behavior. These anecdotal claims are suspect for two reasons. First, they are subject to social desirability and never independently verified as true. Second, pro-SOCE testimonials are routinely presented in the period immediately following treatment, and often at the behest of their providers – an ethical violation in and of itself – and rarely subjected to long– or even medium-term follow-up assessment to establish treatment stability effects.

10. In 2009, the APA appointed a Task Force whose charge was to carefully examine all extant research on SOCE. The Task Force member who oversaw the evaluation of the methodologies underlying this research was a research methodology expert with no declared biases or preconceived notion about the efficacy of SOCE. The Task Force examined over a hundred studies spanning many decades, and concluded that there is no reliable evidence to suggest that SOCE is effective in changing a patient's sexual orientation.[1]

11. After a peer review of the conclusions of the APA Task Force, the APA passed a resolution in 2009 declaring that "there is insufficient evidence to support the use of psychological interventions to change sexual orientation." Exhibit B, at 120. In addition, the resolution pointed out that "the benefits reported by participants in sexual orientation change efforts can be gained through approaches that do not attempt to change sexual orientation." *Id.* at 121. As a result, the APA, like all the other major mental-health organizations, has resolved that SOCE is unnecessary and potentially harmful.

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[1] Am. Psychl. Ass'n, Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, *Report of the American Psychological Association Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation*, (2009). A copy of this report is attached as Exhibit B.

12. Those studies that purport to show the efficacy of SOCE are characterized by serious methodological flaws and conceptual weaknesses that render their results unreliable. Foremost among the methodological problems with these studies is known as *sampling bias*. The participants in these studies have been selected by, or identified exclusively by, referrals from practitioners of SOCE. Alternatively, these subjects self-selected to participate in studies from "ex-gay" organizations and practitioners. This method runs counter to the scientific standard of randomized subject inclusion, and renders any results suspect due to sampling bias.

13. In addition, the Task Force found that pro-SOCE studies rarely include any effort to define what constitutes sexual orientation in the first place. Absent any sort of spectrum reflecting the subjects' own individual sexual orientation, for example, bisexual individuals who presumably already have capacity for heterosexual response may have been included in claims of "cures" of unwanted same-sex attraction.

14. The Task Force also found that pro-SOCE studies rarely include any effort to define quantitatively what constitutes a change of sexual orientation. As sexual behavior is difficult to validate, pro-SOCE studies rely exclusively on self-report, which leaves them vulnerable to *response bias*. This means that the study participants, because of societal and/or cultural pressures from family or religious institutions, typically hold strong views that homosexuality is undesirable and therefore are likely to overstate their perceived success in changing their authentic sexual orientations. Almost all such studies draw on a subject's retrospective analysis of the therapeutic experience, which is further influenced by pressures (from family and social desirability) generally linked to membership in a conservative religious community. Studies relying on a population-based (randomized) sampling method are far more robust and generalizable.

15. Finally, few of the SOCE studies offer any follow-up data. This is particularly relevant given the fact that any true shift in sexual orientation from SOCE may be transitory and not enduring post-"treatment." Additionally, pro-SOCE studies frequently ignore extraordinarily high dropout rates. The failure to follow up with the participants who have dropped out serves to distort the results of these studies, because they do not take into account the large number of individuals for whom the treatment was, at best, ineffective, and quite possibly harmful. Indeed, it is worth noting that even in these tremendously flawed studies, proponents of SOCE report only a 30% success rate at best. Nevertheless, these studies are marketed as "scientific" to a public that is unable to critically evaluate them.

16. The methodological flaws in the studies purporting to show the efficacy of SOCE therapies were underscored by Dr. Robert Spitzer, the author of what had been considered to be the most well-known and authoritative study purporting to demonstrate that SOCE may work for some individuals under certain circumstances. Several years ago, Dr. Spitzer took the unusual step of recanting his 2001 study that had been published in the *Archives of Sexual Behavior*. Dr. Spitzer admitted that his study had been methodologically flawed and that there was no valid basis for his study's conclusion that SOCE had succeeded in changing the sexual orientation of any study participants. Indeed, Dr. Spitzer issued a public apology for having made unproven claims regarding the efficacy of SOCE and subjecting individuals to the harms of SOCE interventions. An article from the *New York Times* detailing this retraction is attached as Exhibit C. Dr. Spitzer gave a brief videotaped statement explaining the methodological flaws in his prior study and explaining his current view that SOCE causes harm. A video of Dr. Spitzer's statement is available at http://youtu.be/TdOovBb2tqI, and a transcript of that statement (dated

November 2, 2012) is available on the docket of *Welch v. Brown*, No. 2:12-cv-02484-WBS-KJN (E.D. Cal.) (Dkt. No. 40-3].

SOCE POSES A SIGNIFICANT RISK OF HARM

17. Motivation to change one's sexual orientation is invariably rooted in social stigma about same-sex attraction and behavior. When this stigma is internalized, an individual may blame himself for experiences of rejection, maltreatment or threat of isolation (loss of family, community of faith). SOCE validates and reaffirms the internalization of what is essentially a social problem, namely anti-gay bias. SOCE not only reinforces this societal rejection, it carries the false appearance of scientific acceptance by enshrining it as a legitimate form of psychological treatment. Because SOCE reaffirms the devaluation of same-sex attracted people and relationships, it frequently exacerbates the patient's distress and results in severe emotional harm. Harms from SOCE can manifest in the form of depression, guilt, anxiety, low self-esteem, intimacy avoidance, sexual dysfunction, suicidal ideation, suicide attempts and suicide, and other negative consequences.

18. Recent population-based research further demonstrates the risk of harm to adults who "freely chose" or were subjected to SOCE.[2] These negative outcomes include more mental health problems and generally lower levels of life satisfaction, suicidality, and a greater likelihood of engaging in high-risk sexual behaviors. Another recent study found dissociation and emotional numbness, an increase in compulsive behaviors such as substance abuse, and heightened depression and anxiety among SOCE participants.[3] Still another study found feelings

[2] Caitlin Ryan et al., *Parent-Initiated Sexual Orientation Change Efforts With LGBT Adolescents: Implications for Young Adult Mental Health and Adjustment*, Journal of Homosexuality (2018). A copy of this article is attached as Exhibit D.

[3] Jeanna Jacobsen & Rachel Wright, *Mental Health Implications in Mormon Women's Experiences With Same-Sex Attraction: A Qualitative Study*, 42 The Counseling Psychologist 664 (2014). A copy of this article is attached as Exhibit E.

of anger, and grief at having wasted time and resources on ineffective treatment, as well as feelings of betrayal at having been lied to by licensed mental health SOCE providers.[4]

19. Additionally, a patient's recognition that SOCE has failed can cause further lead to severe emotional consequences. LGB individuals — regardless of whether they attempt to change their orientation through SOCE — are at heightened risk of expulsion from family, loss of position in society, rejection from familiar institutions, loss of faith in and membership in the community, and vulnerability to anti-gay biases. The failed attempt to change one's sexual orientation — because it often is perceived to be a "failure" on the part of the patient — exacerbates these risks. This in turn can cause additional negative emotional consequences like those described above: depression, guilt, anxiety, low self-esteem, intimacy avoidance, sexual dysfunction, suicidal ideation, and other negative consequences derived not just from shame about being gay, but also from heightened shame and self-recrimination over being unable to change their sexual orientation through SOCE. In this way, SOCE can substantially exacerbate internalized shame and depression.

20. My own experience as a mental health provider confirms the harms that SOCE therapies cause. For over thirty years, I have been working with adult patients in my clinical practice who have suffered through a variety of efforts to change their sexual orientation and have been harmed as a result.

21. The potential consequences of SOCE, such as severe depression and suicidal ideation, are sufficiently grave, and the power and information dynamics sufficiently imbalanced, that it is appropriate to erect a complete barrier between patients and therapists who

[4] John P. Dehlin et al., *Sexual Orientation Change Efforts Among Current or Former LDS Church Members,* Journal of Counseling Psychology (2015). A copy of this article is attached as Exhibit F.

would offer them the false hope of changing their sexual orientation through SOCE. One of the core ethical principles in every health care profession is the avoidance of harm to a patient.

22. My conclusions regarding the harms caused by SOCE therapies have been reinforced in recent years. The Report of the American Psychological Association Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (the "APA Task Force Report") concluded that SOCE interventions have no scientific basis. *See* Exhibit B. The APA Task Force Report undertook a comprehensive review of the relevant research literature and concluded that there was no reliable evidence to support the contention that SOCE therapies work. The APA Task Force Report also provided a detailed discussion and analysis of the harms associated with SOCE therapies

23. "Informed consent" is appropriate only for therapies that offer at least some potential benefits, which SOCE does not. There are many potential benefits for LGB - individuals who seek therapy. Therapy can provide a safe place to discuss conflict, experience support, and develop hope. None of these benefits derives from the practice of SOCE itself, but rather from universal techniques of psychotherapy. These basic benefits can be provided by culturally competent care, without creating the risks of harm caused by SOCE.

SOCE DOES NOT ADVANCE CLIENT AUTONOMY

24. Competent, ethical psychologists respect a client's right to self-determination. That does not mean, however, that a psychologist is ethically required to defer to a client's stated goals, without regard to medical and ethical guidelines. Nor does that mean that a psychologist must provide a patient with whatever form of therapy the client wants, regardless of the therapy's efficacy or potential harm, or that clients should be permitted to demand such therapy. For example, if an anorexic patient asks for help in losing more weight, competent psychologists do

not defer to this goal out of respect for the patient's self-determination due to the known harm in doing so.

25. Psychology is a profession and a scientific discipline, not merely a service industry. Competent psychologists listen to a client's stated goals and experiences, and guide the client through the process of exploring the emotional basis for those goals and experiences using accepted therapeutic techniques. It is through this process that competent therapists assist clients in gaining understanding, and, based on that understanding, determining healthy and emotionally sound strategies for living their chosen lives.

26. When a patient consents to treatment with a predetermined outcome (improved self-esteem, weight loss, trauma recovery), it is expected that the provider of such service will rely on empirically validated methods to accomplish the treatment goal. First, however, it must be shown that the goal in question is realistic. As set forth above, there is no evidence base for the conclusion that sexual orientation can be changed, nor that there is any effective and safe way to accomplish this. SOCE necessarily runs counter to established, ethical methods because it presupposes an expected outcome that is unrealistic and therapeutically indefensible. Moreover, SOCE excludes any accurate and honest exploration of the basis for the desire to be heterosexual. Our first response to a patient requesting a change of their sexual orientation might be to ask, "why?" – not to enroll them in a fraudulent and potentially risky course of treatment.

27. Professional guidelines and ethical principles admonish psychologists against the imposition of personal, religious, or idiosyncratic beliefs upon any patient. SOCE presupposes an unrealistic outcome, and is often pursued at the expense of personal exploration of sexual orientation and identity. In this way, SOCE *thwarts* client autonomy, rather than advances it. By this I mean that SOCE, as an element of a homonegative sociocultural context that causes people

to desire change in sexual orientation, reinforces the bond between the conflicted LGB person and shame-based cultural views. Continuing to reinforce prejudicial and dangerous messages, SOCE prohibits a person's ability to consider other, more appropriate ways of understanding and expressing sexual orientation.

28. Respecting client autonomy does not mean that SOCE needs to be available in order to serve clients with strong religious beliefs. Regardless of a client's religious beliefs, it is inappropriate for a competent therapist to offer a purported "treatment" that does not work and creates a significant risk of serious harm. A competent therapist treating a client with strong religious beliefs assists the client in understanding the source and emotional consequences of any conflicts between experience and belief, and in negotiating a healthy life course in light of accurate knowledge about what can be changed and what cannot.

29. The APA Task Force Report reaches this same conclusion regarding the appropriate manner of respecting client autonomy:

> We believe that simply providing SOCE to clients who request it does not necessarily increase self-determination but rather abdicates the responsibility of [mental healthcare providers] to provide competent assessment and interventions that have the potential for benefit with a limited risk of harm. We also believe that [mental healthcare providers] are more likely to maximize their clients' self-determination by providing effective psychotherapy that increases a client's abilities to cope, understand, acknowledge, explore, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life in which the client determines the ultimate manner in which he or she does or does not express sexual orientation.

30. Unlike the discredited SOCE therapies, interventions or therapies that affirm a patient's sexual orientation and gender identity actually promote the patient's autonomy and self-determination, because true self-determination is accomplished when the patient's false assumptions are corrected and the individual is allowed to make truly informed decisions about his life.

CONCLUSION

31. SOCE methods designed to change an individual's sexual orientation have not been empirically demonstrated to be either effective or safe. Indeed, SOCE needlessly exposes patients to risk of serious harms. In fact, based on my 30 years of experience studying and writing about SOCE in textbook peer reviewed journals, as well as my 30 years of clinical observations, I am convinced that many individuals who attempted to change their sexual orientation have experienced considerable psychological pain and harm.

Dated: March 27, 2019
Pleasant Hill, California

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VITA

Current Work

Member, Board of Trustees, American Psychological Association Insurance Trust (2009-2012)

Independent Practice in Counseling Psychology since 1983, Seattle, WA

Member, Board for the Advancement of Psychology in the Public Interest, American Psychological Association (2009-2011)

Diversity Representative to APA Council from Division 42 (Independent Practice) 2010-2012

Member, Board of Trustees, Association for the Advancement of Psychology (2010-2012)

Diversity Officer, Washington State Psychological Association (2009-2010)

Clinical Instructor, Department of Psychology, University of Washington (since 1988)

Aviation Psychologist Evaluator, Federal Aviation Administration (since 1985)

Educational Background

B.A., 1973 (Drama) University of Washington

M.A., 1975 (Teaching) Stanford University

Ph.D., 1984 (Counseling Psychology) University of Washington

Publications

Haldeman, D. (2010) Reflections of a gay male psychologist. In J. Kelly & N. Kaslow (Eds). Professional Psychology: Therory, Research and Practice, 47 (2), 177-185.

Haldeman, D. (2010) Evaluating pilots and air traffic controllers. In Walfish, S. and Barnett, J. Fifty Ways for Practitioners to Leave Managed Care Washington D.C.: APA Books

McGarrah, N; Alvord, M; Haldeman, D; Martin, J. (2009) In the public eye: Ethical concerns for psychologists in the media. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 20, (2)

Haldeman, D. (2008). Gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender patients in the health care setting. In O.Z. Sahler & J.E. Carr (Eds.), The Behavioral Sciences and Health Care, 2nd Ed. Goettingen, Germany: Hogrefe & Haber

Kiselica, M., Mule, M., and Haldeman, D. (2007). Finding inner peace in a homophobic world: Counseling gay boys and boys who are questioning their sexual identity. In M. Kiselica (Ed.), Counseling Troubled Boys, New York: Routledge

Haldeman, D. (2006). When conversion therapy fails: A review of Fish Can't Fly. Sexual and Relationship Therapy: web journal (October, 2006).

Haldeman, D. (2006). The village people: Identity and development in the gay male community. In K. Bieschke, R. Perez & K. DeBord (Eds)., Handbook of Counseling and Psychotherapy with lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Clients. Pp. 71-90. Washington, D.C.: APA Books

Haldeman, D. (2006). Queer eye on the straight guy: A case of gay male heterophobia. In M. Stevens and M. Englar-Carlson (Eds.), In the Room With Men: A Casebook for Psychotherapy with Men. Pp. 301-317, Washington, D.C.: APA Books

Morrow, S., Beckstead, L., Hayes, J. & Haldeman, D. (2004). Impossible dreams, impossible choices, and thoughts about depolarizing the debate. The Counseling Psychologist, 32(5), pp. 778-785.

Haldeman, D. (2004). Clear as folk: A new look at mental health and sexual/gender orientation. Contemporary Psychology

Haldeman, D. (2004). When sexual and religious orientation collide: Considerations for psychotherapy with conflicted gay men. The Counseling Psychologist, 32(5), pp. 691 – 715.

Haldeman, D. & Buhrke, R. (2003). Under a rainbow flag: The diversity of sexual orientation. In J. Robinson & L. James (Eds.), Diversity in Human Interactions, pp. 142 – 156. New York: Oxford Press.

Haldeman, D. (2003). A history of sexual orientation conversion therapy policy at the American Psychological Association. In Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Issues Newsletter, 19(1), pp. 6 – 8.

Haldeman, D. (2002). Gay rights, patient rights: The implications of sexual orientation conversion therapy. Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 33(3), pp.260 – 264.

Haldeman, D. (2002). Therapeutic antidotes: Helping gay men heal from sexual orientation conversion therapy. Journal of Lesbian and Gay Psychotherapy, 3(4), pp. 117 – 130.

Haldeman, D. (2002). Don't come any closer: How heterophobia contaminates interpersonal relationships between gay and heterosexual men. In Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinity Newsletter, 7, pp. 2 – 3.

Haldeman, D. (2001). Counseling gay and bisexual men. In G. Brooks and G. Good (Eds.), A New Handbook for Counseling Men. Pp. 796-815. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Haldeman, D. (2000). Gender atypical youth: Social and clinical issues. The School Psychology Review, 29(2), pp. 216-222.

Division 44/Committee on Lesbian, gay and Bisexual Concerns Joint

Task Force on Professional Practice Guidelines for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Clients. American Psychologist, 55(12), pp. 1409-1421.

Haldeman, D. (2000). Appropriate therapeutic responses to sexual orientation: Psychology's evolution. In B. Greene and G. Croom (Eds.), Education, Research and Practice in Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered Psychoology: A Resource Manual. Pp. 244-262. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Haldeman, D. (1999). The pseudo-science of sexual orientation conversion therapy: Clinical and social implications. Angles, 4(1), pp. 1-4. Amherst, MA: Institute for Lesbian and Gay Strategic Studies.

Haldeman, D. (1999). The best of both worlds: Essentialism and social constructionism in clinical practice. In J. Bohan and G. Russell (Eds.), Conversations About Psychology and Sexual Orientation. Pp. 57-70. New York: New York University Press.

Haldeman, D. (1998). Sexual orientation conversion therapy. Guest column on the Gay Gene website, HYPERLINK "mailto:gaygene@aol.com" gaygene@aol.com

Buhrke, R. & Haldeman, D. (1998). Assessment and treatment of lesbians, gay men and bisexuals. In G. Koocher & J. Norcross (Eds.), Psychologists' Desk Reference. Pp. 365-370. New York: Oxford Press

Haldeman, D. (1998). Private practice special issue: A foreword. Journal of Lesbian and Gay Social Services. New York: Haworth Press

Haldeman, D. (1998). Ceremony and religion in same-sex marriage. In R. Cabaj & D. Purcell (Eds.), On the Road to Same-Sex Marriage. Pp 141-164. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Haldeman, D. (1996). Spirituality and religion in the lives of lesbians and gay men. In R. Cabaj & T. Stein (Eds.), Homosexuality and Psychiatry: A Comprehensive Textbook. Pp. 881-896. Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association Press

Haldeman, D. (1994). The practice and ethics of sexual orientation conversion therapy. Journal of Counseling and Clinical Psychology, 62(2), pp. 221-227.

Haldeman, D. (1991). Sexual orientation conversion therapy for gay men and lesbians: A scientific examination. In J. Gonsiorek & J.

Weinrich (Eds.), Homosexuality: Research Implications for Public Policy. Pp. 149-160. Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Publications in Press

Haldeman, D. (in press) Sexual orientation conversion therapy Casebook: Fact, fiction and fraud. In Dworkin, S. and Pope, M. (Eds). Counseling LGBT Clients American Counseling Association

Haldeman, D. (in preparation) The evolving family. In J. Carter & N. Fouyad (Eds.) The Handbook of Counseling Psychology. Washington D.C.: APA Books.

Books in Preparation

Haldeman, D. and Glassgold, J. Changing Sexual Orientation: From Fiction to Fact Washington, D.C.: APA Books

Editorial Posititons

Guest reviewer, Applied Developmental Science (2010)
Consulting Editor, Professional Psychology; Research and Practice (1997-2003; 2005 – present)
Associate Editor, Journal of Clinical Psychology (2010-2011)
Consulting Editor, Journal of Men and Masculinity, (2006-2010)
Guest Reviewer, Traumatology (2009)
Associate Editor, Journal of Lesbian and Gay Psychotherapy (1997 – present)

Video Presentations

Haldeman, D. (2010). Working with gay male clients. J. Carlson (Producer) APA Video Series

Awards and Honors

John D. Black Award for professional contributions to Counseling Psychology (Society of Counseling Psychology, 2007)

APA Presidential Citation, 2005

Distinguished Professional Contribution to Psychology, Georgia Psychological Association (Division H), 2005

Outstanding Scholarly Contribution, Special Issue on Religion and Conversion Therapy, The Counseling Psychologist, 2005, Society of Counseling Psychology (APA Division 17)

Outstanding Leadership Award, APA Public Interest Caucus (2004)

Outstanding Professional Achievement Award, APA Committee on Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Concerns (2002)

Distinguished Contribution to Education and Training, Society for the Psychological Study for Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Issues (Division44) (2000)

Distinguished Professional Contribution, Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Issues (Division 44) (1999)

Distinguished Psychologist Award, Washington State Psychological Association (1996)

Outstanding Contribution, Washington State Psychological Association Committee on Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Concerns (1992)

Teacher of the Year, Harbor High School (Santa Cruz, CA) (1980)

Master Teacher Award, Santa Cruz (CA) City Schools, (1979)

Service in Organized Psychology

Member, American Psychological Association (1985 – present; member # 1773-9298);
Fellow, Divisions 17, 29, 31, 42, 43, 44; Member, Divisions 45, 51, 56

Board of Trustees, American Psychological Association Insurance Trust (2009-present)

Executive Committee (2010-present)
Audit Committee (2010-present)
Professional Liability Review Committee (2009-present)

Member at Large, APA Board of Directors (2006 – 2008)

Liaison to the APA Insurance Trust (2006)
Liaison to Ethics Committee; Chair, Board Ethics Subcommittee (2006-2008)
Member, BOD/CAPP Coordinating Subcommittee (2006-2008)
Liaison (with Dr. Melba Vasquez) to Public Interest Directorate (2007-2008)
Liaison to CSFC (Committee on Structure and Function of Council) (2007-2008)
Liaison to APAGS (American Psychological Association of Graduate Students) (2007-2008)

Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Issues (Division 44)

Representative to APA Council, 2001-2005; President, 1996-1997; President-Elect, 1995-1996; Past President, 1996-1997
Member, Joint Task Force (with Committee on Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Concerns) on Professional Practice Guidelines, 1993-2000 (Co-Chair, 1994-1996)
Fellows Committee, 2000 & 2004
Division Representative to Cluster Convention Programming, 2001-2003
Division Representative to Joint Task Force (with Division 19) on Sexual Orientation and Military Service, 2004

Psychologists in Independent Practice (Division 42)

Diversity Representative to APA Council (2010-2012)
Member at Large, Division Board of Directors 2003-2005
Diversity Committee, member, 2009-2010 Chair, 2010-present
Membership Committee, 2002-2004 (Chair, 2003)
Fellows Committee, 2004-2006 (Chair, 2005)

Society of Counseling Psychology (Division 17)

Chair, APA Governance Nominations and Elections (2009-2011)
Member, APA Awards Committee (2004-2006)
Member, Section on Independent Practice (2003 – present)
Member, Section on LGBT Awareness (2002 – present)

Society for the Psychological Study of Men and Masculinity (Division 51)
Member at Large, Division Board of Directors (200-2003)
Division Representative to Divisions for Social Justice coalition (2001-

2005)

Other Division memberships: 29 (Psychotherapy); 31 (State, Provincial and Territorial Association Affairs); 43 (Family Psychology); 45 (Ethnic Minority issues); 56 (Trauma Psychology).

APA Board and Committee Memberships

Board for the Advancement of Psychology in the Public Interest (2009-2011)
CLGBC (Committee on Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Concerns) 1994-1996; Chair, 1996
Ethics Committee (Associate Member) 2000-2002
CSFC (Committee on Structure and Function of Council) 2003-2005

Caucuses of APA Council of Representatives

LGBT Caucus, Chair-Elect (2010-2012)
Association of Practicing Psychologists: President, 2005; Implementation Chair, 2003-2004; Treasurer, 2011-2014
Public Interest Caucus: Chair, 2003-2004; Treasurer, 2001-2002

Other Caucus memberships: Assembly of Scientist/Practitioner Psychologists; Caucus for the Optimal Utilization of New Talent; Women's Caucus; Caucus of Applied Scientist/Academic Psychologists

Special Projects

The following projects, mostly oriented toward developing APA policies, were done in collaboration with a variety of constituencies:

EPPP Examination for Psychology Licensure in the US and Canada: Item writer for Domain 8 (Ethics and Legal Issues)

President's Task Force on Enhancing Ethnic Minority Representation on Council (2005): Representative to group charged with exploring and implementing ways to increase ethnic minority representation on APA Council

President's Task Force on Diversity (2005): LGB representative to 12-person group charged by APA President Ron Levant with increasing diversity and inclusivity within APA

Working Group on Same-Sex Marriage and Families (2004):

Consultant/advocate for group developing policies on same-sex marriage and parenting

Division 19/44 Task Force on Sexual Orientation and Military Service (2004): Division 44 representative on task force convened by APA Board of Directors to examine and update APA policy on LGB military service personnel

Task Force on Guidelines for Psychotherapy with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Clients (1993-2000) Member of core drafting group developing practice guidelines for LGB clients, working in collaboration with Board of Professional Affairs and Board of Directors

BAPPI (Board for Advancement of Psychology in the Public Interest) Work Group on Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy (1996-1997) Co-authored APA policy statement on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation

Washington State Psychological Association (Member, 1984 – present)

Diversity Officer (2009-2010)
Member at Large, Executive Council (2003-2006)
Chair, Committee on Government and Legal Affairs (1998-2000)
Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Concerns (COLGBTC) (Co-Chair, 1998-1992; Founding member, 1985 – present)
State Coordinator, APA Practice Directorate Fundraiser (1993)
Convention Program Committee (1991)

Association for the Advancement of Psychology (Board of Trustees, 2010-2013; Member, 2000 – present)

Association of Lesbian and Gay Psychiatrists (Associate Member, 1997 – 1999)

Professional Presentations

”Multiple Intersections, One Identity: Ethical Implications for Practice and Training with Conflicted LGBT Clients”, panel presentation with Drs. Melba Vasquez, Judith Glassgold and Stephen Behnke at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Diego, CA (2010, August)

"Intersectionality: Theory, Research and Practice"; discussant for panel with Drs. Elizabeth Cole, Susan Cochran, Beverly Greene and Laura Brown at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Diego, CA (2010, August)

"Ethics of Diversity: Competing Aspects of Identity", panel presentation with Drs. Gerald Koocher and Armand Cerbone at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Diego, CA (2010, August)

"Culture, Politics, Sexual Orientation and Mental Health", Presentation at the California Psychological Association, Costa Mesa, CA, April, 2010

"Issues in Psychotherapy with Men", panel presentation with Drs. Gary Brooks, Ron Levant, Glenn Good and Frederic Rabinowitz, at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, August, 2009

"Some of My Best Friends Are: Challenges of Relationships Between Gay and Heterosexual Men" Presentation with Dr. Mark Kiselica at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, August, 2009

"When Aspects of Diversity Collide: Ethical Implications"; panel presentation at the National Multicultural Summit, with Drs. Melba Vasquez, Judith Glassgold and Jeffrey Barnett; New Orleans, LA (2009, January)

"Ducks in a Row, Quacking: Development of Practice Guidelines for Professional Psychology", discussant on panel presentation at annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA (2008, August)

"Gay Men's Health: A Sociocultural Evolution", paper presented at the meeting of the International Congress of Psychology, Berlin, Germany, July 21, 2008

"Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity, Politics and Religion: Psychology's Perfect Storm", Presentation at the annual meeting of the California Psychological Association, Anaheim, CA, April 8, 2008

"Ethical Balance of Sexual Orientation and Religious Identification: My Life as a Counseling Psychologist"; Fellows address given to Society of Counseling Psychology, 115th annual meeting of the American

Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA (2007, August)

"Don't Ask, Don't Tell, Then What?" Discussant for panel presentation at 115th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA (2007, August)

"Practice Guidelines: What They Are…and What They Aren't" Discussant for panel presentation at the 115th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA (2007, August)

"Religion, Sexual Orientation, and APA Policy" Discussant for panel presentation at the 115th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA (2007, August)

"Data from New Population-Based Studies of Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Individuals' Discussant for panel presentation at the 115th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA (2007, August)

"Our Families, Our Society: Sociotrauma and Other Current Trends in Treating Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender Clients", workshop for the Manhattan Psychological Association, Sept. 10, 2006

"Groundbreaking Brokeback Mountain: Honoring Screenwriter Diana Ossana", award ceremony introductory speech at the 114th annual convention of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, LA (2006, August)

"Counseling Gay and Bisexual Men", workshop with Dr. Gary Brooks, at the 114th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, LA (2006, August)

"Same-Sex Marriage in Cultural Context", Chair and Discussant of panel presentation at the 113th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C. (2005, August)

"Diversifying Your Practice: The Community as Client", panel presentation as part of Division 42 Presidential track programming at the 113th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C. (2005, August)

"A Case of Conflict Resolution: Gays and the Military Meet in Psychology", panel presentation at the 113th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C. (2005, August)

"What's Love Got to Do with It? Sexual Orientation and Religion in Cultural Context", presentation at the Love Welcomes All conference, Bellevue, WA (2005, July)

"When Sexual and Religious Orientation Collide: A Workshop for Practitioners", Georgia Psychological Association, Atlanta, GA (2005, June)
"Science, Pseudoscience, Politics and Culture: Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy Update", presentation at annual national meeting of P-FLAG (Parents, Friends and Families of Lesbians and Gays), Salt Lake City, UT (2004, October)

"Making Psychology Your Own: Communities in Need", Commencement address, Argosy University, Seattle, WA (2004, October)

"Task Force on Sexual Orientation and the Military", panel presentation at the 112th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Honolulu, HI (2004, August)

"Heterophobia: How it Affects Friendships and Intimate Relationships for Gay Men", presentation at the 111th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, Canada (2003, August)

"Therapist as Accidental Activist: How Conversion Therapy Changed My Life", presentation at the 111th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, Canada (2003, August)

"The Mirror Has Many Faces: Multiple Identities for Practitioners and Healers", presentation at the 111th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, Canada (2003, August)

"Maintaining a Focus on Doing Good in Times of Stress About Doing Well", presentation at the 111th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, Canada (2003, August)

"LGBT Identity, Religion, Spirituality, and Culture: Analytical Viewpoints", discussant for panel presentation at the 111th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, Canada (2003, August)

"Diversity Issues for State Psychological Associations", discussant for

Division 31 Presidential Address at the 111th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, Canada (2003, August)

"Guidelines for Psychotherapy with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Clients", workshop presented for Pink Therapy Association, London, England (2003, March)

"Clinical and Research Issues in Psychotherapy with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Clients", presentation at Regent University, Virginia Beach, VA (2002, November)

"After Stonewall: The Evolution of Gay Male Identity", presentation at the 110th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, IL (2002, August)

"Pets as Helpers in Psychotherapy Practice", presentation at the annual meeting of the Delta society, Seattle, WA (2002, May)

"Guidelines for Psychotherapy with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Clients", workshop given for staff at Western State Hospital, Steilacoom, WA (2002, April)

"Psychotherapy with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Clients", workshop for staff of Duke University Counseling and Psychological Servcies Center, Durham, NC (2001, November)

"Can You Change? The Myth of Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy", presentation as part of The Doctor Is Out series, duke University, Durham, NC (2001, November)

"Heterophobia, Homophobia: Divides Between and Within Heterosexual and Gay Men", presentation at the 109th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA (2001, August)

"Innovations in Clinical Practice with Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgendered Clients", chair of panel for Presidential mini-Convention at the 109th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA (2001, August)

"Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy: A Survey of Recent Research", discussant for panel presentation at the 109th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA

(2001, August)

"Animal-Assisted Therapy: Pets in the Hospital and the Psychotherapy Office", presentation at the annual meeting of the Delta Society, Seattle, WA (2001, May)

"Skills Training with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Clients", presentation as part of Board of Convention Affairs symposium at the annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C. (2000, August)

"Gay rights, Patient Rights: The Controversy Over Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy", presentation at the 1008th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C. (2000, August)

"Across the Great Divide: Collaboration Between Clinical Practice and Public Policy", presentation at the 108th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C. (2000, August)

"Sexual Orientation: Clinical Practice and Social policy in a Cross-Cultural Context", invited address at the 35th meeting of the International Congress of Psychology, Stockholm, Sweden (2000, July)

"Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Therapists Working with Bisexual Clients", presentation at the 107th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA (1999, August)

"Changing Sexual Orientation: Does Counseling Work?", discussant for panel presentation at the 107th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Boston, MA (1999, August)

"The Real Reparative Therapy: Helping Families Heal from Homophobia", presentation at annual meeting of Family Fellowship/Four Corners P-FLAG Regional Conference, Salt Lake City, UT (1999, June)

"Psychology with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Clients: Psychology's Evolution", presentation at the annual meeting of the Washington State Psychological Association, Spokane, WA (1998, October)

"Changes in Treatment for HIV/AIDS: Implications for Psychotherapy", presentation at the 106th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, CA (1998, August)

"Hands Across the Atlantic: Cross-Cultural Collaboration in Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Psychology", invited address to the psychology faculty of Helsinki University, Helsinki Finland (1998, June)

"When a Family Member is Gay", presentation at the annual meeting of Family Fellowship, Salt Lake City, UT (1998, June)

"Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation: Psychology's Evolution", workshop for staff of University of Utah Counseling Center, Salt Lake City, UT (1998, June)

"Including Sexual Orientation in a Diversity training Program", presentation at Midwinter meetings of Divisions 29, 42 and 43, San Diego, CA (1998, February)

"Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Psychology at Adolescence: Clinical and Cultural Issues", APA Division 44 Presidential Address presented at the 105th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Chicago, IL (1997, August)

"Reparative Therapy: European and American Perspectives", joint presentation with Dr. Olli Stalstrom, annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, San Diego, CA (1997, May)

"The Moment of Sweet Aloha: Ceremony and Religion in Same-Sex Marriage", presentation at the annual meeting of the American Psychiatric Association, San Diego, CA (1997, May)

"Creating Visibility: Lesbian, gay and Bisexual Issues in Psychotherapy Prractice", joint presentation with Dr. Laura Brown, Midwinter Meeting of APA Divisions 29, 42 and 43, Tampa, FL (1997, February)

"Counseling and Psychotherapy with Those Living with HIV/AIDS: A Delicate Balance", workshop conducted at the annual meeting of the Washington State Psychological Association, Silverdale, WA (1996, October)

"Practice Guidelines with Lesbian and Gay Clients: Research Issues", presentation at the 104th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON, Canada (1996, August)

"A Practitioner's Workshop on Psychotherapy with Lesbian, gay and Bisexual Clients", conducted by APA Division 44/CLGBC Joint Task Force on Psychotherapy Guidelines with Lesbian, gay and Bisexual

Clients at the 103rd annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, New York, NY (1995, August)

"The Mismeasure of Lesbians and Gay Men: Issues in Assessment and Evaluation", presentation at the 102nd annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Los Angeles, CA (1994, August)

"Perpetuating the 'Illness' Myth of Homosexuality: Sexual Orientation Conversion Therapy", presentation at the 101st annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Toronto, ON,, Canada (1993, August)

"Psychological Aspects of AIDS", presentation at the annual meeting of the Washington State Psychological Association, Seattle, WA (1992, October)

"The Bible Tells Me So: Psychological Treatments of Lesbians and Gay Men", presentation at the 100th annual meeting of the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C. (1992, August)

"Ethical Issues in Clinical Practice with Lesbians and Gay Men", joint presentation with Dr. Laura Brown at the annual meeting of the Washington State Psychological Association, Bellevue, WA (1990, October)

"Lesbians, Gay Men, Their Chosen Families and Families of Origin", presentation to the University of Washington School of Social Work, Seattle, WA 91989, February)

"Clinical Issues with Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Clients", annual lecture given to psychology interns, University of Washington Department of Behavioral Sciences, 1985-2000

"The Gay Male Sexual Functioning Scale", presentation at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex, Boston, MA (1984, June)

"A Stage Development Model for Counselor Supervision", presentation at the annual meeting of the Western Association for Counselor Education and Supervision, Seattle, WA (1983, June)

"The Assessment of Sexual Concerns of Gay Men", presentation at the annual meeting for the American Association of Sex Educators, Counselors and Therapists, Bellevue, WA (1982, October)

Media Presentations

Regular contributor to print and on-line interviews on variety of topics related to sexual orientation; reprints available on request

Regular guest commentator on The Grethe Cammemeyer Show, Gay BC radio network, July 2001 – January 2002

“Changing Sexual Orientation”, guest appearance on The Conversation radio show, KUOW-FM, Seattle, WA (2001, May)

“Changing Sexual Orientation: Fact vs. Fiction”, television interview on Evening Magazine, KING-TV, Seattle, WA (2001, May)

“Changing Sexual Orientation: The Ongoing Controversy”, appearance on Good Morning America, ABC News (2001, May)

“Choosing and raising the Right Puppy for You”, radio interview on KFAX-FM, Victoria, B.C, Canada (1999, August)

“L’Homosexualite: Pourquoi Essayer de Changer?” television interview in French on Canal-3 (France), (1999, June)

“Coming Out to Family”, special guest appearance on the Today show, NBC News (1998, July)

“American Psychology’s View of Homosexuality”, radio interview on The Matti Kaukkonen Show, Helsinki, Finland (1996, December)

“The Samoyed”, radio guest appearance on The Pet Professional, KRLA-AM, Tacoma, WA (1996, October)

Host of the Dr. Doug segment of the Hibernia Beach Gay/Lesbian Radio Hour, KITS-FM, San Francisco, CA (1994-1995)

“Can Sexual Orientation Be Changed?” television interview on Evening Magazine Show, KING-FM, Seattle, WA (1990, October)

“The Controversy Over Changing Sexual Orientation”, radio interview on KIRO-AM, Seattle, WA (1990, October)

Community Service

APA Board of Directors Coordinator, Psychology Volunteers for Animals project, Animal Rescue of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA (2006, August)

Pet Partners Therapist, Swedish Hospital Medical Center, Seattle, WA (1998-2000), Pediatrics, Orthopedics, Rehabilitation, High-Risk Pregnancy units

Seattle-King County Mental Health Disaster Response Team, American Red Cross (1992-2000)

Facilitator, Seattle AIDS Support Group, 1986-1989

Facilitator, Committed Relationships Program for Gay Men, Seattle, WA 1986-1988

Volunteer reader, Community Services for the Blind, Seattle, WA (1984-1987)

Volunteer trainer/Crisis intervention worker, Seattle Counseling Service for Sexual Minorities, Seattle, WA (1980-1982)

Crisis intervention volunteer, Santa Cruz Crisis Clinic, 1977-1979

Canine Organizations

Member of the following Canine organizations:

Samoyed Club of America (1992 – present)

Nominations and Elections Committee, 2004
Banquet emcee/entertainer, 2004, 2006, 2008
Grounds Chair, 20006

Samoyed Club of Washington State (1988 – present)
Board of Directors, 1992-2000; 2006 – present

Sammamish (All-Breed) Kennel Club, 1995 – present
Announcer and soloist, 1999 – present
Grounds Chair, 1995-2004

Mount Rainier Working Dog Club (founding member, 2003 – present)
Nominations and Elections Committee, 2005 – present
Announcer and soloist for first AKC sanctioned show (2008, August)

Samoyed Association of Canada, 1995 – present

Samoyed Fanciers of Vancouver Island, 1993 – present

Delta Society (1997-2000) Certified therapist for animal-assisted activities and therapy

Judging experience: Fun matches for Sammamish KC, Samoyed Club of Washington State & Mount Rainier Working Dog Club; Sporting Dog Spectacular of British Columbia: Puppy & Veteran Sweepstakes judge, July, 2006

Personal Information

Born: September 16, 1951, Seattle, WA
Citizenship: US
Family status: Same-sex life partner of 31 years; married in Canada
Languages spoken: English, French, Swedish (fluently); some Spanish, German
Hobbies: Long-distance running; Dog breeding, training, showing; language study

AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Report of the American Psychological Association Task Force on

Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation

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Beverly Greene, PhD
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ABSTRACT

The American Psychological Association Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation conducted a systematic review of the peer-reviewed journal literature on sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE) and concluded that efforts to change sexual orientation are unlikely to be successful and involve some risk of harm, contrary to the claims of SOCE practitioners and advocates. Even though the research and clinical literature demonstrate that same-sex sexual and romantic attractions, feelings, and behaviors are normal and positive variations of human sexuality regardless of sexual orientation identity, the task force concluded that the population that undergoes SOCE tends to have strongly conservative religious views that lead them to seek to change their sexual orientation. Thus, the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for those who seek SOCE involves therapist acceptance, support, and understanding of clients and the facilitation of clients' active coping, social support, and identity exploration and development, without imposing a specific sexual orientation identity outcome.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In February 2007, the American Psychological Association (APA) established the Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation and charged the task force with three major tasks:

1. Review and update the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998).
2. Generate a report that includes discussion of the following:
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both.
   - The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.
   - Education, training, and research issues as they pertain to such therapeutic interventions.
   - Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.
3. Inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

As part of the fulfillment of its charge, the task force undertook an extensive review of the recent literature on psychotherapy and the psychology of sexual orientation. There is a growing body of evidence concluding that sexual stigma, manifested as prejudice and discrimination directed at non-heterosexual sexual orientations and identities, is a major source of stress for sexual minorities.* This stress, known as *minority stress*, is a factor in mental health disparities found in some sexual minorities. The minority stress model also provides a framework for considering psychotherapy with sexual minorities, including understanding stress, distress, coping, resilience, and recovery. For instance, the affirmative approach to psychotherapy grew out of an awareness that sexual minorities benefit

* We use the term *sexual minority* (cf. Blumenfeld, 1992; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Ullerstam, 1966) to designate the entire group of individuals who experience significant erotic and romantic attractions to adult members of their own sex, including those who experience attractions to members of their own and of the other sex. This term is used because we recognize that not all sexual minority individuals adopt a lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity.

when the sexual stigma they experience is addressed in psychotherapy with interventions that reduce and counter internalized stigma and increase active coping.

The task force, in recognition of human diversity, conceptualized affirmative interventions within the domain of cultural competence, consistent with general multicultural approaches that acknowledge the importance of age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status. We see this multiculturally competent and affirmative approach as grounded in an acceptance of the following scientific facts:

- Same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality—in other words, they do not indicate either mental or developmental disorders.
- Homosexuality and bisexuality are stigmatized, and this stigma can have a variety of negative consequences (e.g., minority stress) throughout the life span.
- Same-sex sexual attractions and behavior occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientations and sexual orientation identities, and for some, sexual orientation identity (i.e., individual or group membership and affiliation, self-labeling) is fluid or has an indefinite outcome.
- Gay men, lesbians, and bisexual individuals form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to heterosexual relationships and families in essential respects.
- Some individuals choose to live their lives in accordance with personal or religious values (i.e., telic congruence).

Summary of the Systematic Review of the Literature

Efficacy and Safety

In order to ascertain whether there was a research basis for revising the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998) and providing more specific recommendations to licensed mental health practitioners, the public, and policymakers, the task force performed a systematic review of the peer-reviewed literature to answer three questions:

- Are sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)** effective at changing sexual orientation?
- Are SOCE harmful?
- Are there any additional benefits that can be reasonably attributed to SOCE?

The review covered the peer-reviewed journal articles in English from 1960 to 2007. Most studies in this area were conducted before 1981, and only a few studies have been conducted in the last 10 years. We found serious methodological problems in this area of research; only a few studies met the minimal standards for evaluating whether psychological treatments such as efforts to change sexual orientation are effective. Few studies—all conducted in the period from 1969 to 1978—could be considered true experiments or quasi-experiments that would isolate and control the factors that might effect change (Birk, Huddleston, Miller, & Cohler, 1971; S. James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy, Proctor, & Barr, 1972; Tanner, 1974, 1975). Only one of these studies (Tanner, 1974) actually compared people who received a treatment with people who did not and could therefore rule out the possibility that other things, such as being motivated to change, were the true cause of any change the researchers observed in the study participants.

None of the recent research (1999–2007) meets methodological standards that permit conclusions regarding efficacy or safety. The few high-quality studies of SOCE conducted recently are qualitative (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001); although they aid in an understanding of the population that undergoes sexual orientation change, they do not provide the kind of information needed for definitive answers to questions of safety and efficacy. Given the limited amount of methodologically sound research, claims that recent SOCE is effective are not supported.

We concluded that the early high-quality evidence is the best basis for predicting what the outcome of valid interventions would be. These studies show that

** In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation is uncommon. The participants in this body of research continued to experience same-sex attractions following SOCE and did not report significant change to other-sex attractions that could be empirically validated, though some showed lessened physiological arousal to sexual stimuli. Compelling evidence of decreased same-sex sexual behavior and of engagement in sexual behavior with the other sex was rare. Few studies provided strong evidence that any changes produced in laboratory conditions translated to daily life. Thus, the results of scientifically valid research indicate that it is unlikely that individuals will be able to reduce same-sex attractions or increase other-sex sexual attractions through SOCE.

We found that there was some evidence to indicate that individuals experienced harm from SOCE. Early studies documented iatrogenic effects of aversive forms of SOCE. These negative side effects included loss of sexual feeling, depression, suicidality, and anxiety. High dropout rates characterized early aversive treatment studies and may be an indicator that research participants experienced these treatments as harmful. Recent research reports on religious and nonaversive efforts indicate that there are individuals who perceive they have been harmed. Across studies, it is unclear what specific individual characteristics and diagnostic criteria would prospectively distinguish those individuals who will later perceive that they been harmed by SOCE.

Individuals Who Seek SOCE and Their Experiences

Although the recent SOCE research cannot provide conclusions regarding efficacy or safety, it does provide some information on those individuals who participate in change efforts. SOCE research identified a population of individuals who experienced conflicts and distress related to same-sex attractions. The vast majority of people who participated in the early studies were adult White males, and many of these individuals were court-mandated to receive treatment. In the research conducted over the last 10 years, the population was mostly well-educated individuals, predominantly men, who consider religion to be an extremely important part of their lives and participate in traditional or conservative faiths (e.g., The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, evangelical Christianity, and Orthodox Judaism). These recent studies included a small number of participants who identified as members of ethnic minority groups, and a few studies included women.

Most of the individuals studied had tried a variety of methods to change their sexual orientation, including psychotherapy, support groups, and religious efforts. Many of the individuals studied were recruited from groups endorsing SOCE. The relation between the characteristics of the individuals in samples used in these studies and the entire population of people who seek SOCE is unknown because the studies have relied entirely on convenience samples.

Former participants in SOCE reported diverse evaluations of their experiences: Some individuals perceived that they had benefited from SOCE, while others perceived that they had been harmed. Individuals who failed to change sexual orientation, while believing they should have changed with such efforts, described their experiences as a significant cause of emotional and spiritual distress and negative self-image. Other individuals reported that SOCE was helpful—for example, it helped them live in a manner consistent with their faith. Some individuals described finding a sense of community through religious SOCE and valued having others with whom they could identify. These effects are similar to those provided by mutual support groups for a range of problems, and the positive benefits reported by participants in SOCE, such as reduction of isolation, alterations in how problems are viewed, and stress reduction, are consistent with the findings of the general mutual support group literature. The research literature indicates that the benefits of SOCE mutual support groups are not unique and can be provided within an affirmative and multiculturally competent framework, which can mitigate the harmful aspects of SOCE by addressing sexual stigma while understanding the importance of religion and social needs.

Recent studies of participants who have sought SOCE do not adequately distinguish between *sexual orientation* and *sexual orientation identity*. We concluded that the failure to distinguish these aspects of human sexuality has led SOCE research to obscure what actually can or cannot change in human sexuality. The available evidence of both early and recent studies suggests that although sexual orientation is unlikely to change, some individuals modified their sexual orientation identity (e.g., individual or group membership and affiliation, self-labeling) and other aspects of sexuality (e.g., values and behavior). They did so in a variety of ways and with varied and

unpredictable outcomes, some of which were temporary. For instance, in some research, individuals, through participating in SOCE, became skilled in ignoring or tolerating their same-sex attractions. Some individuals reported that they went on to lead outwardly heterosexual lives, developing a sexual relationship with an other-sex partner, and adopting a heterosexual identity. These results were less common for those with no prior heterosexual experience.

Literature on Children and Adolescents

To fulfill part of the task force charge, we reviewed the limited research on child and adolescent issues and drew the following conclusions: There is no research demonstrating that providing SOCE to children or adolescents has an impact on adult sexual orientation. The few studies of children with gender identity disorder found no evidence that psychotherapy provided to those children had an impact on adult sexual orientation. There is currently no evidence that teaching or reinforcing stereotyped gender-normative behavior in childhood or adolescence can alter sexual orientation. We have concerns that such interventions may increase self-stigma and minority stress and ultimately increase the distress of children and adolescents.

We were asked to report on adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation. The limited published literature on these programs suggests that many do not present accurate scientific information regarding same-sex sexual orientations to youths and families, are excessively fear-based, and have the potential to increase sexual stigma. These efforts pose challenges to best clinical practices and professional ethics, as they potentially violate current practice guidelines by not providing treatment in the least-restrictive setting possible, by not protecting client autonomy, and by ignoring current scientific information on sexual orientation.

Recommendations and Future Directions

Practice

The task force was asked to report on the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both. The clinical literature indicated that adults perceive a benefit when they are provided with client-centered, multicultural, evidence-based approaches that provide (a) acceptance and support, (b) a comprehensive assessment, (c) active coping, (d) social support, and (e) identity exploration and development. Acceptance and support include unconditional acceptance of and support for the various aspects of the client; respect for the client's values, beliefs, and needs; and a reduction in internalized sexual stigma. Comprehensive assessment involves an awareness of the complete person, including mental health concerns that could impact distress about sexual orientation. Active coping includes both cognitive and emotional strategies to manage stigma and conflicts, including the development of alternative cognitive frames to resolve cognitive dissonance and the facilitation of affective expression and resolution of losses. Social support, which can mitigate distress caused by isolation, rejection, and lack of role models, includes psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (e.g., ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations). Identity exploration and development include offering permission and opportunity to explore a wide range of options and reducing the conflicts caused by dichotomous or conflicting conceptions of self and identity without prioritizing a particular outcome.

This framework is consistent with multicultural and evidence-based practices in psychotherapy and is built on three key findings:

- Our systematic review of the early research found that enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation was unlikely.
- Our review of the scholarly literature on individuals distressed by their sexual orientation indicated that clients perceived a benefit when offered interventions that emphasize acceptance, support, and recognition of important values and concerns.
- Studies indicate that experiences of stigma—such as self-stigma, shame, isolation and rejection from relationships and valued communities, lack of emotional support and accurate information, and conflicts between multiple identities and between values and attractions—played a role in creating distress in individuals. Many religious individuals desired to live their lives in a manner consistent with their values (telic congruence); however, telic

congruence based on stigma and shame is unlikely to result in psychological well-being.

In terms of formulating the goals of treatment, we propose that, on the basis of research on sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity, what appears to shift and evolve in some individuals' lives is sexual orientation identity, not sexual orientation. Given that there is diversity in how individuals define and express their sexual orientation identity, an affirmative approach is supportive of clients' identity development without an a priori treatment goal concerning how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation or spiritual beliefs. This type of therapy can provide a safe space where the different aspects of the evolving self can be acknowledged, explored, respected, and potentially rewoven into a more coherent sense of self that feels authentic to the client, and it can be helpful to those who accept, reject, or are ambivalent about their same-sex attractions. The treatment does not differ, although the outcome of the client's pathway to a sexual orientation identity does. Other potential targets of treatment are emotional adjustment, including shame and self-stigma, and personal beliefs, values, and norms.

We were asked to report on the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose parent or guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change. The framework proposed for adults (i.e., acceptance and support, a comprehensive assessment, active coping, social support, and identity exploration and development) is also pertinent—with unique relevant features—to children and adolescents. For instance, the clinical literature stresses interventions that accept and support the development of healthy self-esteem, facilitate the achievement of appropriate developmental milestones—including the development of a positive identity—and reduce internalized sexual stigma.

For parents who are concerned or distressed by their child's sexual orientation, licensed mental health providers (LMHP) can provide accurate information about sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity and can offer anticipatory guidance and psychotherapy that support family reconciliation.

Research indicates that family interventions that reduce rejection and increase acceptance of their child and adolescent are helpful. For parents who are concerned or distressed by their child's sexual orientation, licensed mental health providers (LMHP) can provide accurate information about sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity and can offer anticipatory guidance and psychotherapy that support family reconciliation (e.g., communication, understanding, and empathy) and maintenance of the child's total health and well-being.

Additionally, the research and clinical literature indicates that increasing social support for sexual minority children and youth by intervening in schools and communities to increase their acceptance and safety is important. Services for children and youth should support and respect age-appropriate issues of self-determination; services should also be provided in the least restrictive setting that is clinically possible and should maximize self-determination. At a minimum, the assent of the youth should be obtained, including whenever possible a developmentally appropriate informed consent to treatment.

Some religious individuals with same-sex attractions experience psychological distress and conflict due to the perceived irreconcilability of their sexual orientation and religious beliefs. The clinical and research literature encourages the provision of acceptance, support, and recognition of the importance of faith to individuals and communities while recognizing the science of sexual orientation. This includes an understanding of the client's faith and the psychology of religion, especially issues such as religious coping, motivation, and identity. Clients' exploration of possible life paths can address the reality of their sexual orientation and the possibilities for a religiously and spiritually meaningful and rewarding life. Such psychotherapy can enhance clients' search for meaning, significance, and a relationship with the sacred in their lives; increase positive religious coping; foster an understanding of religious motivations; help integrate religious and sexual orientation identities; and reframe sexual orientation identities to reduce self-stigma.

LMHP strive to provide interventions that are consistent with current ethical standards. The APA *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* (APA, 2002b) and relevant APA guidelines and resolutions (e.g., APA, 2000, 2002c, 2004, 2005a, 2007b) are resources for psychologists, especially Ethical Principles A (Beneficence and Nonmaleficense), D (Justice), and E (Respect for People's Rights and

Dignity, including self-determination). For instance, LMHP reduce potential harm and increase potential benefits by basing their scientific and professional judgments and actions on the most current and valid scientific evidence, such as the evidence provided in this report (see APA, 2002b, Standard 2.04, Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments). LMHP enhance principles of social justice when they strive to understand the effects of sexual stigma, prejudice, and discrimination on the lives of individuals, families, and communities. Further, LMHP aspire to respect diversity in all aspects of their work, including age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, and socioeconomic status.

Self-determination is the process by which a person controls or determines the course of her or his own life (according to the *Oxford American Dictionary*, 2007). LMHP maximize self-determination by (a) providing effective psychotherapy that explores the client's assumptions and goals, without preconditions on the outcome; (b) providing resources to manage and reduce distress; and (c) permitting the client to decide the ultimate goal of how to self-identify and live out her or his sexual orientation. Although some accounts suggest that providing SOCE increases self-determination, we were not persuaded by this argument, as it encourages LMHP to provide treatment that has not provided evidence of efficacy, has the potential to be harmful, and delegates important professional decisions that should be based on qualified expertise and training—such as diagnosis and type of therapy. Rather, therapy that increases the client's ability to cope, understand, acknowledge, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life is the measured approach.

Education and Training

The task force was asked to provide recommendations on education and training for LMHP working with this population. We recommend that mental health professionals working with individuals who are considering SOCE learn about evidence-based and multicultural interventions and obtain additional knowledge, awareness, and skills in the following areas:

- Sexuality, sexual orientation, and sexual identity development.
- Various perspectives on religion and spirituality, including models of faith development, religious coping, and the positive psychology of religion.
- Identity development, including integration of multiple identities and the resolution of identity conflicts.
- The intersections of age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status.
- Sexual stigma and minority stress.

We also recommend that APA (a) take steps to encourage community colleges, undergraduate programs, graduate school training programs, internship sites, and postdoctoral programs in psychology to include this report and other relevant material on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) issues in their curriculum; (b) maintain the currently high standards for APA approval of continuing professional education providers and programs; (c) offer symposia and continuing professional education workshops at APA's annual convention that focus on treatment of individuals distressed by their same-sex attractions, especially those who struggle to integrate religious and spiritual beliefs with sexual orientation identities; and (d) disseminate this report widely, including publishing a version of this report in an appropriate journal or other publication.

The information available to the public about SOCE is highly variable and can be confusing and misleading. Sexual minorities, individuals aware of same-sex attractions, families, parents, caregivers, policymakers, the public, and religious leaders can benefit from accurate scientific information about sexual orientation and the appropriate interventions for individuals distressed by their same-sex attractions. We recommend that APA take the lead in creating informational materials for sexual minority individuals, families, parents, and other stakeholders, including religious organizations, on appropriate multiculturally competent and client-centered interventions for those distressed by their sexual orientation and who may seek SOCE. We also recommended that APA collaborate with other relevant organizations, especially religious organizations, to disseminate this information.

Research

The task force was asked to provide recommendations for future research. We recommend that researchers and practitioners investigate multiculturally competent and affirmative evidence-based treatments for sexual

minorities that do not aim to alter sexual orientation. For such individuals, the focus would be on frameworks that include acceptance and support, a comprehensive assessment, active coping, social support, and identity exploration and development without prioritizing one outcome over another.

The research on SOCE has not adequately assessed efficacy and safety. Any future research should conform to best-practice standards for the design of efficacy research. Research on SOCE would (a) use methods that are prospective and longitudinal; (b) employ sampling methods that allow proper generalization; (c) use appropriate, objective, and high-quality measures of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity; (d) address preexisting and co-occurring conditions, mental health problems, other interventions, and life histories to test competing explanations for any changes; (e) address participants' biases and potential need for monitoring self-impression and life histories; and (f) include measures capable of assessing harm.

Policy

The task force was asked to inform (a) the association's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and (b) public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions. We encourage APA to continue its advocacy for LGBT individuals and families and to oppose stigma, prejudice, discrimination, and violence directed at sexual minorities. We recommend that APA take a leadership role in opposing the distortion and selective use of scientific data about homosexuality by individuals and organizations and in supporting the dissemination of accurate scientific and professional information about sexual orientation in order to counteract bias. We encourage APA to engage in collaborative activities with religious communities in pursuit of shared prosocial goals when such collaboration can be done in a mutually respectful manner that is consistent with psychologists' professional and scientific roles.

The 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998) focuses on ethical issues for practitioners and still serves this purpose. However, on the basis of (a) our systematic review of efficacy and safety issues, (b) the presence of SOCE directed at children and adolescents, (c) the importance of religion for those who currently seek SOCE, and (d) the ideological and political disputes that affect this area, the task force recommended that the APA Council of Representatives adopt a new resolution, the **Resolution on Appropriate Affirmative Responses to Sexual Orientation Distress and Change Efforts**, to address these issues. [The Council adopted the resolution in August 2009.] (See Appendix A.)

PREFACE

In February 2007, the American Psychological Association (APA) established the Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation and charged the task force with three major tasks:

1. Review and update the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998);
2. Generate a report that includes discussion of the following:
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both.
   - The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.
   - Education, training, and research issues as they pertain to such therapeutic interventions.
   - Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.
3. Inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

Nominations of task force members were solicited through an open process that was widely publicized through professional publications, electronic media, and organizations. The qualifications sought were (a) advanced knowledge of current theory and research on the development of sexual orientation; (b) advanced knowledge of current theory and research on therapies that aim to change sexual orientation; and (c) extensive expertise in affirmative mental health treatment for one or more of the following populations: children and adolescents who present with distress regarding their sexual orientation, religious individuals in distress regarding their sexual orientation, and adults who present with desires to their change sexual orientation or have undergone therapy to do so. An additional position was added for an expert in research design and methodology.

Nominations were open to psychologists, qualified counselors, psychiatrists, or social workers, including members and nonmembers of APA. Nominations of

ethnic minority psychologists, bisexual psychologists, psychologists with disabilities, transgender psychologists, and other psychologists who are members of underrepresented groups were welcomed. In April 2007, then-APA President Sharon Stephens Brehm, PhD, appointed the following people to serve on the task force: Judith M. Glassgold, PsyD (chair); Lee Beckstead, PhD; Jack Drescher, MD; Beverly Greene, PhD; Robin Lin Miller, PhD; and Roger L. Worthington, PhD.

The task force met face-to-face twice in 2007 and supplemented these meetings with consultation and collaboration via teleconference and the Internet. Initially, we reviewed our charge and defined necessary bodies of scientific and professional literature to review to meet that charge. In light of our charge to review the 1997 resolution, we concluded that the most important task was to review the existing scientific literature on treatment outcomes of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE).

We also concluded that a review of research before 1997 as well as since 1997 was necessary to provide a complete and thorough evaluation of the scientific literature. Thus, we conducted a review of the available empirical research on treatment efficacy and results published in English from 1960 on and also used common databases such as PsycINFO and Medline, as well as other databases such as the ATLA Religion Database, LexisNexis, Social Work Abstracts, and Sociological Abstracts, to review evidence regarding harm and benefit from SOCE. The literature review for other areas of the report was also drawn from these databases and included lay sources such as GoogleScholar and material found through Internet searches. Due to our charge, we limited our review to sexual orientation and did not address gender identity, because the final report of another task force, the APA Task Force on Gender Identity and Gender Variance, was forthcoming (see APA, 2009).

The task force received comments from the public, professionals, and other organizations and read all comments received. We also welcomed submission of material from the interested public, mental health professionals, organizations, and scholarly communities. All nominated individuals who were not selected for the task force were invited to submit suggestions for articles and other material for us to review. We reviewed all material received. Finally, APA staff met with interested parties to understand their concerns.

The writing of the report was completed in 2008, with editing and revisions occurring in 2009. After a draft report was generated in 2008, we asked for professional review by noted scholars in the area who were also APA members. Additionally, APA boards and committees were asked to select reviewers to provide feedback. After these reviews were received, the report was revised in line with these comments. In 2009, a second draft was sent to a second group of reviewers, including those who had previously reviewed the report, scholars in the field (including some who were not members of APA), representatives of APA boards and committees, and APA staff. The task force consulted with Nathalie Gilfoyle, JD, of the APA Office of General Counsel, as well as with Stephen Behnke, PhD, JD, of the APA Ethics Office. Other staff members of APA were consulted as needed.

We would like to thank the following two individuals who were essential to the accomplishment of our charge: Clinton W. Anderson, PhD, and Charlene DeLong, Dr. Anderson's knowledge of the field of LGBT psychology as well as his sage counsel, organizational experience, and editorial advice and skills were indispensable. Ms. DeLong was fundamental in providing technological support and aid in coordinating the activities of the task force.

We appreciate the assistance of Maria T. Valenti, MA, in conducting the research review and in organizing the tables. Mary Campbell also provided editorial advice on the report, and Stephanie Liotta provided assistance in preparing the final manuscript. We are grateful to David Spears for designing the report.

We would also like to acknowledge 2007 APA President Sharon Stephens Brehm, PhD, who was supportive of our goals and provided invaluable perspective at our first meeting, and to thank Alan E. Kazdin, PhD, past president, James H. Bray, PhD, president, and Carol D. Goodheart, EdD, president-elect, for their support. Douglas C. Haldeman, PhD, served as the Board of Director's liaison to the task force in 2007–2008 and provided counsel and expertise. Melba J.T. Vasquez, PhD, Michael Wertheimer, PhD, and Armand R. Cerbone, PhD, members of the APA Board of Directors, also reviewed this report and provided feedback.

We would very much like to thank Gwendolyn Puryear Keita, PhD, the executive director of the APA Public Interest Directorate, for her advice, support, and expertise. In addition, we acknowledge Rhea Farberman, executive director, and Kim Mills, associate executive director, of the APA Public and Member Communications office, for their expertise and support. Stephen H. Behnke, PhD, director of the APA Ethics

Office, and Nathalie Gilfoyle, APA Office of the General Counsel, provided valuable feedback on the report.

We acknowledge the following individuals, who served as scholarly reviewers of the first and second drafts of the report; their feedback on the content was invaluable (in alphabetical order): Eleonora Bartoli, PhD; Rosie Phillips Bingham, PhD; Elizabeth D. Cardoso, PhD; June W. J. Ching, PhD; David Michael Corey, PhD; Isiaah Crawford, PhD; Anthony D'Augelli, PhD; Sari H. Dworkin, PhD; Randall D. Ehrbar, PsyD; Angela Rose Gillem, PhD; Terry Sai-Wah Gock, PhD; Marvin R. Goldfried, PhD; John C. Gonsiorek, PhD; Perry N. Halkitis, PhD; Kristin A. Hancock, PhD; J. Judd Harbin, PhD; William L. Hathaway, PhD; Gregory M. Herek, PhD; W. Brad Johnson, PhD; Jon S. Lasser, PhD; Alicia A. Lucksted, PhD; Connie R. Matthews, PhD; Kathleen M. Ritter, PhD; Darryl S. Salvador, PsyD; Jane M. Simoni, PhD; Lori C. Thomas, JD, PhD; Warren Throckmorton, PhD; Bianca D. M. Wilson, PhD; Mark A. Yarhouse, PsyD; and Hirokazu Yoshikawa, PhD.

1. INTRODUCTION

In the mid-1970s, on the basis of emerging scientific evidence and encouraged by the social movement for ending sexual orientation discrimination, the American Psychological Association (APA) and other professional organizations affirmed that homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder and rejected the stigma of mental illness that the medical and mental health professions had previously placed on sexual minorities.[1] This action, along with the earlier action of the American Psychiatric Association that removed *homosexuality* from the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM*; American Psychiatric Association, 1973), helped counter the social stigma that the mental illness concept had helped to create and maintain. Through the 1970s and 1980s, APA and its peer organizations not only adopted a range of position statements supporting nondiscrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (APA, 1975, 2005a; American Psychiatric Association, 1973; American Psychoanalytic Association, 1991, 1992; National Association of Social Workers [NASW], 2000) but also acted on the basis of those positions to advocate for legal and policy changes (APA, 2003, 2005a, 2008b; NASW, 2000). On the basis of growing scientific evidence (Gonsiorek, 1991), licensed mental health providers (LMHP)[2] of all professions increasingly took the perspective throughout this period that homosexuality per se is a normal variant[3] of human sexuality and that lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people deserve to be affirmed and supported in their sexual orientation,[4] relationships, and social opportunities. This approach to psychotherapy is generally termed *affirmative*, *gay affirmative*, or *lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) affirmative*.

Consequently, the published literature on psychotherapeutic efforts to change sexual orientation that had been relatively common during the 1950s and 1960s began to decline, and approaches to psychotherapy that were not LGB affirmative came under increased scrutiny (cf. Mitchell, 1978; G.T. Wilson & Davison, 1974). The mainstream organizations for psychoanalysis and behavior therapy—the two types of therapeutic orientation most associated with the published literature on sexual orientation change therapies—publicly rejected these practices (American Psychoanalytic Association, 1991, 1992; Davison, 1976, 1978; Davison & Wilson, 1973; D. J. Martin, 2003).

[1] We use the term *sexual minority* (cf. Blumenfeld, 1992; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Ullerstam, 1966) to designate the entire group of individuals who experience significant erotic and romantic attractions to adult members of their own sex, including those who experience attractions to members of their own and of the other sex. This term is used because we recognize that not all sexual minority individuals adopt a lesbian, gay, or bisexual identity.

[2] We use the term *licensed mental health providers* (LMHP) to refer to professional providers of mental health services with a variety of educational credentials and training backgrounds, because state licensure is the basic credential for independent practice.

[3] We use the adjective *normal* to denote both the absence of a mental disorder and the presence of a positive and healthy outcome of human development.

[4] We define sexual orientation as an individual's patterns of erotic, sexual, romantic, and affectional arousal and desire for other persons based on those persons' gender and sex characteristics (see pp. 29–32 for a more detailed discussion).

In the early 1990s, some APA members began to express concerns about the resurgence of individuals and organizations that actively promoted the idea of homosexuality as a developmental defect or a spiritual and moral failing and that advocated psychotherapy and religious ministry to alter homosexual feelings and behaviors, because these practices seemed to be an attempt to repathologize sexual minorities (Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Haldeman, 1994; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004). Many of the individuals and organizations appeared to be embedded within conservative political and religious movements that supported the stigmatization of homosexuality (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Southern Poverty Law Center [SPLC], 2005).

The concerns led to APA's adoption in 1997 of the Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998). In the resolution, APA reaffirmed the conclusion shared by all mainstream health and mental health professions that homosexuality is not a mental disorder and rejected any form of discrimination based on sexual orientation. In addition, APA highlighted the ethical issues that are raised for psychologists when clients present with a request to change their sexual orientation—issues such as bias, deception, competence, and informed consent (APA, 1998; Schneider, Brown, & Glassgold, 2002). APA reaffirmed in this resolution its opposition to "portrayals of lesbian, gay, and bisexual youths and adults as mentally ill due to their sexual orientation" and defined appropriate interventions as those that "counteract bias that is based in ignorance or unfounded beliefs about sexual orientation" (APA, 1998, p. 934).

In the years since APA's adoption of the 1997 resolution, there have been several developments that have led some APA members to believe that the resolution needed to be reevaluated. First, several professional mental health and medical associations adopted resolutions that opposed sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[5] on the basis that such efforts were ineffective and potentially harmful (e.g., American Counseling Association, 1998; American Psychiatric Association, 2000; American Psychoanalytic Association, 2000; NASW, 1997). In most cases, these statements were substantially different from APA's position, which did not address questions of efficacy or safety of SOCE.

Second, several highly publicized research reports on samples of individuals who had attempted sexual orientation change (e.g., Nicolosi, Byrd, & Potts, 2000; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003) and other empirical and theoretical advances in the understanding of sexual orientation were published (e.g., Blanchard, 2008; Chivers, Seto, & Blanchard, 2007; Cochran & Mays, 2006; Diamond, 2008; Diaz, Ayala, & Bein, 2004; DiPlacido, 1998; Harper, Jernewall, & Zea, 2004; Herek, 2009; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Mays & Cochran, 2001; Meyer, 2003; Mustanski, Chivers, & Bailey, 2002; Rahman & Wilson, 2005; Savic & Lindstrom 2008; Szymanski, Kashubeck-West, & Meyer, 2008).

Third, advocates who promote SOCE as well as those who oppose SOCE have asked that APA take action on the issue. On the one hand, professional organizations and advocacy groups that believe that sexual orientation change is unlikely, that homosexuality is a normal variant of human sexuality, and that efforts to change sexual orientation are potentially harmful[6] wanted APA to take a clearer stand and to clarify the conflicting media reports about the likelihood of sexual orientation change (cf. Drescher, 2003; Stålström & Nissinen, 2003). On the other hand, the proponents of SOCE that consist of organizations that adopt a disorder model of homosexuality and/or advocate a religious view of homosexuality as sinful or immoral wanted APA to clearly declare that consumers have the right to choose SOCE (Nicolosi, 2003; Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rosik, 2001).

For these reasons, in 2007, APA established the Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, with the following charge:

1. Revise and update the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998);

2. Generate a report that includes discussion of the following:

   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or

[5] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

[6] Two advocacy organizations (Truth Wins Out and Lambda Legal) are encouraging those who feel they were harmed by SOCE to seek legal action against their providers.

whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.

- The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both.
- The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.
- Education, training, and research issues as they pertain to such therapeutic interventions.
- Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.

3. Inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

The task force addressed its charge by completing a review and analysis of the broad psychological literature in the field. After reviewing the existing 1997 resolution in light of this literature review, we concluded that a new resolution was necessary. The basis for this conclusion, including a review and analysis of the extant research, is presented in the body of this report, and a new resolution, adopted in August 2009 by the APA Council of Representatives, is presented in Appendix A.

The report starts with a brief review of the task force charge and the psychological issues that form the foundation of the report. The second chapter is a brief history of the evolution of psychotherapy, from treatments based on the idea that homosexuality is a disorder to those that focus on affirmative approaches to sexual orientation diversity. Chapters 3 and 4 are a review of the peer-reviewed research on SOCE: Chapter 3 provides a methodological evaluation of this research, and Chapter 4 reports on the outcomes of this research. Chapter 5 reviews a broader base of literature regarding the experience of individuals who seek SOCE in order to elucidate the nature of clients' distress and identity conflicts. Chapter 6 then examines affirmative approaches for psychotherapy practice with adults and presents a specific framework for interventions. Chapter 7 returns to the 1997 APA resolution and its focus on ethics to provide an updated discussion of the ethical issues surrounding SOCE. Chapter 8 considers the more limited body of research on SOCE and reports of affirmative psychotherapy with children, adolescents, and their families. Chapter 9 summarizes the report and presents recommendations for research, practice, education, and policy. The policy resolution that the task force recommended and that was adopted by the APA Council of Representatives on August, 5, 2009, is in Appendix A.

Laying the Foundation of the Report

Understanding Affirmative Therapeutic Interventions

The task force was asked to report on appropriate application of affirmative psychotherapeutic interventions for those who seek to change their sexual orientation. As some debates in the field frame SOCE and conservative religious values as competing viewpoints to affirmative approaches (cf. Throckmorton, 1998; Yarhouse, 1998a) and imply that there is an alternative "neutral" stance, we considered it necessary to explain the term *affirmative therapeutic interventions*, its history, its relationship to our charge and to current psychotherapy literature, and our application and definition of the term.

The concept of gay-affirmative therapeutic interventions emerged in the early literature on the psychological concerns of sexual minorities (Malyon, 1982; Paul, Weinrich, Gonsiorek, & Hotvedt, 1982), and its meaning has evolved over the last 25 years to include more diversity and complexity (APA, 2000; Bieschke, Perez, & DeBord, 2007; Firestein, 2007; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Perez, DeBord, & Bieschke, 2000; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002). The affirmative approach grew out of a perception that sexual minorities benefit from psychotherapeutic interventions that address the sexual stigma[7] they experience and the impacts of stigma on their lives (APA, 2000; Brown, 2006; Browning, Reynolds, & Dworkin, 1991; Davison, 1978; Malyon, 1982; Pachankis & Goldfried, 2004; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002; Shannon & Woods, 1991; Sophie, 1987). For example, Garnets, Hancock, Cochran, Goodchilds, and Peplau (1991) proposed that LHMP use an understanding of societal prejudice and

[7] See p. 15 for the definition of *sexual stigma*.

discrimination to guide treatment for sexual minority clients and help these clients overcome negative attitudes about themselves.

The most recent literature in the field (e.g., APA, 2000, 2002c, 2004, 2005b, 2007b; Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006; Herek & Garnets, 2007) places affirmative therapeutic interventions within the larger domain of cultural competence, consistent with general multicultural approaches. Multicultural approaches recognize that individuals, families, and communities exist in social, political, historical, and economic contexts (cf. APA, 2002b) and that human diversity is multifaceted and includes age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status. Understanding and incorporating these aspects of diversity are important to any intervention (APA, 2000, 2002c, 2004, 2005b, 2007b).

The task force takes the perspective that a multicultural competent and affirmative approach with sexual minorities is based on the scientific knowledge in key areas: (a) homosexuality and bisexuality are stigmatized, and this stigma can have a variety of negative consequences throughout the life span (D'Augelli & Patterson, 1995, 2001); (b) same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality and are not indicators of either mental or developmental disorders (American Psychiatric Association, 1973; APA, 2000; Gonsiorek, 1991); (c) same-sex sexual attractions and behavior can occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientation identities (Diamond, 2006, 2008; Klein, Sepekoff, & Wolf, 1985; McConaghy, 1999); and (d) lesbians, gay men, and bisexual people can live satisfying lives and form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to heterosexuals' relationships and families in essential respects (APA, 2005c; Kurdek, 2001, 2003, 2004; Peplau & Fingerhut, 2007).

Although affirmative approaches have historically been conceptualized around helping sexual minorities accept and adopt a gay or lesbian identity (e.g., Browning et al., 1991; Shannon & Woods, 1991), the recent research on sexual orientation identity diversity illustrates that sexual behavior, sexual attraction, and sexual orientation identity are labeled and expressed in many different ways, some of which are fluid (e.g., Diamond, 2006, 2008; Firestein, 2007; Fox, 2004; Patterson, 2008; Savin-Williams, 2005; R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). We define an affirmative approach as supportive of clients' identity development without a priori treatment goals for how clients identify or express their sexual orientations. Thus, a multiculturally competent affirmative approach aspires to understand the diverse personal and cultural influences on clients and enables clients to determine (a) the ultimate goals for their identity process; (b) the behavioral expression of their sexual orientation; (c) their public and private social roles; (d) their gender roles, identities, and expression[8]; (e) the sex[9] and gender of their partner; and (f) the forms of their relationships.

We define an affirmative approach as supportive of clients' identity development without a priori treatment goals for how clients identify or express their sexual orientations.

EVIDENCE-BASED PRACTICE AND EMPIRICALLY SUPPORTED TREATMENTS

Interest in the efficacy,[10] effectiveness, and empirical basis of psychotherapeutic interventions has grown in the last decade. Levant and Hasan (2009) distinguished between two types of treatments: empirically supported treatments (EST) and evidence-based approaches to psychotherapy (EBPP). EST are interventions for individuals with specific disorders; these interventions have been demonstrated to be effective through rigorously controlled trials (Levant & Hasan, 2009). EBPP is, as defined by APA's Policy Statement on Evidence-Based Practice in Psychology[11] (2005a), "the integration of the best available research with clinical expertise in the context of patient characteristics, culture, and preferences" (p. 1; see also, Sackett, Rosenberg, Gray, Haynes, & Richardson, 1996).

We were not able to identify affirmative EST for this population (cf. Martell, Safran, & Prince, 2004).

[8] *Gender* refers to the cultural roles, behaviors, activities, and psychological attributes that a particular society considers appropriate for men and women. *Gender identity* is a person's own psychological sense of identification as male or female, another gender, or identifying with no gender. *Gender expression* is the activities and behaviors that purposely or inadvertently communicate one's gender identity to others, such as clothing, hairstyles, mannerisms, way of speaking, and social roles.

[9] We define *sex* as biological maleness and femaleness in contrast to gender, defined above.

[10] *Efficacy* is the measurable effect of an intervention, and *effectiveness* aims to determine whether interventions have measurable effects in real-world settings across populations (Nathan, Stuart, & Dolan, 2000).

[11] Discussion of the overall implications for practice can be found in Goodheart, Kazdin, and Sternberg (2006) and the *Report of the 2005 Presidential Task Force on Evidence-Based Practice* (APA, 2005b).

The lack of EST is a common dilemma when working with diverse populations for whom EST have not been developed or when minority populations have not been included in trials (Brown, 2006; Martell et al., 2004; Sue & Zane, 2006; Whaley & Davis, 2007). Thus, we provide an affirmative model in Chapter 6 that is consistent with APA's definition of EBPP in that it applies the most current and best evidence available to guide decisions about the care of this population (APA, 2005a; Sackett et al., 1996). We considered the APA EBPP resolution as utilizing a flexible concept of evidence, because it incorporates research based on well-designed studies with client values and clinical expertise. Given that the distress surrounding sexual orientation is not included in psychotherapy research (because it is not a clearly defined syndrome) and most treatment studies in psychology are for specific mental health disorders, not for problems of adjustment or identity relevant to sexual orientation concerns, we saw this flexibility as necessary (Brown, 2006). However, EST for specific disorders can be incorporated into this affirmative approach (cf. Martell et al., 2004). We acknowledge that the model presented in this report would benefit from rigorous evaluation.

Affirmative approaches, as understood by this task force, are evidence-based in three significant ways:

- They are based on the evidence that homosexuality is not a mental illness or disorder, which has a significant empirical foundation (APA, 2000; Gonsiorek, 1991).
- They are based on studies of the role of stigma in creating distress and health disparities in sexual minorities (Balsam & Mohr, 2007; Cochran & Mays, 2006; Omoto & Kurtzman, 2006; Pachankis, 2007; Pachankis, Goldfried, & Ramrattan, 2008; Safren & Heimberg, 1999; Syzmanski & Kashubeck-West, 2008).
- They are based on the literature that has shown the importance of the therapeutic alliance and relationship on outcomes in therapy and that these outcomes are linked to empathy, positive regard, honesty, and other factors encompassed in the affirmative perspective on therapeutic interventions (Ackerman & Hilsenroth, 2003; Brown, 2006; Farber & Lane, 2002; Horvath & Bedi, 2002; Norcross, 2002; Norcross & Hill, 2004).

The affirmative approach was the subject of a recent literature review that found that clients describe the safety, affirmation, empathy, and nonjudgmental acceptance inherent in the affirmative approach as helpful in their therapeutic process (M. King, Semlyen, Killaspy, Nazareth, & Osborn, 2007; see also, M. A. Jones & Gabriel, 1999). M. King et al. concluded that a knowledge base about sexual minorities' lives and social context is important for effective practice.

Sexual Stigma

To understand the mental health concerns of sexual minorities, one must understand the social psychological concept of stigma (Herek & Garnets, 2007). Goffman (1963) defined stigma as an undesirable difference that discredits the individual. Link and Phelan (2001) characterized stigma as occurring when (a) individual differences are labeled; (b) these differences are linked to undesirable traits or negative stereotypes; (c) labeled individuals are placed in distinct categories that separate them from the mainstream; and (d) labeled persons experience discrimination and loss of status that lead to unequal access to social, economic, and political power. This inequality is a consequence of stigma and discrimination rather than of the differences themselves (Herek, 2009). Stigma is a fact of the interpersonal, cultural, legal, political, and social climate in which sexual minorities live.

The stigma that defines sexual minorities has been termed *sexual stigma*[12]: "the stigma attached to any non-heterosexual behavior, identity, relationship or community" (Herek, 2009, p. 3). This stigma operates both at the societal level and the individual level. The impact of this stigma as a stressor may be the unique factor that characterizes sexual minorities as a group (Herek, 2009; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Katz, 1995).

Further, stigma has shaped the attitudes of mental health professions and related institutions toward this population (Drescher, 1998b; Haldeman, 1994; LeVay, 1996; Murphy, 1997; Silverstein, 1991). Moral and religious values in North America and Europe provided the initial rationale for criminalization, discrimination, and prejudice against same-

In the late modern period, the medical and mental health professions added a new type of stigmatization and discrimination by conceptualizing and treating homosexuality as a mental illness or disorder.

[12] Herek (2009) coined this term, and we use it because of the comprehensive analysis in which it is embedded. There are other terms for the same construct, such as Balsam and Mohr's (2007) *sexual orientation stigma*.

sex behaviors (Katz, 1995). In the late modern period, the medical and mental health professions added a new type of stigmatization and discrimination by conceptualizing and treating homosexuality as a mental illness or disorder (Brown, 1996; Katz, 1995).

Sexual minorities may face additional stigmas, as well, such as those related to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status. At the societal level, sexual stigma is embedded in social structures through civil and criminal law, social policy, psychology, psychiatry, medicine, religion, and other social institutions. Sexual stigma is reflected in disparate legal and social treatment by institutions and is apparent in, for example, (a) the long history of criminalization of same-sex sexual behaviors; (b) the lack of legal protection for LGB individuals from discrimination in employment, health care, and housing; and (c) the lack of benefits for LGB relationships and families that would support their family formation, in contrast to the extensive benefits that accrue to heterosexual married couples and even sometimes to unmarried heterosexual couples.[13] The structural sexual stigma, called *heterosexism* in the scholarly literature, legitimizes and perpetuates stigma against sexual minorities and perpetuates the power differential between sexual minorities and others (Herek, 2007; see also Szymanski et al., 2008).

Expressions of stigma, such as violence, discrimination, rejection, and other negative interpersonal interactions, are *enacted stigma* (Herek, 2009). Individuals' expectations about the probability that stigma will be enacted in various situations is *felt stigma*. Individuals' efforts to avoid enacted and felt stigma may include withdrawing from self (e.g., self-denial or compartmentalization) and withdrawing from others (e.g., self-concealment or avoidance) (e.g., see Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Drescher, 1998b; Malyon, 1982; Pachankis, 2007; Pachankis et al., 2008; Troiden, 1993).

In Herek's (2009) model, *internalized stigma*[14] is the adoption of the social stigma applied to sexual minorities. Members of the stigmatized groups as well as nonmembers of the group can internalize these values. *Self-stigma* is internalized stigma in those individuals who experience same-sex sexual attractions and whose self-concept matches the stigmatizing interpretations of society. Examples of this self-stigma are (a) accepting society's negative evaluation and (b) harboring negative attitudes toward oneself and one's own same-sex sexual attractions. *Sexual prejudice* is the internalized sexual stigma held by the non-stigmatized majority.

The Impact of Stigma on Members of Stigmatized Groups

One of the assumptions of the stigma model is that social stigma influences the individual through its impact on the different settings, contexts, and relationships in which each human being takes part (D'Augelli, 1994). This assumption is supported by a body of literature comparing sexual minority populations to the general population that has found health disparities between the two (Cochran & Mays, 2006; Mays & Cochran, 2001). The concept of minority stress (e.g., DiPlacido, 1998; Hatzenbuehler, Nolen-Hoeksema, & Erickson, 2008; Meyer, 1995, 2003) has been increasingly used to explain these health disparities in much the same way that concepts of racism-derived stress and minority stress have been used to explain health disparities and mental health concerns in ethnic minority groups (Carter, 2007; Harrell, 2000; Mays, Cochran, & Barnes, 2007; Saldaina, 1994; Wei, Ku, Russell, Mallinckrodt, & Liao, 2008). Theoretically any minority group facing social stigma and prejudice, including stigma due to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status, could develop minority stress.

In theory, minority stress—chronic stress experienced by members of minority groups—causes distress in

[13] Same-sex sexual behaviors were only recent universally decriminalized in the United States by Supreme Court action in *Lawrence v. Texas* (2003). There is no federal protection from employment and housing discrimination for LGB individuals, and only 20 states offer this protection. Only 6 states permit same-sex couples to marry; 6 states have broad recognition laws; 4 states have limited recognition laws; and 2 states recognize other states' marriages. For more examples, see National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, Reports & Research: http:// www.thetaskforce.org/reports_and_research/reports).

[14] Herek (2009) defined *internalization* as "the process whereby individuals adopt a social value, belief, regulation, or prescription for conduct as their own and experience it as part of themselves" (p. 7). The internalization of negative attitudes and assumptions concerning homosexuality has often been termed *internalized homophobia* (Malyon, 1982; Sophie, 1987; Weinberg, 1972). However, this term has been criticized because holding negative attitudes does not necessarily involve a phobia, in other words, "an exaggerated usually inexplicable and illogical fear of a particular object, class of objects, situation (*Merriam-Webster's Online Dictionary*).

certain sexual minority individuals (DiPlacido, 1998; Meyer, 1995, 2003). Meyer (2003) described these stress processes as due to (a) external objective events and conditions, such as discrimination and violence; (b) expectations of such events, and the vigilance that such expectations bring; and (c) internalization of negative social and cultural attitudes. For instance, mental health outcomes among gay men have been found to be influenced by negative appraisals of stigma-related stressors (Meyer, 1995).

The task force sees stigma and minority stress as playing a manifest role in the lives of individuals who seek to change their sexual orientation (Davison, 1978, 1982, 1991; Herek, Cogan, Gillis, & Glunt, 1998; Green, 2003; Silverstein, 1991; Tozer & Hayes, 2004). Davison, in particular, has argued that individuals who seek psychotherapy to change their sexual orientation do so because of the distress arising from the impact of stigma and discrimination. A survey of a small sample of former SOCE clients in Britain supports this hypothesis, as many of the former participants reported that hostile social and family attitudes and the criminalization of homosexual conduct were the reasons they sought treatment (G. Smith, Bartlett, & King, 2004).

One of the advantages of the minority stress model is that it provides a framework for considering the social context of stress, distress, coping, resilience (Allen, 2001; David & Knight, 2008; Herek, Gillis, & Cogan, 2009; Selvidge, Matthews, & Bridges, 2008; Levitt et al., 2009; Pachankis, 2007), and acceptance and goals of treatment (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Bieschke, 2008; Frost & Meyer, 2009; Glassgold, 2007; Rostosky, Riggle, Horne, & Miller, 2009; Martell et al., 2004; Russell & Bohan, 2007). Some authors have proposed that LGB men and women improve their mental health and functioning through a process of positive coping, termed *stigma competence* (David & Knight, 2008). In this model, it is proposed that through actions such as personal acceptance of one's LGB identity and reduction of internalized stigma, an individual develops a greater ability to cope with stigma (cf. Crawford, Allison, Zamboni, & Soto, 2002; D'Augelli, 1994). For instance, Herek and Garnets (2007) proposed that collective identity (often termed *social identity*)[15] mitigates the impact of minority stress above and beyond the effects of individual factors such as coping skills, optimism, and resiliency. Individuals with a strong sense of positive collective identity integrate their group affiliation into their core self-concept and have community resources for responding to stigma (Balsam & Mohr, 2007; Crawford et al., 2002; Levitt et al., 2009). In support of this hypothesis, Balsam and Mohr (2007) found that collective identity, community participation, and identity confusion predicted coping with sexual stigma.

[15] A collective or social identity refers to an individual's sense of belonging to a group (the collective), and the collective or social identity forms a part of his or her personal identity.

Psychology, Religion, and Homosexuality

Most of the recent studies on SOCE focus on populations with strong religious beliefs (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Schaeffer, Hyde, Kroencke, McCormick, & Nottebaum, 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Tozer & Hayes, 2004; Wolkomir, 2001). Beliefs about sexual behavior and sexual orientation rooted in interpretations of traditional religious doctrine also guide some efforts to change others' sexual orientation as well as political opposition to the expansion of civil rights for LGB individuals and their relationships (Burack & Josephson, 2005; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Olyam & Nussbaum, 1998; Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2003; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2005). Some authors have documented an increase in the provision of reliously-based SOCE (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006). Religious beliefs, motivations, and struggles play a role in the motivations of individuals who currently engage in SOCE (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Wolkomir, 2001; Yarhouse, Tan, & Pawlowski, 2005). Thus, we considered an examination of issues in the psychology of religion to be an important part of fulfilling our charge.

Intersections of Psychology, Religion, and Sexual Orientation

World religions regard homosexuality from a spectrum of viewpoints. It is important to note that some religious denominations' beliefs and practices have changed over time, reflecting evolving scientific and civil rights perspectives on homosexuality and sexual orientation (see, e.g., Dorff, Nevins, & Reisner, 2006; Olyam & Nussbaum, 1998; see also Hebrew Union College, Institute for Judaism & Sexual Orientation [http://www.huc.edu/ijso], and Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance [http:://www.religioustolerance.org]). A number of religious denominations in the United States welcome LGB laity, and a smaller

number ordain LGB clergy (e.g., Reconstructionist Judaism, Reform Judaism, Conservative Judaism, Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Buddhist Churches of America, Episcopal Church of America, Friends General Conference, Unitarian Society, United Church of Christ Congregational) (Greenberg, 2004; Olyam & Nussbaum, 1998; see also Hebrew Union College, Institute for Judaism & Sexual Orientation [http://www.huc.edu/ijso], and Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance [http://www.religioustolerance.org]). However, others view homosexuality as immoral and sinful (e.g., Christian Reformed Church of North America, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Eastern Orthodox Christianity, Orthodox Judaism, Presbyterian Church in American, Roman Catholicism, Southern Baptist Convention, United Methodist Church) (see Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance: http://www.religioustolerance.org). These issues are being discussed within numerous denominations (e.g., Van Voorst, 2005), and some views are in flux (e.g., the Presbyterian Church [USA]) (see Ontario Consultants on Religious Tolerance: http://www.religioustolerance.org).

Several professional publications (e.g., *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Psychotherapy*, 2001, *5*[3/4]; *Professional Psychology*, 2002, *33*[3]; *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 2003, *32*[5]; *The Counseling Psychologist*, 2004, *32*[5]; *Journal of Psychology and Christianity*, 2005, *24*[4]) have specifically considered the interactions among scientific views of sexual orientation, religious beliefs, psychotherapy, and professional ethics. Some difficulties arise because the professional psychological community considers same-sex sexual attractions and behaviors to be a positive variant of human sexuality, while some traditional faiths continue to consider it a sin, a moral failing, or a disorder that needs to be changed.

Some difficulties arise because the professional psychological community considers same-sex sexual attractions and behaviors to be a positive variant of human sexuality, while some traditional faiths continue to consider it a sin, a moral failing, or a disorder that needs to be changed.

The conflict between psychology and traditional faiths may have its roots in different philosophical viewpoints. Some religions give priority to *telic congruence* (i.e., living consistently within one's valuative goals[16]) (W. Hathaway, personal communication, June 30, 2008; cf. Richards & Bergin, 2005). Some authors propose that for adherents of these religions, religious perspectives and values should be integrated into the goals of psychotherapy (Richards & Bergin, 2005; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006). Affirmative and multicultural models of LGB psychology give priority to *organismic congruence* (i.e., living with a sense of wholeness in one's experiential self[17]) (W. Hathaway, personal communication, June 30, 2008; cf. Gonsiorek, 2004; Malyon, 1982). This perspective gives priority to the unfolding of developmental processes, including self-awareness and personal identity.

This difference in worldviews can impact psychotherapy. For instance, individuals who have strong religious beliefs can experience tensions and conflicts between their ideal self and beliefs and their sexual and affectional needs and desires (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; D. F. Morrow, 2003). The different worldviews would approach psychotherapy for these individuals from dissimilar perspectives: The telic strategy would prioritize values (Rosik, 2003; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002), whereas the organismic approach would give priority to the development of self-awareness and identity (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004).

It is important to note that the organismic worldview can be congruent with and respectful of religion (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Ritter & O'Neil, 1995), and the telic worldview can be aware of sexual stigma and respectful of sexual orientation (Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). Understanding this philosophical difference may improve the dialogue between these two perspectives represented in the literature, as it refocuses the debate not on one group's perceived rejection of homosexuals or the other group's perceived minimization of religious viewpoints but on philosophical differences that extend beyond this particular subject matter. However, some of the differences between these philosophical assumptions may be difficult to bridge.

Contrasting views exist within psychology regarding religious views about homosexuality. One way in which psychology has traditionally examined the

[16] These conflicts are not unique to religious individuals but are applicable to individuals making commitments and decisions about how to live according to specific ethics and ideals (cf. Baumeister & Exline, 2000; Diener, 2000; Richards & Bergin, 2005; B. Schwartz, 2000).

[17] Such naturalistic and empirically based models stress the organization, unity, and integration of human beings expressed through each individual's inherent growth or developmental tendency (see, e.g., Rogers, 1961; R. M. Ryan, 1995).

intersections between religion and homosexuality is by studying the impact of religious beliefs and motivations on attitudes and framing the discussion in terms of tolerance and prejudice (Fulton, Gorsuch, & Maynard, 1999; Herek, 1987; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; Plugge-Foust & Strickland, 2000; J. P. Schwartz & Lindley, 2005). For instance, one finding is that religious fundamentalism is correlated with negative views of homosexuality, whereas a quest orientation is associated with decreased discriminatory or prejudicial attitudes (Batson, Flink, Schoenrade, Fultz, & Pych, 1986; Batson, Naifeh, & Pate, 1978; Fulton et al., 1999; Plugge-Foust & Strickland, 2000). However, some authors have argued, in contrast to this approach, that conservative religious moral beliefs and evaluations about same-sex sexual behaviors and LGB individuals and relationships should be treated as religious diversity rather than as sexual prejudice (e.g., Rosik, 2007; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002).

APA Policies on the Intersection of Religion and Psychology

APA has addressed the interactions of religion and psychology in two recent resolutions: the Resolution Rejecting Intelligent Design as Scientific and Reaffirming Support for Evolutionary Theory (APA, 2008a) and the Resolution on Religious, Religion-Related, and/or Religion-Derived Prejudice (2008c). The first resolution articulates psychology's epistemological commitment: Hypothesis testing through rigorous scientific methods is the best means to gain new knowledge and to evaluate current practices, and psychologists base their theories on such research:

> While we are respectful of religion and individuals' right to their own religious beliefs, we also recognize that science and religion are separate and distinct. For a theory to be taught as science it must be testable, supported by empirical evidence and subject to disconfirmation. (APA, 2007a)

This is in contrast to viewpoints based on faith, as faith does not need confirmation through scientific evidence. Further, science assumes that some ideas can be rejected when proven false; faith and religious beliefs cannot be falsified in the eyes of adherents.

The APA Council of Representatives also passed a Resolution on Religious, Religion-Related, and/or Religion-Derived Prejudice (2008c). This resolution acknowledges the existence of two forms of prejudice related to religion: one derived from religious beliefs and another directed at religions and their adherents. The APA strongly condemns both forms of prejudice. The resolution affirms APA's position that prejudices directed at individuals because of their religious beliefs and prejudices derived from or justified by religion are harmful to individuals, society, and international relations.

In areas of conflicts between psychology and religion, as the APA Resolution on Religious, Religion-Related, and/or Religion-Derived Prejudice (2008c) states, psychology has no legitimate function in "arbitrating matters of faith and theology" or to "adjudicate religious or spiritual tenets" (p. 432) and psychologists are urged to limit themselves to speak to "psychological implications of religious/spiritual beliefs or practices when relevant psychological findings about those implications exist" (p. 433). Further, the resolution states that faith traditions "have no legitimate place arbitrating behavioral or other sciences" or to "adjudicate empirical scientific issues in psychology" (p. 432).

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The APA (2002b, 2008c) recommends that psychologists acknowledge the importance of religion and spirituality as forms of meaning-making, tradition, culture, identity, community, and diversity. Psychologists do not discriminate against individuals based on those factors. Further, when devising interventions and conducting research, psychologists consider the importance of religious beliefs and cultural values and, where appropriate, consider religiously and culturally sensitive techniques and approaches (APA, 2008c).

Psychology of Religion

Historically, some in psychology and psychiatry have held negative views of religion (Wulff, 1997). Yet, with the development of more sophisticated methodologies and conceptualizations, the field of the psychology of religion has flourished in the last 30 years (Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003), culminating in new interest in a diverse field (e.g., Koenig & Larson, 2001; Paloutzian & Park, 2005; Pargament, 2002; Pargament & Mahoney,

2005; Richards & Bergin, 2005; Sperry & Shafranske, 2004; Spilka, Hood, Hunsberger, & Gorsuch, 2003).

Many scholars have attempted to elucidate what is significant and unique about religious and spiritual faith, beliefs, and experiences (e.g., George, Larson, Koenig, & McCullough, 2000; McClennon, 1994). Pargament, Maygar-Russell, and Murray-Swank (2005) summarized religion's impact on people's lives as a unique form of motivation regarding how to live one's life and how to respond to self, others, and life events; a source of significance regarding what aspects of life one imbues with meaning and power; a contributor to mortality and health; a form of positive and negative coping; and a source of fulfillment and distress. Others, such as Fowler (1981, 1991) and colleagues (Oser, 1991; Streib, 2001, 2005) have posited developmental models of religious identity that are helpful in understanding personal faith.

Additionally, there is a growing literature on integrating spirituality into psychotherapy practice (Richards & Bergin, 2000, 2004, 2005; Shafranske, 2000; Sperry & Shafranske, 2004; E. L. Worthington, Kurusu, McCullough, & Sandage, 1996). These approaches include delineating how LMHP can work effectively with individuals from diverse religious traditions (Richards & Bergin, 2000, 2004; Sperry & Shafranske, 2004). Many of these techniques can be effective (McCullough, 1999) and improve outcomes in clinical treatment with religious clients (Probst, Ostrom, Watkins, Dean, & Mashburn, 1992; Richards, Berrett, Hardman, & Eggett, 2006; E. L. Worthington et al., 1996), even for clients in treatment with secular LMHP (Mayers, Leavey, Vallianatou, & Barker, 2007). These innovations point to ways that psychology can explore and understand religious beliefs and faith in an evidence-based and respectful manner.

There have been claims that some LMHP do not address the issues of conservative religious individuals who are distressed by their same-sex sexual attractions (e.g., Yarhouse, 1998a; Throckmorton, 2002; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002). One of the problems in the field has been an either/or perspective in which sexual orientation and religion are seen as incompatible (Phillips, 2004). Certainly, some individuals may perceive their religion and their sexual orientation as incompatible, because in some faiths homosexuality is perceived as sinful and immoral. However, there is a growing body of evidence illustrating that many individuals do integrate their religious and sexual orientation identities (Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Kerr, 1997; Mahaffy, 1996; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Thumma, 1991; Yip, 2002, 2003, 2005). Thus, this dichotomy may be enabling a discourse that does not fully reflect the evidence and may be hindering progress to find a variety of viable solutions for clients.

Recently, some authors have suggested alternative frameworks, many of which are drawn from a variety of models of psychotherapy, such as multicultural views of psychology and the psychology of religion, that provide frames for appropriate psychotherapeutic interventions seeking to bridge this divide (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Buchanon, Dzelme, Harris, & Hecker, 2001; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek; 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). For instance, a growing number of authors address the religious and spiritual needs of LGBT individuals from integrative and affirmative perspectives that provide resources for LMHP working with this population (Astramovich, 2003; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 1996, 2004; Horne & Noffsinger-Frazier, 2003; Mark, 2008; D. F. Morrow, 2003; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). On the basis of these scholarly contributions, we take the perspective that religious faith and psychology do not have to be seen as being opposed to each other. Further, psychotherapy that respects faith can also explore the psychological implications and impacts of such beliefs.

We take the perspective that religious faith and psychology do not have to be seen as being opposed to each other. Further, psychotherapy that respects faith can also explore the psychological implications and impacts of such beliefs.

We support affirmative and multiculturally competent approaches that integrate concepts from the psychology of religion and the modern psychology of sexual orientation. These perspectives are elaborated later in this report. In the next chapter we review the history of SOCE in order to provide a perspective on the foundation and evolution of these approaches.

2. A BRIEF HISTORY OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS

Sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[18] within mental health fields originally developed from the science of sexuality in the middle of the 19th century (Katz, 1995). At that time, same-sex eroticism and gender-nonconforming behaviors came under increased medical and scientific scrutiny. New terms such as *urnings*, *inversion*, *homosexual*, and *homosexuality* emerged as scientists, social critics, and physicians sought to make sense of what was previously defined as sin or crime (Katz, 1995). This shift to a scientific approach did not challenge the underlying social values, however, and thus continued to reflect the existing sexual stigma, discrimination, criminalization, and heterosexism. Much of the medical and scientific work at that time conceptualized homosexual attractions and behaviors as abnormal or as an illness (Katz, 1995).

In that era, homosexuality was predominantly viewed as either a criminal act or a medical problem, or both (Krafft-Ebing, 1886/1965). Homosexuality was seen as caused by psychological immaturity (i.e., as a passing phase to be outgrown on the road to adult heterosexuality) or pathology (e.g., genetic defects, gender-based confusions, intrauterine hormonal exposure, too much parental control, insufficient parenting, hostile parenting, seduction, molestation, or decadent lifestyles) (Drescher, 1998b, 2002). The first treatments attempted to correct or repair the damage done by pathogenic factors or to facilitate maturity (Drescher, 1998b, 2002; LeVay, 1996; Murphy, 1992, 1997). These perspectives on homosexuality lasted into the first half of the 20th century, shaping the views of psychoanalysis, the dominant psychiatric paradigm of that time (Drescher, 1998b).

Homosexuality and Psychoanalysis

Initial psychotherapeutic approaches to homosexuality in the first half of the 20th century reflected psychoanalytic theory. Freud's own views on sexual orientation and homosexuality were complex. Freud viewed homosexuality as a developmental arrest and heterosexuality as the adult norm (Freud, 1905/1960). However, in a now-famous letter, Freud (1935/1960) reassured a mother writing to him about her son that homosexuality was "nothing to be ashamed of, no vice, no degradation, it cannot be classified as an illness, but a variation of sexual function" (p. 423). He further went on to say that psychoanalysts could not promise to "abolish homosexuality and make normal heterosexuality take its place" (p. 423), as the results of treatment could not be determined. Freud's only report (1920/1960) about his deliberate attempt to change someone's sexual orientation described his unsuccessful efforts at changing the sexual orientation of a young woman brought for involuntary treatment by her

[18] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

parents. At the end of this case, Freud concluded that attempts to change homosexual sexual orientation were likely to be unsuccessful.[19]

In the psychoanalysis that dominated the mental health fields after Freud, especially in the United States, homosexuality was viewed negatively, considered to be abnormal, and believed to be caused by family dynamics (Bieber et al., 1962; Rado, 1940; Socarides, 1968). Other approaches based loosely on psychoanalytic ideas advocated altering gender-role behaviors to increase conformity with traditional gender roles (Moberly, 1983; Nicolosi, 1991). Significantly impacting psychiatric thought in the mid-20th century, these theories were part of the rationale for including homosexuality as a mental illness in both the first (1952) and second (1968) editions of the American Psychiatric Association's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (*DSM*), thus reinforcing and exacerbating sexual stigma and sexual prejudice. It was during this period that the first attempts to study the efficacy of SOCE were conducted (e.g., Bieber et al., 1962).

Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

The pathologizing psychiatric and psychological conception of homosexuality and concomitant efforts to alter sexual orientation through psychoanalytic and behavior therapy were prevalent through the 1960s and into the early 1970s. Although behavior therapy emerged in the 1960s, adding a different set of techniques to psychotherapy, the goals of SOCE did not change. For example, Ovesey (1969) based his behavioral interventions on the belief that homosexuality developed from a phobia of taking on the normal qualities of one's gender and that sexual intercourse with the other[20] sex would cure the so-called phobia.

Behavior therapists tried a variety of aversion treatments, such as inducing nausea, vomiting, or paralysis; providing electric shocks; or having the individual snap an elastic band around the wrist when the individual became aroused to same-sex erotic images or thoughts. Other examples of aversive behavioral treatments included covert sensitization, shame aversion, systematic desensitization, orgasmic reconditioning, and satiation therapy (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. James, 1978; Katz, 1995; Langevin, 1983; LeVay, 1996; Murphy, 1992, 1997). Some nonaversive treatments used an educational process of dating skills, assertiveness, and affection training with physical and social reinforcement to increase other-sex sexual behaviors (Binder, 1977; Greenspoon & Lamal, 1987; Stevenson & Wolpe, 1960). Cognitive therapists attempted to change gay men's and lesbians' thought patterns by reframing desires, redirecting thoughts, or using hypnosis, with the goal of changing sexual arousal, behavior, and orientation (e.g., Ellis, 1956, 1959, 1965).

Affirmative Approaches: Kinsey; Ford and Beach; and Hooker

At the same time that the pathologizing views of homosexuality in American psychiatry and psychology were being codified, countervailing evidence was accumulating that this stigmatizing view was ill founded. The publication of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953) demonstrated that homosexuality was more common than previously assumed, thus suggesting that such behaviors were part of a continuum of sexual behaviors and orientations. C. S. Ford and Beach (1951) revealed that same-sex behaviors and homosexuality were present in a wide range of animal species and human cultures. This finding suggested that there was nothing unnatural about same-sex behaviors or homosexual sexual orientation.

Psychologist Evelyn Hooker's (1957) research put the idea of homosexuality as mental disorder to a scientific test. She studied a nonclinical sample of homosexual men and compared them with a matched sample of heterosexual men. Hooker found, among other things, that based on three projective measures (the Thematic Apperception Test, the Make-a-Picture Story test, and the Rorschach), the homosexual men were comparable to their matched heterosexual peers on ratings of adjustment. Strikingly, the experts who examined the Rorschach protocols could not

[19] Analyses of this case have focused on Freud's intense negative reactions to this young woman and his attempts to enforce social conformity—especially with regard to traditional female gender roles and sexuality (e.g., Lesser & Schoenberg, 1999; O'Connor & Ryan, 1993).

[20] We use *other sex* instead of *opposite sex*, as the latter term makes assumptions regarding the binary nature of male and female that are unsupported. We acknowledge that this term also has limitations, as there are fluid and diverse representations of sex and gender in many cultures.

distinguish the protocols of the homosexual cohort from the heterosexual cohort, a glaring inconsistency with the then-dominant understanding of homosexuality and projective assessment techniques. Armon (1960) performed research on homosexual women and found similar results.

In the years following Hooker's (1957) and Armon's (1960) research, inquiry into sexuality and sexual orientation proliferated. Two major developments marked an important change in the study of homosexuality. First, following Hooker's lead, more researchers conducted studies of nonclinical samples of homosexual men and women. Prior studies primarily included participants who were in distress or incarcerated. Second, quantitative methods to assess human personality (e.g., Eysenck Personality Inventory, Cattell's Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire [16PF]) and mental disorders (Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory [MMPI]) were developed and were a vast psychometric improvement over prior measures, such as the Rorschach, Thematic Apperception Test, and House-Tree-Person Test. Research conducted with these newly developed measures indicated that homosexual men and women were essentially similar to heterosexual men and women in adaptation and functioning (Siegelman, 1979; M. Wilson & Green, 1971; see also the review by Gonsiorek, 1991). Studies failed to support theories that regarded family dynamics, gender identity, or trauma as factors in the development of sexual orientation (e.g., Bell, Weinberg, & Hammersmith, 1981; Bene, 1965; Freund & Blanchard, 1983; Freund & Pinkava, 1961; Hooker, 1969; McCord, McCord, & Thurber, 1962; D. K. Peters & Cantrell, 1991; Siegelman, 1974, 1981; Townes, Ferguson, & Gillem, 1976). This research was a significant challenge to the model of homosexuality as psychopathology.

Research conducted with these newly developed measures indicated that homosexual men and women were essentially similar to heterosexual men and women in adaptation and functioning.

Homosexuality Removed From the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual

In recognition of the legal nexus between psychiatric diagnosis and civil rights discrimination, especially for government employees, activists within the homophile[21] rights movement, including Frank Kameny and the Mattachine Society of Washington, DC, launched a campaign in late 1962 and early 1963 to remove homosexuality as a mental disorder from the American Psychiatric Association's *DSM* (D'Emilio, 1983; Kameny, 2009). This campaign grew stronger in the aftermath of the Stonewall riots in 1969. Those riots were a watershed, as the movement for gay and lesbian civil rights was embraced openly by thousands rather than limited to small activist groups (D'Emilio, 1983; Katz, 1995). In the area of mental health, given the results of research, activists within and outside of the professions led a large and vocal advocacy effort directed at mental health professional associations, such as the American Psychiatric Association, the American Psychological Association, and the American Association for Behavior Therapy, and called for the evaluation of prejudice and stigma within mental health associations and practices (D'Emilio, 1983; Kameny, 2009). At the same time, some LGB professionals and their allies encouraged the field of psychotherapy to assist sexual minority clients to accept their sexual orientation (Silverstein, 2007).

As a result of the research and the advocacy outside of and within the American Psychiatric Association, that association embarked upon an internal process of evaluating the literature to address the issue of homosexuality as a psychiatric disorder (Bayer, 1981; Drescher 2003; Drescher & Merlino, 2007; Sbordone, 2003; Silverstein, 2007). On the recommendation of its committee evaluating the research, the American Psychiatric Association Board of Trustees and general membership voted to remove homosexuality per se[22] from the *DSM* in December 1973 (Bayer, 1981). The American Psychiatric Association (1973) then issued a position statement supporting civil rights protection for gay people in employment, housing, public accommodation, and licensing, and the repeal of all sodomy laws.

In December 1974, the American Psychological Association (APA) passed a resolution affirming the resolution of the American Psychiatric Association. APA concluded:

[21] *Homophile* is an early term for what would become the gay rights or gay and lesbian rights movement.

[22] The diagnoses of sexual orientation disturbance and ego-dystonic homosexuality sequentially replaced homosexuality. These diagnoses, however, were ultimately removed, due to conceptual problems and psychiatry's evolving evidence-based approach to delineating a mental disorder (Drescher, Stein, & Byne, 2005).

> Homosexuality per se implies no impairment in judgment, stability, reliability, or general social and vocational capabilities. Further, the American Psychological Association urges all mental health professionals to take the lead in removing the stigma of mental illness that has long been associated with homosexual orientations. (APA, 1975, p. 633)

Since that time, the APA has passed numerous resolutions supporting LGB civil rights and psychological well-being (see APA, 2005a).

Other mental health associations, including the National Association of Social Workers and the American Counseling Association, and medical associations, including the American Medical Association and the American Academy of Pediatrics, have passed similar resolutions. Gradual shifts began to take place in the international mental health community as well. In 1992, the World Health Organization removed homosexuality per se from the *International Classification of Diseases* (Nakajima, 2003).

Decline of Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

Following the removal of homosexuality from the *DSM*, the publication of studies of SOCE decreased dramatically, and nonaffirming approaches to psychotherapy came under increased scrutiny. Behavior therapists became increasingly concerned that aversive therapies designed as SOCE for homosexuality were inappropriate, unethical, and inhumane (Bancroft, 2003; Davison, 1976, 1978; Davison & Wilson, 1973; M. King, Smith, & Bartlett, 2004; D. J. Martin, 2003; Silverstein, 1991, 2007). The Association for Behavioral and Cognitive Therapies (formerly the Association for Advancement of Behavior Therapy) as well as other associations affiliated with cognitive and behavior therapies currently reject the use of SOCE (D. J. Martin, 2003). Behavior therapy for LGB individuals now focuses on issues of increasing adjustment, as well as on addressing a variety of their mental health concerns (Campos & Goldfried, 2001; Hart & Heimberg, 2001; Martell et al., 2004; Pachankis & Goldfried, 2004; Safren & Rogers, 2001).

Prominent psychoanalytic practitioners (see, e.g., Mitchell, 1978, 1981) began questioning SOCE within their own profession and challenged therapies that started with assumptions of pathology. However, such a movement did not take hold until the late 1980s and early 1990s (Drescher, 1998a, 1998b; Glassgold & Iasenza, 1995). In 1991, the American Psychoanalytic Association (ApsaA) effectively ended stigmatization of homosexuality by mainstream psychoanalysis when it adopted a sexual orientation nondiscrimination policy regarding the selection of candidates for psychoanalytic training. This policy was revised in 1992 to include selection of faculty and training analysts as well (ApsaA, 1991, 1992). In 2000, ApsaA adopted a policy against SOCE, attempting to end that practice within the field:

> As in all psychoanalytic treatments, the goal of analysis with homosexual patients is understanding. Psychoanalytic technique does not encompass purposeful efforts to "convert" or "repair" an individual's sexual orientation. Such directed efforts are against fundamental principles of psychoanalytic treatment and often result in substantial psychological pain by reinforcing damaging internalized homophobic attitudes. (¶ 1)

Numerous publications document the theoretical limitations and problems with SOCE within psychoanalysis (Drescher, 1998a, 1998b; O'Connor & Ryan, 1993). In the last decade, many psychoanalytic publications have described an affirmative approach to sexual orientation variation and diversity.[23]

Currently, mainstream mental health professional associations support affirmative approaches that focus on helping sexual minorities cope with the impact of minority stress and stigma (American Counseling Association Governing Council, 1998; American Psychiatric Association, 2000; APA, 1997, 2000; NASW, 1997). The literature on affirmative psychotherapy has grown enormously during this time (e.g., Bieschke et al., 2007; Eubanks-Carter, Burckell, & Goldfried, 2005; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002). Included in this literature are publications that aim to support individuals with strong religious beliefs and same-sex sexual orientation in exploring ways to integrate the two (e.g., Astramovich, 2003; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 1996, 2004; Horne & Noffsinger-Frazier, 2003; Mark, 2008; D. F. Morrow, 2003; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). These changes within the mental health fields are reflected in the larger society, where there have been increasing shifts in acceptance of LGB

[23] ApsaA and Divisions 39 (Psychoanalysis) and 44 (Society for the Psychological Study of Lesbian, Gay, & Bisexual Concerns) have collaborated on a bibliography of affirmative resources in psychoanalysis.

individuals (see National Gay and Lesbian Task Force: http://www.thetaskforce.org). For instance, in 2003, the U.S. Supreme Court made a landmark ruling in *Lawrence v. Texas* that declared as unconstitutional the sodomy laws of the 13 states that still criminalized homosexuality. However, issues such as same-sex marriage are still controversial (Phy-Olsen, 2006).

However, SOCE is still provided by LMHP. Some LMHP (Nicolosi, 2003, Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rosik, 2001) advocate for SOCE to be provided to distressed individuals, and an organization was founded to advocate for these types of treatments (National Association for Research and Treatment of Homosexuality). Additionally, a survey of randomly selected British LMHP (psychologists, counselors, and psychiatrists) completed in 2003 found that 17% of the total sample of 1,328 had provided SOCE in the past and that 4% would consider providing such therapy upon client request in the future (Bartlett, King, & Phillips, 2001; cf. Liszcz & Yarhouse, 2005). Among those who provided such services, the number of clients provided SOCE had remained constant over time (Bartlett et al., 2001; cf. M. King et al., 2004).

Sexual Orientation Change Efforts Provided to Religious Individuals

The visibility of SOCE has increased in the last decade (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Herek, 2003). From our survey of recent publications and research, most SOCE currently seem directed to those holding conservative religious and political beliefs, and recent research on SOCE includes almost exclusively individuals who have strong religious beliefs (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003). In an evolution for some religious communities, sexual minorities are not automatically expelled or shunned (Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Sanchez, 2007; SPLC, 2005). Instead, individuals with a same-sex sexual orientation are embraced for renouncing their homosexuality and seeking "healing" or change (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999). This development has led to a movement of religiously based self-help groups for distressed individuals who often refer to themselves as ex-gay (Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). Individuals and organizations that promote religion-based efforts to change sexual orientation often target messages to adults, adolescents, and their families that portray homosexuality as negative (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006; Wolkomir, 2006). These efforts include religious outreach, support groups, and psychotherapy (Erzen, 2006, Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Debates between those who advocate SOCE and those who oppose it have at times become polemical, with charges that professional psychology has not reflected the concerns of religious individuals,[24] and both supporters and opponents of SOCE have presented themselves as advocates for consumers (cf. Brooke, 2005). Despite the polarization, there have been recent attempts to envision alternate frameworks to address these issues (e.g., Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Benoit, 2005; Haldeman, 2004; McMinn, 2005; Phillips, 2004; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006).

We concluded that these debates can only be resolved through an evidence-based appraisal of the potential benefits and harm of SOCE. In the next two chapters, we consider the research evidence on SOCE. In Chapter 3 we discuss methodological concerns, and in Chapter 4, the results that can be drawn from this literature.

[24] APA has received correspondence from individuals and organizations asserting this point.

3. A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON THE EFFICACY OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS: OVERVIEW AND METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

Although the charge given to the task force did not explicitly call for a systematic review of research on the efficacy and safety of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE),[25] we decided in our initial deliberations that such a review was important to the fulfillment of our charge. First, the debate over SOCE has centered on the issues of efficacy, benefit, and harm. Thus, we believe it was incumbent on us to address those issues in our report. We attempted to answer the following questions in this review:

- Do SOCE alter sexual orientation?
- Are SOCE harmful?
- Do SOCE result in any outcomes other than changing sexual orientation?

Second, systematic literature reviews are frequently used to answer questions about the effectiveness of interventions in health care to provide the basis for informed treatment decisions (D. J. Cook, Mulrow, & Haynes, 1998; Petticrew, 2001). Current criteria for effective treatments and interventions are specific in stating that to be considered effective, an intervention has consistent positive effects without serious harmful side effects (Beutler, 2000; Flay et al., 2005). Based on Lilienfeld's (2007) comprehensive review of the issue of harm in psychotherapy, our systematic review examines harm in the following ways:

- Negative side effects of treatment (iatrogenic effects)
- Client reports of perceptions of harm from treatment
- High drop-out rates
- Indirect harm such as the costs (time, energy, money) of ineffective interventions

Finally, we were given the charge to "inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions." We decided that a systematic review[26] would likely be the only effective basis for APA's response to advocacy groups for SOCE.

In our review, we considered only peer-reviewed research, in keeping with current standards for conducting scientific reviews (see Khan, Kunz, Kleijnen, & Antes, 2003), which exclude the grey literature[27] and lay material. In this chapter, we provide an overview of the review and a detailed report on the methodological concerns that affect the validity[28] of the conclusions

[25] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

[26] A systematic review starts with a clear question to be answered, strives to locate all relevant research, has clear inclusion and exclusion criteria, carefully assesses study quality, and synthesizes study results (Petticrew, 2001).

[27] Grey literature refers to any publication in any format published outside of peer-reviewed scientific journals.

[28] *Validity* is defined as the extent to which a study or group of studies produce information that is useful for a specific purpose. It also includes an overall evaluation of the plausibility of the intended

derived from the research. In the next chapter, we present our review of the outcomes of the research.

Overview of the Systematic Review

Our review included peer-reviewed empirical research on treatment outcomes published from 1960 to 2007. Studies were identified through systematic searches of scholarly databases, including PsycINFO and Medline, using such search terms as *reparative therapy*, *sexual orientation*, *homosexuality*, and *ex-gays* cross-referenced with treatment and therapy. Reference lists from all identified articles were searched for additional nonindexed, peer-reviewed material. We also obtained review articles and commentaries and searched the reference lists of these articles to identify refereed publications of original research investigations on SOCE that had not been identified via the aforementioned procedures. As noted earlier, in keeping with standards for systematic reviews, only empirically based, peer-reviewed articles addressing the key questions of this review regarding SOCE efficacy, safety, and harm were included in this section. Other research studies of children, adolescents, and adults, including the grey literature and clinical accounts, are included in other sections of this report, most notably Chapter 5 (Research on Adults Who Undergo Sexual Orientation Change Efforts) and Chapter 8 (Issues for Children, Adolescents, and Their Families). The studies that met our criteria and are mentioned in this chapter on the systematic review are listed in Appendix B.[29]

The vast majority of research on SOCE was conducted prior to 1981. This early research predominantly focused on evaluating behavioral interventions, including those using aversive methods. Following the declassification of homosexuality as a mental disorder in 1973 (American Psychiatric Association, 1973) and subsequent statements of other mental health professional associations, including APA (Conger, 1975), research on SOCE declined dramatically. Indeed, we found that the peer-reviewed empirical literature after 1981 contains no rigorous intervention trials on changing same-sex sexual attractions.

There is a small, more recent group of studies conducted since 1999 that assess perceived effects of SOCE among individuals who have participated in psychotherapy as well as efforts based in religious beliefs or practices, including support groups, faith healing, and prayer. There are distinct types of research within this recent literature. One type focused on evaluating individuals' positive accounts of sexual orientation change (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003). Another type examined potential harm of SOCE and experiences of those who seek sexual orientation change (Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). A third type is high-quality[30] qualitative research investigations that provide insight into people's experiences of efforts aimed at altering their same-sex sexual attractions (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkimir, 2001).[31]

In all areas of intervention evaluation, the quality of the methods used in the research affects the validity and credibility of any claims the researcher can make about whether the intervention works, for whom it works, and under what circumstances it works. Many have described methodological concerns regarding the research literature on sexual orientation change efforts (e.g., Cramer, Golom, LoPresto, & Kirkley, 2008; Haldeman, 1994; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Murphy, 1992; Sandfort, 2003). Overall, we found that the low quality of the research on SOCE is such that claims regarding its effectiveness and widespread applicability must be viewed skeptically.

Overall, we found that the low quality of the research on SOCE is such that claims regarding its effectiveness and widespread applicability must be viewed skeptically.

As shown in Appendix B, few studies on SOCE produced over the past 50 years of research rise to current scientific standards for demonstrating the efficacy of psychological interventions (cf. Chambless & Hollon, 1998; Chambless & Ollendick, 2001;

interpretations—in this case, does SOCE produce a change in sexual orientation (see American Educational Research Association, APA, & National Council on Measurement in Education, 1999).

[29] A meta-analytic review of 14 research articles (Byrd & Nicolosi, 2002) is not discussed in this report. The review suffers from significant methodological shortcomings and deviations from recommended meta-analytic practice (see, e.g., Durlak, Meerson, & Ewell Foster, 2003; Lipsey & Wilson, 2001) that preclude reliable conclusions being drawn from it. However, studies that were included in the meta-analysis and were published in refereed journals between 1960 and the present are included and described in the current review. Additionally, a recent study (Byrd, Nicolosi, & Potts, 2008) is not included, as it was published after the review period and appears to be a reworking of an earlier study by Nicolosi, Byrd, and Potts (2000).

[30] These studies meet the standards of research rigor that are used for the qualitative research paradigms that informed each of the studies (e.g., grounded theory, ethnomethodology, phenomenology).

[31] These studies are discussed more thoroughly in later sections of the report.

Flay et al., 2005; Shadish, Cook, & Campbell, 2002; Society for Prevention Research, 2005) or provide for unambiguous causal evidence regarding intervention outcomes. Indeed, only six studies, all conducted in the early period of research, used rigorous experimental[32] procedures. Only one of these experiments (Tanner, 1974) assessed treatment outcomes in comparison to an untreated control group. Only three additional studies used strong quasi-experimental procedures such as a nonequivalent comparison group (see Appendix B). All of these studies were also from the early period. The rest of the studies that we reviewed are nonexperimental (see Appendix B). We thus concluded that there is little in the way of credible evidence that could clarify whether SOCE does or does not work in changing same-sex sexual attractions.

The studies in this area also include a highly select group of people who are unique among those who experience same-sex sexual attractions. Thus, psychologists should be extremely cautious in attributing success to SOCE and assuming that the findings of the studies of it can be applied to all sexual minorities. An overview of the methodological problems in determining the effects of SOCE and making treatment decisions based on findings from these studies follows.

Methodological Problems in the Research Literature on Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

Problems in Making Causal Claims

A principal goal of the available research on SOCE was to demonstrate that SOCE consistently and reliably produce changes in aspects of sexual orientation. Overall, due to weaknesses in the scientific validity of research on SOCE, the empirical research does not provide a sound basis for making compelling causal claims. A detailed analysis of these issues follows.

INTERNAL VALIDITY CONCERNS

Internally valid research convincingly demonstrates that a cause (such as SOCE) is the only plausible explanation for an observed outcome such as change in same-sex sexual attractions. Lack of internal validity limits certainty that observed changes in people's attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are a function of the particular interventions to which they were exposed. A major limitation to research on SOCE, both the early and the recent research, stems from the use of weak research designs that are prone to threats to internal validity. Research on SOCE has rarely used designs that allow for confident conclusions regarding cause-and-effect relationships between exposure to SOCE and outcomes.

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As noted previously, true experiments and rigorous quasi-experiments are rare in the SOCE research. There are only a few studies in the early period that are experiments or quasi-experiments, and no true experiments or quasi-experiments exist within the recent research. Thus, none of these recent studies meet current best practice standards for experimental design and cannot establish whether SOCE is efficacious.

In early studies, comparison and no-treatment control groups were uncommon procedures, and early studies rarely employed multiple baseline assessments, randomization to condition, multiple long-term follow-up assessments, or other procedures to aid in making causal inferences. These procedures are widely accepted as providing the most compelling basis for ruling out the possibility that an alternative source is responsible for causing an observed or reported treatment effect.

Common threats to internal validity in early studies include history (i.e., other events occurring over the same time period as the treatment that could produce the results in the absence of the intervention), regression (i.e., extreme scores are typically less extreme on retest in the absence of intervention), and testing (i.e., taking a test once influences future scores on the test in the absence of intervention). Within-subject and patient case studies are the most common designs in the early SOCE research (see Appendix

[32] True experiments have more methodological rigor because study participants are randomly assigned to treatment groups such that individual differences are more equally distributed and are not confounded with any change resulting from the treatment. Experiments are also rigorous because they include a way for the researcher to determine what would have happened in the absence of any treatment (e.g., a counterfactual) through the use of a no-treatment control group. Quasi-experimental designs do not have random assignment but do incorporate a comparison of some kind. Although they are less rigorous than experiments, quasi-experiments, if appropriately designed and conducted, can still provide for reasonable causal conclusions to be made.

B). In these designs, an individual's scores or clinical status prior to treatment is compared with his or her scores or status following treatment. These designs are particularly vulnerable to internal validity threats.

Sample attrition

Early research is especially vulnerable to threats to internal validity related to sample attrition. The proportions of participants in these studies who dropped out of the intervention and were lost to follow-up are unacceptably high; drop-out rates go as high as 74% of the initial study sample. Authors also reported high rates of refusal to undergo treatment after participants were initially enrolled in the studies. For instance, 6 men in Bancroft's (1969) study refused to undergo treatment, leaving only 10 men in the study. Callahan and Leitenberg (1973) reported that of 23 men enrolled, 7 refused and 2 dropped out of treatment; 8 also showed inconsistent baseline responses in penile arousal to the experimental stimuli so could not be included in the analysis, leaving only 6 subjects on whom treatment analyses could be performed. Of 37 studies reviewed by H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977), 31 studies lost from 36% to 58% of the sample. In many studies, therefore, what appear to be intervention effects may actually reflect systematic changes in the composition of the study sample; in the handful of available comparison group studies, differences between the groups in the studies in the rate of dropout and in the characteristics of those who drop out may be the true cause of any observed differences between the groups. Put simply, dropout may undermine the comparability of groups in ways that can bias study outcomes.

Retrospective pretest

With the exception of prospective ethnographic studies (e.g., Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001), the recent research (e.g., Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003) relies exclusively on uncontrolled retrospective pretest designs. In these studies, people who have been exposed to SOCE are asked to recall and report on their feelings, beliefs, and behaviors at an earlier age or time and are then asked to report on these same issues at present. Change is assessed by comparing contemporary scores with scores provided for the earlier time period based on retrospective recall. In a few studies, LMHP who perform SOCE reported their view of how their clients had changed. The design is problematic because all of the pretest measures are not true pretests but retrospective accounts of pretest status. Thus, the recent research studies on SOCE have even weaker designs than do nonexperimental studies from the early period of research on SOCE. Again, none of these recent studies can establish whether SOCE is efficacious.

An extensive body of research demonstrates the unreliability of retrospective pretests. For example, retrospective pretests are extremely vulnerable to response-shift biases resulting from recall distortion and degradation (C. E. Schwartz & Rapkin, 2004; Schwarz & Clore, 1985). People find it difficult to recall and report accurately on feelings, behaviors, and occurrences from long ago and, with the passage of time, will often distort the frequency, intensity, and salience of things they are asked to recall.

Retrospective pretests are also vulnerable to biases deriving from impression management (Fisher & Katz, 2000; Schwarz, Hippler, Deutsch, & Strack, 1985; A. E. Wilson & Ross, 2001), change expectancy (Hill & Betz, 2005; Lam & Bengo, 2003; Norman, 2003; M. A. Ross, 1989; Sprangers, 1989), and effort justification (Aronson & Mills, 1959; Beauvois & Joule, 1996; Festinger, 1957). Individuals tend to want to present themselves in a favorable light. As a result, people have a natural tendency to report on their current selves as improved over their prior selves (impression management). People will also report change under circumstances in which they have been led to expect that change will occur, even if no change actually does occur (change expectancy). In addition, people will seek to justify the time and effort that they have made in treatment to reduce any dissonance they may feel at experiencing no change or less than they had expected by overestimating the effectiveness of the treatment (effort justification). Effort justification has been demonstrated to become stronger as intervention experiences become more unpleasant. In combination, these factors lead to inaccurate self-reports and inflated estimates of treatment effects, distortions that are magnified in the context of retrospective pretest designs.

CONSTRUCT VALIDITY CONCERNS

Construct validity is also a significant concern in research on SOCE. Construct validity refers to the degree to which the abstract concepts that are investigated in the study are validly defined, how well these concepts are translated into the study's treatments and measures, and, in light of these definitional and operational decisions, whether the study findings are appropriately interpreted. For

instance, do the researchers adequately define and measure sexual orientation? Are their interpretations of the study results regarding change in sexual orientation appropriate, given how the constructs were defined and translated into measures? On the whole, research on SOCE presents serious concerns regarding construct validity.

Definition of sexual orientation

Sexual orientation is a complex human characteristic involving attractions, behaviors, emotions, and identity. Research on sexual orientation is usually seen as beginning with the Kinsey studies (Kinsey et al., 1948, 1953). Kinsey used a unidimensional, 7-category taxonomic continuum, from 0 (*exclusively heterosexual*) to 6 (*exclusively homosexual*), to classify his participants. As the research has developed since the Kinsey studies, the assessment of sexual orientation has focused largely on measuring three variables—identity, behavior, and attraction. Many studies measure only one or two, but very seldom all three, of these variables.

A key finding in the last 2 decades of research on sexual orientation is that sexual behavior, sexual attraction, and sexual orientation identity are labeled and expressed in many different ways (Carrillo, 2002; Diamond, 2003, 2006; Dunne, Bailey, Kirk, & Martin, 2000; Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, & Michals, 1994; Savin-Williams, 2005). For instance, individuals with sexual attractions may not act on them or may understand, define, and label their experiences differently than those with similar desires, because of the unique cultural and historical constructs regarding ethnicity, gender, and sexuality (Harper et al., 2004; Mays & Cochran, 1998; Walters, Simoni, & Horwath, 2001; Weinrich & Williams, 1991).

Further, a subset of individuals who engage in same-sex sexual behaviors or have same-sex sexual attractions do not self-identify as LGB or may remain unlabeled, and some self-identified lesbian and gay individuals may engage in other-sex sexual behaviors without self-identifying as bisexual or heterosexual (Beckstead, 2003; Carrillo, 2002; Diamond, 2003, 2008; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Dunne et al., 2000; Fox, 2004; Gonsiorek, Sell, & Weinrich, 1995; Hoburg, Konik, Williams, & Crawford, 2004; Kinsey et al., 1948, 1953; Klein et al., 1985; Masters & Johnson, 1979; McConaghy, 1987, 1999; McConaghy, Buhrich, & Silove, 1994; Storms, 1980; Thompson & Morgan, 2008). Thus, for some individuals, personal and social identities differ from sexual attraction, and sexual orientation identities may vary due to personal concerns, culture, contexts, ethnicity, nationality, and relationships.

As a result, a number of scholars have argued that the construct of sexual orientation would be more easily and reliably assessed and defined if it were disentangled from sexual orientation identity (e.g., Chang & Katayama, 1996; Drescher, 1998a, 1998b; Drescher, Stein, & Byne, 2005; Rust, 2003; Stein, 1999; R. L. Worthington, Savoy, Dillon, & Vernaglia, 2002). Recent research has found that distinguishing the constructs of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity adds clarity to an understanding of the variability inherent in reports of these two variables (R. L. Worthington et al., 2002; R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009).

We adopted this current understanding of sexuality to clarify issues in the research literature. For instance, *sexual orientation* refers to an individual's patterns of sexual, romantic, and affectional arousal and desire for other persons based on those persons' gender and sex characteristics. Sexual orientation is tied to physiological drives and biological systems that are beyond conscious choice and involve profound emotional feelings, such as "falling in love." Other dimensions commonly attributed to sexual orientation (e.g., sexual behavior with men and/or women, social affiliations with LGB or heterosexual individuals and communities, emotional attachment preferences for men or women, gender role and identity, lifestyle choices) are potential correlates of sexual orientation rather than principal dimensions of the construct.

Sexual orientation identity refers to acknowledgment and internalization of sexual orientation and reflects self-exploration, self-awareness, self-recognition, group membership and affiliation, culture, and self-stigma. Sexual orientation identity involves private and public ways of self-identifying and is a key element in determining relational and interpersonal decisions, as it creates a foundation for the formation of community, social support, role models, friendship, and partnering (APA, 2003; Jordan & Deluty, 1998; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Morris, 1997; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001).

Given this new understanding of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity, a great deal of debate surrounds the question of how best to assess sexual orientation in research (Gonsiorek et al., 1995; Kinsey et al., 1948, 1953; Masters & Johnson, 1979; Sell, 1997). For example, some authors have criticized the Kinsey scale for dichotomizing sexual orientation—with heterosexuality and homosexuality as opposites along a single dimension and bisexuality in between—

thus implying that in increasing desire for one sex represents reduced desire for the other sex (Gonsiorek et al., 1995; Sell, 1997; R. L. Worthington, 2003; R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). An alternative that has been proposed suggests that same-sex and other-sex attractions and desires may coexist relatively independently and may not be mutually exclusive (Diamond, 2003, 2006; 2008; Fox, 2004; Klein et al., 1985,[33] Sell, 1997; Shively & DeCecco, 1977; Storms, 1980; R. L. Worthington, 2003; R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). Models with multiple dimensions that permit the rating of the intensity of an individual's sexual desire or arousal for other-sex individuals separately from the intensity of that individual's sexual desire or arousal for same-sex individuals allow individuals to have simultaneous levels of attractions. Some commentators believe such models allow for greater understanding of sexual diversity and its interactions with other aspects of identity and culture (Mays & Cochran, 1998; R. L. Worthington et al. 2002).

Considered in the context of the conceptual complexities of and debates over the assessment of sexual orientation, much of the SOCE research does not adequately define the construct of sexual orientation, does not differentiate it from sexual orientation identity, or has misleading definitions that do not accurately assess or acknowledge bisexual individuals. Early research that focuses on sexual arousal may be more precise than that which relies on self-report of behavior. Overall, recent research may actually measure sexual orientation identity (i.e., beliefs about sexual orientation, self-report of identity or group affiliation, self-report of behavior, and self-labeling) rather than sexual orientation.

Much of the SOCE research does not adequately define the construct of sexual orientation, does not differentiate it from sexual orientation identity, or has misleading definitions that do not accurately assess or acknowledge bisexual individuals.

Study treatments

In general, what constitutes SOCE in empirical research is quite varied. As we show in Appendix B, early studies tested a variety of interventions that include aversive conditioning techniques (e.g., electric shock, deprivation of food and liquids, smelling salts, chemically induced nausea), biofeedback, hypnosis, masturbation reconditioning, psychotherapy, systematic desensitization, and combinations of these approaches. A small number of early studies compare approaches alone or in combination. The more recent research includes an even wider variety of interventions (e.g., gender role reconditioning, support groups, prayer, psychotherapy) and providers (e.g., licensed and unlicensed LMHP in varied disciplines, pastoral counselors, laypersons). The recent studies were conducted in such a way that it is not possible to attribute results to any particular intervention component, approach, or provider. For instance, these interventions were provided simultaneously or sequentially, without specific separate evaluations of each intervention. The recent research and much of the early research cannot provide clarity regarding which specific efforts are associated with which specific outcomes.

Outcome measures

Regarding assessment mode, outcomes in early studies were assessed by one or more of the following: gauging an individual's physiological responses when presented with sexual stimuli, obtaining the person's self-report of recent sexual behavior and attractions, and using clinical opinion regarding improvement. In men especially, physiological measures are considered more dependable than self-report of sexual arousal or attraction (Freund, 1976; McConaghy, 1999). However, these measures have important limitations when studying sexual orientation. Some men are incapable of sexual arousal to any stimuli in the laboratory and must be excluded from research investigations in which the measure is the sole outcome measure. More recent research indicates that some penile circumference gauges are less consistent than penile volume gauges (Kuban, Barbaree, & Blanchard, 1999; McConaghy, 1999; Quinsey & Lalumiere, 2001; Seto, 2004) and that some men can intentionally produce false readings on the penile circumference gauges by suppressing their standard sexual arousal responses (Castonguay, Proulx, Aubut, McKibben, & Campbell, 1993; Lalumiere & Harris, 1998) or consciously making themselves aroused when presented with female erotic stimuli (Freund, 1971, 1976; Freund, Watson, & Rienzo, 1988; Lalumiere & Earls, 1992; McConaghy, 1999, 2003). The physiological measure used in all the SOCE experiements was the penile circumference gauge.

[33] Although Klein advanced the notion of sexual orientation as a multidimensional variable, his Sexual Orientation Grid confounds constructs of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity, as it includes attraction; behavior; identification; and emotional, political, and social preferences.

McConaghy (1999) has questioned the validity of the results of SOCE research using this gauge and believes that data illustrating a reduction in same-sex sexual attraction should be viewed skeptically.

In recent research on SOCE, overreliance on self-report measures and/or on measures of unknown validity and reliability is common. Reliance on self-reports is especially vulnerable to a variety of reactivity biases such that shifts in an individual's score will reflect factors other than true change. Some of these biases are related to individual motivations, which have already been discussed, and others are due to features of the experimental situation. Knowing that one is being studied and what the experimenter hopes to find can heighten people's tendency to self-report in socially desirable ways and in ways that please the experimenter.

Measures used in early studies vary tremendously in their psychometric acceptability, particularly for attitudinal and mental health measures, with a limited number of studies using well-validated measures. Recent research has not advanced significantly in using psychometrically sound measures of important study variables such as depression, despite the widespread use of measures that permit accurate assessment of these variables in other studies. Measures in these studies are also sources of bias due to problems such as item wording and response anchors from which participants may have inferred that other-sex attraction is a normative standard, as well as from the exclusion of items related to healthy homosexual functioning to parallel items that ask for reports on healthy heterosexual functioning.

Study operations

Regarding the adequacy of study operations, few of the early studies attempted to overcome the demand characteristics associated with the interventionists' obtaining measures of change themselves. In other words, few studies sought to minimize the possibility that people receiving treatment would be motivated to please their treatment providers by providing them with reports that were consistent with what the providers were perceived to desire and expect. Issues in recruitment of participants may also contribute to this effect; subjects were aware of the goals of the study, were recruited by individuals with that knowledge, or were participating in treatment to avoid legal and/or religious sanction. Novelty effects associated with exposure to an experimental laboratory situation may also have influenced study results. People may become excited and energized by participating in a research investigation, and these reactions to being in the research environment may contribute to change in scores. Recent research is also vulnerable to demand characteristics as a function of how individuals are recruited into samples, which is discussed in more detail in the section on sampling concerns.

CONCLUSION VALIDITY CONCERNS

Conclusion validity concerns the validity of the inferences about the presence or absence of a relationship among variables that are drawn from statistical tests. Small sample sizes, sample heterogeneity, weak measures, and violations to the assumptions of statistical tests (e.g., non-normally distributed data) are central threats to drawing valid conclusions. In this body of research, conclusion validity is often severely compromised. Many of the studies from the early period are characterized by samples that are very small, containing on the average about 9 subjects (see Appendix B; see also H. E. Adams & Sturgis, 1977). Combined with high rates of attrition, skewed distributions, unreliable measures, and infrequent use of statistical tests designed for small and skewed samples, confidence in the statistical results of many of these studies may be misplaced. The recent research involved unreliable measures and inappropriate selection and performance of statistical tests, which are threats to their statistical conclusion validity,[34] even though these studies involved larger samples than the early research.

[34] For instance, to assess whether sexual orientation had changed, Nicolosi et al. (2000) performed a chi-square test of association on individuals' prior and current self-rated sexual orientation. Several features of the analysis are problematic. Specifically, the nature of the data and research question are inappropriate to a chi-square test of association, and it does not appear that the tests were properly performed. Chi-square tests of association assume that data are independent, yet these data are not independent because the row and column scores represent an individual's rating of his or her past and present self. Chi-square tests ought not to be performed if a cell in the contingency table includes fewer than five cases. Other tests, such as the nonparametric McNemar's test for dichotomous variables (McNemar, 1969) or the sign (Conover, 1980) or Wilcoxon signed-rank tests (Wilcoxon, 1945) for nominal and ordinal data, respectively, are used to assess whether there are significant differences between an individual's before and after score and are appropriate when data fail to meet the assumptions of independence and normality, as these data do and would have been more appropriate choices. Paired *t* tests for mean differences could also have been performed on these data. There are procedural problems in how Nicolosi et al. conducted the chi-square test, such as missing data, and the analyses were conducted without adjustment for chance, with different numbers of subjects responding to each item, and without corrections to the gain scores to address regression artifacts. Taken together, the problems associated with running so many tests without adjusting for chance associations

Problems in Generalizing Findings

A significant challenge to interpreting the research on SOCE is establishing external validity—that is, judging to whom and to what circumstances the results of any particular study might reasonably be generalized.

SAMPLE COMPOSITION

Concerns regarding the sample composition in these studies are common in critiques (e.g., Cramer et al., 2008). The studies from the early period are characterized by samples that are narrow in their demographic characteristics, composed almost exclusively of Caucasian males over the age of 18. No investigations are of children and adolescents exclusively, although adolescents are included in a very few study samples. Few SOCE studies in the early period include women. Although more recent research includes women and respondents of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds (e.g., Moran, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001), White men continue to dominate recent study samples. Thus, the research findings from early and recent studies may have limited applicability to non-Whites, youth, or women. The samples in the recent research have been narrowly defined in other respects, focusing on well-educated, middle-class individuals to whom religion is extremely important (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Pattison & Pattison, 1980; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001). Same-sex sexual attraction and treatments are confounded with these particular demographic characteristics across the recent literature. These research findings may be most applicable to educated White men who consider themselves highly religious.

The research findings from early and recent studies may have limited applicability to non-Whites, youth, or women.

The early research sometimes included men who were receiving intervention involuntarily (e.g., Barlow, Agras, Abel, Blanchard, & Young, 1975; Callahan & Leitenberg, 1973; S. James, 1978; MacCulloch & Feldman, 1967; MacCulloch et al., 1965; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy et al., 1972), usually men who were court referred as a result of convictions on charges related to criminalized acts of homosexual sex.[35] The samples also include men who were not receiving intervention because of same-sex sexual attractions; rather, some of the men receiving intervention are described as pedophiles, exhibitionists, transvestites, and fetishists (Callahan & Leitenberg, 1973; Conrad & Wincze, 1976; Fookes, 1960; Hallam & Rachman, 1972; Marquis, 1970; Thorpe, Schmidt, Brown, & Castell, 1964; Thorpe, Schmidt, & Castell, 1963). Thus, the early samples are notable for including men who may not be same-sex attracted at all or have been distressed by their attractions but who had to undergo intervention by court order or out of fear of being caught by law enforcement in the future.

Moreover, in the early research—to the extent that it was assessed—the samples contained individuals who varied widely along the spectrum of same-sex sexual orientation prior to intervention, so that the studies included men who were other-sex sexually attracted to varying degrees alongside men who were primarily or exclusively same-sex sexually attracted (Bancroft, 1969; Barlow et al., 1975; Birk, 1974; Conrad & Wincze, 1976; Fookes, 1960; Hallman & Rachman, 1972; Kendrick & MacCulloch, 1972; LoPiccolo, Stewart, & Watkins, 1972; Marquis, 1970; McCrady, 1973). Additionally, study samples included men with and without histories of current and prior sexual contact with men and women (Bancroft, 1969; Colson, 1972; Curtis & Presly, 1972; Fookes, 1960; Freeman & Meyer, 1975; Gray, 1970; Hallman & Rachman, 1972; Herman, Barlow, & Agras, 1974; Larson, 1970; Levin, Hirsch, Shugar, & Kapche, 1968; LoPiccolo et al., 1972; MacCulloch & Feldman, 1967; McConaghy, 1969; McConaghy, Armstrong, & Blaszcynski, 1981; McConaghy & Barr, 1973; McConaghy et al., 1972; Segal & Sims, 1972; Thorpe et al., 1964), so that men who were or had been sexually active with women and men, only women, only men, or neither were combined. Some recent studies of SOCE have similar problems (e.g., Spitzer, 2003). Including participants with attractions, sexual arousal, and behaviors to both sexes in the research on SOCE makes evaluating change more difficult (Diamond, 2003; Rust, 2003; Vasey & Rendell, 2003; R. L. Worthington, 2003).

Data analyses rarely adjust for preintervention factors such as voluntary pursuit of intervention, initial degree of other-sex attraction, or past and current other-sex and same-sex behaviors; in very few studies did investigators perform and report subgroup analyses to clarify how

or correcting for regression artifacts and having different respondents in nearly every test make it difficult to assess what changes in scores across these items actually reflect.

[35] Shidlo and Schroeder (2002) found that roughly 24% of their respondents perceived that SOCE was imposed on them rather than pursued voluntarily.

subpopulations fared as a result of intervention. The absence of these analyses obscures results for men who are primarily same-sex attracted and seeking intervention regarding these attractions versus any other group of men in these studies, such as men who could be characterized as bisexual in their attractions and behaviors or those on whom treatment was imposed. For these reasons, the external validity (generalizability) of the early studies is unclear, with selection–treatment interactions of particular concern. It is uncertain which effects observed in these studies would hold for which groups of same-sex attracted people.

SAMPLING AND RECRUITMENT PROCEDURES

Early and recent study samples are typically of convenience, so it is unclear precisely what populations these samples represent. Respondents in the recent studies were typically recruited through ex-gay ministries and advocates of SOCE rather than through population-based probability sampling strategies designed to obtain a representative sample of same-sex attracted people or the subset who experience their attractions as distressing and have sought and been exposed to SOCE. Additionally, study respondents are often invited to participate in these studies by LMHP who are proponents of SOCE, introducing unknown selection biases into the recruitment process (cf. Beckstead, 2003; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Qualitative studies have been more successful in applying a variety of purposive stratified sampling strategies (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001) and developing appropriate comparison samples. However, the qualitative studies were not undertaken with the purpose of determining if SOCE interventions are effective in changing sexual orientation. These studies focused on understanding aspects of the experience of participating in SOCE from the perspective of same-sex attracted people in distress.

As noted previously, recent research has used designs that are incapable of making attributions of intervention effects. In many of the recent studies, the nature of the procedures for recruiting samples is likely to have accentuated response-shift biases rather than to have minimized them, because study recruiters were open proponents of the techniques under scrutiny; it cannot be assumed that the recruiters sought to encourage the participation of those individuals whose experiences ran counter to their own view of the value of these approaches. Proponents of these efforts may also have limited access to the research for former clients who were perceived to have failed the intervention or who experienced it as harmful. Some of the recent research to assess harm resulting from these interventions (Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002) suffers from sampling weaknesses and biases of a similar nature.

Treatment Environments

Clinically trained professionals using reasonably well-described change efforts generally conducted early research in clinical laboratory settings. By contrast, the recent research included a wide variety of change efforts, providers, and settings in which these efforts may take place. The recent research has not been performed in a manner that permits examination of the interactions among characteristics of change efforts, providers, settings, and individuals seeking to change, nor does the research associate these patterns with outcomes.

Summary

Our analysis of the methodology of SOCE reveals substantial deficiencies. These deficiencies include limitations in making causal claims due to threats to internal validity (such as sample attrition, use of retrospective pretests); lack of construct validity, including definition and assessment of sexual orientation; and variability of study treatments and outcome measures. Additional limitations with recent research include problems with conclusion validity (the ability to make inferences from the data) due to small or skewed samples, unreliable measures, and inappropriate selection and performance of statistical tests. Due to these limitations, the recent empirical literature provides little basis for concluding whether SOCE has any effect on sexual orientation. Any reading of the literature on SOCE outcomes must take into account the limited generalizability of the study samples to the population of people who experience same-sex sexual attraction and are distressed by it. Taking into account the weaknesses and limitations of the evidence base, we next summarize the results from research in which same-sex sexual attraction and behavior have been treated.

The recent empirical literature provides little basis for concluding whether SOCE has any effect on sexual orientation.

4. A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON THE EFFICACY OF SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS: OUTCOMES

In Chapter 3, we provided an overview of our systematic review of research on sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[36] and the results of the review for methodological concerns. In this chapter, we describe the evidence on outcomes associated with SOCE, whether beneficial or harmful. No studies reported effect size estimates or confidence intervals, and many studies did not report all of the information that would be required to compute effect sizes. As a result, statistical significance and methodology are considered in interpreting the importance of the findings. As the report will show, the peer-refereed empirical research on the outcomes of efforts to alter sexual orientation provides little evidence of efficacy and some evidence of harm. We first summarize the evidence of efficacy and then the evidence of unintended harmful effects.

Reports of Benefit

Sexual orientation change efforts have aimed to address distress in individuals with same-sex sexual attractions by achieving a variety of outcomes:

- Decreased interest in, sexual attraction to, and sexual behavior with same-sex sexual partners.
- Increased interest in, sexual attraction to, and sexual behavior with other-sex sexual partners.
- Increased healthy relationships and marriages with other-sex partners.
- Improved quality of life and mental health.

Although not all of these aims are equally well studied, these are the outcomes that have been studied frequently enough to be reported in this systematic review. One general point that we wish to emphasize as we begin the discussion of the outcomes that have been reported in this literature is that nonexperimental studies often find positive effects that do not hold up under the rigor of experimentation. The literature on SOCE is generally consistent with this point. In other words, the least rigorous studies in this body of research generally provide a more positive assessment of efficacy than do studies that meet even the most minimal standards of scientific rigor.

Decreasing Same-Sex Sexual Attraction

EARLY STUDIES

A number of investigators have assessed aversion therapy interventions to reduce physiological and self-reported sexual arousal in response to same-sex stimuli and self-reports of same-sex sexual attraction (see Appendix B).

[36] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved

Experimental studies

Results from the experimental studies of aversive techniques provide some evidence that these treatments can reduce self-reported and physiological sexual arousal for some men. The experimental studies that we reviewed showed lower rates of change in sexual arousal toward the same sex than did the quasi-experimental and nonexperimental studies. This finding was consistent with H. E. Adams and Sturgis's (1977) review of studies published through 1976.

In their review, H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that across the seven studies that they classified as controlled studies, 34% of the 179 subjects that were retained in these studies decreased their same-sex sexual arousal. McConaghy (1976) found that roughly half of the men who received one of four treatment regimens reported less intense sexual interest in men at 6 months. McConaghy et al. (1972) found reductions in penile response in the laboratory following treatment. Penile response to female nudes also declined for those men who initially responded to female stimuli. McConaghy (1969) similarly reported a decline in sexual arousal to all stimuli as a result of treatment for some men and that treatment also increased same-sex sexual arousal for some men. Overall, however, a majority of participants showed decreases in same-sex sexual arousal immediately following treatment. McConaghy and Barr (1973) found that about half of men reported that their same-sex sexual attractions were reduced. Tanner (1975) found that aversive shock could lessen erectile response to male stimuli.

An important caveat in considering the results of these experiments is that none compared treatment outcomes to an untreated control group. That is, these studies compared treatments to one another. The fact that four of these studies also involved men who were being treated by court referral should also be considered in interpreting the findings. These experiments cannot address whether men would have changed their sexual arousal pattern in the absence of treatment. Only one of the experiments that we identified compared treatment outcomes against the outcomes for an untreated control group. Tanner (1974) examined change in sexual arousal among 8 men receiving electric shock therapy. Tanner found that physiological arousal to male stimuli in the laboratory had declined at the 8-week follow-up, when scores among the 8 men in the treatment were compared with those of the 8 men in a control group. Changes were not achieved for all of the men, and there were no differences between the experimental and control groups in the frequency of same-sex sexual behavior.

The results of the experimental studies suggest that some men who participate in clinical treatment studies may be conditioned to control their sexual arousal response to sexual stimuli, although McConaghy's (cf. McConaghy, 1999) studies suggest that aversive treatments may affect sexual arousal indiscriminately. These studies found that not all men reduce their sexual arousal to these treatments and that changes in sexual arousal in the lab are not necessarily associated with changes in sexual behavior.

Quasi-experimental studies

The three quasi-experiments listed in Appendix B all compare treatment alternatives for nonequivalent groups of men. Birk et al. (1971) found that 5 (62%) of the 8 men in the aversive treatment condition reported decreased sexual feelings following treatment; one man out of the 8 (12%) demonstrated reduced sexual arousal at long-term follow-up. In comparing groups, the researchers found that reports of same-sex "cruising," same-sex sexual "petting," and orgasm declined significantly for men receiving shocks when compared with men receiving associative conditioning. McConaghy and colleagues (1981) found that 50% of respondents reported decreased sexual feelings at 1 year. S. James (1978) reported that anticipatory avoidance learning was relatively ineffective when compared with desensitization. In their review, H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that 50% of the 124 participants in what they termed uncontrolled studies reported reduced sexual arousal.

Nonexperimental studies

Nonexperimental studies, which lack sufficient rigor to assess efficacy but which may be useful in identifying potential treatment approaches, offer a similar view of the impact of aversive treatment on reductions in sexual arousal. For instance, Bancroft (1969), in a within-subject study without a comparison group, delivered electric shocks based on males' penile volume responses to photographs of nude men as they were fantasizing about homosexual sexual encounters. Research subjects underwent a minimum of 30 treatment sessions. Bancroft reported that of the men who were initially sexually attracted to both sexes, 30% (n = 3) of these men lessened their same-sex sexual interest over the long-term. Among those with no initial other-sex sexual attraction, no lasting changes were observed in sexual

arousal and attraction. Several other uncontrolled studies found reductions in participants' self-reported sexual attraction and physiological response under laboratory conditions (range = 7%–100%; average = 58%) (Callahan & Leitenberg, 1973; Feldman & MacCulloch, 1965; Fookes, 1960; Hallam & Rachman, 1972; MacCulloch & Feldman, 1967; Sandford, Tustin, & Priest, 1975).

As is typically found in intervention research, the average proportion of men who are reported to change in uncontrolled studies is roughly double the average proportion of men who are reported to change in controlled studies. For instance, as noted previously, results from controlled studies show that far less change can be produced in same-sex sexual arousal by aversion techniques. H.E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) reported that in the nonexperimental studies in their review, 68% of 47 participants reduced their same-sex sexual arousal, compared with 34% of participants in experimental studies.

The studies of nonaversive techniques as the primary treatment, such as biofeedback and hypnosis, were only assessed in the nonexperimental within-subject and patient case studies. For example, Blitch and Haynes (1972) treated a single female who was heterosexually experienced and whom they described as strongly committed to reducing her same-sex sexual attractions. Using relaxation, rehearsal, and masturbation reconditioning, she was reported to be able to masturbate without female fantasies 2 months after intervention. Curtis and Presly (1972) used covert sensitization to treat a married man who experienced guilt about his attraction to and extramarital engagement with men. After intervention, he showed reduced other-sex and same-sex sexual interest, as measured by questionnaire items. Huff (1970) treated a single male who was interested in becoming sexually attracted to women. Following desensitization, his journal entries showed that his same-sex sexual fantasies continued, though the ratio of other-sex to same-sex sexual fantasies changed by the 6-month follow-up to favor other-sex sexual fantasies. His MMPI scores showed improvement in his self-concept and reductions in his distress.

By contrast, among the 4 men exposed to orgasmic reconditioning by Conrad and Wincze (1976), all reported decreased same-sex sexual attractions immediately following intervention, but only one demonstrated a short-term measurable alteration in physiological responses to male stimuli. Indeed, one subject's sexual arousal to same-sex sexual stimuli increased rather than decreased, a result that was obtained for some men in the experimental studies. In a study by Barlow and colleagues (1975), among 3 men who were each exposed to unique biofeedback treatment regimens, all maintained same-sex sexual arousal patterns at follow-up, as measured by penile circumference change in response to photos of male stimuli.

Mintz (1966) found that 8 years after initiating group and individual therapy, 5 of his 10 research participants (50%) had dropped out of therapy. Mintz perceived that among those who remained, 20% (n = 1) were distressed, 40% (n = 2) accepted their same-sex sexual attractions, and 40% (n = 2) were free from conflict regarding same-sex sexual attractions. Birk (1974) assessed the impact of behavioral therapy on 66 men, of whom 60% (n = 40) had dropped out of intervention by 7 months. Among those who remained in the study, a majority shifted toward heterosexual scores on the Kinsey scale by 18 months.

Overall, the low degree of scientific rigor in these studies is likely to lead to overestimates of the benefits of these treatments on reductions in same-sex sexual arousal and attraction and may also explain the contradictory results obtained in nonexperimental studies.

Overall, the low degree of scientific rigor in these studies is likely to lead to overestimates of the benefits of these treatments on reductions in same-sex sexual arousal and attraction and may also explain the contradictory results obtained in nonexperimental studies.

RECENT STUDIES

Recent studies have investigated whether people who have participated in efforts to change their sexual orientation report decreased same-sex sexual attractions (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003) or how people evaluate their overall experiences of SOCE (Beckstead & Morrow 2004; Pattison & Pattison, 1980; Ponticelli, 1999; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Wolkomir, 2001). These studies all use designs that do not permit cause-and-effect attributions to be made. We conclude that although these studies may be useful in describing people who pursue SOCE and their experiences of SOCE, none of the recent studies can address the efficacy of SOCE or its promise as an intervention. These studies are therefore described elsewhere in the

report in places where they contribute to understanding respondents' motivations for and experiences of SOCE.

SUMMARY

Overall, early studies suggest that modest short-term effects on reducing same-sex sexual arousal in the laboratory may be obtained for a minority of study participants through some forms of SOCE, principally interventions involving aversion procedures such as electric shock. Short-term reductions in sexual arousal to other-sex stimuli were also reported for some treatments. When outcomes were described for individual participants or subgroups of participants, short-term reductions in same-sex sexual arousal patterns were more commonly reported for people described as having other-sex sexual attractions prior to intervention and high levels of motivation to change. Initial and sustained reductions in sexual arousal were reported less commonly for people who were described as having no other-sex sexual attraction prior to intervention. The results from the uncontrolled studies are more positive than those from the controlled studies, as would be expected. Yet these studies also found that reduction in sexual arousal may not occur for study participants. Recent studies provide no sound scientific basis for determining the impact of SOCE on decreasing same-sex sexual attraction.

Decreasing Same-Sex Sexual Behavior

EARLY STUDIES

Early studies show that SOCE have limited impact on same-sex sexual behavior, even in cases in which lab results show some reduction in same-sex sexual arousal.[37]

Experimental studies

In their review, H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that across the seven controlled studies published between 1960 and 1976, 18% of 179 subjects in these studies were reported to have decreased same-sex sexual behavior; the percentage reporting reductions in sexual arousal was nearly double that percentage, at 34%. In our review, we found that the results of the experimental studies that we reviewed provided a picture of the effects of aversive forms of SOCE similar to that painted by H. E. Adams & Sturgis.

For instance, in his study comparing aversion and aversion relief therapies,[38] McConaghy (1969) reported that about 20% of men had engaged in same-sex sexual behavior within 2 weeks following treatment. No longer-term follow-up data were reported. McConaghy (1976) found that 50% of men had reduced the frequency of their same-sex behavior, 25% had not changed their same-sex behavior, and 25% reported no same-sex behavior at 1 year. McConaghy and Barr (1973) reported that 25% of men had reduced their same-sex sexual behavior at 1-year. Tanner (1975) reported a significant decline in same-sex behavior across treatments. In the only untreated control group study that we identified, Tanner (1974) found that intervention had no effect on rates of same-sex behavior, even though the intervention did reduce changes in penile circumference in response to male stimuli in the lab.

Quasi-experimental studies

Birk and colleagues (1971) found that 2 of 18 men (11%) had avoided same-sex behavior at 36 months. McConaghy et al. (1981) reported that among the 11 men who were sexually active with same-sex partners, about 25% reduced their same-sex behavior. S. James (1978) did not report on behavior. In their review, H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that 50% of the 124 participants in what they called uncontrolled group studies reported reduced sexual arousal, and 42% reported less frequent same-sex sexual behavior. Among the quasi-experiments that we reviewed, the reported reductions in sexual behavior were lower (i.e., 11% and 25%) than what was reported by H. E. Adams and Sturgis. These differences may be due to our more rigorous criteria of what constitutes a quasi-experiment than the criteria employed by Adams and Sturgis.

Nonexperimental studies

Among the case and single-group within-subject studies, the results are mixed. Some studies found that people reported having abstained from same-sex behavior in the months immediately following intervention or having decreased its frequency. Bancroft (1969) found that 4 of the 10 men in his study had reduced their behavior at follow-up. Freeman and Meyer (1975) found that 7 of the 9 men in their study were abstinent at 18

[37] In considering the results of early studies on this outcome, readers are advised that data on this outcome are not always reported. In some cases, not all research participants in these studies had engaged in sexual activity with same-sex partners prior to treatment, though they may have fantasized about doing so. In other studies, reducing sexual arousal under lab conditions was examined and not behavior in daily life.

[38] Aversion therapy involves the application of a painful stimulus; aversion relief therapy involves the cessation of an aversive stimulus.

months. Other single-subject and case study subjects reported declines in or no same-sex behavior (Gray, 1970; Huff, 1970; B. James, 1962, 1963; Kendrick & McCullough, 1972; Larson, 1970; LoPiccolo, 1971; Segal & Sims, 1972).

Not all individuals, however, successfully abstained on every occasion of sexual opportunity (Colson, 1972; Rehm & Rozensky, 1974), and some relapse occurred within months following treatment (Bancroft, 1969; Freeman & Meyer, 1975; Hallam & Rachman, 1972; Levin et al., 1968; MacCulloch et al., 1965; Marquis, 1970). In other studies, the proportion reporting that they changed their sexual behavior was a minority. For instance, among Barlow et al.'s (1975) research participants, 2 of the 3 men demonstrated no change in their same-sex behavior. In the case studies, clients who were described as exclusively attracted to the same sex prior to treatment were most commonly reported to have failed to avoid same-sex sexual behavior following treatment.

RECENT STUDIES

As we have noted, recent studies provide no sound basis for attributing individual reports of their current behavior to SOCE. No results are reported for these studies.

SUMMARY

In the early studies with the greatest rigor, it appears that SOCE may have decreased short-term same-sex sexual behavior for a minority of men. However, in the only randomized control group trial, the intervention had no effect on same-sex sexual behavior. Quasi-experimental results found that a minority of men reported reductions in same-sex sexual behavior following SOCE. The nonexperimental studies found that study participants often reported reduced behavior but also found that reductions in same-sex sexual behavior, when reported, were not always sustained.

Increasing Other-Sex Sexual Attraction

Early studies provide limited evidence for reductions in sexual arousal to same-sex stimuli and for reductions in same-sex sexual behavior following aversive treatments. The impact of the use of aversive treatments for increasing other-sex sexual arousal is negligible.

EARLY STUDIES

Experimental studies

In many of the early experiments on aversive treatments, sexual arousal to female sexual stimuli was a desired outcome. McConaghy (1969) found that about 16% of 40 men increased their sexual arousal to female stimuli immediately following treatment and that 5% increased their sexual arousal to male stimuli. It is unclear how the 50% of men in this study who were aroused by females prior to the treatment were distributed among the men who increased their sexual arousal and among those who did not. In other words, it is possible that most of the men who changed were sexually aroused by women initially. In interviews following treatment, McConaghy (1976) reported that 25% of 157 men indicated that they felt more sexual arousal toward females than they did before treatment. McConaghy et al. (1972) found no change in rates of sexual arousal to female stimuli. McConaghy et al.'s (1972) research participants showed no change in penile volume in response to female stimuli after intervention.

In a randomized control trial, Tanner's (1974) 8 research participants reported increases in sexual fantasizing about other-sex partners after aversive conditioning. However, penile circumference data showed no increased sexual arousal to female stimuli. H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977) found that 26% of 179 participants in the controlled studies that they reviewed increased their sexual arousal toward the other-sex.

Quasi-experimental studies

Birk and colleagues (1971) found no difference between their treatment groups in reported sexual arousal to women. Two men (11% of 18 participants) in the study reported sustained sexual interest in women following treatment. McConaghy and colleagues (1981) reported no significant improvement in attraction to females. S. James (1978) reported little impact of treatment on participants in anticipatory avoidance learning. He noted a general improvement among 80% of the 40 men undergoing desensitization to other-sex situations.

Nonexperimental studies

Among the nonexperimental studies, for men who were described as having some degree of other-sex sexual attraction and experience before the intervention, the balance of studies showed an increase in other-sex sexual attraction over time, although given the nonexperimental nature of these studies, this change

cannot be validly attributed to SOCE. For men with little or no preintervention other-sex sexual attraction, the research provides little evidence of increased other-sex sexual attraction.

As in some of the experimental studies, the results reported in the nonexperiments were not always in the desired direction. Studies occasionally showed that reductions in sexual arousal and interest may occur for same- and other-sex partners, suggesting the possibility that treatments may lower sexual arousal to sexual stimuli in general. For instance, Curtis and Presly's (1972) married male subject reported slightly lower rates of sexual arousal in response to women than before intervention, in addition to reduced same-sex sexual arousal.

Among early studies, many found little or no increases in other-sex sexual attraction among participants who showed limited or no other-sex sexual attraction to begin with. For instance, 2 of the 3 men in Barlow et al.'s (1975) within-subject biofeedback investigation reported little or no other-sex sexual interest prior to intervention. As measured by penile circumference, one of these men demonstrated negligible increases in other-sex sexual attraction; one other individual showed stable low other-sex sexual attraction, which contradicted his self-report.

In contrast, a handful of the early single-patient case studies found increases in other-sex attraction. For instance, Hanson and Adesso's (1972) research participant, who was reported to be primarily same-sex sexually attracted at the onset of intervention, increased his sexual arousal to women and ultimately reported that he enjoyed sex with women. Huff's (1970) male research participant also reported increased other-sex sexual attraction at 6 months following desensitization.

RECENT STUDIES

As we have noted, recent studies provide no sound basis for attributing individual reports of their current other-sex sexual attraction to SOCE. No results are reported for these studies.

SUMMARY

Taken together, the research provides little support for the ability of interventions to develop other-sex sexual attraction where it did not previously exist, though it may be possible to accentuate other-sex sexual attraction among those who already experience it.

Increasing Other-Sex Sexual Behavior

Studies on whether interventions can lead to other-sex sexual activity show limited results. These studies show more success for those who had some other-sex sexual orientation (e.g., sexual arousal) and were sexually experienced with members of the other sex prior to intervention than for those who had no other-sex sexual orientation and no history of other-sex sexual behavior. The results for this outcome suggest that some people can initiate other-sex sexual behavior whether or not they have any observed other-sex sexual orientation.

As previously noted, in the early studies many people were described as heterosexually experienced. From the data provided by H.E. Adam and Sturgis in their 1977 review, 61%–80% of male research participants appeared to have histories of dating women, and 33%–63% had sexual intercourse with women prior to intervention. Additionally, some of the men were married at the time of intervention. Because so many of the research participants in these studies had other-sex sexual attractions or intimate relationships at the outset, it is unclear how to interpret changes in their levels of other-sex sexual activity.

EARLY STUDIES

Experimental studies

According to H. E. Adams and Sturgis (1977), only 8% of participants in controlled studies are reported to have engaged in other-sex sexual behavior following SOCE. Among those studies we reviewed, only 2 participants showed a significant increase in other-sex sexual activity (McConaghy & Barr, 1973; Tanner, 1974). In Tanner's randomized controlled trial, men increased the frequency of intercourse with females but maintained the frequency of intercourse with males.

Quasi-experimental studies

McConaghy et al. (1981) found no difference in the frequency of other-sex sexual behavior following SOCE.

Nonexperimental studies

Among within-subject patient studies in which aversion techniques were used, some studies reported that a subset of 12%–40% of people in the multiple-subject studies and all people in single-patient studies engaged in other-sex sexual behavior following intervention (e.g., Bancroft, 1969; Fookes, 1960; Hallam & Rachman, 1972; Hanson & Adesso, 1972; Kendrick & McCullough, 1972; Larson, 1970). Regarding other techniques

studied in early intervention research, Barlow et al. (1975) reported that 1 of 3 research participants began to date women after biofeedback. Huff's (1970) research participant also began to date women after desensitization training. LoPiccolo (1971) used orgasmic reconditioning to treat a male–female couple. The male could not achieve an erection with his female partner and found sex with women dissatisfying. At 6 months, he was able to develop and maintain an erection and ejaculate intravaginally.

RECENT STUDIES

As previously noted, recent studies provide no sound basis for attributing individual reports of their current sexual behavior to SOCE. No results are reported for these studies.

SUMMARY

In general, the results from studies indicate that while some people who undergo SOCE do engage in other-sex sexual behavior afterward, the balance of the evidence suggests that SOCE is unlikely to increase other-sex sexual behavior. Findings show that the likelihood of having sex with other-sex partners for those research participants who possess no other-sex sexual orientation prior to the intervention is low.

Marriage

One outcome that some proponents of efforts to change sexual orientation are reported to value is entry into heterosexual marriage. Few early studies reported on whether people became heterosexually married after intervention. In a quasi-experimental study, Birk et al. (1971) found that 2 of 18 respondents (11%) were married at 36 months. Two uncontrolled studies (Birk, 1974; Larson, 1970) indicated that a minority of research participants ultimately married, though it is not clear what role, if any, intervention played in this outcome. Recent research provides more information on marriage, though research designs do not permit any attribution of marital outcomes to SOCE.

Improving Mental Health

The relationship between mental health, psychological well-being, sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity, and sexual behavior is important. Few studies report health and mental health outcomes, and those that do report outcomes tend to use psychometrically weak measures of these constructs and weak study designs. Among the early studies that report on mental health, three nonexperimental single-patient case studies report that clients were more self-assured (Blitch & Haynes, 1972) or less fearful and distressed (Hanson & Adesso, 1972; Huff, 1970).

Overall, the lack of high-quality data on mental health outcomes of efforts to change sexual orientation provide no sound basis for claims that people's mental health and quality of life improve. Indeed, these studies add little to understanding how SOCE affects people's long-term mental health.

Reports of Harm

Determining the efficacy of any intervention includes examination of its side effects and evidence of its harm (Flay et al., 2005; Lilienfeld, 2007). A central issue in the debates regarding efforts to change same-sex sexual attractions concerns the risk of harm to people that may result from attempts to change their sexual orientation. Here we consider evidence of harm in early and recent research.

EARLY STUDIES

Early research on efforts to change sexual orientation focused heavily on interventions that include aversion techniques. Many of these studies did not set out to investigate harm. Nonetheless, these studies provide some suggestion that harm can occur from aversive efforts to change sexual orientation.

EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

In McConaghy and Barr's (1973) experiment, 1 respondent of 46 subjects is reported to have lost all sexual feeling and to have dropped out of the treatment as a result. Two participants reported experiencing severe depression, and 4 others experienced milder depression during treatment. No other experimental studies reported on iatrogenic effects.

QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

None reported on adverse events.

NONEXPERIMENTAL STUDIES

A majority of the reports on iatrogenic effects are provided in the nonexperimental studies. In the study conducted by Bancroft (1969), the negative outcomes reported include treatment-related anxiety (20% of 16

participants), suicidal ideation (10% of 16 participants), depression (40% of 16 participants), impotence (10% of 16 participants), and relationship dysfunction (10% of 16 participants). Overall, Bancroft reported the intervention had harmful effects on 50% of the 16 research subjects who were exposed to it. Quinn, Harbison, and McAllister (1970) and Thorpe et al. (1964) also reported cases of debilitating depression, gastric distress, nightmares, and anxiety. Herman and Prewett (1974) reported that following treatment, their research participant began to engage in abusive use of alcohol that required his rehospitalization. It is unclear to what extent and how his treatment failure may have contributed to his abusive drinking. B. James (1962) reported symptoms of severe dehydration (acetonuria), which forced treatment to be suspended.

Overall, although most early research provides little information on how research participants fared over the longer term and whether interventions were associated with long-term negative effects, negative effects of treatment are reported to have occurred for some people during and immediately following treatment.

High dropout rates characterize early treatment studies and may be an indicator that research participants experience these treatments as harmful. Lilienfeld's (2007) review of harm in psychotherapy identified dropout as not only an indicator of direct harm but also of treatment ineffectiveness.

RECENT STUDIES

Although the recent studies do not provide valid causal evidence of the efficacy of SOCE or of its harm, some recent studies document that there are people who perceive that they have been harmed through SOCE (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; G. Smith et al., 2004), just as other recent studies document that there are people who perceive that they have benefited from it (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Pattison & Pattison, 1980; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003). Among those studies reporting on the perceptions of harm, the reported negative social and emotional consequences include self-reports of anger, anxiety, confusion, depression, grief, guilt, hopelessness, deteriorated relationships with family, loss of social support, loss of faith, poor self-image, social isolation, intimacy difficulties, intrusive imagery, suicidal ideation, self-hatred, and sexual dysfunction. These reports of perceptions of harm are countered by accounts of perceptions of relief, happiness, improved relationships with God, and perceived improvement in mental health status, among other reported benefits. Many participants in studies by Beckstead and Morrow (2004) and Shidlo and Schroeder (2002) described experiencing first the positive effects and then experiencing or acknowledging the negative effects later.

Overall, the recent studies do not give an indication of the client characteristics that would lead to perceptions of harm or benefit. Although the nature of these studies precludes causal attributions for harm or benefit to SOCE, these studies underscore the diversity of and range in participants' perceptions and evaluations of their SOCE experiences.

Summary

We conclude that there is a dearth of scientifically sound research on the safety of SOCE. Early and recent research studies provide no clear indication of the prevalence of harmful outcomes among people who have undergone efforts to change their sexual orientation or the frequency of occurrence of harm because no study to date of adequate scientific rigor has been explicitly designed to do so. Thus, we cannot conclude how likely it is that harm will occur from SOCE. However, studies from both periods indicate that attempts to change sexual orientation may cause or exacerbate distress and poor mental health in some individuals, including depression and suicidal thoughts. The lack of rigorous research on the safety of SOCE represents a serious concern, as do studies that report perceptions of harm (cf. Lilienfeld, 2007).

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Conclusion

The limited number of rigorous early studies and complete lack of rigorous recent prospective research on SOCE limits claims for the efficacy and safety of SOCE. Within the early group of studies, there are a small number of rigorous studies of SOCE, and those focus on the use of aversive treatments. These studies show that

enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation is uncommon and that a very small minority of people in these studies showed any credible evidence of reduced same-sex sexual attraction, though some show lessened physiological arousal to all sexual stimuli. Compelling evidence of decreased same-sex sexual behavior and increased attraction to and engagement in sexual behavior with the other sex was rare. Few studies provided strong evidence that any changes produced in laboratory conditions translated to daily life. We found that nonaversive and recent approaches to SOCE have not been rigorously evaluated. Given the limited amount of methodologically sound research, we cannot draw a conclusion regarding whether recent forms of SOCE are or are not effective.

Few studies provided strong evidence that any changes produced in laboratory conditions translated to daily life.

We found that there was some evidence to indicate that individuals experienced harm from SOCE. Early studies do document iatrogenic effects of aversive forms of SOCE. High dropout rates characterize early aversive treatment studies and may be an indicator that research participants experience these treatments as harmful. Recent research reports indicate that there are individuals who perceive they have been harmed and others who perceive they have benefited from nonaversive SOCE. Across studies, it is unclear what specific individual characteristics and diagnostic criteria would prospectively distinguish those individuals who will later perceive that they have succeeded and benefited from nonaversive SOCE from those who will later perceive that they have failed or been harmed. In the next chapter, we explore the literature on individuals who seek to change their sexual orientation to better understand their concerns.

5. RESEARCH ON ADULTS WHO UNDERGO SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS

In the preceding three chapters, we have focused on sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE),[39] because such interventions have been the primary focus of attention and contention in recent decades. Now we turn from the problem of sexual orientation change, as it has been defined by "expert" narratives of sin, crime, disorder, and dysfunction in previous chapters, to the problem of sexual orientation distress, as it exists in the lives of individuals who seek and participate in sexual orientation change. We try to present what the research literature reveals—and clarify what it does not—about the natural history of the phenomenon of people who present to LMHP seeking SOCE.

We do this for two major reasons. The first is to provide a scholarly basis for responding to the core task force charge: "the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions" for the population of those individuals who seek sexual orientation change. The second is our hope to step out of the polemic that has defined approaches to sexual orientation distress. As discussed in the introduction, some professional articles (e.g., Rosik, 2001, 2003; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002), organizations, and accounts of debates (cf. Drescher, 2003) have argued that APA and mainstream psychology are ignoring the needs of those for whom same-sex sexual attractions are unwanted, especially for religious populations. We hope that an empathic and comprehensive review of the scholarly literature of the population that seeks and participates in SOCE can facilitate an increased understanding of the needs of this population so that an affirmative therapeutic approach may be developed.

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We decided to expand our review beyond empirical literature to have a fuller view of the population in question. Because of the lack of empirical research in this area, the conclusions must be viewed as tentative. The studies that are included in this discussion are (a) surveys and studies of individuals who participated in SOCE and their perceptions of change, benefit, and harm (e.g., S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005)[40]; (b) high-quality qualitative studies of the concerns of participants and the dynamics of SOCE (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006); (c) case reports, clinical articles, dissertations, and reviews in

[39] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

[40] As previously noted, these studies, due to their significant methodological issues, cannot assess whether actual sexual orientation change occurred.

which sexual orientation or sexual orientation identity change were considered or attempted (e.g., Borowich, 2008; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Horlacher, 2006; Karten, 2006; Mark, 2008; Tan, 2008, Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yarhouse, 2008); and (d) scholarly articles, case reports, dissertations, and reviews on the concerns of religious individuals who are conflicted by their same-sex sexual attractions, some of whom accept their same-sex sexual orientation (e.g., Coyle & Rafalin, 2000, Horlacher, 2006; Kerr, 1997; Mahaffy, 1996; Mark, 2008, Moran, 2007; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Shallenberger, 1998; Tan, 2008; Thumma, 1991; Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yip, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005). We also reviewed a variety of additional scholarly articles on subtopics such as individuals in other-sex marriages and general literature on sexual orientation concerns.

Demographics

The majority of participants in research studies on SOCE have been Caucasian men. Early studies included some men who were court-referred and whose participation was not voluntary (S. James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy et al., 1972), but more recent research primarily included men who indicated that their religion is of central importance (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Wolkomir, 2001). Some studies included small numbers of women (22%–29%; Nicolosi et al., 2000; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003), and two studies focused exclusively on women (Moran, 2007; Ponticelli, 1999). However, these studies do not examine if there are potential differences between the concerns of men and women.

To date, the research has not fully addressed age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, disability, language, and socioeconomic status in the population of distressed individuals who have sought SOCE.

Members of racial-ethnic groups are not included in some samples (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001) and are a small percentage (5%–14%) of the sample in other studies (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003). In the recent studies, no comparisons were reported between the ethnic minorities in the sample and others. Thus, there is no evidence that can elucidate concerns of ethnic minority individuals who have sought SOCE. To date, the research has not fully addressed age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, disability, language, and socioeconomic status in the population of distressed individuals who have sought SOCE.

Samples in recent SOCE studies have been composed predominantly of individuals from conservative Christian denominations (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001). These studies included very few nonreligious individuals, and the concerns of religious individuals of faiths other than Christian are not described. Thus, the existing literature limits information to the concerns of a particular group of religious individuals. Finally, most individuals in studies of SOCE have tried multiple ways to change their sexual orientation, ranging from individual psychotherapy to religiously oriented groups, over long periods of time and with varying degrees of satisfaction and varying perceptions of success (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Comstock, 1996; Horlacher, 2006; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Mark, 2008; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Why Individuals Undergo Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

Because no research provides prevalence estimates of those participating in SOCE, we cannot determine how prevalent the wish to change sexual orientation is among the conservative Christian men who have predominated in the recent research, or among any other population. Clients' motivations to seek out and participate in SOCE seem to be complex and varied and may include mental health and personality issues, cultural concerns, religious faith, internalized stigma, as well as sexual orientation concerns (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000). Some of the factors influencing a client's request for SOCE that have been identified in the literature include the following:

- Confusion or questions about one's sexuality and sexual orientation (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; G. Smith et al., 2004)
- Religious beliefs that consider homosexuality sinful or unacceptable (Erzen, 2006; Haldeman, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Mark, 2008; Ponticelli, 1999; Tan, 2008; Tozer & Hayes, 2004; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008)
- Fear, stress, and anxiety surrounding the implications of an LGB identity (especially the illegitimacy of such an identity within the client's religious faith or community) (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002)
- Family pressure to be heterosexual and community rejection of those who are LGB (Haldeman, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; G. Smith et al., 2004)

Some individuals who have pursued SOCE report having had only unsuccessful or unfulfilling same-sex sexual experiences in venues such as bars or sexual "cruising" areas (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). These experiences reflected and re-created restricted views that the "gay lifestyle" is nonspiritual, sexually desperate, or addicted, depressive, diseased, and lonely (Drescher, 1998b; Green, 2003; Rosik, 2003; Scasta, 1998). Many sexual minority individuals who do not seek SOCE are also affected by these factors. Thus, these findings do not explain why some people seek SOCE and others do not.

There are some initial findings that suggest differences between those who seek SOCE and those who resolve their sexual minority stress through other means. For example, Ponticelli (1999) and S. L. Jones and Yarhouse (2007) reported higher levels of self-reported family violence and sexual abuse in their samples than were reported by Laumann et al. (1994) in a population-based sample. Beckstead and Morrow (2004) and S. L. Jones and Yarhouse reported high levels of parental rejection or authoritarianism among their religious samples (see also G. Smith et al., 2004). Wolkomir (2001) found that distress surrounding nonconformity to traditional gender roles distinguished the men in her sample who did not accept their sexual orientation from those who did. Similarly, Beckstead and Morrow found that distress and questions about masculinity were an important appeal of SOCE; some men who sought SOCE described feeling distress about not acting more traditionally masculine. In reviewing the SOCE literature, Miville and Ferguson (2004) proposed that White, conservatively religious men might not feel adept at managing a minority status and thus seek out SOCE as a resolution.

The views of LMHP concerning SOCE and homosexuality appear to influence clients' decision making in choosing SOCE; some clients reported being urged by their provider to participate in SOCE (M. King et al. 2004; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; G. Smith et al., 2004). For example, G. Smith et al. (2004) found that some who had received SOCE had not requested it. These individuals stated they had presented with confusion and distress about their orientation due to cultural and relational conflicts and were offered SOCE as the solution.

Specific Concerns of Religious Individuals

In general, the participants in research on SOCE have come from faiths that believe heterosexuality and other-sex relationships are part of the natural order and are morally superior to homosexuality (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). The literature on SOCE suggests that individuals reject or fear their same-sex sexual attractions because of the internalization of the values and attitudes of their religion that characterize homosexuality negatively and as something to avoid (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

The experiences of some conservative religious individuals with same-sex sexual attractions who undergo SOCE appear to involve significant stress due to the struggle to live life congruently with their religious beliefs (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yarhouse & Tan, 2004). These individuals perceive homosexuality to be irreconcilable with their faith and do not wish to surrender or change their faith (Wolkomir, 2006). Some report fearing considerable shifts or losses in their core identity, role, purpose, and sense of order if they were to pursue an outward LGB identity (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Wolkomir, 2006). Some report difficulty coping with intense guilt over the failure to live a virtuous life and inability to stop committing unforgivable sins, as defined by their

religion (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008). Some struggled with their belief in God, perceiving that God was punishing or abandoning them—or would if they acted on their attractions; some expressed feelings of anger at the situation in which their God had placed them (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; cf. Exline, 2002; Pargament, Smith, Koenig, & Perez, 1998; Pargament et al., 2005).

Some individuals' distress took the form of a crisis of faith in which their religious beliefs that a same-sex sexual orientation and religious goodness are diametrically opposed led them to question their faith and themselves (Glassgold, 2008; Moran, 2007; Tozer & Hayes, 2004). Spiritual struggles also occurred for religious sexual minorities due to struggling with conservatively religious family, friends, and communities who thought differently than they did. The distress experienced by religious individuals appeared intense, for not only did they face sexual stigma from society at large but also messages from their faith that they were deficient, sinful, deviant, and possibly unworthy of salvation unless they changed sexual orientation (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004).

The distress experienced by religious individuals appeared intense, for not only did they face sexual stigma from society at large but also messages from their faith that they were deficient, sinful, deviant, and possibly unworthy of salvation unless they changed sexual orientation.

These spiritual struggles had mental health consequences. Clinical publications and studies of religious clients (both male and female) (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008) have described individuals who felt culpable, unacceptable, unforgiven, disillusioned, and distressed due to the conflict between their same-sex sexual attractions and religion. The inability to integrate religion and sexual orientation into a religiously sanctioned life (i.e., one that provides an option for positive self-esteem and religiously sanctioned sexuality and family life) has been described as causing great emotional distress (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; D. F. Morrow, 2003). These spiritual struggles were sometimes associated with anxiety, panic disorders, depression, and suicidality, regardless of the level of religiosity or the perception of religion as a source of comfort and coping (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Horalcher, 2006). The emotional reactions reported in the literature on SOCE among religious individuals are consistent with those reported in the psychology of religion literature that describes both the impact of an inability to live up to religious motivations and the effects of religion and positive and negative religious coping (Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Exline, 2002; Pargament & Mahoney, 2002; Pargament et al., 2005; Trenholm, Trent, & Compton, 1998).

Some individuals coped by trying to compartmentalize their sexual orientation and religious identities and behaviors or to suppress one identity in favor of another (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008). Relief came as some sought repentance from their "sins," but others continued to feel isolated and unacceptable in both religious and sexual minority communities (Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Yarhouse & Beckstead, 2007). As an alternative, some with strong religious motivations and purpose were willing to make sexual abstinence a goal and to limit sexual and romantic needs in order to achieve congruence with their religious beliefs (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yarhouse, 2008). These choices are consistent with the psychology of religion that emphasizes religious motivations and purpose (cf. Emmons, 1999; Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003; Hayduk, Stratkotter, & Rovers, 1997; Roccas, 2005). Success with this choice varied greatly and appeared successful in a minority of participants of studies, although not always in the long term, and both positive and negative mental heath effects have been reported (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Horlacher, 2006; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Some conservatively religious individuals felt a need to change their sexual orientation because of the positive benefits that some individuals found from religion (e.g., community, mode of life, values, sense of purpose) (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Borowich, 2008; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Yarhouse, 2008). Others hoped that being heterosexual would permit them to avoid further negative emotions (e.g., self-hatred, unacceptability, isolation, confusion, rejection, and suicidality) and expulsion from their religious community (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Borowich, 2008; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008).

The literature on non-Christian religious denominations is very limited, and no detailed literature was found on most faiths that differed from the descriptions cited previously. There is limited information on the specific concerns of observant

and Orthodox Jews[41] (e.g., Blechner, 2008; Borowich, 2008; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; Wolowelsky & Weinstein, 1995). This work stresses the conflicts that emerge within a communal and insular culture that values obedience to religious law and separates itself from mainstream society and other faiths, including mainstream LGB communities, thus isolating those in conflict and distress (Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008). As marriage, family, and community are the central units of life within such a religious context, LGB individuals do not have a place in Orthodox Judaism and traditional Jewish society and may fear losing contact with family and society or bringing shame and negative consequences to their family if their sexual orientation is disclosed.[42] Many of the responses and concerns of the conservative Christian population appear relevant to those who are Orthodox Jews, especially those that arise from the conflicts of faith and sexual orientation, such as feelings of guilt, doubt, crisis of faith, unworthiness, and despair (Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008).

We found no scholarly psychological literature on sexual minority Muslims who seek SOCE. There is some literature on debates about homosexuality within Islam and cultural conflicts for those Muslims who live in Western societies with more progressive attitudes toward homosexuality (Halstead & Lewicka, 1998; Hekma, 2002; de Jong & Jivraj, 2002; Massad, 2002; Nahas, 2004). Additionally, there is some literature on ways in which individuals integrate LGBT identities with their Muslim faith (Minwalla, Rosser, Feldman, & Varga, 2005; Yip, 2005). We did not find scholarly articles about individuals from other faiths who sought SOCE, except for one article (Nicolosi et al., 2000) that that did not report any separate results for individuals from non-Christian faiths.

It is important to note that not all sexual minorities with strong religious beliefs experience sexual orientation distress, and some resolve such distress in other ways than SOCE.

It is important to note that not all sexual minorities with strong religious beliefs experience sexual orientation distress, and some resolve such distress in other ways than SOCE (Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Mahaffy, 1996; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Yip, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005). For instance, some individuals are adherents of more accepting faiths and thus experience less distress. Some end their relationship with all religious institutions, although they may retain the religious and spiritual aspects of their original faiths that are essential to them. Others choose another form of religion or spirituality that is affirming of sexual minorities (Lease, Horne, & Noffsinger-Frazier, 2005; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Yip, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2004).

Conflicts of Individuals in Other-Sex Marriages or Relationships

There is indication that some individuals with same-sex sexual attractions in other-sex marriages or relationships may request SOCE. Many subjects in the early studies were married (H. E. Adams & Sturgis, 1977). In the more recent research, some individuals were married (e.g., Horlacher, 2006; Spitzer, 2003), and there are clinical reports of experiences of SOCE among other-sex married people (e.g., Glassgold, 2008; Isay, 1998). For some, the marriage to an other-sex person was described as based on socialization, religious views that deny same-sex sexual attractions, lack of awareness of alternatives, and hopes that marriage would change them (Gramick, 1984; Higgins, 2006; Isay, 1998; Malcolm, 2000; Ortiz & Scott, 1994; M. W. Ross, 1989). Others did not recognize or become aware of their sexuality, including same-sex sexual attractions, until after marriage, when they became sexually active (Bozett, 1982; Carlsson, 2007; Schneider et al., 2002). Others had attractions to both men and women (Brownfain, 1985; Coleman, 1989; Wyers, 1987).

For those who experienced distress with their other-sex relationship, some were at a loss as to how to decide what to do with their conflicting needs, roles, and responsibilities and experienced considerable guilt, shame, and confusion (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Bozett, 1982; Buxton, 1994, 2004, 2007; Gochros, 1989; Hays & Samuels, 1989; Isay, 1998; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Yarhouse & Seymore, 2006). Love for their spouse conflicted with desires to explore or act on same-sex romantic and sexual feelings and relationships or to connect with similar others (Bridges & Croteau, 1994; Coleman, 1981/1982; Yarhouse & Seymore, 2006).

[41] Among Jewish traditions, Orthodox Judaism is the most conservative and does not have a role for same-sex relationships or sexual orientation identities within its faith (Mark, 2008). Individuals in other denominations (e.g., Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist) may not face this type of conflict or this degree of conflict.

[42] These conflicts may also be relevant to those whose religion and community are similarly intertwined and separate from larger society; see Cates (2007), for instance, regarding an individual from an Old Amish community.

However, many individuals wished to maintain their marriage and work at making that relationship last (Buxton, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Yarhouse, Pawlowski, & Tan, 2003; Yarhouse & Seymore, 2006). Thus, the sexual minority individual sometimes felt frustrated and hopeless in facing feelings of loss and guilt that result from trying to decide whether to separate from or remain in the marriage as he or she balanced hopes and ambiguities (e.g., the chances of finding a same-sex romantic or sexual partner or the possibilities of experiencing further intimacy with one's heterosexual spouse) (Hernandez & Wilson, 2007).

Reported Impacts of Sexual Orientation Change Efforts

Perceived Positives of SOCE

In this section we review the perceptions of individuals who underwent SOCE in order to examine what may be perceived as being helpful or detrimental by such individuals, distinct from a scientific evaluation of the efficacy or harm associated with sexual orientation change efforts, as reported in Chapter 4.

Individuals have reported that SOCE provided several benefits: (a) a place to discuss their conflicts (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001); (b) cognitive frameworks that permitted them to reevaluate their sexual orientation identity, attractions, and selves in ways that lessened shame and distress and increased self-esteem (Erzen, 2006; Karten, 2006; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Robinson, 1998; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Throckmorton, 2002); (c) social support and role models (Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006); and (d) strategies for living consistently with their religious faith and community (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Horlacher, 2006; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Robinson, 1998; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

For instance, participants reporting beneficial effects in some studies perceived changes to their sexuality, such as in their sexual orientation, gender identity, sexual behavior, sexual orientation identity (Beckstead, 2001; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005), or improving nonsexual relationships with men (Karten, 2006). These changes in sexual self-views were described in a variety of ways (e.g., ex-gay, heterosexual, heterosexual with same-sex sexual attractions, heterosexual with a homosexual past) and with varied and unpredictable outcomes, some of which were temporary (Beckstead, 2003; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). McConaghy (1999) reported that some men felt they had more control in their sexual behavior and struggled less with their attractions after interventions, although same-sex sexual attractions still existed (cf. Beckstead & Morrow, 2004). Additionally, some SOCE consumers noted that trying and failing to change their same-sex sexual orientation actually allowed them to accept their same-sex attractions (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; G. Smith et al., 2004).

Participants described the social support aspects of SOCE positively. Individuals reported as positive that their LMHP accepted their goals and objections and had similar values (i.e., believing that a gay or lesbian identity is bad, sick, or inferior and not supporting same-sex relationships) (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005). Erzen (2006), Ponticelli (1999), and Wolkomir (2001) described these religiously oriented ex-gay groups as a refuge for those who were excluded from conservative churches and from their families because of their same-sex sexual attractions, as well as from gay organizations and social networks because of their conservative religious beliefs. In Erzen's experiences with these men, these organizations seemed to provide options for individuals to remain connected to others who shared their religious beliefs, despite ongoing same-sex sexual feelings and behaviors. Wolkomir (2006) found that ex-gay groups recast homosexuality as an ordinary sin, and thus salvation was still achievable. Erzen observed that such groups built hope, recovery, and relapse into an ex-gay identity, thus expecting same-sex sexual behaviors and conceiving them as opportunities for repentance and forgiveness.

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Some participants of SOCE reported what they perceived as other positive values and beliefs underlying SOCE treatments and theories, such as supporting celibacy, validating other-sex marriage, and encouraging and supporting other-sex sexual behaviors (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005). For instance, many SOCE theories

and communities focus on supporting clients' values and views, often linked to religious beliefs and values (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005). According to Ponticelli (1999), ex-gay support groups provide alternate ways of viewing same-sex attractions that permit individuals to see themselves as heterosexual, which provided individuals a sense of possibility.

Participants' interpretations of their SOCE experiences and the outcomes of their experiences appeared to be shaped by their religious beliefs and by their motivations to be heterosexual. In Schaeffer et al. (2000), people whose motivation to change was strongly influenced by their Christian beliefs and convictions were more likely to perceive themselves as having a heterosexual sexual orientation after their efforts. Schaeffer et al. also found that those who were less religious were more likely to perceive themselves as having an LGB sexual orientation after the intervention. Some of the respondents in Spitzer's (2003) study concluded that they had altered their sexual orientation, although they continued to have same-sex sexual attractions. These findings underscore the importance of the nature and strength of participants' motivations, as well as the importance of religious identity in shaping self-reports of perceived sexual orientation change.

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A number of authors (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yarhouse & Tan, 2004) have found that identity exploration and reinterpretation were important parts of SOCE. Beckstead and Morrow (2004) described the identity development of their research participants who were or had been members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints and had undergone therapy to change their sexual orientation to heterosexual. In this research, those who experienced the most satisfaction with their lives seemed to undergo a developmental process that included the following aspects: (a) becoming disillusioned, questioning authorities, and reevaluating outside norms; (b) wavering between ex-gay, "out" gay, heterosexual, or celibate identities that depended on cultural norms and fears rather than on internally self-informed choices; and (c) resolving their conflicts through developing self-acceptance, creating a positive self-concept, and making decisions about their relationships, religion, and community affiliations based on expanded information, self-evaluations, and priorities. The participants had multiple endpoints, including LGB identity, "ex-gay" identity, no sexual orientation identity, and a unique self-identity. Some individuals chose actively to *disidentify* with a sexual minority identity so the individual's sexual orientation identity and sexual orientation could be incongruent (Wolkomir, 2001, 2006; Yarhouse, 2001; Yarhouse & Tan, 2004; Yarhouse et al., 2005).

Further, the findings suggest that some participants may have reconceptualized their *sexual orientation identity* as heterosexual but *not* achieved sexual orientation change, as they still experienced same-sex sexual attractions and desires (for a discussion of the distinction between sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity, see Chapter 3; see also R. L. Worthington, 2003; R. L. Worthington et al., 2002). For these individuals, sexual orientation identity may not reflect underlying attractions and desires (Beckstead, 2003; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; McConaghy, 1999; Rust, 2003; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Perceived Negatives of SOCE

Participants in the studies by Beckstead and Morrow (2004) and Shidlo and Schroeder (2002) described the harm they experienced as (a) decreased self-esteem and authenticity to others; (b) increased self-hatred and negative perceptions of homosexuality; (c) confusion, depression, guilt, helplessness, hopelessness, shame, social withdrawal, and suicidality; (d) anger at and a sense of betrayal by SOCE providers; (e) an increase in substance abuse and high-risk sexual behaviors; (f) a feeling of being dehumanized and untrue to self; (g) a loss of faith; and (h) a sense of having wasted time and resources. Interpreting SOCE failures as individual failures was also reported in this research, in that individuals blamed themselves for the failure (i.e., weakness, and lack of effort, commitment, faith, or worthiness in God's eyes). Intrusive images and sexual dysfunction were also reported, particularly among those who had experienced aversion techniques.

Participants in these studies related that their relationships with others were also harmed in the following ways: (a) hostility toward and blame of parents, believing their parents "caused" their homosexuality; (b) anger at and a sense of betrayal by SOCE providers; (c) loss of LGB friends and potential romantic partners because of the belief that they should

avoid sexual minority people; (d) problems in sexual and emotional intimacy with other-sex partners; (e) stress due to the negative emotions of spouses and family members because of expectations that SOCE would work (e.g., disappointment, self-blame for failure of change, perception of betrayal by partner) (see also J. G. Ford, 2001); and (f) guilt and confusion when they were sexually intimate with other same-sex members of the ex-gay groups to which they had turned for help in avoiding their attractions.

LMHP working with former participants in SOCE noted that when clients who formerly engaged in SOCE consider adopting an LGB identity or experience same-sex romantic and sexual relationships later in life, they have more difficulty with identity development due to delayed developmental tasks and dealing with any harm associated with SOCE (Haldeman, 2001; Isay, 2001). Such treatments can harm some men's understanding of their masculine identity (Haldeman, 2001; Schwartzberg & Rosenberg, 1998) and obscure other psychological issues that contribute to distress (Drescher, 1998b).

Schroeder and Shidlo (2001) identified aspects of SOCE that their participants perceived as negative, which included (a) receiving pejorative or false information regarding sexual orientation and the lives of LGB individuals; (b) encountering overly directive treatment (told not to be LGB) or to repress sexuality; (c) encountering treatments based on unsubstantiated theories or methods; (d) being misinformed about the likelihood of treatment outcomes (i.e., sexual orientation change); (e) receiving inadequate information about alternative options; and (f) being blamed for lack of progress of therapy. Some participants in Schroeder and Shidlo's (2001) study reported feeling coerced by their psychotherapist or religious institution to remain in treatment and pressured to represent to others that they had achieved a "successful reorientation" to heterosexuality.

Religiously Oriented Mutual Support Groups

Much of the literature discusses the specific dynamics and processes of religiously oriented mutual self-help groups. A reduction of distress through sexual orientation identity reconstruction or development is described in the literature of self-help or religious groups, both for individuals who reject (Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006) and for individuals who accept a minority sexual orientation identity (Kerr, 1997; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Thumma, 1991; Wolkomir, 2006).

Ponticelli (1999) and Wolkomir (2001, 2006) found several emotional and cognitive processes that seemed central to the sexual orientation "identity reconstruction" (i.e., recasting oneself as ex-gay, heterosexual, disidentifying as LGB) (Ponticelli, 1999, p. 157) that appeared to relieve the distress caused by conflicts between religious values and sexual orientation (Ponticelli, 1999). Ponticelli identified certain conditions necessary for resolving identity conflicts, including (a) adopting a new discourse or worldview, (b) engaging in a biographical reconstruction, (c) embracing a new explanatory model, and (d) forming strong interpersonal ties. For those rejecting a sexual minority identity, these changes occurred by participants taking on "ex-gay" cultural norms and language and finding a community that enabled and reinforced their primary religious beliefs, values, and concerns. For instance, participants were encouraged to rely on literal interpretations of the Bible, Christian psychoanalytic theories about the causes of homosexuality, and "ex-gay" social relationships to guide and redefine their lives.

Interesting counterpoints to the SOCE support groups are LGB-affirming religious support groups. These groups employ similar emotional and cognitive strategies to provide emotional support, affirming ideologies, and identity reconstruction. Further, they appear to facilitate integration of same-sex sexual attractions and religious identities into LGB-affirming identities (Kerr, 1997; Thumma, 1991; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Both sexual-minority-affirming and ex-gay mutual help groups potentially appear to offer benefits to their participants that are similar to those claimed for self-help groups, such as social support, fellowship, role models, and new ways to view a problem through unique philosophies or ideologies (cf. Levine, Perkins, & Perkins, 2004).

The philosophy of mutual help groups often gives a normalizing meaning to the individual's situation and may act as an "antidote" to a sense of deficiency (Antze, 1976). New scripts can shape how a member views and shares her or his life story by replacing existing personal or cultural scripts with the group ideology (Humphreys, 2004; Mankowski, 1997, 2000; Maton, 2000). For instance, individuals who are involved in SOCE or LGB-affirming groups may adopt a new explanation for their homosexuality that permits reconceptualizing themselves as heterosexual or acceptable as LGB people (Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Remaining Issues

Ponticelli (1999) ended her article with the following questions: "What leads a person to choose Exodus and a frame that defined them as sinful and in need of change?" (p. 170). Why do some individuals choose SOCE over sexual-minority-affirming groups, and why are some individuals attracted to and able to find relief in a particular ideology or group over other alternatives?

There are some indications that the nature and type of religious motivation and faith play a role. In comparing individuals with intrinsic[43] and quest religious motivations, Tozer and Hayes (2004) proposed that those with a greater intrinsic religiosity may be motivated to seek out SOCE more than those with the quest motivation. However, within both groups (intrinsic and quest motivation), internalized stigma influenced who sought SOCE; those who sought SOCE had higher levels of internalized stigma. Tozer and Hayes (2004) and Mahaffy (1996) found that individuals in earlier stages of sexual minority identity development (see, e.g., Cass, 1979; Troiden, 1993) were more likely to pursue SOCE.

Wolkomir (2001, 2006) found some evidence that biographical factors may be central to these choices. Wolkomir (2006) found that motivations for participation in faith distinguished individuals who joined ex-gay groups from sexual-minority-affirming groups. For instance, men who joined conservative Christian communities as a solution to lives that had been lonely and disconnected and those who turned to faith when they felt overwhelmed by circumstance were more likely to join ex-gay groups. Wolkomir hypothesized that these men perceived homosexuality as a threat to the refuge that conservative faith provided (cf. Glassgold, 2008).

The other common path to an ex-gay (as well as, to some degree, to a sexual-minority-affirming) group was remaining in the community of faith in which one was raised and meeting the expectations of that faith, such as heterosexuality. The loss of a personal relationship or a betrayal by a loved one might influence an individual's choice of a group, and the stress of loss and the self-blame that accompany such a loss may constitute factors that lead someone to seek SOCE (Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Additionally, Wolkomir found that a sense of gender inadequacy (see also "gender role strain"; Levant, 1992; Pleck, 1995) made groups that embraced traditional gender roles and gender-based models of homosexuality appealing to some men. Gender-based internalized stigma and self-stigma increased distress in these men.

Finally, "contractual promises" to God (Wolkomir, 2001, p. 332) regarding other concerns (e.g., drug/alcohol abuse) increased the likelihood that men would choose ex-gay groups. However, these issues are as yet underresearched and remain unresolved.

Very little is known about the concerns of other religious faiths and diverse ethnicities and cultures (Harper et al., 2004; Miville & Ferguson, 2004). There are some studies in the empirical and theoretical literature, clinical cases, and material from other fields (e.g., anthropology, sociology) on sexual orientation among ethnic minorities and in different cultures and countries. Sexual orientation identity may be constructed differently in ethnic minority communities and internationally (Boykin, 1996; Carillo, 2002; Crawford et al., 2002; Harper et al., 2004; Mays, Cochran, & Zamudio, 2004; Miville & Ferguson, 2004; Walters, Evans-Campbell, Simoni, Ronquillo, & Bhuyan, 2006; B. D.Wilson & Miller, 2002; Zea, Diaz, & Reisen, 2003). There is some information that such populations experience distress or conflicts due to legal discrimination, cultural stigma, and other factors (McCormick, 2006), and in some other countries, homosexuality is still seen as a mental disorder or is illegal (Forstein, 2001; see also the publications of the International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission: http://www.iglhrc.org). We did not identify empirical research on members of these populations who had sought or participated in SOCE other than as part of the research already cited.

Summary and Conclusion

The recent literature on those who participate in SOCE identifies a population of predominantly White men who are strongly religious and participate in conservative faiths. This contrasts with the early research that included primarily nonreligious individuals. There is a lack of research on non-Christian individuals and limited information on ethnic minority populations, women, and nonreligious populations.

The religious individuals in the recent literature report experiencing serious distress, including depression, identity confusion, and fear due to the strong prohibitions of their faith regarding same-sex sexual orientation, behaviors, and relationships.

[43] Internal motivation refers to a motivation that focuses on belief and values as ends in themselves, and quest sees religion as a process of exploration.

These individuals struggle to combine their faiths and their sexualities in meaningful personal and social identities. These struggles cause them significant distress, including frequent feelings of isolation from both religious organizations and sexual minority communities. The ensuing struggles with faith, sexuality, and identity lead many individuals to attempt sexual orientation change through professional interventions and faith-based efforts.

These individuals report a range of effects from their efforts to change their sexual orientation, including both benefits and harm. The benefits include social and spiritual support, a lessening of isolation, an understanding of values and faith, and sexual orientation identity reconstruction. The perceived harms include negative mental health effects (depression and suicidality), decreased self-esteem and authenticity to others, increased self-hatred and negative perceptions of homosexuality, a loss of faith, and a sense of having wasted time and resources.

Mutual self-help groups (whether affirming or rejecting of sexual minorities) may provide a means to resolve the distress caused by conflicts between religious values and sexual orientation.

Mutual self-help groups (whether affirming or rejecting of sexual minorities) may provide a means of resolving the distress caused by conflicts between religious values and sexual orientation (Erzen, 2006; Kerr, 1997; Ponticelli, 1999; Thumma, 1991; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). Sexual orientation identity reconstruction found in such groups (Ponticelli, 1999; Thumma, 1991) and identity work in general may provide reduction in individual distress (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004). Individuals may seek out sexual-minority-affirming religious groups or SOCE in the form of ex-gay religious support groups due to (a) a lack of other sources of social support; (b) a desire for active coping, including both cognitive and emotional coping (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980); and (c) access to methods of sexual orientation identity exploration and reconstruction (Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001).

The limited information provided by the literature on individuals who experience distress with their sexual attractions and seek SOCE provides some direction to LMHP in formulating affirmative interventions for this population. The following appear to be helpful to clients:

- Finding social support and interacting with others in similar circumstances
- Experiencing understanding and recognition of the importance of religious beliefs and concerns
- Receiving empathy for their very difficult dilemmas and conflicts
- Being provided with affective and cognitive tools for identity exploration and development

Reports of clients' perceptions of harm also provide information about aspects of interventions to avoid:

- Overly directive treatment that insists on a particular outcome
- Inaccurate, stereotypic, or unscientific information or lack of positive information about sexual minorities and sexual orientation
- The use of unsound or unproven interventions
- Misinformation on treatment outcomes

It is important to note that the factors that are identified as benefits are not unique to SOCE. An affirmative and multiculturally competent framework can mitigate the harmful aspects of SOCE by addressing sexual stigma while understanding the importance of religion and social needs. An approach that integrates the information identified in this chapter as helpful is described in an affirmative model of psychotherapy in Chapter 6.

6. THE APPROPRIATE APPLICATION OF AFFIRMATIVE THERAPEUTIC INTERVENTIONS FOR ADULTS WHO SEEK SEXUAL ORIENTATION CHANGE EFFORTS

Our charge was to "generate a report that includes discussion of "the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children, adolescents, and adults who present [themselves for treatment expressing] a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation." In this chapter, we report on affirmative interventions for adults. Affirmative interventions for children and adolescents are reported separately in Chapter 8.

The appropriate application of affirmative psychotherapy is based on the following scientific facts:

- Same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality; in other words, they are not indicators of mental or developmental disorders.
- Homosexuality and bisexuality are stigmatized, and this stigma can have a variety of negative consequences (e.g., minority stress) throughout the life span (D'Augelli & Patterson, 1995; DiPlacido, 1998; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Meyer, 1995, 2003).
- Same-sex sexual attractions and behavior can occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientations and sexual orientation identities (Diamond, 2006; Hoburg et al., 2004; Rust, 1996; Savin-Williams, 2005).
- Gay men, lesbians, and bisexual individuals can live satisfying lives as well as form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to heterosexual relationships in essential respects (APA, 2005c; Kurdek, 2001, 2003, 2004; Peplau & Fingerhut, 2007).
- There are no empirical studies or peer-reviewed research that support theories attributing same-sex sexual orientation to family dysfunction or trauma (Bell et al., 1981; Bene, 1965; Freund & Blanchard, 1983; Freund & Pinkava, 1961; Hooker, 1969; McCord et al., 1962; D. K. Peters & Cantrell, 1991; Siegelman, 1974, 1981; Townes et al., 1976).

A Framework for the Appropriate Application of Affirmative Therapeutic Interventions

The task force findings that are relevant to the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults are the following:

1. Our systematic review of the research on sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[44] found that enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation as a result of SOCE was unlikely. Further, some participants were harmed by the interventions.

[44] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

2. What appears to shift and evolve in some individuals' lives is sexual orientation identity, not sexual orientation (Beckstead, 2003; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Buchanan, et al., 2001; Cass, 1983/1984; Diamond, 1998, 2006; McConaghy, 1999; Ponticelli, 1999; Rust, 2003; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Troiden, 1988; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006; R. L. Worthington, 2003, 2004).

3. Some participants in SOCE reported benefits, but the benefits were not specific to SOCE. Rather, clients perceived a benefit when offered interventions that emphasized acceptance, social support, and recognition of important values and concerns.

On the basis of theaw three findings and our comprehensive review of the research and clinical literature, we developed a framework for the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults that has the following central elements: (a) acceptance and support, (b) a comprehensive assessment, (c) active coping, (d) social support, and (e) identity exploration and development.

Acceptance and Support

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation has been grounded in a client-centered approach[45] (e.g., Astramovich, 2003; Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007, Buchanan et al., 2001; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold; 2008; Gonsiorek; 2004; Haldeman, 2004, Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Mark, 2008; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). The client-centered approach (Rogers, 1957; cf. Brown, 2006) stresses (a) the LMHP's unconditional positive regard for and congruence and empathy with the client, (b) openness to the client's perspective as a means of understanding their concerns, and (c) encouragement of the client's positive self-concept. This approach incorporates aspects of the therapeutic relationship that have been shown in the research literature to have a positive benefit, such as empathy, positive regard, and honesty (APA, 2005a, 2005b; Lambert & Barley, 2001; Norcross, 2002; Norcross & Hill, 2004).

[45] We consider the client-centered approach not as the ultimate theoretical basis of our model but as a foundation that is consistent with a variety of theoretical approaches, as most psychotherapy focuses on acceptance and support as a foundation of interventions.

This approach consists of empathic attunement to concerns regarding sexual orientation identity that acknowledges the role of cultural context and diversity and allows the different aspects of the evolving self to be acknowledged, explored, respected, and potentially rewoven into a more coherent sense of self that feels authentic to the client (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Brown, 2006; Buchanan et al., 2001; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Miville & Ferguson, 2004; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008). The empathic therapeutic environment aspires to be a place of compassionate caring and respect that facilitates development (Bronfennbrenner, 1979; Winnicott, 1965) by exploring issues without criticism or condemnation (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; McMinn, 2005; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005) and by reducing distress caused by isolation, stigma, and shame (Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Isay, 2001).

The empathic therapeutic environment aspires to be a place of compassionate caring and respect that facilitates development... by exploring issues without criticism or condemnation and reducing distress caused by isolation, stigma, and shame.

This approach involves empathizing with the client's desire to change his or her sexual orientation while understanding that this outcome is unlikely (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004). Haldeman (2004) cautioned that LMHP who turn down a client's request for SOCE at the onset of treatment without exploring and understanding the many reasons why the client may wish to change may instill hopelessness in the client, who already may feel at a loss about viable options. Haldeman emphasized that before coming to a conclusion regarding treatment goals, LMHP should seek to validate the client's wish to reduce suffering and normalize the conflicts at the root of distress, as well as create a therapeutic alliance that recognizes the issues important to the client (cf. Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Liddle, 1996; Yarhouse, 2008).

Affirmative client-centered approaches consider sexual orientation to be uniquely individual and inseparable from an individual's personality and sense of self (Glassgold, 1995, 2008). This includes (a) being aware of the client's unique personal, social, and historical context; (b) exploring and countering the harmful impact of stigma and stereotypes on the

client's self-concept (including the prejudice related to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status); and (c) maintaining a broad view of acceptable life choices. LMHP who work with religious clients who are distressed by their sexual orientation may wish to consult the literature from the psychology of religion. This literature reminds us that religion is a complex way of making meaning that includes not only beliefs and values but also community, relationships, traditions, family ties, coping, and social identity (Mark, 2008; Pargament & Mahoney, 2002, 2005; Pargament et al., 2005; Park, 2005).

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A Comprehensive Assessment

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation included providing a comprehensive assessment in order to obtain a fuller understanding of the multiple issues that influence that client's presentation. Such an assessment allows the LMHP and client to see the client's sexual orientation as part of the whole person and to develop interventions based on all significant variables (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004). This comprehensive assessment includes understanding how a client's distress may involve (a) psychological disequilibrium from trying to manage the stressors (e.g., anxiety, depression, substance abuse and dependence, sexual compulsivity, posttraumatic stress disorder) and (b) negative effects from developmental experiences and traumas and the impact of cultural and family norms. Assessing the influence of factors such as age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, disability, language, and socioeconomic status on the experience and expression of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity may aid the LMHP in understanding the complexity of the client's distress.

The literature indicated that most of the individuals who are extremely distressed about their same-sex sexual orientation and who are interested in SOCE have conservative religious beliefs. A first step to addressing the conflicts regarding faith and sexual orientation is a thorough assessment of clients' spiritual and religious beliefs, religious identity and motivations, and spiritual functioning (Exline, 2002; Hathaway, Scott, & Garver, 2004; Pargament et al., 2005). This helps the LMHP understand how the current dilemmas impact clients' spiritual functioning (and vice versa) and assess resources for growth and renewal.

This assessment could include (a) understanding the specific religious beliefs of the client; (b) assessing the religious and spiritual conflicts and distress experienced by the client (Hathaway et al., 2004); (c) assessing the client's religious goals (Emons & Paloutzian, 2003) and motivations (e.g., internal, external, quest, fundamentalism) and positive and negative ways of coping within his or her religion (Pargament, Koenig, Tasakeshwas, & Hahn, 2001; Pargament & Mahoney, 2005; Pargament et al., 1998); (d) seeking to understand the impact of religious beliefs and religious communities on the experience of the client's self-stigma, sexual prejudice, and sexual orientation identity (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Buchanan et al., 2001; Fulton et al., 1999; Herek, 1987; Hunsberger & Jackson, 2005; J. P. Schwartz & Lindley, 2005; Schulte & Battle, 2004); (e) developing an understanding of the client's faith identity development (Fowler, 1981, 1991; Oser, 1991; Reich, 1991; Streib, 2005) and its intersection with his or her sexual orientation identity development (Harris, Cook, & Kashubeck-West, 2008; Hoffman et al., 2007; Knight & Hoffman, 2007; Mahaffy, 1996; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse et al., 2005); and (f) enhancing with the client, when applicable, the search for meaning, significance, and a relationship with the definitions of the sacred in his or her life (Fowler, 2001; Goldstein, 2007; Pargament & Mahoney, 2005; Shafranske, 2000). Finally, an awareness of the varieties of religious faith, issues for religious minorities, and the unique role of religion in ethnic minority communities is important (Trujillo, 2000; Zea, Mason, & Muruia, 2000).

Some individuals who present with requests for SOCE may have clinical concerns that go beyond their sexual orientation conflicts. These may include mental health disorders, personality disorders, or trauma-related conditions that influence the presentation of sexual orientation conflicts and distress (cf. Brown, 2006; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman,

2001; Iwasaki & Ristock, 2007; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Mohr & Fassinger, 2003; S. L. Morrow, 2000; Pachankis et al., 2008; Schneider et al., 2002; Sherry, 2007; Szymanski & Kashubeck-West, 2008). Such conditions may require intervention separate from or in conjunction with the intervention directed at the sexual orientation distress. For instance, some clients who seek SOCE may have histories of trauma (Ponticelli, 1999), and in some individuals sexual abuse can cause sexual orientation identity confusion and other sexuality-related concerns (Gartner, 1999). Some heterosexual individuals may obsess over the fear of being gay and require a unique treatment model to help them accept their fear (M. Williams, 2008). Other individuals seeking SOCE may make homosexuality the explanation for all they feel is wrong with their lives (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Erzen, 2006; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). This displacement of self-hatred onto homosexuality can be an attempt to resolve a sense of badness and shame (cf. Brandchaft, 2007; Drescher, 1998b), and clients may thus need effective interventions to deal with this self-hatred and shame (Brandchaft, 2007; Linehan, Dimeff, & Koerner, 2007; Zaslav, 1998).

Sexual stigma impacts a client's appraisal of sexuality, and since definitions and norms of healthy sexuality vary among individuals, LMHP, and religious and societal institutions, potential conflicts can arise for clients about what a person should do to be sexually acceptable and healthy. O'Sullivan, McCrudden, and Tolman (2006) emphasized that sexuality is an integral component of psychological health, involving mental and emotional health, physical health, and relational health.[46] Initiating sensitive but open and educated discussions with clients about their views of and experiences with sexuality may be helpful, especially for those who have never had the opportunity or the permission to talk about such issues (Schneider et al., 2002).

Active Coping

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation seeks to increase clients' capacity for active coping to mitigate distress. Coping strategies refer to the efforts that individuals use to resolve, endure, or diminish stressful life experiences, and active coping strategies are efforts that include cognitive, behavioral, or emotional responses designed to change the nature of the stressor itself or how an individual perceives it (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980). Research has indicated that active coping is superior to other efforts, such as passive coping, and that individuals use both cognitive and emotional strategies to address stressful events (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980). These strategies are described in more depth in the following sections.

Active coping strategies are efforts that include cognitive, behavioral, or emotional responses designed to change the nature of the stressor itself or how an individual perceives it.

COGNITIVE STRATEGIES

Research on those individuals who resolve their sexual orientation conflicts indicate that cognitive strategies helped to reduce cognitive dissonance (Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Mahaffy, 1996). One of the dilemmas for many clients who seek sexual orientation change is that they see their situation as a dichotomy. For instance, their same-sex sexual attractions make them unworthy or bad, and only if they are heterosexual can they be worthy (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 2001, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; D. F. Morrow, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). Cognitive strategies can reduce the all-or-nothing thinking, mitigate self-stigma, and alter negative self-appraisals (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Johnson, 2001, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Martell et al., 2004). For example, Buchanan et al. (2001), using a narrative therapy approach, described a process of uncovering and deconstructing dominant worldviews and assumptions with conflicted clients that enabled them to redefine their attitudes toward their spirituality and sexuality (cf. Bright, 2004; Comstock, 1996; Graham, 1997; Yarhouse, 2008). Similarly, rejection of stereotypes about LGB individuals was found to be extremely important for increased psychological well-being in a mixed sample of LGB individuals (Luhtanen, 2003).

Recent developments in cognitive–behavior therapy, such as mindfulness-based cognitive therapy, dialectical

[46] The Pan American Health Organization and the World Health Organization (2000) defined sexual health in the following manner: "Sexual health is the ongoing process of physical, psychological, and sociocultural well-being in relationship to sexuality. Sexual health can be identified through the free and responsible expressions of sexual capabilities that foster harmonious personal and social wellness, enriching life within an ethical framework. It is not merely the absence of dysfunction, disease and/or infirmity. For sexual health to be attained and maintained it is necessary that sexual rights be recognized and exercised" (p. 9).

behavior therapy, and acceptance and commitment therapy techniques are relevant (e.g., Hayes, Strosahl, & Wilson, 2003; Linehan et al., 2007). Acceptance of the presence of same-sex sexual attractions and sexual orientation paired with exploring narratives or reframing cognitions, meanings, or assumptions about sexual attractions have been reported to be helpful (cf. Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Buchanan et al., 2001; Moran, 2007; Rodriguez, 2006; Tan, 2008; Yarhouse, 2005a, 2005c; Yarhouse & Beckstead, 2007). For instance, using these techniques, Beckstead and Morrow (2004) and Tan (2008) found that clients were able to cope with their sexual arousal experiences and live with them rather than negatively judge or fight against them. Male participants in Beckstead and Morrow's (2004) investigation, regardless of their ultimate sexual orientation identity, described their ability to accept, reframe, or "surrender" to their attractions as reducing their distress by decreasing their self-judgments and reducing their fear, anxiety, and shame. However, acceptance of same-sex sexual attractions and sexual orientation may not mean the formation of an LGB sexual orientation identity; alternate identities may develop instead (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse et al., 2005).

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For clients with strong values (religious or secular), an LMHP may wish to incorporate techniques that promote positive meaning-making, an active process through which people revise or reappraise an event or series of events (Baumeister & Vohs, 2002; cf. Taylor, 1983) to resolve issues that arise out of crises, loss, and suffering (cf. Frankl, 1992; Nolen-Hoeksema & Davis, 2002; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Pargament et al., 2005; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995). Such new meanings involve creating a new purpose in life, rebuilding a sense of mastery, and increasing self-worth (Nolen-Hoeksema & Davis, 2002; Pargament & Mahoney, 2002).

EMOTION-FOCUSED STRATEGIES

For those who seek SOCE, the process of addressing one's sexual orientation can be very emotionally challenging, as the desired identity does not fit the individual's psychological, emotional, or sexual predispositions and needs. The experience of irreconcilability of one's sexual orientation to one's deeply felt values, life situation, and life goals may disrupt one's core sense of meaning, purpose, efficacy, and self-worth (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Yarhouse, 2008; cf. Baumeister & Vohs, 2002; L. A. King & Smith, 2004) and result in emotional conflict, loss, and suffering (Glassgold, 2008; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995). Thus, emotion-focused strategies that facilitate mourning losses have reportedly been helpful to some (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Yarhouse, 2008; cf. Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

Therapeutic outcomes that have been reported include (a) coming to terms with the disappointments and losses and with the dissonances between psychological and emotional needs and possible and impossible selves (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Drescher, 1998b; L.A. King & Hicks, 2007; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995); (b) clarifying and prioritizing values and needs (Glassgold, 2008; Yarhouse, 2008); and (c) learning to tolerate and adapt to the ambiguity, conflict, uncertainty, and multiplicity with a positive attitude (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Buchanan et al., 2001; Corbett, 2001; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Halbertal & Koren, 2006; Haldeman, 2002; Miville & Ferguson, 2004).

RELIGIOUS STRATEGIES

Although many individuals desire to live their lives consistently with their values, primarily their religious values, we concluded that telic congruence grounded in self-stigma and shame was unlikely to result in psychological well-being (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Psychotherapeutic interventions can focus the client on positive religious coping (e.g., Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Pargament et al., 2005; Park, 2005; Silberman, 2005; T. B. Smith, McCullough, & Poll,

Connecting clients to core and overarching values and virtues such as charity, hope, forgiveness, gratitude, kindness, and compassion may shift the focus from their religion's rejection of homosexuality to the more accepting elements of their religion, which may provide more self-acceptance, direction, and peace.

2003) that may present the client with alternatives to the concreteness of the conflict between sexual orientation and religious values. For instance, several publications indicate that active engagement with religious texts can reduce identity conflicts by reducing the salience of negative messages about homosexuality and increasing self-authority or understanding (Brzezinski, 2000; Comstock, 1996; Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Glassgold, 2008; Gross, 2008; Mahaffy, 1996; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Schnoor, 2006; Schuck & Liddle, 2001; Thumma, 1991; Wilcox, 2001, 2002; Yip, 2002, 2003, 2005). Additionally, connecting clients to core and overarching values and virtues such as charity, hope, forgiveness, gratitude, kindness, and compassion may shift the focus from their religion's rejection of homosexuality to the more accepting elements of their religion, which may provide more self-acceptance, direction, and peace (Lease et al., 2005; McMinn, 2005). Exploration of how to integrate religious values and virtues into their sexuality may further development (cf. Helminiak, 2004).

Reframing the meaning of suffering and the burden of being conflicted as spiritual challenges rather than as divine condemnation (Glassgold, 2008; Hall & Johnson, 2001) and believing that God continues to love and accept them, because of or despite their sexual orientation, may be helpful in resolving distress (Graham, 1997; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995). For some, reframing spiritual struggles not only as a crisis of faith but also as an opportunity to increase faith or delve more deeply into it may be productive (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; de la Huerta, 1999; Glassgold, 2008; Horne & Noffisnger-Frazier, 2003, Ritter & Terndrup, 2002).

Examining the intersection between mental health concerns and the presentation of religious beliefs can be helpful in understanding the client (Johnson, 2001, 2004; Nielsen, 2001; Pargament et al., 2005; Robb, 2001; Shrafranske, 2004). For instance, Johnson (2004) described a rational emotive behavior therapy case study that focused on reducing excessive self-criticism, which lessened the self-stigma surrounding same-sex sexual attractions. This approach seeks to understand the core depressive cognitive structures and other problematic schemata that can become associated with the clients' religious values or distort their religious values (Johnson, 2001, 2004; Nielsen, 2001; Robb, 2001).

Social Support

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation seeks to increase clients' access to social support. As Coyle (1993) and others have noted (e.g., Wright & Perry, 2006), struggling with a devalued identity without adequate social support has the potential to erode psychological well-being. Increasing social support through psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations) may relieve some distress. For instance, participants reported benefits from mutual support groups, both sexual-minority-affirming and ex-gay groups (Kerr, 1997; Ponticelli, 1999; Rodriguez, 2006; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000; Rodriguez, 2006; Thumma, 1991; Wolkomir, 2001). These groups counteracted and buffered minority stress, marginalization, and isolation. Religious denominations that provide cognitive and affective strategies that aid in the resolution of cognitive dissonance and increase religious coping were helpful to religious individuals as well (Kerr, 1997; Maton, 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2000: Wolkomir, 2001, 2006).

LMHP can provide clients with information about a wide range of diverse sexual minority communities and religious and faith organizations available locally, nationally, or internationally in person or over the Internet.[47] These settings can provide contexts in which clients may explore and integrate identities, find role models, and reduce self-stigma (Heinz, Gu, Inuzuka, & Zender, 2002; Johnson & Buhrke, 2006; Schneider et al., 2002). However, some groups may reinforce prejudice and stigma by providing inaccurate or stereotyped information about homosexuality, and LMHP may wish to weigh with clients alternative options in these circumstances (Schneider et al., 2002).

For those clients who cannot express all aspects of themselves in the community settings currently available to them, LMHP can help the client to consider more flexible and strategic ways of expressing the multiple aspects of self that include managing self-disclosure and multiple identities (Bing, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Halbertal & Koran, 2006; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993). Social support may be difficult to find

[47] There are growing numbers of communities available that address unique concerns and identities (see, e.g., www.safraproject.org/ for Muslim women or http://www.al-fatiha.org/ for LGB Muslims; for Orthodox Jews, see http://tirtzah.wordpress.com/).

for clients whose communities stigmatize their sexual orientation identity and other identities (e.g., ethnic, racial, religious), and these clients may benefit from considering the alternate frame that the problem does not lie with the client but with the community that is not able to affirm their sexual orientation or particular identity or meet their developmental needs (Blechner, 2008; Buchanan et al., 2001; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Mark, 2008; Tremble, 1989).

Individuals with same-sex attractions in other-sex marriages may struggle with the loss (or fear of the loss) of social support and important relationships. Several authors (e.g., Alessi, 2008; Auerback & Moser, 1987; Bridges & Croteau, 1994; Brownfain, 1985; Buxton, 1994, 2001, 2004, 2007; Carlsson, 2007; Coleman, 1989; Corley & Kort, 2006; Gochros, 1989; Hernandez & Wilson, 2007; Isay, 1998; Klein & Schwartz, 2001; Malcolm, 2000; Schneider et al. 2002; Treyger, Ehlers, Zajicek, & Trepper, 2008; Yarhouse et al., 2003) have laid out counseling strategies for individuals in marriages with the other sex who consider SOCE. These strategies for individual, couples, and group counseling do not focus solely on one outcome (e.g., divorce, marriage) but on exploring the underlying personal and contextual problems, motivations, realities, and hopes for being in, leaving, or restructuring the relationship.

Identity Exploration and Development

In our review of the research and clinical literature, we found that identity issues, particularly the ability to explore and integrate aspects of the self, are central to the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults presenting with a desire to change their sexual orientation. As described in earlier sections of this report, conflicts among disparate elements of identity appear to play a major role in the distress of those seeking SOCE, and identity exploration and development appear to be ways in which individuals resolve or avoid distress (e.g., Balsam & Mohr, 2007; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Coyle & Rafakin, 2000; Drescher, 1998b; Glassgold, 2008; Herek & Garnets, 2007; Mahaffy, 1996; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Yip, 2002, 2003, 2005).

Ideally, identity comprises a coherent sense of one's needs, beliefs, values, and roles, including those aspects of oneself that are the bases of social stigma, such as age, gender, race, ethnicity, disability, national origin, socioeconomic status, religion, spirituality, and sexuality (G. R. Adams & Marshall, 1996; Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Baumeister & Vohs, 2002; LaFramboise et al., 1993; Marcia, 1966; Meyers et al., 1991; R. L. Worthington et al., 2002). Marcia (1966) generated a model in which identity development is an active process of exploring and assessing one's identity and establishing a commitment to an integrated identity. R. L. Worthington et al. (2002) hypothesized that sexual orientation identity could be conceptualized along these same lines and advanced a model of heterosexual identity development based on the assumption that congruence among the dimensions of individual identity is the most adaptive status, which is achieved by active exploration. There is some empirical research supporting this model (R. L. Worthington, Navarro, Savoy, & Hampton, 2008). Additionally, research has found that the formation of a collective identity has important mental health benefits for sexual minorities by buffering individuals from sexual stigma and increasing self-esteem (Balsam & Mohr, 2007; Crawford et al., 2002; Herek & Garnets, 2007).

An affirmative approach is supportive of clients' identity development without an a priori treatment goal for how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation.

An affirmative approach is supportive of clients' identity development without an a priori treatment goal for how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation. Sexual orientation identity exploration can be helpful for those who eventually accept or reject their same-sex sexual attractions; the treatment does not differ, although the outcome does. For instance, the existing research indicates that possible outcomes of sexual orientation identity exploration for those distressed by their sexual orientation may be:

- LGB identities (Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mahaffy, 1996; Yarhouse, 2008)
- Heterosexual sexual orientation identity (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004)
- Disidentifying from LGB identities (e.g., ex-gay) (Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse & Tan, 2004; Yarhouse et al., 2005)
- Not specifying an identity (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Tan, 2008)

The research literature indicates that there are variations in how individuals express their sexual orientation and label their identities based on ethnicity,

culture, age and generation, gender, nationality, acculturation, and religion (Boykin, 1996; Carrillo, 2002; Chan, 1997; Crawford et al., 2002; Denizet-Lewis, 2003; Kimmel & Yi, 2004; Martinez & Hosek, 2005; Miville & Ferguson, 2004; Millett, Malebranche, Mason, & Spikes, 2005; Stokes, Miller, & Mundhenk, 1998; Toro-Alfonso, 2007; Weeks, 1995; Yarhouse, 2008; Yarhouse et al., 2005; Zea et al., 2003). Some authors have provided analyses of identity that take into account diversity in sexual identity development and ethnic identity formation (Helms, 1995; LaFramboise et al., 1993; Myers et al., 1991; Yi & Shorter-Gooden, 1999), religious identity (Fowler, 1981, 1991; Oser, 1991; Strieb, 2001), as well as combinations of religious and sexual orientation identities (Coyle & Rafalin, 2000; Hoffman et al., 2007; Kerr, 1997; Knight & Hoffman, 2007; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Thumma, 1991; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse & Tan 2004).

In some of the literature on SOCE, religious beliefs and identity are presented as fixed, whereas sexual orientation is considered changeable (cf. Rosik, 2003). Given that there is a likelihood that some individuals will change religious affiliations during their lifetime (Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2008) and that many scholars have found that both religious identity and sexual orientation identity evolve (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Fowler, 1981; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mahaffy, 1996; Ritter & Terndrup, 2002; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005b), it is important for LMHP to explore the development of religious identity and sexual orientation identity (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008). Some authors hypothesize that developmental awareness or stage of religious or sexual orientation identity may play a role in identity outcomes (Knight & Hoffman, 2007; Mahaffy, 1996; cf. Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). Other authors have described a developmental process that includes periods of crisis, mourning, reevaluation, identity deconstruction, and growth (Comstock, 1996; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995). Others have found that individuals disidentify or reject LGB identities (Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006; Yarhouse et al., 2005). Thus, LMHP seeking to take an affirmative attitude recognize that individuals will define sexual orientation identities in a variety of ways (Beckstead, as cited in Shidlo, Schroeder, & Drescher, 2002; Diamond, 2003; 2006; 2008; Savin-Williams, 2005; Yarhouse et al., 2005).

Some religious individuals may wish to resolve the tension between values and sexual orientation by choosing celibacy (sexual abstinence), which in some faiths, but not all, may be a virtuous path (Olson, 2007). We found limited empirical research on the mental health consequences of that course of action.[48] Some clinical articles and surveys of individuals indicate that some may find such a life fulfilling (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007); however, there are others who cannot achieve such a goal and might struggle with depression and loneliness (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2001; Horlacher, 2006; Rodriguez, 2006; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). In a similar way, acting on same-sex sexual attractions may not be fulfilling solutions for others (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Yarhouse, 2008).

LMHP may approach such a situation by neither rejecting nor promoting celibacy but by attempting to understand how this outcome is part of the process of exploration, sexual self-awareness, and understanding of core values and goals. The therapeutic process could entail exploration of what drives this goal for clients (assessing cultural, family, personal context and issues, sexual self-stigma), the possible short- and long-term consequences/rewards, and impacts on mental health while providing education about sexual health and exploring how a client will cope with the losses and gains of this decision (cf. L. A. King & Hicks, 2007; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995).

On the basis of the aforementioned analyses, we adopted a perspective that recognizes the following:

- The important functional aspects of identity (G. R. Adams & Marshall, 1996).
- The multiplicity inherent in experience and identity, including age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Miville & Ferguson, 2004; Myers et al., 1991).
- The influence of social context and the environment on identity (Baumeister & Muraven, 1996; Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Meeus, Iedema, Helsen, & Vollebergh, 1999; Myers et al., 1991; Steenbarger, 1991).
- That aspects of multiple identities are dynamic and can be in conflict (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; D. F. Morrow, 2003; Tan, 2008; Yarhouse, 2008).

[48] However, Sipe (1990, 2003) has surveyed clergy and found difficulty in maintaining behavior consistent with aspirations. Other studies indicate that this goal is only achieved for a minority of participants who choose it (Brzezinski, 2000; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007).

- Identities can be explored, experienced, or integrated without privileging or surrendering one or another at any age (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Myers et al., 1991; Phillips, 2004; Shallenberger, 1996).

Approaches based on models of biculturalism (LaFromboise et al., 1993) and pluralistic models of identity, including combining models of ethnic, sexual orientation, and religious identity that help individuals develop all aspects of self simultaneously or some sequentially, can encourage identity development and synthesis rather than identity conflict, foreclosure, or compartmentalization (Dworkin, 1997; Harris et al., 2008; Hoffman et al., 2007; Knight & Hoffman, 2007; Myers et al., 1991; Omer & Strenger, 1992; Ritter & O'Neill, 1989, 1995; Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2004; Rosario, Yali, Hunter, & Gwadz, 2006; Sophie, 1987; Troiden, 1988, 1993).

Sexual orientation identity exploration can help clients create a valued personal and social identity that provides self-esteem, belonging, meaning, direction, and future purpose, including the redefining of religious beliefs, identity, and motivations and the redefining of sexual values, norms, and behaviors (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Mark, 2008; Tan, 2008; Yarhouse, 2008). We encourage LMHP to support clients in determining their own (a) goals for their identity process; (b) behavioral expression of sexual orientation; (c) public and private social roles; (d) gender role, identity, and expression; (e) sex and gender of partner; and (f) form of relationship(s).

Understanding gender roles and gender expression and developing a positive gender identity[49] continue to be concerns for many individuals who seek SOCE, especially as nonconformity with social expectations regarding gender can be a source of distress and stigma (APA, 2008e; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Corbett, 1996, 1998; Wolkomir, 2001). Some SOCE teach men how to adopt traditional masculine behaviors as a means of altering their sexual orientation (e.g., Nicolosi, 1991, 1993) despite the absence of evidence that such interventions affect sexual orientation. Such theoretical positions have been characterized as products of stigma and bias that are without an evidentiary basis and may increase distress (American Psychoanalytic Association, 2000; Isay, 1987, 1999; Drescher, 1998b; Haldeman, 1994, 2001). For instance, Haldeman (2001) emphasized in his clinical work with men who had participated in SOCE that some men were taught that their homosexuality made them less masculine—a belief that was ultimately damaging to their self-esteem. Research on the impact of heterosexism and traditional gender roles indicates that an individual's adoption of traditional masculine norms increases sexual self-stigma and decreases self-esteem and emotional connection with others, thus negatively affecting mental health (Szymanski & Carr, 2008).

Advances in the psychology of men and masculinity provide more appropriate conceptual models for considering gender concerns—for instance, in such concepts as gender role strain or gender role stress (cf. Butler, 2004; Enns, 2008; Fischer & Good, 1997; Heppner & Heppner, 2008; Levant, 1992; Levant & Silverstein, 2006; O'Neil, 2008; Pleck, 1995; Wester, 2008). This literature suggests exploring with clients the role of traditional gender norms in distress and reconceptualizing gender in ways that feel more authentic to the client. Such approaches could also reduce the gender stereotypes associated with same-sex sexual orientation (Corbett, 1998; Haldeman, 2001; Schwartzberg & Rosenberg, 1998). Most literature in this area suggests that for clients who experience distress with their gender-role nonconformity, LMHP provide them with a more complex theory of gender that affirms a wider range of gender diversity and expands definitions and expressions of masculinity and femininity (Butler, 2004; Corbett, 1996, 1998, 2001; Haldeman, 2001; Levant & Silverstein, 2006).

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Some women find current categories for conceptualizing their sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity limiting, as concepts in popular culture and professional literature do not mirror their experiences of fluidity and variation in sexuality and relationships (Chivers et al., 2007; Diamond, 2006, 2008; Peplau & Garnets, 2000). Some women, for example, may experience relationships with others as

[49] *Gender* refers to the roles, behaviors, activities, and attributes that a particular society considers appropriate for men and women. *Gender identity* is a person's own psychological sense of identification as male or female, another gender, or identifying with no gender. *Gender expression* is the activities and behaviors that purposely or inadvertently communicate our gender identity to others, such as clothing, hairstyles, mannerisms, way of speaking, and social roles.

important parts of sexuality and may place sexuality, sexual orientation, and sexual orientation identity in the context of interpersonal bonds and contexts (Diamond, 2003, 2006, 2008; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Garnets & Peplau, 2000; Kinnish, Strassberg, & Turner 2005; Kitzinger, & Wilkinson, 1994; Miller, 1991; Morgan & Thompson, 2006; Peplau & Garnets, 2000; Surrey, 1991). Specific psychotherapy approaches that focus on an understanding of emotional and erotic interpersonal connections in sexuality rather than simply on sexual arousal can aide LMHP in providing a positive framework and goals for therapy with women (Garnets & Peplau, 2000; Glassgold, 2008; Miller, 1991; Surrey, 1991).

For many women, religious or cultural influences discourage exploration of sexuality and do not portray female sexuality as positive or self-directed (Brown, 2006; Espin, 2005; Fassinger & Arseneau, 2006; Mahoney & Espin, 2008; Moran, 2007; Stone, 2008). Treatment might involve deconstructing cultural scripts in order to explore possibilities for religion, sexuality, sexual orientation, identity, and relationships (Avishai, 2008; Biaggio, Coan, & Adams, 2002; Morgan & Thompson, 2006; Rose & Zand, 2000).

Conclusion

The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions to adults is built on three key findings in the research: (a) An enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation as a result of SOCE was unlikely, and some participants were harmed by the interventions; (b) sexual orientation identity—not sexual orientation—appears to change via psychotherapy, support groups, and life events; and (c) clients perceive a benefit when offered interventions that emphasize acceptance, support, and recognition of important values and concerns.

On the basis of these findings and the clinical literature on this population, we suggest client-centered approaches grounded on the following scientific facts:

- Same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality—in other words, they are not indicators of mental or developmental disorders.
- Same-sex sexual attractions and behavior can occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientations and sexual orientation identities.
- Gay men, lesbians, and bisexual individuals can live satisfying lives as well as form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to heterosexual relationships in essential respects.
- No empirical studies or peer-reviewed research support theories attributing same-sex sexual orientation to family dysfunction or trauma.

Affirmative client-centered approaches consider sexual orientation uniquely individual and inseparable from an individual's personality and sense of self (Glassgold, 1995, 2008). This includes (a) being aware of the client's unique personal, social, and historical context; (b) exploring and countering the harmful impact of stigma and stereotypes on the client's self-concept (including the prejudice related to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status); and (c) maintaining a broad view of acceptable life choices.

Psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations) provide social support that can mitigate distress caused by isolation, rejection, and lack of role models.

We developed a framework for the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults that has the following central elements: (a) acceptance and support, (b) comprehensive assessment, (c) active coping, (d) social support, and (e) identity exploration and development.

Acceptance and support include (a) unconditional positive regard for and empathy with the client, (b) an openness to the client's perspective as a means of understanding their concerns, and (c) encouragement of the client's positive self-concept.

Comprehensive assessment includes an awareness of the complete person, including mental health concerns that could impact distress about sexual orientation.

Active coping strategies are efforts that include cognitive, behavioral, or emotional responses designed to change the nature of the stressor itself or how an individual perceives it and includes both cognitive and emotional strategies.

Psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations) provide social support that can

mitigate distress caused by isolation, rejection, and lack of role models.

Conflicts among disparate elements of identity play a major role in the conflicts and mental health concerns of those seeking SOCE. Identity exploration is an active process of exploring and assessing one's identity and establishing a commitment to an integrated identity that addresses the identity conflicts without an a priori treatment goal for how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation. The process may include a developmental process that includes periods of crisis, mourning, reevaluation, identity deconstruction, and growth.

LMHP address specific issues for religious clients by integrating aspects of the psychology of religion into their work, including obtaining a thorough assessment of clients' spiritual and religious beliefs, religious identity and motivations, and spiritual functioning; improving positive religious coping; and exploring the intersection of religious and sexual orientation identities. This framework is consistent with modern multiculturally competent approaches and evidence-based psychotherapy practices and can be integrated into a variety of theoretical systems.

7. ETHICAL CONCERNS AND DECISION MAKING IN PSYCHOTHERAPY WITH ADULTS[50]

Ethical concerns relevant to sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[51] have been a major theme in the literature and a central aspect of the debate around SOCE (e.g., Benoit, 2005; Cramer et al., 2008; Davison, 1976, 1978, 1991; Drescher, 1999, 2001, 2002; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 1994, 2002, 2004; Herek, 2003; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004; Rosik, 2003; Schreier, 1998; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Sobocinski, 1990; Tozer & McClanahan, 1999; Wakefield, 2003; Yarhouse, 1998a; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002). The major concerns raised in these publications have been (a) the potential for harm, (b) the client's right to choose SOCE and other issues generally related to the ethical issue of client autonomy, and (c) questions of how to appropriately balance respect for two aspects of diversity—religion and sexual orientation. SOCE presents an ethical dilemma to practitioners because these publications have urged LMHP to pursue multiple and incompatible courses of action (cf. Kitchener, 1984).

In 1997 APA adopted the Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998). This resolution highlighted the provisions of the then-current *Ethical Principles for Psychologists and Code of Conduct* (APA, 1992) that APA believed to be relevant to situations in which clients request treatments to alter sexual orientation and psychologists provide such treatments, including the provisions regarding bias and discrimination, false or deceptive information, competence, and informed consent to treatment. For a discussion of the resolution's application to clinical situations, readers are referred to Schneider et al. (2002). In the resolution, APA also reaffirmed (a) its position that homosexuality is not a mental disorder; (b) its opposition to stigma, prejudice, and discrimination based on sexual orientation; and (c) its concern about the contribution of the promotion of SOCE to the continuation of sexual stigma in U.S. culture.

The APA's charge to the task force included "to review and update the APA Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation." In the process of fulfilling this aspect of our charge, we considered the possibility of recommending revisions to the 1997 resolution to update it with the specific principles and standards of the 2002 APA Ethics Code. Ultimately, we decided against a revision,[52] because the relevant concepts in the two versions of the principles and code are similar. Instead, this chapter examines the relevant sections of the 2002 APA *Ethical Principles for Psychologists and Code of Conduct* [hereafter referred to as the Ethics Code] in light of current debates regarding

[50] Ethical concerns for children and adolescents are considered in Chapter 8.

[51] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

[52] We developed a new resolution that APA adopted in August 2009 (see Appendix A)..

ethical decision making in this area.[53] We build our discussion on the concepts outlined in the 1997 resolution and discuss some of the ethical controversies in light of the newer APA Ethics Code (2002b) and of the systematic research review presented in Chapters 3 and 4 of this report. Although many of the principles and standards in the Ethics Code are potentially pertinent,[54] the principles and standards most relevant to this discussion are (in alphabetical order):

1. Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments (Standard 2.04) and Competence (e.g., 2.01a, 2.01b)[55]
2. Principle A: Beneficence and Nonmaleficence
3. Principle D: Justice
4. Principle E: Respect for People's Rights and Dignity

Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments and Competence

Many of the standards of the Ethics Code are derived from the ethical and valuative foundations found in the principles (Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004). Two of the more important standards are competence and the bases for scientific and professional judgments. These standards are linked, as competence is based on knowledge of the scientific evidence relevant to a case (Glassgold & Knapp, 2008). When practicing with those who seek sexual orientation change for themselves or for others, commentators on ethical practice have recommended that the practitioner understand the scientific research on sexual orientation and SOCE (Glassgold & Knapp, 2008; Schneider et al., 2002). It is obviously beyond the task force's scope to provide a systematic review of the whole body of research on sexual orientation, but we have tried to provide a systematic review of the research on SOCE in Chapters 3 and 4. From this review, we have drawn two key conclusions.

The first finding from our review is that there is insufficient evidence that SOCE are efficacious for changing sexual orientation. Furthermore, there is some evidence that such efforts cause harm. On the basis of this evidence, we consider it inappropriate for psychologists and other LMHP to foster or support in clients the expectation that they will change their sexual orientation if they participate in SOCE. We believe that among the various types of SOCE, the greatest level of ethical concern is raised by SOCE that presuppose that same-sex sexual orientation is a disorder or a symptom of a disorder.[56] Treatments based on such assumptions raise the greatest level of ethical scrutiny by LMHP because they are inconsistent with the scientific and professional consensus that homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder. Instead, we counsel LMHP to consider other treatment options when clients present with requests for sexual orientation change.

On the basis of this evidence, we consider it inappropriate for psychologists and other LMHP to foster or support in clients the expectation that they will change their sexual orientation if they participate in SOCE.

The second key finding from our review is that those who participate in SOCE, regardless of the intentions of these treatments, and those who resolve their distress through other means, may evolve during the course of their treatment in such areas as self-awareness, self-concept, and identity. These changes may include (a) sexual orientation identity, including changes in private and public identification, behavior, group membership, and affiliation; (b) emotional adjustment, including reducing self-stigma and shame; and (c) personal beliefs, values, and norms, including changes in religious and moral beliefs and behaviors and motivations (Buchanon et al., 2001; Diamond, 1998, 2006; Rust, 2003; Savin-Williams, 2004; R. L.

[53] This section is for descriptive and educational purposes. It is not designed to interpret the APA (2002b) Ethics Code. The APA Ethics Committee alone has the authority to interpret the APA (2002b) Ethics Code and render decisions about whether a course of treatment is ethical. Furthermore, this section is not intended to provide guidelines or standards for practice. Guidelines and standards for practice are created through a specific process that is outside the purview of the task force.

[54] The following are some of the pertinent standards: 2. Competence, 2.01 Boundaries of Competence, 2.03 Maintaining Competence, 2.04 Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments; 3. Human Relations, 3.01 Unfair Discrimination, 3.03 Other Harassment, 3.04 Avoiding Harm, 3.10 Informed Consent; 5.01 Avoidance of False or Deceptive Statements, 5.04 Media Presentations; 7.01 Design of Education and Training Programs; 8.02 Informed Consent to Research; 10.01 Informed Consent to Therapy, 10.02 Therapy Involving Couples or Families.

[55] Knapp and VandeCreek (2004) proposed that Ethical Standard 2 (Competence) is derived from Principle A: Beneficence & Nonmaleficence, as it is more likely that an LMHP can provide benefit if he or she is competent; however, for our purposes, this chapter will discuss these issues sequentially.

[56] See, e.g., Socarides (1968), Hallman (2008), and Nicolosi (1991); these theories assume homosexuality is always a sign of developmental defect or mental disorder.

Worthington, 2002, 2004, 2005; Yarhouse, 2008). These areas become targets of LMHP interventions in order to reduce identity conflicts and distress and to explore and enhance the client's identity integration.

Because a large number of individuals who seek SOCE are from conservative faiths and indicate that religion is very important to them, integrating research on the psychology of religion into treatment may be helpful. For instance, individual religious motivations can be examined, positive religious coping increased, and religious identity and sexual orientation identity explored and integrated (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Fowler, 1981; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Knight & Hoffman, 2007; O'Neill & Ritter, 1992; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a, 2005b). This is consistent with advances in the understanding of human diversity that place LGB-affirmative approaches within current multicultural perspectives that include age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status (e.g., Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006; Fowers & Davidov, 2006), consistent with Principle D (Justice) and Principle E (Respect for People's Rights and Dignity).

However, in some of the debates on these issues, there are tensions between conservative religious perspectives and affirmative and scientific perspectives (Haldeman, 2002; Rosik, 2003; Throckmorton & Welton, 2005; Yarhouse, 1998a; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002). Although there are tensions between religious and scientific perspectives, the task force and other scholars do not view these perspectives as mutually exclusive (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Yarhouse, 2005b). As we noted in the introduction, in its Resolution on Religious, Religion-Related, and/or Religion-Derived Prejudice, APA (2008a) delineates a perspective that affirms the importance of science in exploring and understanding human behavior while respecting religion as an important aspect of human diversity. Scientific findings from the psychology of religion can be incorporated into treatment, thus respecting all aspects of diversity while providing therapy that is consistent with scientific research.

APA (2008a) delineates a perspective that affirms the importance of science in exploring and understanding human behavior while respecting religion as an important aspect of human diversity.

Most important, respecting religious values does not require using techniques that are unlikely to have an effect. We proposed an approach that respects religious values and welcomes all of the client's actual and potential identities by exploring conflicts and identities without preconceived outcomes. This approach does not prioritize one identity over another and may aide a client in creating a sexual orientation identity consistent with religious values (see Chapter 6) (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Tan, 2008; Yarhouse, 2008).

Benefit and Harm

Principle A of the APA Ethics Code, Beneficence and Nonmaleficence, establishes that psychologists aspire to provide services that maximize benefit and minimize harm (APA, 2002b). Many ethicists and scholars consider the avoidance of harm to be the priority of modern health care and medical ethics (Beauchamp & Childress, 2008; Herek, 2003; S. L. Morrow, 2000). The literature on effective treatments and interventions stresses that to be considered effective, interventions must not have serious negative side effects (Beutler, 2000; Flay et al., 2005). When applying this principle in the context of providing interventions, LMHP assess the risk of harm, weigh that risk with the potential benefits, and communicate this to clients through informed consent procedures that aspire to provide the client with an understanding of potential risks and benefits that are accurate and unbiased. Some of the published considerations of ethical issues related to SOCE have focused on the limited evidence for its efficacy, the potential for client harm, and the potential for misrepresentation of these issues by proponents of SOCE (Cramer et al., 2008; Haldeman, 1994, 2002, 2004; Herek, 2003; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Other discussions focus on other harms of SOCE, such as reinforcing bias, discrimination, and stigma against LGB individuals (Davison, 1976, 1978, 1991; Drescher, 1999, 2001, 2002; Gonsiorek, 2004).

In weighing the harm and benefit of SOCE, LMHP can review with clients the evidence presented in this report. Research on harm from SOCE is limited, and some of the research that exists suffers from methodological limitations that make broad and definitive conclusions difficult. Early well-designed experiments that used aversive and behavioral

interventions did cause inadvertent and harmful mental health effects such as increased anxiety, depression, suicidality, and loss of sexual functioning in some participants. Additionally, client dropout rate is sometimes an indication of harmful effects (Lilienfeld, 2007). Early studies with aversive procedures are characterized by very high dropout rates, perhaps indicating harmful effects, and substantial numbers of clients unwilling to participate further. Other perceptions of harm mentioned by recipients of SOCE include increased guilt and hopelessness due to the failure of the intervention, loss of spiritual faith, and a sense of personal failure and unworthiness (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 2001, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Other indirect harms from SOCE include the time, energy, and cost of interventions that were not beneficial (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Lilienfeld, 2007; G. Smith et al., 2004).

We found limited research evidence of benefits from SOCE. There is qualitative research that describes clients' positive perceptions of such efforts, such as experiencing empathy and a supportive environment to discuss problems and share similar values, which seemed to reduce their stress about their same-sex sexual attractions (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001). The literature on SOCE support groups, for instance, illustrates results similar to those found for LGB-affirming groups and mutual help groups in general (e.g., Kerr, 1997; Levine et al., 2004; Thumma, 1991). The positive experiences clients report in SOCE are not unique. Rather, they are benefits that have been found in studies of therapeutic relationships and support groups in a number of different contexts (Levine et al., 2004; Norcross, 2002; Norcross & Hill, 2004). Thus, the benefits reported by participants in SOCE may be achieved through treatment approaches that do not attempt to change sexual orientation.

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Perceptions of risks and rewards of certain courses of action influence the individual's decisions, distress, and process of exploration in psychotherapy. The client and LMHP may define these risks and rewards differently, leading to different perceptions of benefit and harm. Recognizing, understanding, and clarifying these different perceptions of risks and rewards are crucial for a thorough ethical analysis of each client's unique situation and are aspects of client-centered approaches. For instance, an LMHP may attempt to provide information to the client to reduce sexual stigma and increase life options by informing the client about the research literature on same-sex couples. Such relationships may be threatening to the client when such a life course is perceived as being inconsistent with existing religious beliefs and motivations and potentially having negative repercussions on existing relationships with religious communities. Thus, the client and LMHP may perceive the benefits and harms of the same course of action differently. Yet, discussing positive coping resources with clients regarding how to manage such inconsistencies, stigma, and negative repercussions may provide the client with more informed and empowered solutions from which to choose, thus increasing benefit and autonomy and reducing harm.

Justice and Respect for Rights and Dignity

In this section, we focus on two concepts, Justice (Principle D) and Self-Determination (Principle E, Respect for People's Rights and Dignity). The first considers justice, both distributive and procedural justice (Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004), and the second focuses on recognizing diversity and maximizing a client's ability to choose. The APA Ethics Code uses the term *self-determination* to encompass the meanings for which many ethicists have used the term autonomy; we define self-determination as the process by which a person controls or determines the course of her or his own life (*Oxford American Dictionary*, 2007). Client self-determination encompasses the ability to seek treatment, consent to treatment, and refuse treatment. The informed consent process is one of the ways by which self-determination is maximized in psychotherapy.

Informed consent and self-determination cannot be considered without an understanding of the individual, community, and social contexts that shape the lives of sexual minorities. By understanding self-determination as context-specific and by working to increase clients' awareness of the influences of context on their decision making, the LMHP can increase clients' self-determination and thereby increase their ability to make informed life choices (Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 1995; 2008; Haldeman, 2004). For instance, some have suggested that social stigma and prejudice are fundamental reasons for sexual minorities' desire

to change their sexual orientation (Davison, 1976, 1978, 1982, 1991; Haldeman, 1994; Silverstein, 1991; G. Smith et al., 2004; Tozer & Hayes, 2004). As stigma, prejudice, and discrimination continue to be prevalent,[57] we recommend that LMHP strive to understand their clients' request for SOCE in the context of sexual stigma and minority stress (e.g., DiPlacido, 1998; Meyer, 2001). We further recommend that providers explore with their clients the impact of these factors on their clients' decision making in order to assess the extent to which self-determination is compromised (cf. G. Smith et al., 2004).

For instance, repressive, coercive, or invalidating cultural, social, political, and religious influences can limit autonomous expression of sexual orientation, including the awareness and exploration of options for expression of sexual orientation within an individual life (e.g., Glassgold, 2008; Mark, 2008; McCormick, 2006; G. Smith et al., 2004; Wax, 2008). We recommend that LMHP consider the impact of discrimination and stigma on the client and themselves (e.g., Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Haldeman, 2001, 2002). This consideration can become quite complex when the client or the community of the client or the LMHP believes that homosexuality is sinful and immoral (see Beckstead & Israel, 2007). Further exploration of religious beliefs and the cognitive assumptions underlying those beliefs may be helpful in understanding the client's beliefs and perception of choices (Buchanan et al., 2001; Fischer & DeBord, 2007; Johnson, 2004; Yarhouse, 2008; Yip, 2000, 2002, 2005).

The issue of self-determination has become controversial, and some have suggested that SOCE be offered in the spirit of maximizing client autonomy so that clients have access to a treatment they request (e.g., Rosik, 2003; Yarhouse & Throckmorton, 2002). Others have cautioned against providing interventions that have very limited evidence of effectiveness, run counter to current scientific knowledge, and have the potential for harm, despite client requests (Drescher, 1999, 2002; Forstein, 2001; Gonsiorek, 2004; Haldeman, 2002; Herek, 2003). With regard to claims that client autonomy is the defining concern in treatment decision making, elevating one aspect of ethical reasoning, such as autonomy, above all others is not consistent with the current framework of the APA Ethics Code or medical ethics that focus on the interrelatedness of ethical principles (Beauchamp & Childress, 2008; Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004).

For instance, current ethics guidance focuses on the interrelatedness of ethical principles and understanding a clinical situation fully so as to appropriately balance the various pertinent principles (e.g., Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004). Self-determination and autonomy can vary in degree due to interpersonal and intrapersonal concerns and can be considered in relation to other ethical principles, such as providing services that (a) are likely to provide benefit, (b) are not effective, or (c) have the potential for harm.

We believe that simply providing SOCE to clients who request it does not necessarily increase self-determination but rather abdicates the responsibility of LMHP to provide competent assessment and interventions that have the potential for benefit with a limited risk of harm. We also believe that LMHP are more likely to maximize their clients' self-determination by providing effective psychotherapy that increases a client's abilities to cope, understand, acknowledge, explore, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life in which the client determines the ultimate manner in which he or she does or does not express sexual orientation (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; S. L. Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Haldeman, 2004; Tan, 2008; Throckmorton & Yarhouse, 2006; Yarhouse, 2008).

We also believe that LMHP are more likely to maximize their clients' self-determination by providing effective psychotherapy that increases a client's abilities to cope, understand, acknowledge, explore, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life in which the client determines the ultimate manner in which he or she does or does not express sexual orientation.

Relational Issues in Treatment

Ideal or desired outcomes may not always be possible, and at times the client may face difficult decisions that

[57] For instance, the criminalization of certain forms of same-sex sexual behavior between consenting adults in private was constitutional in the United States until 2003 (see *Lawrence v. Texas*, 2003). The federal government and most U.S. states do not provide civil rights protections to LGB individuals and their families (National Gay and Lesbian Task Force: http://www.thetaskforce.org). In some other countries, homosexual behavior is still illegal and subject to extreme consequences, even death (e.g., Human Rights Watch, 2008; Wax, 2008; see also International Gay & Lesbian Human Rights Commission (IGLHRC): http://www.iglhrc.org). In extremely repressive environments, sexual orientation conversion efforts are provided in a coercive manner and have been the subject of human rights complaints (e.g., IGLHRC, 2001).

require different types and degrees of disappointment, distress, and sacrifice, as well as benefits, fulfillment, and rewards (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Yarhouse, 2008). LMHP may face strong emotions regarding the limits of their ability to provide relief from such difficult decisions or their consequences. Such emotions are understandable in this complex area, yet acting on such emotions within treatment has the potential to be harmful to the client (Knapp & VandeCreek, 2004; Pope & Vasquez, 2007). In these situations, in order to aid the client, the LMHP may have to address his or her own emotional reactions to the client's dilemmas. As the client must address regrets, losses (such as impossible and possible selves; see L. A. King & Hicks, 2007), and definitions of what is a fulfilling and worthwhile life, the LMHP must address his or her own values and beliefs about such issues. The LMHP's self-awareness, self-care, and judicious use of consultation can be helpful in these circumstances (Pope & Vasquez, 2007; Porter, 1995).

Moreover, LMHP may have their own internalized assumptions about sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity, sexuality, religion, race, ethnicity, and cultural issues (APA, 2000, 2002b; Garnets et al., 1991; McIntosh, 1990; Pharr, 1988; Richards & Bergin, 2005). The ethical principles of justice and respect for people's rights and dignity encourage LMHP to be aware of discrimination and prejudice so as to avoid condoning or colluding with the prejudices of others, including societal prejudices. As a way to increase awareness of their assumptions and promote the resolution of their own conflicts, R. L. Worthington, Dillon, and Becker-Schutte (2005) advised LMHP to develop their own competence surrounding sexual orientation, sexual minorities, and heterosexual privilege. Such competence requires self-reflection, contact with diverse sexual minority communities, and self-management of biases and sexual prejudice (cf. Israel, Ketz, Detrie, Burke, & Shulman, 2003).

Several authors (e.g., Faiver & Ingersoll, 2005; Lomax, Karff, & McKenny, 2002; Richards & Bergin, 2005; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse & VanOrman, 1999) have described potential ethical concerns related to working with religious clients. LMHP can strive to be aware of how their own religious values affect treatment and can aspire to focus on the client's perspective and aspire to become informed about the importance and content of specific religious beliefs and the psychology of religion (Bartoli, 2007; Yarhouse & Fisher, 2002; Yarhouse & VanOrman, 1999). Yet, for LMHP, the goal of treatment is determined by mental health concerns rather than directed by religious values (Gonsiorek, 2004). Although LMHP strive to respect religious diversity and to be aware of the importance of religion to clients' worldviews, LMHP focus on scientific evidence and professional judgment in determining mental health interventions (APA, 2008a; Beckstead, 2001; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Yarhouse & Burkett, 2002).

Although LMHP strive to respect religious diversity and to be aware of the importance of religion to clients' worldviews, LMHP focus on scientific evidence and professional judgment in determining mental health interventions.

Summary

The principles and standards of the 2002 *Ethical Principles for Psychologists and Code of Conduct* most relevant to working with sexual minorities who seek to alter their sexual orientation are (a) Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments (Standard 2.04) and Competence (2.01); (b) Beneficence and Nonmaleficence (Principle A); (c) Justice (Principle D); and (d) Respect for People's Rights and Dignity (Principle E). The key scientific findings relevant to the ethical concerns that are important in the area of SOCE are the limited evidence of efficacy or benefit and the potential for harm. LMHP are cautioned against promising sexual orientation change to clients. LMHP are encouraged to consider affirmative treatment options when clients present with requests for sexual orientation change. Such options include the therapeutic approaches included in Chapter 6. Self-determination is increased by approaches that support a client's exploration and development of sexual orientation identity. These approaches balance an understanding of the role of sexual stigma and respect other aspects of diversity in a client's exploration and maximize client self-determination.

8. ISSUES FOR CHILDREN, ADOLESCENTS, AND THEIR FAMILIES

Task Force Charge and Its Social Context

The task force was asked to report on three issues for children and adolescents:

- The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents[58] who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.
- The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.[59]
- Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.

These issues reflected recent events in the current social context. Advocacy groups (Sanchez, 2007), law journals (Goishi, 1997; Morey, 2006; Weithorn, 1987), and the news media (A. Williams, 2005) have reported on involuntary[60] sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE)[61] among adolescents. Publications by LMHP directed at parents and outreach from religious organizations advocate SOCE for children and youth as interventions to prevent adult same-sex sexual orientation (e.g., Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rekers, 1982; see also Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006; Kennedy & Cianciotto, 2006; Sanchez, 2007).

Reports by LGB advocacy groups (e.g., Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006; Kennedy & Cianciotto, 2006) have claimed that there has been an increase in attention to youths by religious organizations that believe homosexuality is a mental illness or an adverse developmental outcome. These reports further suggested that there has

[58] In this report, we define *adolescents* as individuals between the ages of 12 and 18 and children as individuals under age 12. The age of 18 was chosen because many jurisdictions in the United States use this age as the legal age of majority, which determines issues such as consent to treatment and other relevant issues.

[59] We define *coercive treatments* as practices that compel or manipulate a child or adolescent to submit to treatment through the use of threats, intimidation, trickery, or some other form of pressure or force. The threat of future harm leads to the cooperation or obedience. Threats of negative consequences can be physical or emotional, such as threats of rejection or abandonment from or disapproval by family, community, or peer-group; engendering feelings of guilt/obligation or loss of love; exploiting physical, emotional, or spiritual dependence.

[60] We define *involuntary treatment* as that which is performed without the individual's consent or assent and which may be contrary to his or her expressed wishes. Unlike coercive treatment, no threats or intimidation are involved.

[61] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals,

been an increase in outreach to youths that portrays homosexuality in an extremely negative light and uses fear and shame to fuel this message. These reports expressed concern that such efforts have a negative impact on adolescents' and their parents' perceptions of their sexual orientation or potential sexual orientation, increase the perception that homosexuality and religion are incompatible, and increase the likelihood that some adolescents will be exposed to SOCE without information about evidence-based treatments.

One aspect of these concerns expressed by LGB advocacy groups has been the presence of residential programs in which adolescents have been placed by their parents, in some cases with reported lack of assent from the adolescent (e.g., Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006; Kennedy & Cianciotto, 2006). In addition, a longstanding concern raised by advocacy groups for both LGB people and transgender people has been the alleged use of residential psychiatric commitment and gender-normative behavioral treatments for children and adolescents whose expression of gender or sexuality violates gender norms (Goishi, 1997; Morey, 2006; Weithorn, 1988).

To fulfill our charge, we reviewed the literature on SOCE in children and adolescents and affirmative psychotherapy for children, adolescents, and their families. We considered the literature on best practices in child and adolescent treatment, inpatient treatment, and legal issues regarding involuntary or coercive treatments and consent to and refusal of treatment. We also reviewed the literature on the development of sexual orientation in children and adolescents.

Literature Review

Literature on Children

There is a lack of published research on SOCE among children. Research on sexuality in childhood is limited and seldom includes sexual orientation or sexual orientation identity (Perrin, 2002). Although LGB adults and others with same-sex sexual attractions often report emotional and sexual feelings and attractions from their childhood or early adolescence and recall a sense of being different even earlier in childhood (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Bell et al., 1981; D'Augelli & Hershberger, 1993; Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Troiden, 1989), such concerns have not been studied directly in young children (cf. Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Cohen & Savin-Williams, 2004).

There is no published research suggesting that children are distressed about their sexual orientation per se. Parental concern or distress about a child's behavior, mental health, and possible sexual orientation plays a central role in referrals for psychotherapy (Perrin, 2002; C. Ryan & Futterman, 1997). Parents may be concerned about behaviors in the child that are stereotypically associated with a same-sex sexual orientation (e.g., affection directed at another child of the same sex, lack of interest in the other sex, or behaviors that do not conform to traditional gender norms) (American Academy of Pediatrics [AAP], 1999; Haldeman, 2000). This situation contrasts with the condition of gender dysphoria in childhood and adolescence, for which there is clear evidence that some children and adolescents experience distress regarding their assigned sex, and some experience distress with the consequences of their gender and biological sex (i.e., youth struggling with social discrimination and stigma surrounding gender nonconformity) (APA, 2008e; R. Green, 1986, 1987; J. D. Menveille, 1998; E. J. Menveille & Tuerk, 2002; Zucker & Bradley, 1995).

Childhood interventions to prevent homosexuality have been presented in non-peer-reviewed literature (see Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rekers, 1982).[62] These interventions are based on theories of gender and sexual orientation that conflate stereotypic gender roles or interests with heterosexuality and homosexuality or that assume that certain patterns of family relationships cause same-sex sexual orientation. These treatments focus on proxy symptoms (such as nonconforming gender behaviors), since sexual orientation as it is usually conceptualized does not emerge until puberty, with the onset of sexual desires and drives (see APA, 2002a; Perrin, 2002). These interventions assume a same-sex sexual orientation is caused by certain family relationships that form gender identity and assume that encouraging gender stereotypic behaviors and certain family relationships will alter sexual orientation (Burack & Josephson, 2005; see, e.g., Nicolosi & Nicolosi, 2002; Rekers, 1979, 1982).

[62] The only peer-reviewed literature did not focus on sexual orientation but rather on children with gender identity disorder or who exhibited nonconformity with gender roles (e.g., Rekers, 1979, 1981; Rekers, Bentler, Rosen, & Lovaas, 1977; Rekers, Kilgus, & Rosen, 1990; Rekers & Lovaas, 1974). However, the relevance of such work to this topic is limited, as none of these children reported experiencing same-sex sexual attractions or were followed into adulthood. Gender nonconformity differs from gender identity disorder, and children with gender identity disorder are not necessarily representative of the larger population of those children who will experience same-sex sexual attractions in adulthood (Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Bradley & Zucker, 1998; Zucker, 2008).

The theories on which these interventions are based have not been confirmed by empirical study (Perrin, 2002; Zucker, 2008; Zucker & Bradley, 1995). Although retrospective research indicates that some gay men and lesbians recall gender nonconformity in childhood (Bailey & Zucker, 1995; Bem, 1996; Mathy & Drescher, 2008), there is no research evidence that childhood gender nonconformity and adult homosexuality are identical or are necessarily sequential developmental phenomena (Bradley & Zucker, 1998; Zucker, 2008). Theories that certain patterns of family relationships cause same-sex sexual orientation have been discredited (Bell et al., 1981; Freund & Blanchard, 1983; R. R. Green, 1987; D. K. Peters & Cantrell, 1991).

The research that has been attempted to determine whether interventions in childhood affect adult sexual orientation exists only within the specific population of children with gender identity disorder (GID). R. Green (1986, 1987) and Zucker and Bradley (1995) (to a limited degree) examined prospectively whether psychotherapy in children with GID influenced adult or adolescent sexual orientation and concluded that it did not (for a review of the issues for children with GID, see APA, 2009, *Report of the Task Force on Gender Identity and Gender Variance*). Thus, we concluded that there is no existing research to support the hypothesis that psychotherapy in children alters adult sexual orientation.

Literature on Adolescents

We found no empirical research on adolescents who request SOCE, but there were a few clinical articles reporting cases of psychotherapy with religious adolescents who expressed confusion regarding their sexual orientation and conflicts between religious values and sexual orientation (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse et al., 2005). In some of these cases, the adolescents or their families sought SOCE or considered SOCE (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse et al., 2005). The general body of research on adolescents who identify themselves as same-sex oriented does not suggest that the normal development of a same-sex sexual orientation in adolescence is typically characterized by distress that results in requests for sexual orientation change (e.g., D'Augelli, 2002; Garofalo & Harper, 2003; Savin-Williams & Cohen, 2004).

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The absence of evidence for adolescent sexual orientation distress that results in requests for SOCE and the few studies in the literature on religious adolescents seeking psychotherapy related to sexual orientation suggest that sexual orientation distress is most likely to occur among adolescents in families for whom religious views that homosexuality is sinful and undesirable are important. Yarhouse and colleagues (Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse, Brooke, Pisano, & Tan, 2005; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a) discussed clinical examples of distress caused by conflicts between faith and sexual orientation identity. For instance, a female adolescent client struggled with guilt and shame and fears that God would not love her, and a male adolescent experienced a conflict between believing God created him with same-sex feelings and believing that God prohibited their expression (Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). Cates (2007) described three cases of Caucasian males who were referred by schools, courts, or parents for concerns that included their sexual orientation. All three youths perceived that within their faith community and family, an LGB identity was unacceptable and would probably result in exclusion and rejection (Cates, 2007). Because of the primacy of religious beliefs, the adolescents or their families requested religiously based therapy or SOCE. For instance, Cates described the treatment of an adolescent who belonged to the Old Amish Community and who requested SOCE. The young man perceived that there was no place for him in his faith community as a gay man and did not want to leave that community.

Research on Parents' Concerns About Their Children's Sexual Orientation

We did not find specific research on the characteristics of parents who bring their children to SOCE. Thus, we do not know whether this population is similar to or different from the more general population of parents who may have concerns or questions regarding their children's sexual orientation or future sexual orientation. We cannot conclude that parents who present to LMHP with a request for SOCE are motivated by factors that cause distress in other parents of adolescents with emerging LGB identities.

As reported in case studies and clinical papers, parents' religious beliefs appear to be factors in their request for SOCE for their children. These articles identified a population of parents who have strong conservative religious beliefs that reject LGB identities and perceive homosexuality as sinful (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a; Yarhouse et al., 2005).

Other reports suggest that parents of adolescents with emerging same-sex sexual orientation and conservative religious beliefs that perceive homosexuality negatively appear to be influenced by religious authorities and LMHP who promote SOCE. For instance, Burack and Josephson (2005) and Cianciotto and Cahill (2006) reported that fear and stereotypes appeared to be contributing factors in parents who resort to residential SOCE or other related coercive treatment on youth. Cianciotto and Cahill found that some advocacy groups do outreach to parents that encourages commitment to SOCE residential programs even if the children do not assent. These programs also appear to provide information to parents that stresses that sexual orientation can be changed (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Cianciotto & Cahill, 2006), despite the very limited empirical evidence for that assertion.

Residential and Inpatient Services

We were asked to report on "the presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation." We performed a thorough review of the literature on these programs. Upon completion of this review, we decided that the best way to address this task was to evaluate issues of the appropriateness of these programs for adolescents in light of issues of harm and benefit based on the literature on adolescent development, standards for inpatient and residential treatment, and ethical issues such as informed consent.

There are several accounts of inpatient and residential treatment, sometimes involuntary or coerced, for adolescents who were LGB-identified, confused or questioning their sexual orientation, gender nonconforming, or transgender (Arriola, 1998; Burack & Josephson, 2005; Goishi, 1997; Molnar, 1997; Weithorn, 1988). These incidents mostly occurred because the parent or guardian was distressed regarding the child's actual sexual orientation or potential and perceived sexual orientation. An account of an adolescent boy who was placed in a program sponsored by Love in Action, a religious-based program, was reported widely in the press (A. Williams, 2005). This program was reported to focus on religious approaches to SOCE as well as approaches that stress conformity to traditional gender roles and behaviors.

Concerns have arisen over the conduct of some private psychiatric hospitals that use alternative diagnoses—such as GID, conduct disorders, oppositional defiant disorders, or behaviors identified as self-defeating or self-destructive—to justify hospitalization of LGB and questioning youth and expose adolescents to SOCE (Arriola, 1998; Morey, 2006). Data on these issues are incomplete, as each state has different reporting requirements for public and private hospitals, and laws regarding confidentiality understandably protect client information.

ADOLESCENTS' RIGHTS TO CONSENT TO TREATMENT

In researching involuntary treatment, we reviewed the recent literature on the growing movement to increase adolescents' rights to consent to outpatient and inpatient mental health treatment so as to reduce involuntary hospitalization (Mutcherson, 2006; Redding, 1993). It is now recognized that adolescents are cognitively able to participate in some health care treatment decisions, and such participation is helpful (Hartman, 2000, 2002; Mutcherson, 2006; Redding, 1993). The APA *Guidelines for Psychotherapy for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients* (2000) and the APA Ethics Code (2002b) encourage professionals to seek the assent of minor clients for treatment. Within the field of adolescent mental health and psychiatry, there are developmental assessment models to determine an adolescent's competence to assent or consent to and potentially refuse treatment (Forehand & Ciccone, 2004; Redding, 1993; Rosner, 2004a, 2004b). Some states now permit adolescents some rights regarding choosing or refusing inpatient treatment, participating in certain interventions, and control over disclosure of records (Koocher, 2003).

It is now recognized that adolescents are cognitively able to participate in some health care treatment decisions, and such participation is helpful.

INPATIENT TREATMENT

The use of inpatient and residential treatments for SOCE is inconsistent with the recommendations of the

field. For instance, the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry (1989) recommended that inpatient treatment, when it does occur, be of the shortest possible duration and reserved for the most serious psychiatric illnesses, such as those of a psychotic nature or where there is an acute danger to self or others. For less serious mental health conditions, the Academy recommended that inpatient hospitalization occur only after less restrictive alternatives (i.e., outpatient and community resources) are shown to be ineffective. In *Best Practice Guidelines: Serving LGBT Youth in Out-of-Home Care* (Wilber, Ryan, & Marksamer, 2006), the Child Welfare League of America recommended that, if necessary, hospitalization or residential substance abuse treatment for adolescents be in a setting that provides mental health treatments that are affirmative of LGB people and for which the staff is competent to provide such services. Further, in a review of the psychiatric literature, Weithorn (1988) concluded that the deprivation of normal social contacts and prevention of attendance at school and other normal social settings can be harmful as well as punitive.

PROGRAMS WITH RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

Programs such as Love in Action's Refuge[63] provided religiously based interventions that claimed to change sexual orientation, control sexual behavior, or prevent the development of same-sex sexual orientation (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Sanchez, 2007; A. Williams, 2005). Because such programs are religious in nature and are not explicitly mental health facilities,[64] they are not licensed or regulated by state authorities. Burack and Josephson reported that there was effort by religious organizations and sponsors of these programs to communicate to parents that homosexuality is abnormal and sinful and could be changed.[65] Such religious organizations, according to the authors of the report, encouraged parents to seek treatment for their children. Based on anecdotal accounts of current and past residents, these programs, to influence adolescents' life decisions, allegedly used fear and even threats about negative spiritual, health, and life consequences and thus are viewed as coercive (Burack & Josephson, 2005; Sanchez, 2007).

To provide an overview of the issues with residential programs for youth, we reviewed information gathered by the APA (2002a) Committee on Children, Youth, and Families in collaboration with the APA State Advocacy Office and the testimony and subsequent published report by members of the U.S. General Accounting Office before the Committee on Education and Labor of the U.S. House of Representatives (Kutz & O'Connell, 2007). These reports and testimony evaluated some current problems in adolescent residential mental health care. There are a large number of unlicensed and unregulated programs marketed to parents struggling to find behavioral or mental health programs for their adolescent children. Although many of these programs avoid regulation by not identifying themselves as mental health programs, they do advertise mental health, behavioral, and/or educational goals, especially for those youth perceived as troubled by their parents. Many of these programs are involuntary and coercive and use seclusion or isolation and escort services to transport unwilling youth to program locations (Kutz & O'Connell, 2007). The testimony and report described the negative mental health impacts of these programs and expressed grave concerns about them, including questions about quality of care and harm caused by coercive or involuntary measures (Kutz & O'Connell, 2007).

Although religious doctrines themselves are not the purview of psychologists, how religious doctrine is inculcated through educational and socialization practices is a psychological issue and an appropriate subject of psychological examination, especially if there are concerns regarding substantiation of benefit or harm, unlicensed and unregulated facilities, and coercive and involuntary treatment.

Thus, residential and outpatient programs that are involuntary and coercive and provide inaccurate scientific information about sexual orientation or are excessively fear-based pose both clinical and ethical concerns, whether or not they are based on religious doctrine. Although religious doctrines themselves are not the purview of psychologists, how religious doctrine is inculcated through educational and socialization practices is a psychological issue and an appropriate subject of psychological examination, especially if there are concerns regarding substantiation of benefit

[63] The program "Refuge," directed at adolescents, was closed in 2007 and is no longer advertised. However, Love in Action still sponsors residential programs for adults.

[64] These programs advertise helping with addiction, "negative self-talk and irrational belief systems," and behavior change (see www.loveinaction.org.

[65] See www.loveinaction.org.

or harm, unlicensed and unregulated facilities, and coercive and involuntary treatment.

As noted earlier, we define coercive treatments as practices that compel or manipulate an individual to submit to treatment through the use of threats, intimidation, manipulation, trickery, or some other form of pressure, including threats of future harm. Harm can be physical or psychological. Harmful psychological consequences include disapproval; loss of love; rejection or abandonment by family, community, or peer group; feelings of guilt/obligation; and exploitation of physical, emotional, or spiritual dependence. Working with a variety of client populations presents ethical dilemmas for providers (APA, 2002b; Beauchamp & Childress, 2008; Davis, 2002); however, with children and adolescents, such concerns are heightened (Molnar, 1997; Weithorn, 1988). Children and adolescents are more vulnerable to such treatments because of the lack of legal rights and cognitive and emotional maturity and emotional and physical dependence on parents, guardians, and LMHP (Molnar, 1997; Weithorn, 1988). The involuntary nature of particular programs raises issues similar to those of other involuntary mental health settings; however, because they are religious programs, not mental health programs, they pose complex issues for licensure and regulation (A. Williams, 2005). On the basis of ethical principles (APA, 2002b; Beauchamp & Childress, 2008), LMHP should strive to maximize autonomous decision making and self-determination and avoid coercive and involuntary treatments.

Appropriate Application of Affirmative Interventions With Children and Adolescents

Multicultural and Client-Centered Approaches for Adolescents

A number of researchers and practitioners have advised LMHP that when working with children or adolescents and their families, they should address concerns regarding sexual orientation and base their interventions on the current developmental literature on children and adolescents and the scholarly literature on parents' responses to their child's sexual orientation (e.g., Ben-Ari, 1995; Bernstein, 1990; Holtzen & Agriesti, 1990; Mattison & McWhirter, 1995; Perrin, 2002; C. Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2009; Salzburg, 2004, 2007; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a).[66] This literature recommends that LMHP learn about the law and scholarship on developmental factors in informed consent and take steps to ensure that minor clients have a developmentally appropriate understanding of treatment, are afforded complete information about their rights, and are provided treatment in the least restrictive environment. LMHP can review the recommendations for assent to treatment recommended in the *Guidelines for Psychotherapy for Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients* (APA, 2000) and can seek an adolescent's consent consistent with evolving considerations of developmental factors (Forehand & Ciccone, 2004; Redding, 1993; Rosner, 2004a, 2004b).

APA policies (APA, 1993, 2000) and the vast majority of current publications on therapy for LGB and questioning adolescents who are concerned about their sexual orientation recommend that LMHP support adolescents' exploration of identity by

- accepting homosexuality and bisexuality as normal and positive variants of human sexual orientation,
- accepting and supporting youths as they address the stigma and isolation of being a sexual minority,
- using person-centered approaches as youths explore their identities and experience important developmental milestones (e.g., exploring sexual values, dating, and socializing openly),
- reducing family and peer rejection and increasing family and peer support (e.g., APA, 2000, 2002a; D'Augelli & Patterson, 2001; Floyd & Stein, 2002; Fontaine & Hammond, 1996; Hart & Heimberg, 2001; Hetrick & Martin, 1987; Lemoire & Chen, 2005; Mallon, 2001; A. D. Martin, 1982; Perrin, 2002; Radkowsky & Siegel, 1997; C. Ryan, 2001; C. Ryan et al., 2009; C. Ryan & Diaz, 2005; C. Ryan & Futterman, 1997; Schneider, 1991; Slater, 1988; Wilber, Ryan & Marksamer, 2006; Savin-Williams & Cohen, 2004; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a).

When sexual minority and questioning youth require residential or inpatient treatment for mental health, behavioral, or family issues, it has been recommended that such treatment be safe from discrimination and

[66] Due to the limited research on children, adolescents, and families who seek SOCE, our recommendations for affirmative therapy for children, youth, and their families distressed about sexual orientation are based on general research and clinical articles addressing these and other issues, not on research specific to those who specifically request SOCE. We acknowledge that limitation in our recommendations.

prejudice and affirming of sexual orientation diversity by staff who are knowledgeable about LGB identities and life choices (Mallon, 2001; Wilber et al., 2006).

Other aspects of human diversity, such as age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, disability, language, and socioeconomic status, may be relevant to an adolescent's identity development, and these differences may intersect with sexual orientation identity (Diamond & Savin-Williams, 2000; Rosario, Rotheram-Borus, & Reid, 1996; Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2004; Rosario, Schrimshaw, Hunter, & Braun, 2006). Some adolescents are more comfortable with fluid or flexible identities due to gender differences and generational or developmental concerns, and their sexual orientation identities may not be exclusive or dichotomous (Diamond, 2006; Morgan & Thompson, 2006; Savin-Williams, 2005).

Only a few articles addressed the specific conflicts between religious identities and sexual orientation identities among youth (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). For instance, Yarhouse and Tan proposed solutions that respect religious beliefs and emphasized nondirective exploration of religious and sexual orientation identity that does not advocate a particular sexual orientation identity outcome. As adolescents may experience a crisis of faith and distress linked to religious and spiritual beliefs, the authors explored interventions that integrate the psychology of religion into interventions that stress improving the client's positive religious coping and relationship with the sacred (e.g., Exline, 2002; Pargament & Mahoney, 2005; Pargament et al., 1998, 2005). Cates (2007), from a more secular frame, emphasized a client-centered approach that stresses the LMHP's unconditional acceptance of the client and client choices even if the client cannot accept his or her own sexual orientation.

The ethical issues outlined in Chapter 7 are also relevant to children and adolescents; however, working with adolescents presents unique ethical dilemmas to LMHP (Koocher, 2003). Children and adolescents are often unable to anticipate the future consequences of a course of action and are emotionally and financially dependent on adults. Further, they are in the midst of developmental processes in which the ultimate outcome is unknown. Efforts to alter that developmental path may have unanticipated consequences (Perrin, 2002). LMHP should strive to be mindful of these issues, particularly as these concerns affect assent and consent to treatment and goals of treatment (Koocher, 2003; Rosner, 2004a, 2004b; Sobocinski, 1990). Possible approaches include open-ended and scientifically based age-appropriate exploration with children, adolescents, and parents regarding these issues.

Multicultural and Client-Centered Approaches for Parents and Families

Parental attitudes and behaviors play a significant role in children's and adolescents' adjustment (Radkowsky & Siegel, 1997; C. Ryan & Diaz, 2005; C. Ryan et al., 2009; Savin-Williams, 1989b, 1998; Wilber et al., 2006; Yarhouse, 1998b). One retrospective research study of adults indicated that LGB children are more likely to be abused by their families than by nonrelated individuals (Corliss, Cochran, & Mays, 2002). Another found that family rejection is a key predictor of negative health outcomes in White and Latino LGB young adults (C. Ryan et al., 2009). Reducing parental rejection, hostility, and violence (verbal or physical) may contribute to the mental health and safety of the adolescent (Remafedi et al., 1991; C. Ryan et al., 2009; Savin-Williams, 1994; Wilber et al., 2006). Further, to improve parents' responses, LMHP can find ways to ameliorate parents' distress about their children's sexual orientation. Exploring parental attributions and values regarding same-sex sexual orientation is especially important in order to facilitate engagement in treatment, resolution of ethical dilemmas, and more beneficial psychotherapy (Morrissey-Kane & Prinz, 1999; Sobocinski, 1990).

Reducing parental rejection, hostility, and violence (verbal or physical) may contribute to the mental health and safety of the adolescent.

Family therapy for families who are distressed by their child's sexual orientation may be helpful in facilitating dialogues, increasing acceptance and support, reducing rejection, and improving management of conflicts or misinformation that may exacerbate an adolescent's distress (Mattison & McWhirter, 1995; C. Ryan et al., 2009; Salzburg, 2004, 2007). Such therapy can include family psychoeducation to provide accurate information and teach coping skills and problem-solving strategies for dealing more effectively with the challenges sexual minority youth may face and the concerns the families and caretakers may have (Ben-Ari, 1995; Perrin, 2002; C. Ryan & Diaz, 2005; Ryan & Futterman, 1997; C. Ryan et al., 2009; Salzburg, 2004, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b). C. Ryan and Futterman (1997) termed this *anticipatory*

guidance: LMHP provide family members with accurate information regarding same-sex sexual orientation and dispel myths regarding the lives, health, and psychological well-being of LGB individuals.

Perrin (2002) recommended that providers, when working with families of preadolescent children, counsel parents who are concerned that their young children may grow up to be lesbian or gay to tolerate the ambiguity inherent in the limited knowledge of development. In addition, Perrin suggested a two-pronged approach: (a) provide information to reduce heterosexism within the family and increase the family's capacity to provide support and (b) introduce information about LGB issues into family discussions to aid the child's own self-awareness and self-acceptance and to counter stigma. For adolescents, C. Ryan et al. (2009) recommended that LMHP assess family reactions to LGB youth, specifically the presence of family rejection. Further, the authors advocated explaining to families the link between family rejection and negative health problems in children and adolescents, providing anticipatory guidance to families that includes recommendations for support on the part of the family, and helping families to modify highly rejecting behaviors.

Families with strong religious beliefs that condemn homosexuality may struggle with a child's same-sex sexual orientation (Cates, 2007; Yarhouse, 1998b; Yarhouse & Tan, 2005a). Yarhouse and Tan (2005a) suggested that family therapy reframe the religious beliefs to focus on aspects of faith that encourage love and acceptance of their child rather than on a religion's prohibitions. The authors stressed that these positive elements of faith can lay a constructive foundation for communication and problem solving and reduce family discord and rejection.

Providing anticipatory guidance to parents to address their unique personal concerns can be helpful (C. Ryan & Futterman, 1997). The LMHP can help the parents plan in an affirmative way for the unique life challenges that they may face as parents of a sexual minority child. Parents must deal with their own unique choices and process of "coming out" and resolve fears of enacted stigma if they risk disclosure within their communities, at work, and to other family members (Bernstein, 1990). Further, the LMHP can address other stresses, such as managing life celebrations and transitions and coping with feelings of loss, and aid parents in advocating for their children in school situations—for example, when they face bullying or harassment. Multiple family groups led by LMHP might be helpful to counter the isolation that many parents experience (J. D. Menveille & Tuerk, 2002).

Community Approaches for Children, Adolescents, and Families

Research has illuminated the potential that school-based and community interventions have for increasing safety and tolerance of sexual minorities, preventing distress and negative mental health consequences, and increasing the psychological well-being and health of sexual minority youth (APA, 1993; D'Augelli & Patterson, 2001; Goodenow, Szalacha, & Westheimer, 2006; Harper, Jamil, & Wilson, 2007; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; A. J. Peters, 2003; Roffman, 2000; Safren & Heimberg, 1999; Schneider, 1991; Treadway & Yoakum, 1992). For instance, sexual minority adolescents in schools with support groups for LGB students reported lower rates of suicide attempts and victimization than those without such groups (Goodenow et al., 2006; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; Szalacha, 2003). Kosciw and Diaz (2006) found that such support groups were related to improved academic performance and college attendance. The support groups that were examined in the research provided accurate affirmative information and social support, and the groups' presence was also related to increased school tolerance and safety for LGB youth (Goodenow et al., 2006; Kosciw & Diaz, 2006; Szalacha, 2003). School policies that increased staff support and positive school climate have been found to moderate suicidality and to positively affect sexual minority youth school achievement and mental health (Goodenow et al., 2006).

School and community interventions have the potential for introducing other sources of peer and adult support that may buffer children and adolescents from rejection that may occur in certain family, community, and religious contexts. These school and community interventions may provide alternative sources of information regarding LGB identities and lives. However, such school and community interventions are unlikely to directly affect the core attitudes and beliefs of the religious institutions and communities in which sexual orientation distress and family rejection might occur. These programs may have an indirect effect on communities and religious institutions because of their potential to change the general social context in which families deal with conflicts between their children's emerging sexual orientations and identities. We hope that such change will reduce the level of psychological

distress that such conflicts between religion and sexuality create and reduce the level of hostility and punitiveness to which some children and adolescents are exposed as a result of their sexual orientation.

For families, groups such as Parents, Families, and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) and the Straight Spouse Network may also provide a safe, nonjudgmental space in which to discuss their concerns, receive accurate information, reduce isolation, and reduce feelings of perceived stigma (Goldfried & Goldfried, 2001). PFLAG offers extensive literature for parents based on affirmative approaches to same-sex sexual attractions as well as a nationwide network of support groups. Such groups, by providing affirmative sources of information, could reduce the distress for parents that is and increase family support of their sexual minority children, thus positively affecting sexual minority youth and children whose families are concerned about their future sexual orientation.

Parents who are religious may benefit from finding support through religious organizations and groups. One concern is that some groups may provide parents with information that presents same-sex sexual orientation in a negative light (e.g., defective, "broken"), which could increase stigma and rejection of children and adolescents; thus, such groups should rarely be considered. Alternatively, some groups provide resources that are both LGB affirming and religious.[67]

Conclusion

We were asked to report on three issues for children and adolescents. First, we were asked to provide recommendations regarding treatment protocols that attempt to prevent homosexuality in adulthood by promoting stereotyped gender-normative behavior in children to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood. We found no empirical evidence that providing any type of therapy in childhood can alter adult same-sex sexual orientation. Some advocates of these treatments see homosexuality as a mental disorder, a concept that has been rejected by the mental health professions for more than 35 years. Further, the theories that such efforts are based on have not been corroborated by scientific evidence or evaluated for harm. Thus, we recommend that LMHP avoid such efforts and provide instead multicultural, client-centered, and affirmative treatments that are developmentally appropriate (Perrin, 2002).

Some advocates of these treatments see homosexuality as a mental disorder, a concept that has been rejected by the mental health professions for more than 35 years.

Second, we were asked to comment on the presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation. We found that serious questions are raised by involuntary and coercive interventions and residential centers for adolescents due to their advocacy of treatments that have no scientific basis and potential for harm due to coercion, stigmatization, inappropriateness of treatment level and type, and restriction of liberty. Although the prevalence of these treatment centers is unknown, we recommend that some form of oversight be established for such youth facilities, such as licensure and monitoring, especially as a means of reporting abuse or neglect.

States have different requirements and standards for obtaining informed consent to treatment for adolescents; however, it is recognized that adolescents are cognitively able to participate in some health care treatment decisions and that such participation is helpful. We recommend that when it comes to treatment that purports to have an impact on sexual orientation, LMHP assess the adolescent's ability to understand treatment options, provide developmentally appropriate informed consent to treatment, and, at a minimum, obtain the youth's assent to treatment. SOCE that focus on negative representations of homosexuality and lack a theoretical or evidence base provide no documented benefits and can pose harm through increasing sexual stigma and providing inaccurate information. We further concluded that involuntary or coercive residential or inpatient programs that provide SOCE to children and adolescents may pose serious risk of harm, are potentially in conflict with ethical imperatives to maximize autonomous decision making and client self-determination, and have no documented benefits. Thus, we recommend that parents, guardians, or youth not consider such treatments.

Finally, we were asked to report on the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral

[67] See, e.g., "Family Fellowship" (www.ldsfamilyfellowship.org/) for parents who belong to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. The Institute of for Sexual Orientation and Judaism also lists resources: www.huc.edu/ijso/.

expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.

We recommend that LMHP provide multiculturally competent and client-centered therapies to children, adolescents, and their families rather than SOCE.

We recommend that LMHP provide multiculturally competent and client-centered therapies to children, adolescents, and their families rather than SOCE. Such approaches include an awareness of the interrelatedness of multiple identities in individual development as well an understanding of cultural, ethnic, and religious variation in families. Specific approaches can include (a) supporting children and youth in their developmental processes and milestones, (b) reducing internalized stigma in children and sexual stigma in parents, and (c) providing affirmative information and education on LGB identities and lives.

These approaches would support children and youth in identity exploration and development without seeking predetermined outcomes. Interventions that incorporate knowledge from the psychology of religion and that increase acceptance, love, and understanding among individuals, families, and communities are recommended for populations for whom religion is important. Family therapy that provides anticipatory guidance to parents to increase their support and reduce rejection of children and youth addressing these issues is essential. School and community interventions are also recommended to reduce societal-level stigma and provide information and social support to children and youth.

9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

APA's charge to the task force included three major tasks that this report has addressed:

1. Review and update the 1997 Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998).
2. Generate a report that includes discussion of the following:
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change.
   - The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults who present a desire to change their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both.
   - The presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation.
   - Education, training, and research issues as they pertain to such therapeutic interventions.
   - Recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.
3. Inform APA's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

The substance of the second task has been achieved in the preceding chapters of this report. In Chapters 3 and 4, we reviewed the body of research on the efficacy and safety of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE).[68] In Chapter 5 we synthesized the literature on the nature of distress and identified conflicts in adults, which provided the basis for our recommendations for affirmative approaches to psychotherapy practice that are described in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 discussed ethical issues in SOCE for adults. In Chapter 8 we considered the more limited body of research on children and adolescents, including a review of SOCE with children and adolescents and affirmative approaches for psychotherapy.

In this final chapter, we summarize the report and focus on those two tasks—one and three—that have not been addressed in the report. With regard to the policy, we recommended that the 1997 policy be retained and

[68] In this report, we use the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a person's same-sex sexual orientation to other-sex, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

that a new policy be adopted to complement it. The new policy that we proposed (see Appendix A) was adopted by APA's Council of Representatives in August 2009. With regard to APA's response to groups that advocate for SOCE, we provide those recommendations at the end of this chapter in the section on policy.

To achieve the charge given by APA, we decided to conduct a systematic review of the empirical literature on SOCE. This review covered the peer-reviewed journal articles in English from 1960 to 2007.[69] The review is reported in Chapters 3 and 4: Chapter 3 addresses methodological issues in the research; and Chapter 4, the outcomes, such as safety, efficacy, benefit, and harm of SOCE.

We also reviewed the recent literature on the psychology of sexual orientation. There is a growing body of literature that concludes that social stigma, known specifically as sexual stigma, manifested as prejudice and discrimination directed at same-sex sexual orientations and identities, is a major source of stress for sexual minorities. This stress, known as minority stress, is a major cause of the mental health disparities of sexual minorities. On the basis of this literature, we recommend that all interventions and policy for these populations include efforts to mitigate minority stress and reduce stigma.

Further, we found that religious individuals with beliefs that homosexuality is sinful and morally unacceptable are prominent in the population that currently undergoes SOCE. These individuals seek SOCE because the disapproving stance of their faiths toward homosexuality produces conflicts between, on the one hand, their beliefs and values and, on the other, their sexual orientation. These conflicts result in significant distress due to clients' perceptions that they are unable to integrate their faith and sexual orientation. To respond as well as possible to this population, we included in our review some of the empirical and theoretical literature from the psychology of religion, recently adopted APA policies on religion and science, and specific interventions that have been proposed in the literature for religious populations.

SOCE has been quite controversial, and the controversy has at times become polemical because of clashes between differing political viewpoints about LGB individuals and communities and the differing values between some faith-based organizations and scientific and professional organizations (Drescher, 2003; Zucker, 2008). Psychology, as a science, and various faith traditions, as theological systems, can acknowledge and respect their profoundly different methodological and philosophical viewpoints. The APA has affirmed that proven methods of scientific inquiry are the best methods to explore and understand human behavior and are the basis for the association's policies (APA, 2007a, 2008a). The APA affirms that discrimination directed at religions and their adherents or derived from religious beliefs is unacceptable and that religious faith should be respected as an aspect of human diversity (APA, 2008c).

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Summary of the Systematic Review of the Literature

To fulfill the charge given by APA, we undertook a systematic review to address the key questions: What are the outcomes of SOCE and their potential benefits and harms? Is SOCE effective or safe? The first step was to evaluate the research to determine if such conclusions could be drawn from the research—in other words, was the research performed with the appropriate degree of methodological rigor to provide such answers? The next question was to determine, if such research existed, what answers it provided.

Efficacy and Safety

We found few scientifically rigorous studies that could be used to answer the questions regarding safety, efficacy, benefit, and harm (e.g., Birk et al., 1971; S. James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy et al., 1972; Tanner, 1974, 1975). Few studies could be considered true experiments or quasi-experiments that would isolate and control the factors that might effect change (see the list of studies in Appendix B). These studies were all conducted in the period from 1969 to 1978 and used aversive or other behavioral methods.

Recent SOCE differ from those interventions explored in the early research studies. The recent nonreligious interventions are based on the assumption that homosexuality and bisexuality are mental

[69] The articles in English include material on populations outside the United States, including Canada, Mexico, Western Europe, and some material on Middle Eastern, South Asian, and East Asian populations. No articles based on new research have been published since 2007. One article published in 2008 is a restatement of Schaeffer et al. (2000).

disorders or deficits and are based on older discredited psychoanalytic theories (e.g., Socarides, 1968; see American Psychoanalytic Association, 1991, 1992, 2000; Drescher, 1998b; Mitchell, 1978, 1981). Some focus on increasing behavioral consistency with gender norms and stereotypes (e.g., Nicolosi, 1991). None of these approaches is based on a credible scientific theory, as these ideas have been directly discredited through evidence or rendered obsolete. There is longstanding scientific evidence that homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder (American Psychiatric Association, 1973; Bell & Weinberg, 1978; Bell et al., 1981; Conger, 1975; Gonsiorek, 1991; Hooker, 1957), and there are a number of alternate theories of sexual orientation and gender consistent with this evidence (Bem, 1996; Butler, 2004; Chivers et al., 2007; Corbett, 1996, 1998, 2001; Diamond, 1998, 2006; Drescher, 1998b; Enns, 2008; Heppner & Heppner, 2008; Levant & Silverstein, 2006; Mustanksi et al., 2002; O'Neil, 2008; Peplau & Garnets, 2000; Pleck, 1995; Rahman & Wilson, 2005; Wester, 2008).

Other forms of recent SOCE are religious, are not based on theories that can be scientifically evaluated, and have not been subjected to rigorous examination of efficacy and safety. These approaches are based on religious beliefs that homosexuality is sinful and immoral and, consequently, that identities and life paths based on same-sex sexual orientation are not religiously acceptable. The few high-quality studies of SOCE conducted from 1999 to 2004 are qualitative (e.g., Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001) and these, due to the research questions explored, aid in understanding the population that seeks sexual orientation change but do not provide the kind of information needed for definitive answers to questions of the safety and efficacy of SOCE.

Thus, we concluded that the early evidence, though extremely limited, is the best basis for predicting what would be the outcome of psychological interventions. Scientifically rigorous older work in this area (e.g., Birk et al., 1971; S. James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy et al., 1972; Tanner, 1974, 1975) shows that enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation is uncommon and that only a very small number of people in these studies show any credible evidence of reduced same-sex sexual attraction, though some show lessened physiological arousal to all sexual stimuli. Compelling evidence of decreased same-sex sexual behavior and increased sexual attraction to and engagement in sexual behavior with the other sex was rare. Few studies provided strong evidence that any changes produced in laboratory conditions translated to daily life. Many individuals continued to experience same-sex sexual attractions following SOCE and seldom reported significant change to other-sex sexual attractions. Thus, we concluded the following about SOCE: *The results of scientifically valid research indicate that it is unlikely that individuals will be able to reduce same-sex sexual attractions or increase other-sex attractions through SOCE.*

The few early research investigations that were conducted with scientific rigor raise concerns about the safety of SOCE, as some participants suffered unintended harmful side effects from the interventions. These negative side effects included loss of sexual feeling, depression, suicidality, and anxiety. The high dropout rate in these studies may indicate that some research participants may have experienced these treatments as harmful and discontinued treatment (Lilienfeld, 2007). There are no scientifically rigorous studies of recent SOCE that would enable us to make a definitive statement about whether recent SOCE is safe or harmful and for whom.

Individuals Who Undergo SOCE and Their Experiences

Although scientific evidence shows that SOCE is not likely to produce its intended outcomes and can produce harm for some of its participants, there is a population of consumers who participate in SOCE. To address the questions of appropriate application of affirmative interventions for this population, which was a major aspect of APA's charge to the task force, we returned to the research literature on SOCE, expanding beyond the scope of the systematic review to include other literature in order to develop an understanding of the current population that participates in SOCE. The research does reveal something about those individuals who undergo SOCE, how they evaluate their experiences, and why they may seek SOCE, even if the research does not indicate whether SOCE has anything to do with the changes some clients perceive themselves have experienced. We sought this information to be as comprehensive as possible and to develop an information base that would serve as a basis for considering affirmative interventions.

SOCE research identifies a population of individuals who experience conflicts and distress related to same-sex sexual attractions. The population of adults included in recent SOCE research is highly religious, participating

in faiths that many would consider traditional or conservative (e.g., the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints [Mormon], evangelical Christian, or Orthodox Jewish). Most of the participants in recent studies are White men who report that their religion is extremely important to them (Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schaeffer et al., 2000; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003). These recent studies include a small number of participants who identify as members of ethnic minority groups. Recent studies include more women than in early studies, and one qualitative study focused exclusively on women (Ponticelli, 1999). Most of the individuals studied tried a variety of methods to change their sexual orientation, including psychotherapy, support groups, and religious efforts. Many of the individuals studied were recruited from groups endorsing SOCE. The body of literature overall is based on convenience samples; thus, the relationship between the characteristics of these individuals compared to the entire population of people who seek SOCE is unknown.

Comparisons of the early and recent research indicate changes in the demographics of those who seek SOCE. The individuals who participated in early research on SOCE were also predominantly White males, but those studies included men who were court-referred to treatment, men who were referred to treatment for a range of psychiatric and sexual concerns, and men who were fearful of criminal or legal sanctions, in addition to men who were distressed by their sexual attractions. There are no data on the religious beliefs of those in the early studies. As noted previously, the individuals in recent studies indicated that religion is very important to them.

We concluded that some of the controversy surrounding SOCE can be explained by different understandings of the nature of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity. Recent research in the field of sexual orientation indicates a range of sexual attractions and desires, sexual orientations, and multiple ways of self-labeling and self-identifying (e.g., Carrillo, 2002; Diamond, 1998, 2006, 2008; Fox, 1995; Hoburg et al., 2004; Savin-Williams, 2005). Some researchers have found that distinguishing the constructs of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity adds clarity to an understanding of the variability in reports of these two variables (R. L. Worthington & Reynolds, 2009). *Sexual orientation* refers to an individual's patterns of sexual, romantic, and affectional arousal and desire for other persons based on those persons' gender and sex characteristics. Sexual orientation is tied to physiological drives and biological systems that are beyond conscious choice and involve profound emotional feelings such as "falling in love" and emotional attachment. Other dimensions commonly attributed to sexual orientation (e.g., sexual behavior with men and/or women; sexual values, norms, and motivations; social affiliations with LGB or heterosexual individuals and communities; emotional attachment preferences for men or women; gender role and identity; lifestyle choices) are potential correlates of sexual orientation rather than principal dimensions of the construct. *Sexual orientation identity* refers to recognition and internalization of sexual orientation and reflects self-awareness, self-recognition, self-labeling, group membership and affiliation, culture, and self-stigma. Sexual orientation identity is a key element in determining relational and interpersonal decisions, as it creates a foundation for the formation of community, social support, role models, friendship, and partnering (APA, 2003; Jordan & Deluty, 1998; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Morris, 1997).

Recent studies of SOCE participants frequently do not distinguish between sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity. We concluded that the failure to distinguish these aspects of human sexuality in this recent SOCE research has obscured an understanding of what aspects of human sexuality might and might not change through intervention. The available evidence, from both early and recent studies, suggests that although sexual orientation is unlikely to change, some individuals modified their sexual orientation identity (i.e., individual or group membership and affiliation, self-labeling) and other aspects of sexuality (i.e., values and behavior). They did so in a variety of ways and with varied and unpredictable outcomes, some of which were temporary (Beckstead, 2003; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). For instance, in recent research, many individuals claim that through participating in SOCE, they became skilled in ignoring or tolerating their attractions or limiting the impact of their attractions on their sexual behavior (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; McConaghy, 1976; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Early nonexperimental case studies described

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individuals who reported that they went on to lead outwardly heterosexual lives, including, for some, developing a sexual relationship with an other-sex partner and adopting a heterosexual identity (Birk, 1974; Larson, 1970). Some of these individuals reported heterosexual experience prior to treatment. People whose sexual attractions were initially limited to people of the same sex report much lower increases (if any) in other-sex attractions compared to those who report initial attractions to both men and women (Barlow et al., 1975). However, the low degree of scientific rigor in these studies makes any conclusion tentative.

Recent research indicates that former participants in SOCE report diverse evaluations of their experiences. Some individuals perceive that they have benefited from SOCE, while other individuals perceive that they have been harmed by SOCE (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Across studies, it is unclear what specific individual characteristics and diagnostic criteria would prospectively distinguish those individuals who will later perceive that they have succeeded and benefited from SOCE from those who will later perceive that they have failed or been harmed.

Some individuals who participated in the early research reported negative side effects such as loss of sexual arousal, impotence, depression, anxiety, and relationship dysfunction. Individuals who participated in recent research and who failed to change sexual orientation, while believing they should have changed with such efforts, described their experiences as a significant cause of emotional distress and negative self-image (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Overall, those in this recent research who indicated that they were harmed reported feelings of distress, anxiety, depression, suicidal ideation, self-blame, guilt, and loss of hope among other negative feelings. Some who experienced religious interventions and perceived them negatively said that they felt disillusioned with religion; others felt they had failed their religion by having same-sex attraction (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Indirect harm from the associated costs (time, effort, money, disillusionment with psychotherapy) spent in ineffective treatment is significant. Both the early and recent research provide little clarity on the associations between claims to modify sexual orientation from same-sex to other-sex and subsequent improvements or harm to mental health.

Other individuals reported that they perceived SOCE to be helpful by providing a place to discuss their conflicts, reduce isolation, and receive support (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Spitzer, 2003; Wolkomir, 2001, 2006). Some reported that SOCE helped them view their sexual orientation in a different light that permitted them to live in a manner consistent with their faith, which they perceived as positive (Nicolosi et al., 2000). Some individuals described finding a sense of support and community through SOCE and valued having others with whom they could identify (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Ponticelli, 1999; Wolkomir, 2001). These effects mirror those provided by mutual support groups for a range of problems. And the positive benefits reported by participants in SOCE, such as reduction of isolation, change of meaning, and stress reduction, are consistent with the findings of social support literature (Levine et al., 2004). Given the findings of limited efficacy of change of sexual orientation, it is unlikely that SOCE provides any unique benefits other than those documented for the social support mechanisms of mutual help groups. For those who had received psychotherapy, the positive perceptions of SOCE seem inconsistent with the documented effects of the supportive function of psychotherapy relationships (e.g., Norcross, 2002).

Literature on Children and Adolescents

The task force was asked to report on the following: (a) the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or their behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change; (b) the presence of adolescent inpatient facilities that offer coercive treatment designed to change sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of sexual orientation; and (c) recommendations regarding treatment protocols that promote stereotyped gender-normative behavior to mitigate behaviors that are perceived to be indicators that a child will develop a homosexual orientation in adolescence and adulthood.

We reviewed the limited research on child and adolescent issues and drew the following conclusions: There is no research demonstrating that providing SOCE to children or adolescents has an impact on adult sexual orientation. The few studies of children with gender identity disorder found no evidence that psychotherapy provided to those children had an impact on adult sexual orientation (R. Green, 1986,

1987; Zucker, 2008; Zucker & Bradley, 1995). There is currently no evidence that teaching or reinforcing stereotyped gender-normative behavior in childhood or adolescence can alter sexual orientation (Mathy & Drescher, 2008). We are concerned that such interventions may increase the self-stigma, minority stress, and ultimately the distress of children and adolescents. We have serious concerns that the coercive or involuntary treatment of children or adolescents has the potential to be harmful and may potentially violate current clinical and practice guidelines, standards for ethical practice, and human rights.

Recommendations and Future Directions

Affirmative Psychotherapy With Adults

The appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions with adults is built on three key findings in the research: (a) an enduring change to an individual's sexual orientation as a result of SOCE was unlikely, and some participants were harmed by the interventions; (b) for some individuals, sexual orientation identity, not sexual orientation, shifted and evolved via psychotherapy, support groups, or life events; and (c) clients benefit from psychotherapeutic approaches that emphasize acceptance, support, and recognition of important values and concerns.

On the basis of these findings and the clinical literature on this population, we suggest client-centered, multiculturally competent approaches grounded in the following scientific facts: (a) same-sex sexual attractions, behavior, and orientations per se are normal and positive variants of human sexuality—in other words, they are not indicators of mental or developmental disorders; (b) same-sex sexual attractions and behavior can occur in the context of a variety of sexual orientations and sexual orientation identities; (c) gay men, lesbians, and bisexual individuals can live satisfying lives and form stable, committed relationships and families that are equivalent to those of heterosexual individuals in essential respects; and (d) no empirical studies or peer-reviewed research supports theories attributing same-sex sexual orientation to family dysfunction or trauma.

Based on these findings summarized above and our comprehensive review of the research and clinical literature, we developed a framework for the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for adults that has the following central elements:

- Acceptance and support
- A comprehensive assessment
- Active coping
- Social support
- Identity exploration and development

Acceptance and support include (a) unconditional positive regard for and empathy with the client, (b) openness to the client's perspective as a means of understanding his or her concerns, and (c) encouragement of the client's positive self-concept.

A comprehensive assessment considers sexual orientation uniquely individual and inseparable from an individual's personality and sense of self. This includes (a) being aware of the client's unique personal, social, and historical context and (b) exploring and countering the harmful impact of stigma and stereotypes on the client's self-concept (including the prejudice related to age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status).

Active coping strategies are efforts that include cognitive, behavioral, or emotional responses designed to change the nature of the stressor itself or how an individual perceives it and include both cognitive and emotional strategies. These may include cognitive strategies to reframe conflicts and emotional strategies to manage potential losses.

Psychotherapy, self-help groups, or welcoming communities (ethnic communities, social groups, religious denominations) provide social support that can mitigate distress caused by isolation, rejection, and lack of role models. Conflicts among disparate elements of identity play a major role in the conflicts and mental health concerns of those seeking SOCE (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004).

Identity exploration is an active process of exploring and assessing one's identity and establishing a commitment to an integrated identity. LMHP facilitate this exploration by not having an a priori treatment goal for how clients identify or live out their sexual orientation. The process may include a developmental process that includes periods of crisis, mourning, reevaluation, identity deconstruction and reconstruction, and growth.

Treatments that are based on the assumption that homosexuality or same-sex sexual attractions are a mental disorder or based on inaccurate stereotypes regarding LGB people are to be avoided because they run counter to empirical data and because reports of harm suggest that such treatments can reinforce restricting stereotypes, increase internalized stigma, and limit a client's development (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 2001; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; G. Smith et al., 2004; see Lilienfeld, 2007, for information on psychotherapy harms).

Psychotherapy With Children and Adolescents

We were asked to report on the appropriate application of affirmative therapeutic interventions for children and adolescents who present a desire to change either their sexual orientation or the behavioral expression of their sexual orientation, or both, or whose guardian expresses a desire for the minor to change. Consistent with the current scientific evidence, those working with children and adolescents strive to have a developmentally appropriate perspective that includes a client-centered multicultural perspective to reduce self-stigma and mitigate minority stress. This includes interventions that (a) reduce stigma and isolation, (b) support the exploration and development of identity, (c) facilitate achievement of developmental milestones, and (d) respect age-appropriate issues regarding self-determination. Such services are ideally provided in the least restrictive setting and with, at a minimum, the assent of the youth. However, LMHP are encouraged to acquire developmentally appropriate informed consent to treatment.

Affirmative approaches encourage families to reduce rejection and increase acceptance of their child and adolescent (Perrin, 2002; Ryan et al., 2009). Parents who are concerned or distressed by their children's sexual orientation can be provided accurate information about sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity and offered anticipatory guidance and psychotherapy that supports family reconciliation (e.g., communication, understanding, and empathy) and maintenance of their child's total health and well-being. Interventions that increase family, school, and community acceptance and safety of sexual minority children and youth appear particularly helpful. Such interventions are offered in ways that are consistent with aspects of diversity such as age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status.

Special Concerns of Religious Individuals and Families

Many religious sexual minorities experience significant psychological distress and conflict due to the divergence between their sexual orientation and religious beliefs. To support clients who have these concerns, LMHP can provide psychological acceptance, support, and recognition of the importance of faith to individuals and communities while recognizing the science of sexual orientation. LMHP working with religious individuals and families can incorporate research from the psychology of religion into the client-centered multicultural framework summarized previously. The goal of treatment is for the client to explore possible life paths that address the reality of his or her sexual orientation while considering the possibilities for a religiously and spiritually meaningful and rewarding life. Such psychotherapy can enhance clients' search for meaning, significance, and a relationship with the sacred in their lives (e.g., Pargament & Maloney, 2005). Such an approach would focus on increasing positive religious coping, understanding religious motivations, integrating religious and sexual orientation identities, and reframing sexual orientation identities to reduce or eliminate self-stigma.

The goal of treatment is for the client to explore possible life paths that address the reality of his or her sexual orientation while considering the possibilities for a religiously and spiritually meaningful and rewarding life.

Ethical Considerations

LMHP strive to provide interventions that benefit clients and avoid harm, consistent with current professional ethics. Psychologists aspire to provide treatment that is consistent with the APA *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* (APA, 2002b) and relevant APA guidelines and resolutions (e.g., APA, 2000, 2002c, 2004, 2005a, 2007b) with a special focus on ethical principles such as Beneficence and Nonmaleficence; Justice; and Respect for People's Rights and Dignity (including self-determination). LMHP reduce potential harms and increase potential benefits by basing their professional judgments

and actions on the most current and valid scientific evidence, such as that provided in this report (see APA, 2002b, Standard 2.04, Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments).

LMHP enhance principles of social justice when they strive to understand and mitigate the effects of sexual stigma, prejudice, and discrimination on the lives of individuals, families, and communities. Further, LMHP aspire to respect diversity in all aspects of their work, including age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, and socioeconomic status.

Self-determination is the process by which a person controls or determines the course of her or his own life (*Oxford American Dictionary*, 2007). LMHP maximize self-determination by (a) providing effective psychotherapy that explores the client's assumptions and goals, without preconditions on the outcome; (b) providing resources to manage and reduce distress; and (c) permitting the client herself or himself to decide the ultimate goal of how to self-identify and live out her or his sexual orientation. We were not persuaded by some accounts that suggest that providing SOCE increases self-determination, because these suggestions encourage LMHP to offer treatment that (a) has not provided evidence of efficacy; (b) has the potential to be harmful; and (c) delegates important professional decisions that should be based on qualified expertise and training—such as diagnosis and the type of intervention. Rather, therapy that increases the client's ability to cope, understand, acknowledge, and integrate sexual orientation concerns into a self-chosen life is the measured approach.

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Education, Training, and Research

We were asked to provide recommendations for education, training, and research as they pertain to such affirmative interventions. We examine these areas separately.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Professional education and training

Training of LMHP to provide affirmative, evidence-based, and multicultural interventions with individuals distressed by their same-sex sexual attractions is critical. Research on LMHP behaviors indicates a range of interventions, some of which are based on attitudes and beliefs rather than evidence, especially as some LMHP may have been educated during the period when homosexuality was pathologized (cf. Bartlett et al., 2001; Beutler, 2000; M. King et al., 2004; Liszcz & Yarhouse, 2005). We recommend that LMHP increase their awareness of their own assumptions and attitudes toward sexual minorities (APA, 2000; R. L. Worthington et al., 2005). This occurs by increasing knowledge about the diversity of sexual minorities (e.g., age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status), as well as the management of the LMHP's own biases in order to avoid colluding with clients' internalized stigma and with the negating environments in which clients and LMHP live (APA, 2000; Dillon et al., 2004; Israel & Hackett, 2004; R. L. Worthington et al., 2005). We recommend that training in affirmative, evidence-based, and multiculturally informed interventions for sexual minorities be offered at all graduate schools and postgraduate training programs.

An important resource for LMHP is the APA (2000) *Guidelines for Psychotherapy With Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Clients*,[70] which advises LMHP to be competent in a variety of domains, including knowledge of the impact of stigma on mental health, the unique issues facing same-sex relationships and families, and the range of diversity concerns for sexual minority individuals. We recommend that several areas in which LMHP working with clients seeking SOCE obtain additional knowledge and skills include: (a) sexuality, sexual orientation, and sexual identity development; (b) the psychology of religion and spirituality, including models of faith development, religious coping, and the positive psychology of religion; (c) identity development models, including those that integrate multiple identities and facilitate identity conflict resolution; and (d) adaptive ways to manage stigma, minority stress, and multiple aspects of identity. We also recommend that practitioners review publications that explicate the above-mentioned topics and evidence-based, LGB-affirmative, and multicultural approaches to psychological interventions (APA, 2000, 2002a, 2002c, 2004, 2005b, 2006, 2007b, 2008a; Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006; Fowers & Davidov, 2006; Schneider et al., 2002).

[70] These guidelines are being revised, and a new version will be available in 2010.

Those less familiar with religious perspectives can broaden their views on religion and religious individuals and reduce their potential biases by seeking relevant information on religious faith and the psychology of religion (e.g., Ano & Vasconcelles, 2005; Exline, 2002; Emmons, 1999; Emmons & Paloutzian, 2003; Fowler, 2001; Goldstein, 2007; Pargament & Mahoney, 2005; Pargament et al., 1998, 2005). Training programs for practitioners can increase competencies in these areas by including comprehensive material on religion and spirituality (Bartoli, 2007; Hage, 2006; Hathaway et al., 2004; Yarhouse & Fisher, 2002; Yarhouse & VanOrman, 1999) and on ways to incorporate religious approaches into psychotherapy (see, e.g., Richards & Bergin, 2000, 2004; Sperry & Shafranske, 2004). Additionally, publications that illustrate affirmative integration and resolution of religious and sexual minority identity are helpful (Astramovich, 2003; Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Ritter & O'Neil, 1989, 1995).

Conservative religious practitioners can increase their compassionate and understanding responses to sexual minorities. Some focus on increasing compassionate responses toward sexual minorities by conservative religious students or individuals (Bassett et al., 2005; Benoit, 2005; Fischer & DeBord, 2007; McMinn, 2005; Yarhouse, Burkett, & Kreeft, 2001; Zahniser & Boyd, 2008; Zahniser & Cagle, 2007). One study found an evolution of positive attitudes toward sexual minorities among LMHP who hold conservative religious values (E. Adams, Longoria, Hitter, & Savage, 2009). These perspectives are based on established social psychology research, such as the contact hypothesis, where increasing personal contact with members of minority groups of equal status reduces bias, including attitudes toward sexual minorities (e.g., Herek & Capitanio, 1996; Herek & Glunt, 1993; Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2003).

Finally, although this report has limited information regarding sexual minorities in other countries, the research review and practice recommendations may be helpful to professionals. We recommend dissemination of this report to international mental health organizations and LGBT advocacy groups.

We recommend the following steps be taken by the APA to educate LMHP and support training programs in providing education:

1. Disseminate this report to accredited doctoral programs, internships, and other postdoctoral programs in psychology both in the United States and other countries to encourage the incorporation of this report and other relevant material on LGBT issues into graduate school training programs and internship sites.
2. Disseminate information to faculty in psychology departments in community colleges, colleges, and university programs as information and for use in curriculum development.
3. Maintain the currently high standards for APA approval of continuing professional education providers and programs.
4. Offer symposia and continuing professional education workshops at APA's annual convention that focus on treatment of individuals distressed by their same-sex sexual attractions, especially those who struggle to integrate religious and spiritual beliefs with sexual orientation identity.
5. Pursue the publication of a version of this report in an appropriate journal or other publication.

Public education

The information available to the public about SOCE and sexual orientation is highly variable and can be confusing. In those information sources that encourage SOCE, the portrayals of homosexuality and sexual minorities tend to be negative and at times to emphasize inaccurate and misleading stereotypes (Kennedy & Cianciotto, 2006; SPLC, 2005). Sexual minorities, individuals aware of same-sex sexual attractions, families, parents, caregivers, policymakers, religious leaders, and society at large can benefit from accurate scientific information about sexual orientation and about appropriate interventions for individuals distressed by their same-sex sexual attractions both in the United States and internationally. We recommend that APA:

1. Create informational materials for sexual minority individuals, families, parents, and other stakeholders on appropriate multiculturally competent and client-centered interventions for those distressed by their sexual orientation who may seek SOCE.
2. Create informational materials on sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity, and religion for all stakeholders, including the public and institutions of faith.
3. Create informational materials focused on the integration of ethnic, racial, national origin and

cultural issues, and sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity.

4. Integrate the conclusions of this report into existing APA public information resources, including print, media, and the Internet.

5. Collaborate with other relevant organizations, especially religious organizations, to disseminate this information.

RESEARCH

Our systematic review of research has highlighted the methodological problems pervasive in recent research on SOCE. This raises two issues: (a) the publication of poorly designed research and (b) whether more research on SOCE should be conducted to pursue questions of benefit, harm, and safety. These two issues are addressed separately.

Much of the recent research on SOCE has had serious methodological problems. Although this research area presents serious challenges (e.g., obtaining a representative sample, finding appropriate measures, and using evidence-based constructs), many of the problems were avoidable. Problems included (a) inappropriate use of statistical tests, (b) poor measurement, and (c) designs that did not permit valid causal conclusions to be drawn.

Hunt and Carlson (2007) have argued that studies with immediate social relevance that have an impact on social policy or social issues should be held to a higher standard because this literature has the potential to influence policymakers and the public, and incomplete or misleading information has serious costs. Research published on SOCE needs to meet current best-practice research standards. Many of the problems in published SOCE research indicate the need for improvement in the journal review process. It is recommended that professional and scientific journals retain reviewers and editors with expertise in this area to maintain the standards of published research.

We concluded that research on SOCE (psychotherapy, mutual self-help groups, religious techniques) has not answered basic questions of whether it is safe or effective and for whom. Any future research should conform to best-practice standards for the design of efficacy research. Additionally, research into harm and safety is essential. Certain key issues are worth highlighting. Future research must use methods that are prospective and longitudinal, allow for conclusions about cause and effect to be confidently drawn, and employ sampling methods that allow proper generalization.[71]

Future research should also include appropriate measures in terms of specificity of measurement of sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity and outcomes, and psychometric adequacy. Mixed-method research, in which methods and measures with offsetting weaknesses are simultaneously employed, may be especially advantageous. Alternative physiological means of measuring sexual orientation objectively may also be helpful. Recent research has used alternatives to genital gauges for the assessment of sexual orientation in men and women, such as functional magnetic resonance imaging (Ponseti et al., 2006). Physiological measures often use visual portrayals of nude individuals that some religious individuals may find morally unacceptable. Jlang, Costello, Fang, Huang, and He (2006) have explored the use of invisible images and have measured selective inattention/attention as an alternative to assess sexual arousal. Such methods or the development of methods that are less intrusive and are more consistent with religious values would be helpful to develop for this population.

Additionally, preexisting and co-occurring conditions, mental health problems, participants' need for monitoring self-impression, other interventions, and life histories would have to be given appropriate consideration so that research can better account for and test competing explanations for any changes observed in study participants over time. Specific conceptual and methodological challenges exist in research related to sexual minority populations, such as the conceptualization of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity and obtaining representative samples. Researchers would be advised to consider and compensate for the unique conceptual and

[71] A published study that appeared in the grey literature in 2007 (S. L. Jones & Yarhouse, 2007) has been described by SOCE advocates and its authors as having successfully addressed many of the methodological problems that affect other recent studies, specifically the lack of prospective research. The study is a convenience sample of self-referred populations from religious self-help groups. The authors claim to have found a positive effect for some study respondents in different goals such as decreasing same-sex sexual attractions, increasing other-sex attractions, and maintaining celibacy. However, upon close examination, the methodological problems described in Chapter 3 (our critique of recent studies) are characteristic of this work, most notably the absence of a control or comparison group and the threats to internal, external, construct, and statistical validity. Best-practice analytical techniques were not performed in the study, and there are significant deficiencies in the analysis of longitudinal data, use of statistical measures, and choice of assessment measures. The authors' claim of finding change in sexual orientation is unpersuasive due to their study's methodological problems.

methodological challenges in this area (Meyer & Wilson, 2009; Moradi, Mohr, Worthington, Fassinger, 2009).

Safety issues continue to be important areas of study. As noted previously, early research indicates that aversive techniques have been found to have very limited benefits as well as potentially harmful effects. These documented harms were serious. An additional finding is that these treatments had extremely high dropout rates, which has been linked to adverse effects. Some individuals report harm from recent nonaversive techniques, and some individuals report benefits.

Some authors have stated that SOCE should not be investigated or practiced until safety issues have been resolved (Davison, 1976, 1991; Herek, 2003), as it is still unclear which techniques or methods may or may not be harmful. Assessing the safety of recent practices is a high priority given that this research is the least rigorous. Given that types of harm can be multiple, outcome studies with measures capable of assessing deterioration in mental health, appearance of new symptoms, heightened concern regarding existing symptoms, excessive dependency on the LMHP, and reluctance to seek out new treatment are important to include in future research (Lilienfeld, 2007). Other areas to assess are types of harm to others (e.g., some individuals have noted that advocating other-sex marriage or promising sexual orientation change may negatively affect spouses, potential spouses, and children) (Buxton, 1994, 2007; Wolkomir, 2006).

Finally, LMHP must be mindful of the indirect harms of SOCE, such as the "opportunity costs" (Lilienfeld, 2007) and the time, energy, effort, and expense of interventions that offer limited benefit and have the potential to cause disillusionment in psychotherapy. However, as concerns regarding harm have been raised, addressing risks to research participants and concerns regarding voluntary participation (see Standard 8.02 in APA, 2002b) must be carefully considered in any future research.

Research that meets these scientific standards and addresses efficacy and safety might help to clarify the issues. Even so, scientific research may not help to resolve the issues unless it can better account for the complexity of the concerns of the current population. The results of current research are complicated by the belief system of many of the participants whose religious faith and beliefs may be intricately tied to the possibility of change. Future research will have to better account for the motivations and beliefs of participants in SOCE.

Emerging research reveals that affirmative interventions show promise for alleviating the distress of children, adolescents, and families around sexual orientation and identity concerns (D'Augelli, 2002, 2003; Goodenow et al., 2006; Perrin, 2002; C. Ryan et al., 2009). However, sexual minority adolescents are underrepresented in research on evidence-based approaches, and sexual orientation issues in children are virtually unexamined (APA, 2008d). Specific research on sexual minority adolescents and children has identified that stigma can be reduced through community interventions, supportive client-centered approaches, and family reconciliation techniques that focus on strengthening the emotional ties of family members to each other, reducing rejection, and increasing acceptance (D'Augelli, 2003; Goodenow et al., 2006; C. Ryan et al., 2009). This line of research should be continued and expanded to include conservatively religious youth and their families.

Finally, we presented a framework for therapy with this population. Although this model is based on accepted principles of psychotherapy and is consistent with evidence-based approaches to psychotherapy, it has not been evaluated for safety and efficacy. Such studies would have to be conducted in the same manner as research on SOCE and in ways that are consistent with current standards (see, e.g., Flay et al., 2005).

Recommendations for basic research

To advance knowledge in the field and improve the lives of individuals distressed by same-sex sexual attractions who seek SOCE, it is recommended that researchers, research-funding organizations, and other stakeholders, including those who establish funding priorities, work together to improve our knowledge of sexuality, sexual orientation, and sexual orientation identity in the following areas:

1. The nature and development of sexuality, sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity across the life span and the correlates to these variables, incorporating differences across age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status.

2. Religious identity and faith development (inclusive of all world religions) and their intersection with other aspects of human life and identity, such as sexual orientation, sexual orientation identity, and the multiple social identity statuses related to privilege and stigma.

3. Identity integration, reduction in distress, and positive mental health for populations of religious sexual minorities and ethnic minority populations.
4. Culture, gender, religion, and race/ethnicity in the experience and construction of sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity.
5. Mental health outcomes of those who choose not to act on their sexual orientation by living celibately or in relationships with other-sex partners.

Recommendations for research in psychotherapy

We recommend that researchers and practitioners rigorously investigate multiculturally competent and affirmative evidence-based treatments for sexual minorities and those distressed by their sexual orientation that do not aim to alter sexual orientation but rather focus on sexual orientation identity exploration, development, and integration without prioritizing one outcome over another, for the following populations:

1. Sexual minorities who have traditional religious beliefs
2. Sexual minorities who are members of ethnic minority and culturally diverse communities both in the United States and internationally
3. Children and adolescents who are sexual minorities or questioning their sexual orientation
4. Parents who are distressed by their children's perceived future sexual orientation
5. Populations with any combination of the above demographics

Policy

We were asked to make recommendations to APA to inform the association's response to groups that promote treatments to change sexual orientation or its behavioral expression and to support public policy that furthers affirmative therapeutic interventions.

The debate surrounding SOCE has become mired in ideological disputes and competing political agendas (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006). Some organizations opposing civil rights for LGBT individuals advocate SOCE (SPLC, 2005). Other policy concerns involve religious or socially conservative agendas where issues of religious morality conflict with scientific-based conceptions of positive and healthy development. We encourage APA to continue its advocacy for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals and families and to oppose prejudice against sexual minorities (APA, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008b). We encourage collaborative activities in pursuit of shared prosocial goals between psychologists and religious communities when such collaboration can be done in a mutually respectful manner that is consistent with psychologists' professional and scientific roles. These collaborative relationships can be designed to integrate humanitarian perspectives and professional expertise (Tyler, Pargament, & Gatz, 1983).

Thus, the task force urges APA to:

1. Actively oppose the distortion and selective use of scientific data about homosexuality by individuals and organizations seeking to influence public policy and public opinion and take a leadership role in responding to such distortions.
2. Support the dissemination of accurate scientific and professional information about sexual orientation in order to counteract bias that is based on lack of scientific knowledge about sexual orientation.
3. Encourage advocacy groups, elected officials, policymakers, religious leaders, and other organizations to seek accurate information and avoid promulgating inaccurate information about sexual minorities.
4. Seek areas where collaboration with religious leaders, institutions, and organizations can promote the well-being of sexual minorities through the use of accurate scientific data regarding sexual orientation and sexual orientation identity.
5. Encourage the Committee on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender Concerns to prioritize initiatives that address religious and spiritual concerns and the concerns of sexual minorities from conservative faiths.
6. Adopt a new resolution: the Resolution on Appropriate Affirmative Responses to Sexual Orientation Distress and Change Efforts (see Appendix A).[72]

[72] The resolution was adopted by the APA Council of Representatives in August 2009.

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APPENDIX A: RESOLUTION ON APPROPRIATE AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSES TO SEXUAL ORIENTATION DISTRESS AND CHANGE EFFORTS

Research Summary

The longstanding consensus of the behavioral and social sciences and the health and mental health professions is that homosexuality per se is a normal and positive variation of human sexual orientation (Bell, Weinberg, & Hammersmith, 1981; Bullough, 1976; Ford & Beach 1951; Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948; Kinsey, Pomeroy, Martin, & Gebhard, 1953). Homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder (APA, 1975). Since 1974, the American Psychological Association (APA) has opposed stigma, prejudice, discrimination, and violence on the basis of sexual orientation and has taken a leadership role in supporting the equal rights of lesbian, gay, and bisexual individuals (APA, 2005).

APA is concerned about ongoing efforts to mischaracterize homosexuality and promote the notion that sexual orientation can be changed and about the resurgence of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE).[A1] SOCE has been controversial due to tensions between the values held by some faith-based organizations, on the one hand, and those held by lesbian, gay, and bisexual rights organizations and professional and scientific organizations, on the other (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006).

Some individuals and groups have promoted the idea of homosexuality as symptomatic of developmental defects or spiritual and moral failings and have argued that SOCE, including psychotherapy and religious efforts, could alter homosexual feelings and behaviors (Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Morrow & Beckstead, 2004). Many of these individuals and groups appeared to be embedded within the larger context of conservative religious political movements that have supported the stigmatization of homosexuality on political or religious grounds (Drescher, 2003; Drescher & Zucker, 2006; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2005). Psychology, as a science, and various faith traditions, as theological systems, can acknowledge and respect their profoundly different methodological and philosophical viewpoints. The APA concludes that psychology must rely on proven methods of scientific inquiry based on empirical data, on which hypotheses and propositions are confirmed or disconfirmed, as the basis to explore and understand human behavior (APA, 2008a, 2008c).

In response to these concerns, APA appointed the Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation to review the available research on SOCE and to provide recommendations to the association. The task force reached the following findings.

Recent studies of participants in SOCE identify a population of individuals who experience serious distress related to same-sex sexual attractions. Most of these participants are Caucasian males who report that their religion is extremely important to them (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi, Byrd, & Potts,

[A1] APA uses the term *sexual orientation change efforts* (SOCE) to describe methods (e.g., behavioral techniques, psychoanalytic techniques, medical approaches, religious and spiritual approaches) that aim to change a same-sex sexual orientation to heterosexual, regardless of whether mental health professionals or lay individuals (including religious professionals, religious leaders, social groups, and other lay networks, such as self-help groups) are involved.

2000; Schaeffer, Hyde, Kroencke, McCormick, & Nottebaum, 2000; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002, Spitzer, 2003). These individuals report having pursued a variety of religious and secular efforts intended to help them change their sexual orientation. To date, the research has not fully addressed age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, disability, language, and socioeconomic status in the population of distressed individuals.

There are no studies of adequate scientific rigor to conclude whether or not recent SOCE do or do not work to change a person's sexual orientation. Scientifically rigorous older work in this area (e.g., Birk, Huddleston, Miller, & Cohler, 1971; James, 1978; McConaghy, 1969, 1976; McConaghy, Proctor, & Barr, 1972; Tanner, 1974, 1975) found that sexual orientation (i.e., erotic attractions and sexual arousal oriented to one sex or the other, or both) was unlikely to change due to efforts designed for this purpose. Some individuals appeared to learn how to ignore or limit their attractions. However, this was much less likely to be true for people whose sexual attractions were initially limited to people of the same sex.

Although sound data on the safety of SOCE are extremely limited, some individuals reported being harmed by SOCE. Distress and depression were exacerbated. Belief in the hope of sexual orientation change followed by the failure of the treatment was identified as a significant cause of distress and negative self-image (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002).

Although there is insufficient evidence to support the use of psychological interventions to change sexual orientation, some individuals modified their sexual orientation identity (i.e., group membership and affiliation), behavior, and values (Nicolosi et al., 2000). They did so in a variety of ways and with varied and unpredictable outcomes, some of which were temporary (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Based on the available data, additional claims about the meaning of those outcomes are scientifically unsupported.

On the basis of the task force's findings, the APA encourages mental health professionals to provide assistance to those who seek sexual orientation change by utilizing affirmative multiculturally competent (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006) and client-centered approaches (e.g., Beckstead & Israel, 2007; Glassgold, 2008; Haldeman, 2004; Lasser & Gottlieb, 2004) that recognize the negative impact of social stigma on sexual minorities (Herek, 2009; Herek & Garnets, 2007)[A2] and balance ethical principles of beneficence and nonmaleficence, justice, and respect for people's rights and dignity (APA, 1998, 2002; Davison, 1976; Haldeman, 2002; Schneider, Brown, & Glassgold, 2002).

Resolution

WHEREAS, The American Psychological Association expressly opposes prejudice (defined broadly) and discrimination based on age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, or socioeconomic status (APA, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2003, 2005, 2006, 2008c);

WHEREAS, The American Psychological Association takes a leadership role in opposing prejudice and discrimination (APA, 2008b, 2008c), including prejudice based on or derived from religion or spirituality, and encourages commensurate consideration of religion and spirituality as diversity variables (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, Psychologists respect human diversity including age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, disability, language, and socioeconomic status (APA, 2002) and psychologists strive to prevent bias from their own spiritual, religious, or nonreligious beliefs from taking precedence over professional practice and standards or scientific findings in their work as psychologists (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, Psychologists are encouraged to recognize that it is outside the role and expertise of psychologists, as psychologists, to adjudicate religious or spiritual tenets, while also recognizing that psychologists can appropriately speak to the psychological implications of religious/spiritual beliefs or practices when relevant psychological findings about those implications exist (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, Those operating from religious/spiritual traditions are encouraged to recognize that it is outside their role and expertise to adjudicate empirical scientific issues in psychology, while

[A2] We use the term *sexual minority* (cf. Blumenfeld, 1992; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996; Ullerstam, 1966) to designate the entire group of individuals who experience significant erotic and romantic attractions to adult members of their own sex, including those who experience attractions to members of both their own and the other sex. This term is used because we recognize that not all sexual minority individuals adopt an LGB bisexual identity.

also recognizing they can appropriately speak to theological implications of psychological science (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, The American Psychological Association encourages collaborative activities in pursuit of shared prosocial goals between psychologists and religious communities when such collaboration can be done in a mutually respectful manner that is consistent with psychologists' professional and scientific roles (APA, 2008c);

WHEREAS, Societal ignorance and prejudice about a same-sex sexual orientation places some sexual minorities at risk for seeking sexual orientation change due to personal, family, or religious conflicts, or lack of information (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Haldeman, 1994; Ponticelli, 1999; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002; Wolkomir, 2001);

WHEREAS, Some mental health professionals advocate treatments based on the premise that homosexuality is a mental disorder (e.g., Nicolosi, 1991; Socarides, 1968);

WHEREAS, Sexual minority children and youth are especially vulnerable populations with unique developmental tasks (Perrin, 2002; Ryan & Futterman, 1997) who lack adequate legal protection from involuntary or coercive treatment (Arriola, 1998; Burack & Josephson, 2005; Molnar, 1997) and whose parents and guardians need accurate information to make informed decisions regarding their development and well-being (Cianciatto & Cahill, 2006; Ryan & Futterman, 1997); and

WHEREAS, Research has shown that family rejection is a predictor of negative outcomes (Remafedi, Farrow, & Deisher, 1991; Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2009; Savin-Williams, 1994; Wilber, Ryan, & Marksamer, 2006) and that parental acceptance and school support are protective factors (D'Augelli, 2003; D'Augelli, Hershberger, & Pilkington, 1998; Goodenow, Szalacha, & Westheimer, 2006; Savin-Williams, 1989) for sexual minority youth;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association affirms that same-sex sexual and romantic attractions, feelings, and behaviors are normal and positive variations of human sexuality regardless of sexual orientation identity;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association reaffirms its position that homosexuality per se is not a mental disorder and opposes portrayals of sexual minority youths and adults as mentally ill due to their sexual orientation;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association concludes that there is insufficient evidence to support the use of psychological interventions to change sexual orientation;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association encourages mental health professionals to avoid misrepresenting the efficacy of sexual orientation change efforts by promoting or promising change in sexual orientation when providing assistance to individuals distressed by their own or others' sexual orientation;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association concludes that the benefits reported by participants in sexual orientation change efforts can be gained through approaches that do not attempt to change sexual orientation;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association concludes that the emerging knowledge on affirmative multiculturally competent treatment provides a foundation for an appropriate evidence-based practice with children, adolescents and adults who are distressed by or seek to change their sexual orientation (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008; Brown, 2006; Martell, Safren, & Prince, 2004; Norcross, 2002; Ryan & Futterman, 1997);

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association advises parents, guardians, young people, and their families to avoid sexual orientation change efforts that portray homosexuality as a mental illness or developmental disorder and to seek psychotherapy, social support and educational services that provide accurate information on sexual orientation and sexuality, increase family and school support, and reduce rejection of sexual minority youth;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association encourages practitioners to consider the ethical concerns outlined in the 1997 APA Resolution on Appropriate Therapeutic Response to Sexual Orientation (APA, 1998), in particular the following standards and principles:

Bases for Scientific and Professional Judgments, Beneficence and Harm, Justice, and Respect for People's Rights and Dignity;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association encourages practitioners to be aware that age, gender, gender identity, race, ethnicity, culture, national origin, religion, disability, language, and socioeconomic status may interact with sexual stigma and contribute to variations in sexual orientation identity development, expression, and experience;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association opposes the distortion and selective use of scientific data about homosexuality by individuals and organizations seeking to influence public policy and public opinion and will take a leadership role in responding to such distortions;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association supports the dissemination of accurate scientific and professional information about sexual orientation in order to counteract bias that is based in lack of knowledge about sexual orientation; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the American Psychological Association encourages advocacy groups, elected officials, mental health professionals, policymakers, religious professionals and organizations, and other organizations to seek areas of collaboration that may promote the well-being of sexual minorities.

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APPENDIX B: STUDIES INCLUDED (*N* = 55) IN THE SYSTEMATIC REVIEW (CHAPTERS 3 AND 4)

Study	*N*	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
Experimental studies							
McConaghy, 1969	40	100	Clinical (6 by court order; 18 with arrest history)	3 withdrawals	4 treatment group randomized experiment	Immediate and delayed aversion apomorphine therapy and aversion relief therapy	Penile circumference
McConaghy, 1976	157	100	Clinical (21 by court order)	None reported	4 experimental substudies (*n*s = 40, 40, 46, 31, respectively) with random assignment to one of two or three treatment alternatives	Aversive apomorphine therapy or aversion-relief; aversive therapy or apomorphine or avoidance conditioning; classical, or avoidance, or backward conditioning; classical aversive therapy or positive conditioning	Sexual feelings; sexual behavior; penile circumference; sexual orientation
McConaghy & Barr, 1973	46	100	Clinical	26 had incomplete treatment exposure; 2 of 20 with complete exposure lost to follow-up	3 treatment group randomized experiment	Classical conditioning, avoidance conditioning, backward conditioning	Heart rate; penile circumference; galvanic skin response
McConaghy, Proctor, & Barr, 1972	40	100	Clinical (police and psychiatric referrals)	16 with incomplete follow-up data and 2 withdrawals	4 treatment group randomized experiment	Immediate and delayed aversive apomorphine therapy; immediate and delayed anticipatory avoidance learning	Penile circumference
Tanner, 1974	16	100	Clinical	None reported	Random assignment experiment with wait list control	Aversive shock therapy	Penile circumference; sexual behavior; personality
Tanner, 1975	10	100	Clinical	None reported	2 treatment group randomized experiment	Aversive shock therapy with/without booster sessions	Penile circumference; self-reported arousal; sexual behavior; personality

Study	*N*	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
Quasi-experimental studies							
Birk, Huddleston, Miller, & Cohler, 1971	18	100	Clinical	2 withdrew participation	Nonequivalent 2 treatment group comparison design	Aversive shock therapy vs. associative conditioning	Sexual behavior; clinical judgment; personality
S. James, 1978	40	100	Court-referred	None reported	Nonequivalent 2 treatment group comparison design	Anticipatory avoidance, desensitization, hypnosis, anticipatory avoidance	Sexual orientation; personality
McConaghy, Armstrong, & Blaszczynski, 1981	20	100	Clinical	None reported	Nonequivalent 2 treatment group comparison design	Aversive therapy; covert sensitization	Sexual feelings
Nonexperimental studies							
Bancroft, 1969	16	100	Clinical	6 withdrew participation prior to treatment and 1 during treatment	Case study	Aversive shock therapy	Sexual behavior
Barlow & Agras, 1973	3	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Fading	Penile circumference; sexual urges; sexual fantasies
Barlow, Agrus, Abel, Blanchard, & Young, 1975	3	100	Clinical	None reported	Single case pre–post within-subject	Biofeeback	Penile circumference
Beckstead & Morrow, 2004	50	80	Purposive	None	Qualitative retrospective, grounded theory	Conversion therapy, ex-gay ministries, and/or support groups	Subjective experiences of treatment; subjective appraisal of sexual orientation identity, attraction, & behavior
Birk, 1974	66	100	Clinical	13 withdrew participation	Pre–post within-subject	Psychotherapy	Sexual orientation
Blitch & Haynes, 1972	1	0	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Relaxation therapy and masturbation reconditioning	Sexual behavior
Callahan & Leitenberg, 1973	23	100	Clinical with 2 by court order	9 men withdrew participation and 8 excluded from data analyses	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion shock therapy and covert sensitization	Penile circumference
Colson, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Olfactory aversion therapy	Sexual behavior

Study	N	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
Conrad & Wincze, 1976	4	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Orgasmic reconditioning	Sexual behavior; sexual fantasies; penile circumference
Curtis & Presly, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Covert sensitization	Sexual orientation
Feldman & MacCulloch, 1965	43	100	Clinical	7 withdrawals	Pre–post within-subject	Anticipatory avoidance	Sexual orientation
Fookes, 1960	27	100	Clinical (7 exhibitionists, 5 fetishists, and 15 bisexual and homosexual men)	None reported	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion shock therapy and calorie deprivation	Clinical judgment
Freeman & Meyer, 1975	9	100	Clinical	None reported	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion shock therapy and masturbation reconditioning	Sexual behavior; sexual orientation
Freund, 1960	67	100	Clinical	20 withdrawals	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion apomorphine therapy	Clinical judgment
Gray, 1970	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization and masturbation reconditioning	Sexual behavior
Hallam & Rachman, 1972	7	100	Clinical (2 pedophiles, 1 fetishist, 3 bisexual and homosexual men, and 1 voyeur)	None reported	Pre–post within-subject	Aversion shock therapy	Heart rate; galvanic skin response
Hanson & Adesso, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization and aversive counter-conditioning	Sexual behavior
Herman, Barlow, & Agras, 1974	4	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Counter-conditioning	Penile circumference; self-reported arousal
Herman & Prewett, 1974	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Biofeedback	Penile circumference
Huff, 1970	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization	Sexual behavior; personality
B. James, 1962	1	100	Clinical	Treatment stopped due to adverse reaction	Case study	Aversion apomorphine therapy	Sexual fantasies; sexual behavior
Kendrick & McCullough, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Covert sensitization	Sexual fantasies; sexual behavior
Larson, 1970	3	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Anticipatory avoidance	Sexual fantasies; sexual behavior
Levin, Hirsch, Shugar, & Kapche, 1968	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization, avoidance conditioning	Personality

Study	N	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
LoPiccolo, 1971	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization	Masturbation fantasies
LoPiccolo, Stewart, & Watkins, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Orgasmic reconditioning	Sexual behavior
MacCulloch & Feldman, 1967	43	?	Clinical (18 by court order and 4 psychiatric referrals)	7 withdrawals	Pre–post within-subject	Anticipatory avoidance with aversion shock therapy	Sexual orientation; sexual behavior
MacCulloch, Feldman, & Pinshoff, 1965	4	100	Clinical (3 by court order)	1 withdrawal	Case study	Anticipatory avoidance with aversion shock therapy	Attractions; pulse rate
Marquis, 1970	14	79	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Orgasmic reconditioning	Clinical judgment
McCrady, 1973	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Forward fading	Sexual preference, sexual behavior
Mintz, 1966	10	100	Clinical	5 withdrawals	Case study	Therapy	Clinical judgment
Nicolosi, Byrd, & Potts, 2000	882	78	Convenience (NARTH and ex-gay ministry members)	None reported	Retrospective pretest	Conversion therapy	Sexual orientation; sexual behavior
Pattison & Pattison, 1980	11	100	Convenience	None reported; 19 declines to participate	Qualitative retrospective case study	Religious folk therapy	Subjective experience
Ponticelli, 1999	15	0	Purposive (ex-gay ministry)	None reported	Ethnography	Ex-gay ministry	None
Quinn, Harbison, & McAllister, 1970	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Desensitization and hydration deprivation	Penile circumference
Rehm & Rozensky, 1974	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Therapy and orgasmic reconditioning	Sexual behavior
Sandford, Tustin, & Priest, 1975	2	100%	Clinical	1 withdrawal reported	Case study	Differential reinforcement and punishment	Penile circumference
Schaeffer, Hyde, Kroencke, McCormick, & Nottebaum, 2000	248	74	Convenience (Exodus International conference attendees)	None reported	Retrospective pretest	Varied counseling and conversion therapies	Sexual behavior; sexual feelings; sexual orientation identity
Schroeder & Shidlo, 2001	150	91	Convenience	None reported	Qualitative retrospective case study	Varied, including behavior therapy; psychoanalysis; aversive therapies; hypnosis; spiritual counseling; psychotropic medication; in-patient treatment.	Perceived harmfulness or helpfulness of SOCE

Study	N	% Males	Sample	Retention & treatment withdrawals	Research design	Treatment	Outcome measure
Segal & Sims, 1972	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Covert sensitization	Self-report of continued need for treatment
Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002	202	90	Convenience	None reported	Qualitative retrospective case study	Varied including behavior therapy; psychoanalysis; aversive therapies; hypnosis; spiritual counseling; psychotropic medication; in-patient treatment.	Sexual orientation; sexual orientation identity
Solyom & Miller, 1965	6	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Aversive shock therapy	Galvanic skin responses; penile circumference
Spitzer, 2003	200	71	Convenience (Ex-gay ministry members)	None reported; 74 not eligible	Retrospective pretest	Varied including ex-gay and religious support groups and therapy.	Sexual attraction; sexual orientation identity; sexual behavior;
Thorpe, Schmidt, & Castell, 1963	1	100	Clinical	None reported	Case study	Classical conditioning	Sexual fantasy; ability to orgasm in response to female stimuli
Thorpe, Schmidt, Brown, & Castell, 1964	8	75	Clinical (referred for variety of mental health concerns)	2 withdrawals	Case study	Aversion relief	Anxiety; personality
Wolkomir, 2001	n/a		Purposive	None reported	Ethnography	2 Bible study support groups	Subjective experience

The New York Times

HEALTH

Psychiatry Giant Sorry for Backing Gay 'Cure'

By BENEDICT CAREY MAY 18, 2012

PRINCETON, N.J. — The simple fact was that he had done something wrong, and at the end of a long and revolutionary career it didn't matter how often he'd been right, how powerful he once was, or what it would mean for his legacy.

Dr. Robert L. Spitzer, considered by some to be the father of modern psychiatry, lay awake at 4 o'clock on a recent morning knowing he had to do the one thing that comes least naturally to him.

He pushed himself up and staggered into the dark. His desk seemed impossibly far away; Dr. Spitzer, who turns 80 next week, suffers from Parkinson's disease and has trouble walking, sitting, even holding his head upright.

The word he sometimes uses to describe these limitations — pathetic — is the same one that for decades he wielded like an ax to strike down dumb ideas, empty theorizing and junk studies.

Now here he was at his computer, ready to recant a study he had done himself, a poorly conceived 2003 investigation that supported the use of so-called reparative therapy to "cure" homosexuality for people strongly motivated to change.

What to say? The issue of gay marriage was rocking national politics yet again. The California State Legislature was debating a bill to ban the therapy outright as being dangerous. A magazine writer who had been through the therapy as a teenager recently visited his house, to explain how miserably disorienting the experience was.

And he would later learn that a World Health Organization report, released on Thursday, calls the therapy "a serious threat to the health and well-being — even the lives — of affected people."

Dr. Spitzer's fingers jerked over the keys, unreliably, as if choking on the words. And then it was done: a short letter to be published this month, in the same journal where the original study appeared.

"I believe," it concludes, "I owe the gay community an apology."

Disturber of the Peace

The idea to study reparative therapy at all was pure Spitzer, say those who know him, an effort to stick a finger in the eye of an orthodoxy that he himself had helped establish.

In the late 1990s as today, the psychiatric establishment considered the therapy to be a nonstarter. Few therapists thought of homosexuality as a disorder.

It was not always so. Up into the 1970s, the field's diagnostic manual classified homosexuality as an illness, calling it a "sociopathic personality disturbance." Many therapists offered treatment, including Freudian analysts who dominated the field at the time.

Advocates for gay people objected furiously, and in 1970, one year after the landmark Stonewall protests to stop police raids at a New York bar, a team of gay rights protesters heckled a meeting of behavioral therapists in New York to discuss the topic. The meeting broke up, but not before a young Columbia University professor sat down with the protesters to hear their case.

"I've always been drawn to controversy, and what I was hearing made sense," said Dr. Spitzer, in an interview at his Princeton home last week. "And I began to

think, well, if it is a mental disorder, then what makes it one?"

He compared homosexuality with other conditions defined as disorders, like depression and alcohol dependence, and saw immediately that the latter caused marked distress or impairment, while homosexuality often did not.

He also saw an opportunity to do something about it. Dr. Spitzer was then a junior member of on an American Psychiatric Association committee helping to rewrite the field's diagnostic manual, and he promptly organized a symposium to discuss the place of homosexuality.

That kicked off a series of bitter debates, pitting Dr. Spitzer against a pair of influential senior psychiatrists who would not budge. In the end, the psychiatric association in 1973 sided with Dr. Spitzer, deciding to drop homosexuality from its manual and replace it with his alternative, "sexual orientation disturbance," to identify people whose sexual orientation, gay or straight, caused them distress.

The arcane language notwithstanding, homosexuality was no longer a "disorder." Dr. Spitzer achieved a civil rights breakthrough in record time.

"I wouldn't say that Robert Spitzer became a household name among the broader gay movement, but the declassification of homosexuality was widely celebrated as a victory," said Ronald Bayer of the Center for the History and Ethics of Public Health at Columbia. " 'Sick No More' was a headline in some gay newspapers."

Partly as a result, Dr. Spitzer took charge of the task of updating the diagnostic manual. Together with a colleague, Dr. Janet Williams, now his wife, he set to work. To an extent that is still not widely appreciated, his thinking about this one issue — homosexuality — drove a broader reconsideration of what mental illness is, of where to draw the line between normal and not.

The new manual, a 567-page doorstop released in 1980, became an unlikely best seller, here and abroad. It instantly set the standard for future psychiatry manuals, and elevated its principal architect, then nearing 50, to the pinnacle of his field.

He was the keeper of the book, part headmaster, part ambassador, and part ornery cleric, growling over the phone at scientists, journalists, or policy makers he thought were out of order. He took to the role as if born to it, colleagues say, helping to bring order to a historically chaotic corner of science.

But power was its own kind of confinement. Dr. Spitzer could still disturb the peace, all right, but no longer from the flanks, as a rebel. Now he was the establishment. And in the late 1990s, friends say, he remained restless as ever, eager to challenge common assumptions.

That's when he ran into another group of protesters, at the psychiatric association's annual meeting in 1999: self-described ex-gays. Like the homosexual protesters in 1973, they too were outraged that psychiatry was denying their experience — and any therapy that might help.

Reparative Therapy

Reparative therapy, sometimes called "sexual reorientation" or "conversion" therapy, is rooted in Freud's idea that people are born bisexual and can move along a continuum from one end to the other. Some therapists never let go of the theory, and one of Dr. Spitzer's main rivals in the 1973 debate, Dr. Charles W. Socarides, founded an organization called the National Association for Research and Therapy of Homosexuality, or Narth, in Southern California, to promote it.

By 1998, Narth had formed alliances with socially conservative advocacy groups and together they began an aggressive campaign, taking out full-page ads in major newspaper trumpeting success stories.

"People with a shared worldview basically came together and created their own set of experts to offer alternative policy views," said Dr. Jack Drescher, a psychiatrist in New York and co-editor of "Ex-Gay Research: Analyzing the Spitzer Study and Its Relation to Science, Religion, Politics, and Culture."

To Dr. Spitzer, the scientific question was at least worth asking: What was the effect of the therapy, if any? Previous studies had been biased and inconclusive.

"People at the time did say to me, 'Bob, you're messing with your career, don't do it,' " Dr. Spitzer said. "But I just didn't feel vulnerable."

He recruited 200 men and women, from the centers that were performing the therapy, including Exodus International, based in Florida, and Narth. He interviewed each in depth over the phone, asking about their sexual urges, feelings and behaviors before and after having the therapy, rating the answers on a scale.

He then compared the scores on this questionnaire, before and after therapy. "The majority of participants gave reports of change from a predominantly or exclusively homosexual orientation before therapy to a predominantly or exclusively heterosexual orientation in the past year," his paper concluded.

The study — presented at a psychiatry meeting in 2001, before publication — immediately created a sensation, and ex-gay groups seized on it as solid evidence for their case. This was Dr. Spitzer, after all, the man who single-handedly removed homosexuality from the manual of mental disorders. No one could accuse him of bias.

But gay leaders accused him of betrayal, and they had their reasons.

The study had serious problems. It was based on what people remembered feeling years before — an often fuzzy record. It included some ex-gay advocates, who were politically active. And it did not test any particular therapy; only half of the participants engaged with a therapist at all, while the others worked with pastoral counselors, or in independent Bible study.

Several colleagues tried to stop the study in its tracks, and urged him not to publish it, Dr. Spitzer said.

Yet, heavily invested after all the work, he turned to a friend and former collaborator, Dr. Kenneth J. Zucker, psychologist in chief at the Center for Addiction and Mental Health in Toronto and editor of the Archives of Sexual Behavior, another influential journal.

"I knew Bob and the quality of his work, and I agreed to publish it," Dr. Zucker said in an interview last week. The paper did not go through the usual peer-review

process, in which unnamed experts critique a manuscript before publication. “But I told him I would do it only if I also published commentaries” of response from other scientists to accompany the study, Dr. Zucker said.

Those commentaries, with a few exceptions, were merciless. One cited the Nuremberg Code of ethics to denounce the study as not only flawed but morally wrong. “We fear the repercussions of this study, including an increase in suffering, prejudice, and discrimination,” concluded a group of 15 researchers at the New York State Psychiatric Institute, where Dr. Spitzer was affiliated.

Dr. Spitzer in no way implied in the study that being gay was a choice, or that it was possible for anyone who wanted to change to do so in therapy. But that didn’t stop socially conservative groups from citing the paper in support of just those points, according to Wayne Besen, executive director of Truth Wins Out, a nonprofit group that fights antigay bias.

On one occasion, a politician in Finland held up the study in Parliament to argue against civil unions, according to Dr. Drescher.

“It needs to be said that when this study was misused for political purposes to say that gays should be cured — as it was, many times — Bob responded immediately, to correct misperceptions,” said Dr. Drescher, who is gay.

But Dr. Spitzer could not control how his study was interpreted by everyone, and he could not erase the biggest scientific flaw of them all, roundly attacked in many of the commentaries: Simply asking people whether they have changed is no evidence at all of real change. People lie, to themselves and others. They continually change their stories, to suit their needs and moods.

By almost any measure, in short, the study failed the test of scientific rigor that Dr. Spitzer himself was so instrumental in enforcing for so many years.

“As I read these commentaries, I knew this was a problem, a big problem, and one I couldn’t answer,” Dr. Spitzer said. “How do you know someone has really changed?”

Letting Go

It took 11 years for him to admit it publicly.

At first he clung to the idea that the study was exploratory, an attempt to prompt scientists to think twice about dismissing the therapy outright. Then he took refuge in the position that the study was focused less on the effectiveness of the therapy and more on how people engaging in it described changes in sexual orientation.

"Not a very interesting question," he said. "But for a long time I thought maybe I wouldn't have to face the bigger problem, about measuring change."

After retiring in 2003, he remained active on many fronts, but the reparative study remained a staple of the culture wars and a personal regret that wouldn't leave him be. The Parkinson's symptoms have worsened in the past year, exhausting him mentally as well as physically, making it still harder to fight back pangs of remorse.

And one day in March, Dr. Spitzer entertained a visitor. Gabriel Arana, a journalist at the magazine The American Prospect, interviewed Dr. Spitzer about the reparative therapy study. This was not just any interview; Mr. Arana went through reparative therapy himself as a teenager, and his therapist had recruited the young man for Dr. Spitzer's study (Mr. Arana did not participate).

"I asked him about all his critics, and he just came out and said, 'I think they're largely correct,' " said Mr. Arana, who wrote about his own experience last month. Mr. Arana said that reparative therapy ultimately delayed his self-acceptance as a gay man and induced thoughts of suicide. "But at the time I was recruited for the Spitzer study, I was referred as a success story. I would have said I was making progress."

That did it. The study that seemed at the time a mere footnote to a large life was growing into a chapter. And it needed a proper ending — a strong correction, directly from its author, not a journalist or colleague.

A draft of the letter has already leaked online and has been reported.

"You know, it's the only regret I have; the only professional one," Dr. Spitzer said of the study, near the end of a long interview. "And I think, in the history of

psychiatry, I don't know that I've ever seen a scientist write a letter saying that the data were all there but were totally misinterpreted. Who admitted that and who apologized to his readers."

He looked away and back again, his big eyes blurring with emotion. "That's something, don't you think?"

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Parent-Initiated Sexual Orientation Change Efforts With LGBT Adolescents: Implications for Young Adult Mental Health and Adjustment

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ABSTRACT

Studies of adults who experienced sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE) have documented a range of health risks. To date, there is little research on SOCE among adolescents and no known studies of parents' role related to SOCE with adolescents. In a cross-sectional study of 245 LGBT White and Latino young adults (ages 21–25), we measured parent-initiated SOCE during adolescence and its relationship to mental health and adjustment in young adulthood. Measures include being sent to therapists and religious leaders for conversion interventions as well as parental/caregiver efforts to change their child's sexual orientation during adolescence. Attempts by parents/caregivers and being sent to therapists and religious leaders for conversion interventions were associated with depression, suicidal thoughts, suicidal attempts, less educational attainment, and less weekly income. Associations between SOCE, health, and adjustment were much stronger and more frequent for those reporting both attempts by parents and being sent to therapists and religious leaders, underscoring the need for parental education and guidance.

KEYWORDS

Sexual orientation; LGBT youth; reparative therapy; conversion therapy; sexual orientation change efforts; suicidality; depression

The American Psychiatric Association removed homosexuality from its diagnostic manual as a mental disorder more than four decades ago, yet efforts to change sexual orientation, often referred to as "conversion" or "reparative" therapy, continue to be practiced by some mental health providers, clergy, and religious leaders (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Reponses to Sexual Orientation, 2009; Substance Abuse, Mental Health Services Administration, 2015). Although research on adult populations has documented harmful effects of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE), no studies have examined SOCE among adolescents (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009). Yet

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because some people believe that homosexuality can be changed or "cured," some parents engage in efforts to change their child's sexual orientation, and some may seek professional therapies for a child's same-sex sexual orientation. In this study we consider the health and adjustment of a sample of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT)[1] young adults in association with retrospective reports of efforts by their parents to change their sexual orientation during adolescence.

Existing research and field consensus

SOCE continues to be practiced despite a lack of credible evidence of effectiveness, reported harm from a range of studies on SOCE with adults (see APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009; SAMHSA, 2015), and increased adoption of practice guidance from major professional associations that caution against SOCE.[2] In one controversial study, 200 individuals who reported some change from homosexual to heterosexual following therapy were examined (Spitzer, 2003). The majority reported some minimal change from a homosexual to a heterosexual orientation; complete sexual orientation change was rare. The study received a great deal of attention and criticism for methodological limitations that included sample recruitment bias and problems in measurement and statistical reporting (see Drescher & Zucker, 2006 for a comprehensive review of the critiques of this study; the author later retracted the study). A review of 28 empirically based studies that have examined the use of these therapies strongly criticized the body of literature for multiple significant methodological flaws (see Serovich et al., 2008).

By the 1990s a wide range of major professional associations in the United States adopted position statements that supported affirmative care for lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) clients and patients, and in the same time period several of them published statements that opposed efforts to change an individual's sexual orientation (e.g., American Academy of Pediatrics, 1993; American Psychiatric Association, 1994; American Psychological Association, 1998; National Association of Social Workers, 1992). Despite these professional statements, some providers have continued to engage in SOCE with adults and adolescents, and the American Psychological Association (APA) convened a task force in 2007 to conduct a systematic review of peer-reviewed studies related to SOCE. The task force report concluded that published studies making claims that sexual orientation had been changed were methodologically unsound (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009). Moreover, the report noted that SOCE were unlikely to be successful and involved risk of harm. Specifically, studies of SOCE with adults (e.g., Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002) have reported a range of negative outcomes, including depression, anxiety, self-hatred, low self-esteem, isolation, and

suicidality (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009).

Adolescents, parents, and SOCE

At the time of the APA report, no studies were identified that focused on sexual orientation change efforts among adolescents (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009); nevertheless, several organizations continued to market the effectiveness of sexual orientation change efforts for youth (see Ryan & Rivers, 2003). As the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry—a policy organization that provides guidance for the psychiatric profession—has noted, "Despite … changes in scientific thinking in the last two decades, social and religious conservatives have advanced their own illness/behavior model of homosexuality [which] maintains that homosexuality is not inborn and that variations of long disproven theories of homosexuality's etiology can serve as a basis for offering conversion therapies" (Drescher et al., 2016, p. 8).

Understanding adolescent experiences is especially important, particularly since SOCE with minors raises distinct ethical concerns (Hicks, 1999; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2015). These include determining what constitutes appropriate consent, the potential for pressure from parents and other authority figures, the minor's dependence on adults for emotional and financial support, and the lack of information regarding the impact of SOCE on their future health and wellbeing.

Concerned parents who believe that being lesbian, gay, or bisexual (LGB) is wrong and that an individual's sexual orientation can be changed may engage in rejecting behaviors, such as trying to change their child's sexual orientation; excluding them from family events and activities to discourage, deny, or minimize their identity; or using religion to prevent or change their sexual orientation (e.g., Ryan, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2009). These parental behaviors are typically motivated by concern and represent efforts to try to help their child "fit in," to be accepted by others, to conform with religious values and beliefs, and to meet parental expectations (Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Ryan et al., 2009; Ryan & Rees, 2012; SAMHSA, 2014). Moreover, such efforts are based on a belief that homosexuality is a mental illness or developmental disorder that needs to be corrected or cured. Yet SOCE are at odds with mainstream understandings of human development and professional standards of care, which hold that LGB identities are normative and that social stigma and minority stress contribute to negative health outcomes and self-hate (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2015).

There is growing concern that SOCE has continued to be practiced despite serious ethical conflicts and potentially harmful effects (APA Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation, 2009). An analysis by the Williams Institute estimated that nearly 700,000 U.S. LGBT adults have received SOCE conversion therapy interventions, including 350,000 LGBT adults who received SOCE interventions as adolescents (Mallory, Brown & Conron, 2018). This concern led legal advocates in the United States to introduce legislation to prevent SOCE among licensed practitioners, an approach that has been adopted in 10 U.S. states and a growing number of jurisdictions and that has sought to inform families, the public, practitioners and religious leaders of the impact of such practices (Drescher, 2013; Movement Advancement Project, 2018). Although these laws appear to have raised awareness and informed public perceptions and responses (Ames, 2015), they do not prevent SOCE in families or by unlicensed practitioners, clergy, and others.

The U.S. Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration asked the APA to convene a scientific advisory panel of researchers and practitioners who were experts in the field to review existing research, professional policies, and clinical guidelines to develop consensus recommendations related to the ethical and scientific foundations of conversion therapy with minors (Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2015). Concurrently, the Obama administration called for an end to conversion therapy of minors, citing, in particular, the importance of family support for LGBT young people (Jarrett, 2015). Most recently, in March 2018 the European parliament passed a resolution condemning the practice and urging member nations to ban SOCE.

The current study

Historically, SOCE research has focused on adults. Decades ago, Gonsiorek theorized that the experience of SOCE during adolescence can "contribute to negative self-esteem and mental health problems" (Gonsiorek, 1988, p. 116), yet there are no known studies of the link between such interventions and the health and wellbeing of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) young people, particularly SOCE efforts carried out both by parents and caregivers, as well as by practitioners and religious leaders.

To our knowledge, we present the first study to examine young adults' retrospective reports of parent-initiated efforts to change their sexual orientation during adolescence, and the associations between these experiences and young adult mental health and adjustment. The two goals of this study include: (1) to identify demographic and family characteristics that are associated with parent-initiated attempts to change a child's sexual

orientation during adolescence, and (2) to examine associations among these parent-initiated attempts in adolescence with a range of indicators of young adult health and adjustment.

Method

The sample included 245 participants who self-identified as LGBT. Participants were recruited from local bars, clubs, and community agencies that serve this population in a 100-mile radius of the research center. Screening procedures were used to select participants into the study based on the following criteria: age (21–25); ethnicity (White, Latino, or Latino mixed); self-identification as LGBT during adolescence; being open about LGBT status to at least one parent or guardian during adolescence; and having lived with at least one parent or guardian during adolescence at least part-time. The survey was administered in both English and Spanish, and it was available in either computer-assisted or paper-and-pencil format. The study protocol was approved by the university's institutional review board.

Sample

Of the 245 participants, 46.5% were male, 44.9% were female, and 8.6% were transgender. The majority of participants identified as gay (42.5%), 27.8% as lesbian, 13.1% as bisexual, and 16.7% as other (e.g., queer, dyke, homosexual). Approximately one half of the sample identified as Latino (51.4%), and the other 48.6% identified as White, non-Latino. In addition, 18.78% of the respondents were immigrants to the United States. The age of the participants ranged from 21 to 25 years (M = 22.8, SD = 1.4). Family of origin socioeconomic status was assessed retrospectively (1 = *both parents in unskilled positions or unemployed* to 16 = *both parents in professional positions;* M = 6.75, SD = 4.77).

Measures

Parent-initiated efforts to change youths' sexual orientation

Participants responded to two items that assessed past parental and caregiver-initiated efforts to change the youths' sexual orientation. The first item asked: "Between ages 13 and 19, how often did any of your parents/caregivers try to change your sexual orientation (i.e., to make you straight)?" (0 = never [49.64%]; 1 = ever [53.06%]). A second item asked: "Between ages 13 and 19, how often did any of your parents/caregivers take you to a therapist or religious leader to cure, treat, or change your sexual orientation?" (0 = never [65.71%]; 1 = ever [34.29%]). We created a single measure with

three categories that identifies the severity of parent-initiated attempts to change youths' sexual orientation. The three categories include: (1) no attempt to change sexual orientation (n = 109; 41.63%), (2) parent and caregiver-initiated attempt to change sexual orientation without external conversion efforts (n = 52; 21.22%), and (3) parent and caregiver-initiated attempt to change sexual orientation with external conversion efforts (n = 78; 31.84%). Six participants who reported conversion efforts but not parental attempts to change sexual orientation were dropped from the current study, for a total analytic sample of 239 participants.

Young adult health and adjustment

Indicators of mental health and adjustment assessed included suicidal ideation, lifetime suicidal attempts, depression, self-esteem, and life satisfaction. Suicidal ideation was assessed by one item: "During the past six months, did you have any thoughts of ending your life?" (0 = no, 3 = many times). Lifetime suicidal attempts were assessed by one item: "Have you ever, at any point in your life, attempted taking your own life?" (0 = no, 1 = yes). Depression was measured by the 20-item CES-D (Radloff, 1977, 1991). Two dichotomized cut-off scores were also used: a clinical cut-off score (≥16) and a prescription intervention cut-off score (≥22). Self-esteem was measured by Rosenberg's 6-item self-esteem scale (Rosenberg, 1979). Life satisfaction was measured by an 8-item scale (e.g., "At the present time, how satisfied are you with your living situation?"). Social support was measured by the 12-item Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (Zimet, Dahlem, Zimet, & Farley, 1988).

Behavioral health risk indicators included substance use and abuse and engagement in risky sexual activities. Binge drinking (or heavy alcohol use) was assessed by two items that measured the frequency of drinking and the number of drinks per occasion (0 = less than 1–2 times per week and less than 3 drinks per occasion; 1 = 1–2 times per week or more and more than 3 drinks per occasion). Substance abuse problems were assessed by four items (e.g., "In the past five years, have you had problems with the law because of your alcohol or drug use?") and were dichotomized to represent ever having problems versus never having problems. Risky sexual behavior was assessed in six ways: unprotected sex during the last 6 months (0 = no, 1 = yes), unprotected sex with a casual or HIV positive partner during the last 6 months (0 = no, 1 = yes), unprotected sex during last sexual encounter (0 = no, 1 = yes), unprotected casual sex during last sexual encounter (0 = no, 1 = yes), ever been diagnosed with a sexually transmitted disease (0 = never, 1 = ever), and one item that assessed HIV risk ("In the last six months, were you ever at risk for being infected with or transmitting HIV?"; 0 = no, 1 = yes).

Finally, two indicators of young adult socioeconomic status were assessed: current monthly income and educational attainment. Current weekly income as assessed by one item: "What is your personal weekly income (after taxes,

unemployment, social security, etc.)?" (1 = less than $100, 7 = more than $2000). Educational attainment was assessed by one item: "What is the highest level of education you have completed?" (1 = *less than elementary school*, 7 = *postgraduate*).

Demographic and family characteristics

Adolescent gender nonconformity and family religiosity were included as possible characteristics that may predict whether or not parents/caregivers attempted to change the participant's sexual orientation during adolescence. Adolescent gender nonconformity was measured by one item: "On a scale from 1–9, where 1 is extremely feminine and 9 is extremely masculine, how would you describe yourself when you were a teenager (age 13–19)?" This item was reverse coded for males such that a higher score is representative of more nonconformity to gender norms ($M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.87$). Family religiosity was measured by one item: "How religious or spiritual was your family while you were growing up?" (0 = *not at all*, 3 = *extremely; M* = 1.35, *SD* = 0.91).

Plan of analysis

First, demographic and family characteristics were included in a multinomial logistic regression to predict the likelihood of a participant experiencing parent-initiated attempts to change their sexual orientation during adolescence without external conversion intervention efforts (= 1) and parental attempts to change sexual orientation with external conversion efforts (= 2) compared to no attempts (= 0). Second, to understand the associations among parent-initiated attempts to change the participant's sexual orientation during adolescence with young adult health and wellbeing, we used logistic regressions for dichotomous outcomes and multiple linear regression for continuous outcomes, including known covariates for the outcomes of interest (Ryan et al., 2009). To minimize exclusion of participants due to missing data and to maximize statistical power, we used PRELIS, a component of LISREL, to impute missing data (total <5%; Graham, Cumsille, & Elek-Fisk, 2003) using all numeric variables in an expectation maximization algorithm for imputation. All continuous variables were checked for assumptions of normality; the depression measure was significantly skewed, but after a square-root transformation the items met assumptions of normality. Finally, we conducted linear trend analyses for study outcomes across the three groups of participants based on no attempts, parent-initiated attempts, and parent-initiated attempts with external conversion efforts.

Results

Similar background characteristics predicted both types of parent-initiated SOCE (see Table 1). Notably, there were no differences in reports of SOCE

Table 1. Demographic and family characteristics predicting parent/caregiver-initiated sexual orientation change efforts.

	Parent-initiated SOCE	Parent-initiated SOCE with external conversion efforts
Female (Ref = male)	1.62 (0.76–3.46)	0.94 (0.46–1.92)
Transgender (Ref = male)	2.30 (0.40–13.14)	1.93 (0.44–8.47)
Bisexual (Ref = gay/lesbian)	0.80 (0.30–2.17)	0.40 (0.13–1.23)
Queer (Ref = gay/lesbian)	0.49 (0.14–1.74)	1.24 (0.46–3.34)
White, non-Latino (Ref = Latino)	0.86 (0.39–1.90)	1.51 (0.70–3.23)
Immigrant (Ref = U.S. native)	1.98 (0.67–5.90)	6.47 (2.43–17.23)***
Family of origin SES	0.85 (0.78–0.93)***	0.88 (0.81–0.95)***
Adolescent gender nonconformity	1.18 (0.96–1.45)	1.27 (1.05–1.54)*
Family religiosity	1.72 (1.13–2.61)*	1.88 (1.28–2.76)**

N = 239. Ref = reference group. Adjusted odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals from a multinomial logistic regression are shown. The reference category for the model was "neither change efforts nor conversion efforts." ***$p < .001$. **$p < .01$. *$p < .05$.

based on gender, sexual identity (bisexual or queer), or ethnicity. However, adolescents who grew up in religious families were more likely to experience SOCE (with and without external conversion efforts). Higher family of origin socioeconomic status was also associated with fewer parent-initiated SOCE (with and without conversion efforts). Additionally, participants who were not born in the United States and who reported more gender nonconformity during adolescence were more likely to experience parent-initiated attempts to change with external conversion efforts.

Table 2 displays the results of logistic and linear regressions predicting young adult health and adjustment based on reports of parent-initiated SOCE during adolescence (both with and without external conversion efforts). Both levels of parent-initiated attempts to change participant's sexual orientation during adolescence were associated with more negative mental health problems for young adults. Specifically, those who experienced SOCE were more likely to have suicidal thoughts (although only for those who reported SOCE with external conversion efforts) and to report suicidal attempts and higher levels of depression. Participants who experienced SOCE had lower life satisfaction and less social support in young adulthood. Parental-initiated SOCE in adolescence were not associated with self-esteem, substance use or abuse, or risky sexual behavior. Finally, parent-initiated SOCE during adolescence were associated with lower young adult socioeconomic status: less educational attainment and less weekly income (although only for those who experienced attempts to change with external conversion efforts).

Differences across the three groups defined by parent-initiated SOCE are presented in Table 3. Trend analyses confirmed that parental attempts to change adolescents' sexual orientation are significantly associated with negative health outcomes in young adulthood, and that those problems are worse

Table 2. Parent/caregiver-initiated sexual orientation change efforts predicting young adult outcomes.

	Parent-initiated SOCE	Parent-initiated SOCE with external conversion efforts
Mental Health		
Suicidal ideation (continuous)	0.13	0.27***
Suicidal attempt (1 = ever)	3.08 (1.39–6.83)**	5.07 (2.38–10.79)***
Depression – Clinical cut-off score (≥16)	2.20 (1.02–4.73)*	3.92 (1.92–8.00)***
Depression – Prescription intervention cut-off score (≥22)	1.94 (0.82–4.57)	3.63 (1.67–7.87)**
Depression (continuous)	0.15*	0.30***
Self-esteem (continuous)	−0.13	−0.13
Life satisfaction (continuous)	−0.19**	−0.34***
Social support (continuous)	−0.26***	−0.45***
Substance Use/Abuse		
Binge drinking (1 = yes)	0.90 (0.42–1.93)	1.01 (0.50–2.03)
Substance abuse problems (1 = yes)	0.87 (0.42–1.82)	1.70 (0.84–3.44)
Sexual Risk Behavior		
Unprotected sex during last 6 months (1 = yes)	1.61 (0.70–3.72)	2.05 (0.91–4.59)
Unprotected sex with casual or HIV + partner last 6 months (1 = yes)	0.91 (0.36–2.30)	2.09 (0.91–4.78)
Unprotected sex at last intercourse (1 = yes)	0.90 (0.43–1.87)	1.23 (0.62–2.45)
Unprotected casual sex at last intercourse (1 = yes)	1.01 (0.41–2.49)	1.11 (0.48–2.58)
STD diagnosis (1 = ever)	0.79 (0.33–1.91)	1.36 (0.62–2.99)
HIV risk in last 6 months (1 = yes)	0.74 (0.31–1.74)	1.06 (0.50–2.26)
Current Socioeconomic Status		
Educational attainment (continuous)	−0.15*	−0.32***
Current weekly income (continuous)	−0.12	−0.27***

N = 239. Adjusted odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals are shown for dichotomous outcomes and standardized beta coefficients are shown for continuous outcomes. All analyses controlled for gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, immigrant status, family of origin socioeconomic status, adolescent gender nonconformity, and family of origin religiosity. ***$p < .001$. **$p < .01$. *$p < .05$.

for young adults who experienced SOCE that included external conversion efforts during adolescence. This pattern of results emerged as statistically significant for 12 of the 18 outcomes tested, including significant findings for all outcomes related to mental health and socioeconomic status.

Discussion

Results from this study clearly document that parent/caregiver efforts to change an adolescent's sexual orientation are associated with multiple indicators of poor health and adjustment in young adulthood. The negative associations were markedly stronger for participants who experienced both parental attempts to change their sexual orientation, coupled with efforts to send the adolescent to a therapist or religious leader to change their sexual orientation (strategies often called "conversion" or "reparative" therapy). In this sample of LGBT young adults, more than half reported some form of

Table 3. Trend effects related to parent/caregiver-initiated sexual orientation change efforts predicting young adult health outcomes.

	No SOCE (n = 109)	Parent-Initiated SOCE (n = 52)	Parent-Initiated SOCE with External Conversion Efforts (n = 78)	Group difference (χ^2; F)
Mental Health				
Suicidal ideation (continuous)	.17	.38	.57	***
Suicidal attempt (1 = ever)	22.0 %	48.1 %	62.8 %	***
Depression – Clinical cut-off score (≥16)	26.6 %	46.2 %	65.4 %	***
Depression – Prescription intervention cut-off score (≥22)	15.6 %	32.7 %	52.3 %	***
Depression (continuous)	9.21	12.99	16.10	***
Self-esteem (continuous)	2.88	2.74	2.72	**
Life satisfaction (continuous)	3.05	2.78	2.61	***
Social support (continuous)	4.18	3.66	3.31	***
Substance Use/Abuse				
Binge drinking (1 = yes)	42.2 %	36.5 %	41.3 %	NS
Substance abuse problems (1 = yes)	49.5 %	50.0 %	66.7 %	*
Sexual Risk Behavior				
Unprotected sex during last 6 months (1 = yes)	28.4 %	36.5 %	42.3 %	*
Unprotected sex with casual or HIV + partner last 6 months (1 = yes)	22.0 %	21.2 %	38.5 %	*
Unprotected sex at last intercourse (1 = yes)	49.5 %	53.9 %	59.0 %	NS
Unprotected casual sex at last intercourse (1 = yes)	15.6 %	23.1 %	25.6 %	NS
STD diagnosis (1 = ever)	24.8 %	21.2 %	30.8 %	NS
HIV risk in last 6 months (1 = yes)	28.4 %	25.0 %	37.2 %	NS
Current Socioeconomic Status				
Educational attainment (continuous)	5.19	4.65	4.26	***
Current weekly income (continuous)	2.73	2.31	2.03	***

Six participants who reported conversion efforts but not parent attempts are excluded. Percentages are shown for dichotomous outcomes with chi-square significance levels, and average scores are shown for continues outcomes with ANOVA F significance levels.
***$p < .001$. **$p < .01$. *$p < .05$.

attempt by their parents and caregivers to change their sexual orientation during adolescence. With the exception of high-risk sexual behavior and substance abuse, attempts to change sexual orientation during adolescence were associated with elevated young adult depressive symptoms and suicidal behavior, and with lower levels of young adult life satisfaction, social support, and socioeconomic status. Thus SOCE is associated with multiple domains of functioning that affect self-care, wellbeing, and adjustment.

The results of this study point to a number of factors that impact practice and provision of appropriate care. Family religiosity was strongly linked to

parental attempts to change sexual orientation. In a related study, families that were highly religious were least likely to accept their LGBT children (Ryan, Russell, Huebner, Diaz, & Sanchez, 2010). Religiously conservative families often have misinformation about sexual orientation and gender identity and need accurate information to help support their LGBT children in the context of their values and beliefs (for guidance see Ryan & Rees, 2012; Substance Abuse Mental Health & Services Administration, 2014). Moreover, parents and caregivers often conflate sexual orientation with gender expression. Discomfort with gender nonconformity may be at the root of much of parents' and caregivers' motivations for SOCE: in the current study, gender nonconforming youth were more likely to experience attempts to change their sexual orientation through conversion therapy with therapists and religious leaders. Further, our results show that immigrant parents are more likely to try to change their children's sexual orientation by sending them for clinical or religious intervention.

Related research has found that SOCE typically happens in the context of other family rejecting behaviors that contribute to health risks in young adulthood (Ryan et al., 2009). Parents, caregivers and others who provide support for LGBT children and adolescents need to understand that family rejection encompasses a wide range of behaviors, and education is critical for families, providers, and religious leaders on the relationship between family rejection and acceptance with health and wellbeing for LGBT young people (Ryan, 2009; Ryan & Chen-Hayes, 2013; Ryan et al., 2010; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2015; Substance Abuse Mental Health & Services Administration, 2014).

Studies on responses of parents and caregivers with LGBT children indicate that parents' reactions are motivated by a number of concerns, which include helping their child "fit in" to their family and cultural world, responding to religious and cultural values, keeping their families together, and trying to protect their LGBT child from harm (Maslowe & Yarhouse, 2015; Ryan, 2009; Substance Abuse Mental Health & Services Administration, 2014). In other words, parents are typically motivated by doing what they think is best for their child. Nonetheless, our study did not directly examine the motives of the parents of study participants. However, these findings reinforce the critical need for culturally appropriate family education and guidance on sexual orientation and gender identity and expression, the harmful effects of family rejecting behaviors, including SOCE, and the need for supporting their LGBT children, even in the context of parental and familial discomfort and religious conflict.

There are several limitations of this study. First, study inclusion criteria called for current identification as LGBT; it is likely that this inclusion criterion excludes persons who are dissatisfied with their LGBT identity, or persons who had identified as LGBT during adolescence but not at the time

of the study. Thus we acknowledge that we did not include young people whose sexual orientation may be more fluid (e.g., sexual orientation in adolescence not consistent with sexual orientation in young adulthood). Second, although the study included a measure of family religiosity, there is no measure of specific religious affiliation, a factor that might be a further predictor of the role of parents in SOCE of their children. Third, the design is retrospective, and thus causal claims cannot be made. We cannot rule out the possibility that those who were most maladjusted as young adults retrospectively attribute parental behaviors during adolescence as attempts at changing their sexual orientation; we also cannot rule out the possibility that well-adjusted LGBT young adults may be less likely to recall experiences related SOCE. However, we note that the face validity of the specific measures is compelling: the alternatives are less plausible than the explanation that sexual orientation change attempts would likely undermine health and wellbeing.

Most attention to SOCE has focused on the ethics of professional practice and recent efforts to end such practice through legislation. This study highlights the crucial role parents play in SOCE—either directly themselves or through sending their children to therapists or religious leaders. Results point to the need for multicultural and faith-based family education resources and approaches to help parents and caregivers learn how to support their LGBT children in the context of their family, cultural, and religious values (see, for example, Kleiman & Ryan, 2013; Ryan, 2009; Ryan & Rees, 2012). In addition to supporting families and educating religious leaders and congregations, legislative and professional regulatory efforts to end SOCE therapies are important for raising awareness about and preventing a contraindicated practice that contributes to health risks, and for changing negative attitudes and bias regarding LGBT people.

Taken together, these findings provide a needed empirical framework for understanding the scope of SOCE in and outside of the home and the costs of sexual orientation change efforts directly from those individuals who are most affected—LGBT young people themselves. Historically, research and strategies to prevent SOCE have focused on mental health practitioners and much less on religious leaders, with limited awareness of the role of families in pressuring LGBT young people to change core identities. As indicated by this study, more attention is needed on family-based efforts to change a child's sexual orientation and gender expression. Because LGBT youth cannot escape family rejecting behaviors (see, for example, Ryan, 2009; Ryan & Rees, 2012), approaches to prevent and ameliorate efforts to change a child's sexual orientation and gender identity must include the broader social context that includes the home and social, cultural, and religious influences on families and caregivers to change or suppress a child's sexual orientation and gender expression.

Notes

1. The sampling frame for the study included youth who identified as LGBT during adolescence. Of note, all transgender youth in this sample also identified as lesbian/gay, bisexual, homosexual, or queer.
2. Policy statements cautioning against SOCE have been issued across disciplines ranging from counseling (American Counseling Association, 2013) to medicine (Society for Adolescent Health and Medicine, 2013), nursing (International Society of Psychiatric-Mental Health Nurses, 2008), psychiatry (American Psychiatric Association, 2000; World Psychiatric Association, 2016), psychology (American Psychological Association, 2009), and social work (National Association of Social Workers, 2015).

Disclosure statement

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Mental Health Implications in Mormon Women's Experiences With Same-Sex Attraction: A Qualitative Study

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Abstract

Given research suggesting that individuals in conservative religions experience conflict between religious beliefs and feelings of same-sex sexuality, this study explores the mental health impact of Mormon women who experience same-sex sexuality. Twenty-three Mormon women participated in semi-structured individual interviews about their experiences with same-sex sexuality. Interview questions asked about participants' experiences with same-sex sexuality and the LDS Church (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints), how this experience affected their mental health, and what types of mental health treatment they engaged in during their process of reconciliation. Data were analyzed following phenomenological methodology. Themes included the following: experiences with mood disorders, self-worth, suicidality, treatment attempts, reparative therapy, counselor's agenda, impact of family and community, and mental health recovery. When treating women who experience conflict, counselors should assess self-worth, suicidality, and the level of community and familial support. Referral to group counseling can support self-acceptance of same-

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sex sexuality through normalization. Future research should examine specific practice interventions and explore impacts of other intersecting identities.

Keywords
religion/spirituality, dimensions of diversity, LGBT, psychotherapy, qualitative methodology

Introduction

When considering same-sex sexuality within the context of a conservative Christian religion, the inherent conflict appears obvious (Hunter, 2010). Religious individuals who experience same-sex sexuality feel forced to choose between their sexuality and their religious values/beliefs, which place heterosexuality and celibacy as unalterable standards (Morrow & Beckstead, 2004; Yarhouse, 2001). The pressure to separate sexuality and spirituality springs not just from an individual, but from the community surrounding the individual as well (Whitehead & Baker, 2012; Ysseldyk, Matheson, & Anisman, 2010). Dividing these intimate psychological aspects of human experience may cause greater harm. Consequently, the mental health profession has begun advocating that individuals who experience conflict between their religious beliefs and sexuality integrate their identities rather than polarize them (see the special edition about depolarizing the debate in *The Counseling Psychologist* 2004, 32[5]). However, counselors may have difficulty affirming both identities due to the limited attention given to this topic and due to unexamined bias created by a counselor's personal religious beliefs or value of sexual diversity.

For this reason, counselors need to be aware of how various religious traditions may affect an individual's experience with same-sex sexuality. This article will focus on experiences of women within the Mormon religion, otherwise known as The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints or LDS Church. The findings are part of a larger phenomenological qualitative dissertation thesis that explored Mormon women's experiences of same-sex sexuality (Jacobsen, 2013). This article presents findings related to mental health and women's experiences with mental health services as they sought help for conflict with religious and sexual identities.

Literature Review

People define themselves in many ways. They may, for example, define themselves by their beliefs, personality characteristics, connections to others,

cultural affiliation, involvement in groups, religious beliefs, and/or intimate relationships (Erikson, 1980). These defining aspects of self become part of a person's identity. Identity is the answer to the question "Who am I?"

A positive self-identity has many benefits; however, achieving a positive identity may be difficult when parts of an individual's identity conflict (Hunter, 2010). When two core identities conflict, a threat to identity may result in distress. The degree of distress depends on the salience of the identities (Rust, 2000). Identities considered central to an individual's core identity will create greater distress when threatened (Baumeister, Shapiro, & Tice, 1985).

Spirituality or religiousness often represents an important part of an individual's identity. Spirituality and religiousness are separate, and although interconnected, construct and impact individuals' identities and how they define themselves and their place in the world. Spirituality represents the internal sense of faith and connection with some universal force as uniquely defined by an individual (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008). Religiousness represents the belief in the tenants of a specific religion and the subsequent practice of that religion (Ysseldyk et al., 2010).

Research indicates that religion and religious affiliation may result in positive health and mental health benefits (Hill & Pargament, 2003; Hunter, 2010). Furthermore, religion provides a framework for understanding the world and creates meaning for experiences (Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter, 2008). Religion provides connection with a community of fellow believers. Part of the benefit from religious participation comes from being part of a larger group. The larger group status, and resulting benefits from sharing a communal identity, becomes threatened when a person deviates from religious prescriptions (Lease, Horne, & Noffsinger-Frazier, 2005). A change in a religious identity would affect one's relation to the faith community—a community that is potentially a strong source of support in a person's life (Hunter, 2010). Conversely, holding on to a religious identity that reinforces the view of self as sinful or immoral may make that identity less beneficial.

A second and significant aspect of identity is sexual orientation. Sexual orientation is the sexual, affectional (otherwise known as romantic orientation), and/or emotional attraction to specific genders. Orientation is viewed as a continuous construct with various degrees of attraction toward the same- and/or other-sex (Klein, Sepekoff, & Wolf, 1985). Sexual identity is a self-assigned label used to represent an individual's sexual orientation. A sexual minority identity (such as lesbian, gay, or bisexual) acknowledges non-heterosexual sexuality and can refer to exclusive or non-exclusive attractions toward the same-sex (Diamond, 2008).

Studies show positive health and psychological benefits when people who experience same-sex attractions develop and accept a sexual minority

identity (Hunter, 2010; Lease et al., 2005; Rodriguez & Ouellette, 2006). Research suggests that individuals who have synthesized an LGB identity and who have disclosed their identities to others have a higher level of self-esteem (Beals & Peplau, 2005). One reason for this may be that acceptance by a sexual minority community provides psychological benefits by buffering against larger societal discrimination and may result in higher self-esteem and life satisfaction, and a decrease or absence of depression (Hunter, 2010; Lease et al., 2005). However, the experience of sexuality cannot be viewed independently from the context in which it is experienced. Sexuality represents one component of the multidimensional complexity of human identity that is impacted by other identities an individual may hold.

Intersectionality examines the cross section of two or more identities (Murphy, 2009). The intersection of spirituality and sexuality will affect both the religious and sexual identity development of an individual (Brown, 1989). A Christian lesbian could have a different experience than someone who identifies only as Christian or lesbian. Exploring this intersection is necessary to develop further understanding of the experiences of individuals who report conflict between their religious or spiritual and sexual identities.

To understand the intersection of spirituality and sexuality, one must utilize a multicultural perspective to understand the community and culture that shape an individual's experience (Reynolds & Pope, 1991). Religion and spirituality may be core identity components and are not easily changed for those within a specific belief system (Morrow & Beckstead, 2004). Both religious and sexual minority identities have positive benefits when considered in isolation; however, intersections of these identities may negate the benefits one could receive from these identities individually (Hunter, 2010). Participation in a conservative religion could diminish psychological benefits from a synthesized sexual minority identity because of a lack of social support (Swann & Spivey, 2004). The positive health benefits of religion may not hold for LGB individuals, given the condemnation they hear about themselves in traditional conservative religions (Greene, 2000).

Previous research has documented the distress experienced by individuals with conflicting spiritual and sexual identities. Same-sex sexuality can disrupt a conservative religious individual's core sense of self, values, meaning, purpose, and self-worth (American Psychological Association [APA], 2009). The negative impacts from conflicting religious and sexual identities include suicidal ideation (Russell, Bohan, & Lilly, 2000), depression, alienation from family and culture (Mahaffy, 1996), loss of meaning (Morrow, Beckstead, Hayes, & Haldeman, 2004), unhappiness, loneliness, isolation, high-risk sexual activity, substance abuse, feelings of not belonging, fear of being

rejected, self-denial, religious doubt, guilt, low self-esteem, depression, and suicidal ideation and/or attempts (Hunter, 2010).

People who view their sexual orientation as fixed may attempt to change their religious identity, which would result in a re-evaluation of the meaning and experience of their spirituality. One may opt to relinquish her religious membership. Changing religious identity can change one's identity as a whole because it alters the way that a person perceives her reality and the way that she lives her life (Lease et al., 2005). To accept a sexual minority identity may mean the loss of a religious community's support and a subsequent loss of religious beliefs including a meaningful world view (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). Even if one does not wish to change her religion, accepting a sexual minority identity may result in rejection from the religious community and culture (Greene, 2000). Although religion and spirituality are separate constructs, negative religious experiences can impact spirituality (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). The result may be a devaluation of spirituality and a disconnection from this essential human experience. Many people within the LGBT community hold negative views and attitudes about religion because of the general condemnation they received from religious institutions. Thus, people who embrace a sexual minority identity and turn to the LGBT community for support often lose community support for their spiritual identity (Yarhouse, 2001).

On the other hand, people who view their religious orientation as fixed may foreclose on a sexual minority identity (Ermann, 2004). For a conservative Christian, experiencing any form of same-sex sexuality represents more than a deviation from the "norm," as it is potentially sinful or immoral. Although professional mental health associations have stated that sexual orientation is a natural and normal variation that should not be pathologized, many religious denominations continue to condemn non-heterosexual orientations (APA, 2009; Mahaffy, 1996). Some religious communities, however, do identify as welcoming or affirming and do not consider sexual minorities to be sinful. Therefore, changing religious denominations could be one option for integration (APA, 2009).

Some religious individuals who do not feel capable of changing religions or religious beliefs, seek sexual reorientation (APA, 2009). Reorientation (also known as reparative or conversion) therapy promotes the belief that all individuals have the ability to change from a same-sex sexual orientation to heterosexuality (Baumeister et al., 1985). Mental health organizations generally agree that reorientation therapies appear to cause more harm than good and should not be promoted by mental health professionals (APA, 2009). Those who underwent reparative therapy report that their orientation did not change; rather, they changed their identity, spirituality, and/or meaning of sexuality (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004).

The APA (2009) created a task force to address appropriate therapeutic responses to sexual orientation. An extensive review of the literature on Sexual Orientation Change Efforts (SOCE) suggests that although an individual might be able to change identity or behavior, sexual orientation itself is unlikely to change. The task force recommended that mental health professionals use affirmative therapy to help individuals in conflict explore, develop, and integrate a congruent identity without pressure directed toward a particular outcome. Devaluing either identity lessens psychological well-being; therefore, all identities need to be considered and explored.

The resolution of conflict will be unique to an individual's well-being (Bartoli & Gillem, 2008) and to the individual's social, personal, and historical context (APA, 2009). This means that there is no stable identity status that should be reached. Individuals with same-sex sexuality may never develop a sexual minority identity. Religious and sexual identities may continually evolve and change, and identities may be continually re-examined with additional experience. Identity development is not a linear process that occurs in isolation. Identities interact at different points in time and the meaning of the conflict and the reconciliation may vary or change depending on the different circumstances of that moment (Brown, 1989).

The culture of the Mormon Church has created a situation in which individuals often feel that they are unable to value their sexuality within the religion and, because of the Mormon Church's stance against same-sex behaviors (Packer, 2010), are unable to find acceptance for their religious identity in LGBT communities. To date, there are few studies that focus specifically on Mormons with same-sex attractions (Anderton, 2010; Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Brzezinski, 2000; Goodwill, 2000; Moran, 2007). This leaves mental health practitioners with little knowledge of cultural nuances affecting this population. To fill this gap, the present study explored the experiences of Mormon women with same-sex sexuality within the context of mental health, to increase mental health professionals' knowledge of the unique needs of, and barriers faced by, this population.

Method

A total of 23 Mormon women were interviewed for this phenomenological qualitative study about their experiences with same-sex sexuality and how they reconciled their same-sexuality with their religious identity. During the interviews, women discussed the impact of this experience on their mental health and treatments they sought from mental health professionals. Questions included: "Tell me about your experiences with same-sex sexuality and the LDS Church," "Have you experienced conflict between these two identities?"

and "How have you tried to reconcile these feelings?" This article presents the findings regarding these women's experiences with mental health and mental health treatment. The data reported here are only part of a larger dissertation. Please see Jacobsen (2013) for a reporting of data from the entire study.

Sexual minorities are often referred to as an invisible population (Fassinger, 1991; McCarn & Fassinger, 1996). There is no way to obtain a probabilistic sample of Mormon women who experience same-sex sexuality, given that there are no known parameters to this population. Recruitment, therefore, was based on non-probability purposeful and snowball sampling. Participation criteria included women (a) over the age of 18, (b) who are or have been a member of the LDS Church, and (c) who report experiencing same-sex sexuality (as defined by the participant) at some point in their lives. Social networking sites such as Facebook, online groups, and organizations focused on LGBT Mormons, were used to share the participant recruitment announcement. Recruitment occurred in October–December of 2012.

Phenomenal or maximum variation was used in the selection of participants. Phenomenal variation seeks participants who have had various experiences with the phenomenon (Sandelowski, 1996). Maximum variation seeks participants who have had various experiences, not just opposing experiences, which in this study would have pitted women who remain active members in the Mormon Church against those who no longer practice the religion, and/or women who identify as heterosexual against those who identify as a sexual minority (Patton, 2002). Although these factions represent the extreme on each side of the experience spectrum, women may slide between these choices throughout their lives as new sexual and spiritual experiences result in new creations of meaning. Saturation of women who identified with a sexual minority identity and dis-identified with the Mormon religion was reached at 20 participants, and three subsequent volunteers who met these identity categories were denied participation, while the recruitment remained open to women with different experiences. After 23 participants had been recruited, no additional volunteers with varied experiences stepped forth and as the sample included a sufficient number of women with various sexual identity and religious statuses, recruitment was ended to begin data analysis.

Any identifying information has been altered. Pseudonyms were used for confidentiality purposes. Preliminary drafts of the participants' stories and data analysis were shared with participants, who had the option to edit or comment on drafts.

Out of the 23 participants, 11 women continued to identify as Mormon or LDS, whether or not they actively practiced the religion. Twelve women held a different or no religious identity including agnostic, Unitarian Universalist, atheist, non-affiliated, non-religious, Buddhist, "spiritual, but not religious,"

and none. The sample was heavily biased toward highly educated non-Latino White women who now identify as lesbian and who had been born or raised in families who practiced or identified with the Mormon religion. Only one participant identified as a convert. One participant identified as an ethnic minority. Two women identified as bisexual and one as heterosexual. Another woman still in the process of understanding her sexuality identified as same-sex attracted. Women's ages ranged from 20 to 56, with an average age of 37. Seven women were currently in same-sex partnerships. Six had been in heterosexual marriages and an additional 2 were in a heterosexual marriage. Women first recognized and acknowledged same-sex attraction at different ages (range 6-40). Women had been navigating their identity between 1 and 42 years, with an average of 19 years.

In-depth individual interviews were used as the primary source of data. Women's experience with same-sex sexuality is not directly observable; therefore, data relied on participants' recollection and ability to convey that experience. Individual interviews consisted of a primary interview (approximately 1 hr) and a shorter follow-up interview. The combined length of each woman's interview ranged between 52 and 113 min, with an average of 92 min.

Paradigm and Philosophical Approach

This study was framed within an interpretivist/constructivist paradigm. An interpretivist/constructivist paradigm believes that reality is subjective and that people create the meaning of their experience based on their interpretation of that experience, which further shapes their reality (Ponterotto, 2005). Every person uniquely experiences the world and then creates meaning from that experience; thus, looking at the collective experience of people one perceives multiple, equally valid realities (Haverkamp & Young, 2007).

A phenomenological approach was applied to this study. Phenomenology explores a specific experience and analyzes the meaning of that lived experience (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). In this study, the phenomenon is the experience of same-sex sexuality among Mormon women. According to Moustakas (1994), phenomenology sprang from philosophical theory first promulgated by Husserl about people's relationship to reality. Reality does not merely exist because humans have consciousness, rather our consciousness is directed toward a specific object and our conscious interaction with the object creates the reality that we experience (Wertz, 2005). Individuals' experience with the phenomenon is based on their perspective and current view of the phenomenon, which is influenced by previous experiences with the phenomenon. From a phenomenological perspective, people create reality through what they experience and how they experience a phenomenon.

The creation of the meaning of reality is in the subjective experience of the phenomenon, not in the objective experience (Moustakas, 1994). Although there are many interpretations based on unique perspectives, reality can be shared because of the social context in which the experience occurred (Morrow & Smith, 2000). The Mormon religion and culture created a shared social context for participants in this study.

Researcher as Instrument and Reflexivity

Qualitative research relies on the researcher as the primary instrument in gathering and analyzing the data (Creswell, 2007; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). The first author conducted all interviews and analyzed data. The first author was then fully accountable for analysis according to her personal ability and understanding. Therefore, it is important to understand what this researcher brought to the project.

The first author assumed that most women's religious and spiritual identities intertwined and that part of the reconciliation process may involve differentiating these two identities. She did not assume that all women would eventually choose to "come out" and value their sexual identity over their religious identity. Nor did she value religion over sexuality. The first author, prior to this study, personally experienced struggle between the Mormon beliefs in which she had been raised and her sexuality. At this point in time, she identifies as a lesbian and does not identify with any religion. She does not know what she believes in and feels peace with not knowing. Her choices were the right choices for her and she makes no assumption they would be right for anyone else.

As a feminist, the researcher honors the viewpoint, understanding, and meaning of a participant's story (Morrow & Smith, 2000). It would be unfair and inaccurate to interpret participants' experiences in contradiction to their reality, such as believing that women were really oppressed within the patriarchical structure of the LDS Church when they might not feel or believe themselves to be oppressed. To counter bias, a research journal was maintained throughout the process of the study. This journal contained reflexivity, interpretations, and analytic memos. As part of the reflexive process, the first author attempted to identify any world views, assumptions, and meta-goals held (Morrow & Smith, 2000). An example of an assumption that manifested itself is the belief that a Mormon woman with same-sex sexuality would experience conflict between her religious/spiritual and sexual identity, but that the individual and social context would mitigate the conflict. During the research process, she looked for disconfirming evidence and used negative case analysis to check the validity of this assumption (Marshall & Rossman,

2011). Conflict did vary depending on the degree to which a woman identified with her religious identity and the support she received from her family and community.

After each participant interview, the first author processed any emotional reactions in the journal. She then discussed her reactions, interpretations, and analysis with her peer research team, including the second author and other fellow PhD candidates who met together to discuss their research projects, to have an objective third perspective. In addition, a dissertation committee supervised this project.

Data Analysis

Data analysis followed phenomenological methods as outlined by Moustakas (1994). Analysis began with immersion in the data, first through personally transcribing each audio-recorded interview, and then reading and re-reading the transcripts. Transcripts were then coded for significant statements, verbatim quotes that denote important aspects of the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007), and meaning units, sectioning when a participant shifted meaning in the interview (Wertz, 2005). Codes emerged from the data. Similar codes between and across interviews were then combined into larger themes grounded in the data, such as family, community, mental health, and so on. Codes within themes were analyzed for similarities and differences in experiences, and subthemes were created to capture the essence of varied experiences. Repetitive codes were eliminated and remaining data were clustered into thematic labels organized by textural (experience) and structural (perception) descriptions of the phenomena of experiencing same-sex attraction as a Mormon woman.

Analytic memos were used to assist in the data analysis. Memos recorded evolving thoughts and themes as part of the constant comparative method to make explicit comparisons between data, codes, and categories throughout the analysis process (Charmaz, 2006). The constant comparative method was used in conjunction with negative case analysis. This qualitative method ensured rigor by constantly comparing categories to subcategories, to themes, and to disconfirming evidence (Fassinger, 2005).

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness refers to the authenticity and accuracy of analysis that is grounded in the data (Yeh & Inman, 2007). To ensure the trustworthiness of this study's results, the first author used numerous strategies to counteract biases she may have held. These included prolonged engagement, member

checking, peer debriefing, and negative case analysis. Thick descriptions and rich context-laden details are also provided for readers to thoroughly understand analysis and interpretation (Ponterotto & Grieger, 2007). In presenting the findings, terms such as some, few, and many are used because using percentages from this sample would give the undue perception that this sample is generalizable to the population. Rather than seeking concreteness, the data show the nebulous nature of the phenomenon based on understanding unique aspects of the experience.

Prolonged engagement. Throughout the study duration, the primary researcher immersed herself in lesbian Mormon culture. Context was extremely important in understanding how same-sex sexuality was experienced (Creswell, 2007). The context of the religious doctrine, community, and culture of the Mormon Church influenced how Mormon women experienced same-sex sexuality. Through the use of prolonged engagement (Creswell, 2007), she attempted to connect and interact with Mormon women who experience same-sex sexuality. For 4 years, she sought out and engaged herself with others who have experienced same-sex sexuality by joining a Mormon lesbian online discussion group, involving herself in activities at LGBT Centers in Utah, attending conferences intended for LGBT Mormons and allies, watching documentary videos of LGB Mormons' stories (http://farbetweenmovie.com), engaging in online forums, and reading publications for Mormons with same-sex attractions (Mansfield, 2011; Matis, Matis, & Mansfield, 2004; Pearson, 2007).

Member checking. Member checking was used to confirm the accuracy of the analysis (Creswell, 2007). In an ideal interview, the data and participant meaning are explored and interpreted in partnership with the participant (Morrow & Smith, 2000). Once the primary researcher transcribed the interviews, she constructed a composite narrative and provided this to each participant for review and an opportunity for clarification and feedback. Only a few participants returned feedback with minor corrections to clarify their experience or to further obscure their identity. All feedback was incorporated. Overall, participants reported that the narrative provided to them accurately captured their experience.

Negative case analysis. Negative case analysis meant actively searching for disconfirming evidence in regard to researcher assumptions and preliminary analysis (Creswell, 2007; Morrow & Smith, 2000). When a dominant theme emerged, the researcher reviewed the narratives of participants whose stories did not follow similar story lines and examined how their varied experience

fit within the general developing themes. For example, not all women experienced conflict with their religious beliefs because of their sexuality. A few questioned their religious identity for other reasons and stopped practicing the religion before questioning their sexuality. Their experience of understanding their sexuality differed from that of women whose sexuality directly conflicted with their religious beliefs at the time.

Results

The findings reported in this section represent analysis of the data within the context of implications for mental health and mental health professionals. These findings represent the phenomenological experience where religious identity and sexuality intersected with mental health. Themes discussed emerged from the experiences of 23 Mormon women who experienced same-sex sexuality. Within the broader theme of mental health, women discussed their experience with mood disorders and anxiety, the impact on self-worth, suicidality, treatment attempts (including psychotropic medication, individual therapy, group counseling, and reparative therapy), the impact of family and community, and mental health recovery.

Experience With Mood Disorders and Anxiety

The intrapersonal and interpersonal conflict that women experienced between their religious identity and sexual orientation appeared to negatively affect mental health.

> Andie: And all the time still having so much guilt and so much depression that it really, it still has affected me. You know I do suffer from anxiety secondary to depression and it all stems from this conflict.

Although some women such as Mel, Holly, Quinn, and Parker, did not report experiencing any mental health concerns, a larger portion reported diagnoses of depression and/or use of antidepressant medications. In addition, anxiety co-occurred with the depression for several of these women. Ellen and Farah reported having an anxiety or panic attack either while attending church meetings or in the Mormon Temple, but neither experienced recurrent anxiety. This does not assume that sexual and religious conflict solely contributed to negative mental health. For example, three participants had a previous diagnosis of Bipolar disorder; however, they reported that the conflict between their religious and sexual identities exacerbated their symptoms. Other women also noted influences outside of the LDS Church that contributed to their depression.

Lynn: So I don't think all that depression stems just from the Church. I think a lot of it was from other things and I think that growing up gay even outside of the Mormon Church would have been difficult in a rural area.

Aidan: So I have a lot of issues to deal with. So this is just one thread which when I get depressed about everything else that's going on in my life, like things at work aren't going well, this is just the thing that will raise its head and tells me, "You're gay; therefore, God does not love you; therefore, you can't ever go to heaven." And it's just really difficult and I don't know . . . how many of us are out there who have a similar story of pain.

Many women reported that experiences with the Mormon Church and the subsequent conflict with their sexuality directly caused negative mental health symptoms. Feelings of same-sex attraction that conflicted with religious beliefs, feelings of not fitting Mormon gender roles, or living a dual life caused depression and/or self-hatred. A few women experienced psychosomatic symptoms related to their depression and anxiety.

Chris: I started to have a complete breakdown. I literally was suicidal. And I couldn't work. I would cry at work. I would shake . . . I never in my life will let myself get to that point again, ever. It was absolute hell. I mean I felt physically ill, emotionally ill, spiritually ill . . . It took over my whole being.

Daisy Jane: I got really sick and I started expressing physical symptoms of my, what's going on inside, and I started having seizures, and it was all stress related. And I got really, really ill, and just really sick.

Depression and anxiety affected many women's ability to function at work and school. Chris had to take a leave of absence after her supervisor noted that her anxiety made her unable to perform her work satisfactorily. Jessica lost a college scholarship due to poor grades caused by her depression. Olivia came close to dropping out of college. As an undergraduate, Barbarella also experienced severe depression, which created periods of being unable to get out of bed. However, her depression stemmed not from her recognition of her same-sex sexuality, but from not fitting within the heterosexual script and not understanding why.

Although same-sex feelings and lack of relationships contributed to their depression, women's interpretation of these experiences and their thoughts fed into negative mental health and self-loathing. Women believed that there

was no answer and that any option they chose would result in additional pain, rejection, and isolation. This caused feelings of hopelessness.

Andie: Everybody is going to hate me whether I turn out to be gay or whether I go to the Church. They're going to hate me. There is nowhere to turn. There is nowhere to turn. I'm stuck. I'm sunk. I'm lost. I'm one of those that just couldn't cut it and I'm lost. And all I could see is that there was so much hurt that I couldn't see or feel anything else because there was no way out. There was nowhere to turn. Nowhere to go.

Daisy Jane: I tried to marry the guy and I just didn't get the support of my mom. In fact, she was so upset, that upset me a lot. Because here I had worked for the ideal that I thought I was supposed to work toward and created a good opportunity or situation as I saw it, the best it could be, and she was so displeased. And what I knew I really wanted would be shattering to her. And so I felt like there was no hope for me. It was really hopeless. It was dark. And so I did, I went into a deep depression because I didn't know how I would marry anyone.

Negative Self-Worth Impacted by Awareness of Same-Sex Attraction

Much of mental health appears tied to self-worth. Same-sex sexuality damaged feelings of self-worth because women viewed their sexuality in direct contrast to their belief system. Guilt and shame fueled depression and anxiety as they first began the process of understanding their sexuality. When their sexuality did not change, they viewed themselves as inherently defective.

Irene: I think it's just having that "I'm not good enough" mentality. You just have to realize where did that come from . . . it's not as related to sexuality or the Church, but it's all kind of enmeshed. So, no, it's more just self-worth I think.

Kathryn: One of the things that I used to say over and over again in therapy . . . was just a very negative view of myself. I'm just horrible. I'm just horrible. And my therapist would say, "Why are you horrible?" And I could never articulate what that was. But so I'm not going to church. I've had a relationship with a woman. I was horrible. I was evil. I was dirty.

Lynn: I had to, I guess, analyze where my feelings of low self-esteem were coming from and why was I feeling depressed and then that's when I came to realize a lot of it was from being gay and feeling inferior and

relating to that. And yet knowing that no matter how hard I tried, no matter what the hell I accomplished in life, it was never going to be enough for them because I would always be gay. So I would always fail in the most important things in Mormonism: getting married to a man in the Temple and having kids.

Suicidality

Even if the conflict between religious beliefs and sexuality were not the direct cause of depression or anxiety, all reported that the struggle exacerbated their symptoms. Because of women's negative experiences and negative thoughts, they questioned their worthiness and some considered taking their own lives. One woman reported that although she never became suicidal, she had thoughts that it would be better if she were not alive. The severity of religious conflict produced suicidal ideation in some women, ranging from vague thoughts and passive suicidal gestures like risk-taking behaviors to serious suicide attempts, such as the use of firearms.

Chris: I never actually attempted, but there were times I would just want to die and I would verbalize that. I would write it in my journal, that I want to die because nothing is worth the pain that I am in. It was the worst, it's the physical pain.

Rebecca: I did [come close to making a suicide attempt] earlier in my marriage . . . it was a long time ago but I think it stems from my issues with same-sex attraction. Always feeling imperfect. I was still the imperfect part of me . . . It's not that I'm unbalanced. I don't feel imbalanced. I just feel imperfect. Does that make sense? And when you get to that lowest point, you just don't think of anything else but stopping the pain. You just want the pain to stop. The mental pain you're going through . . . And if you're so imperfect, you're going to hell anyways so why not just quicken the process.

Aidan: Partly it was because of my homosexual feelings that I felt this way. Partly, I also have a really hard time liking myself as a woman. I mean I was very, very sensitive so I saw guys, boys my own age holding the priesthood and these boys teased me and beat me up and caused me horrible, hellish pain and yet they were worthy enough to hold the priesthood. I felt like that made me, a woman, a second-class citizen. Not only a second-class citizen, but like why on earth was I born if I was just born to be in a population (a) woman (b) lesbian who was doomed from the start. There was no chance. There was no hope. I felt like well suicide is self murder and that's a sin too, but what's the

> difference between that . . . It was like what's the difference between killing oneself or being gay? It's all the same. I'm still going to go to hell whichever way it is. And it's still something that I, on my bad days, will struggle with.

Participants who had historically engaged in cutting or self-harm (non-suicidal behaviors) sometimes used self-harm as a form of punishment or control of their sexuality.

> Lynn: You grew up learning punishment changes bad behavior, and so I felt like having these attractions was a bad behavior and if I punish myself when I had them, then that would hopefully change that behavior and I would become attracted to men. And so I mean that was one of the reasons. Another reason for cutting was because I hated myself and so it just, I don't know, let out a lot of frustration that way. And I just I felt better after doing it.

Other participants experienced suicidal thoughts/attempts prior to questioning their sexuality and their subsequent religious struggle. However, the thoughts appeared to stem from feeling like they did not fit social expectations and not understanding why they felt this way.

> Kathryn: Because I was confused and depressed. I went through a lot of suicidal thoughts even from junior high on. Where I can't really, even at the time couldn't put my finger on what it was. I had friends. I had a family. I had food to eat. I had clothes on my back, but I was horribly depressed. Just times that I would be, just throw the covers over your head, don't want to talk to anybody.

However, coming close or actually attempting when younger, left suicide a possibility when women recognized their same-sex sexuality in later years.

> Olivia: I attempted suicide when I was in 8th grade. It wasn't related to sexuality. There were a lot of other dark things that were going on in my life and I never let it get that far again. But it was always kind of in the back of my mind, if this doesn't work out, if I can't do this, it's not that hard. It's what 10 bucks to buy that many pills. It's just, I try not to be conscious of it and planning it. But it was always kind of a subconscious, well. if I just leave my seat belt unbuckled, if something happens, oh darn. Like I wouldn't try actively, but I kind of got a little

> be reckless. Like just to chance it. Just to see if anything would happen. Almost to force some emotion into something.

As a teenager, Judi experienced severe depression and suicidal thoughts that were alleviated for a number of years because she converted to the Mormon religion. She later experienced suicidal thoughts again and made a suicidal gesture by swallowing a few pills because of conflict resulting from her religious leader's reactions to her sexuality and subsequent discomfort in her living environment.

Treatment Attempts

Women sought various forms of treatment to address issues of negative mental health symptoms. Most women had sought help from therapists and had used counseling to discuss the conflicts between their religious beliefs and their sexuality. Some treatment women found helpful, whereas other types of treatment caused greater emotional distress.

Helpful treatment. Because depression became a life-or-death situation, several women began taking antidepressants.

> Chris: But, bottom line is I got better . . . it took me about 6 weeks to find the right antidepressant for me . . . I eventually got on Zoloft and I've been on that ever since. And it has saved my life right there. I mean that has been my lifesaver. It really has.

Although some stated that they believed they would be on medication for the rest of their lives, others came off their medication as they reconciled the thoughts and feelings that produced the depression.

> Barbarella: I really think, I feel very strongly about this, I feel like I went on antidepressants for probably 6 or 7 years, well I stopped taking them when I finally figured out that I was gay and I think the two are directly related. I mean I really feel like I wasn't dealing with my emotions and my sexuality and in such a suppressed way that I literally had no idea and it was manifesting itself in this really sort of deep depression and eating . . . for years. But then when I finally figured out what was going on, I feel like I realized, I went off antidepressants and yeah never felt better.

Not every woman who felt depressed needed or wanted medications. Many women, whether diagnosed with a mental illness or not, sought counseling to reconcile their feelings and experiences with their religious beliefs. Counseling represented the first safe place women could talk about their experiences. Several women first "came out" about their sexuality to their therapist before any other person in their lives.

Women found therapy helpful when their therapist worked with them on self-esteem, self-acceptance, provided support, and referred women to affirming resources.

> Quinn: And [my counselor] has given me great reading material. I mean I've read "No More Goodbyes" by Carol Lynn Pearson. I've read "Peculiar People: Mormons and Same-Sex Attractions." I mean cover to cover both of these. And I still continue to [read] anything I can get my hands on to try to help educate my family as well myself in being able to explain how I feel in an articulate way.

Participants indicated that helpful treatment sometimes required that their counselor have a particular religious identity, but consistently they indicated that what they needed was to have the counselor be open, be understanding of their experiences, and value their self-determination.

> Irene: Well, I've had various therapists over the years. A woman that I saw for I think for 4 years or so, I just got her by happenstance. She was raised LDS, no longer active. But that was important to me that she understand the pressures of the Church and understand the vernacular with which I would describe my upbringing and also just have some first-hand knowledge of, of growing up LDS. What she didn't have that I'd wish that . . . she'd understood same-sex attraction issues and some of those things because that was foreign to her. So we were kind of learning together . . . I've been seeing a [different therapist] just for the past few months. I sought her out wanting someone that has an LDS background and that has experience dealing with homosexuality . . . She is not active in the Church, but she grew up LDS and she's also got that same background and she understands, she's done a lot of work with gay individuals and so her, her expertise is amazing. So yeah go in there, I learn something every time we go. It's been really helpful.
>
> Nicole: And I just recently got a new therapist who is a LGBT affirming because my previous one was not at all and she, it just felt like she was

making me feel very invalidated. But this new therapist she's kind of given me resources.

Although many women reported that individual therapy helped them analyze their issues of self-worth, a few found group counseling to be most beneficial for coming to terms with their sexuality because they met other women who had similar experiences as themselves. This connection to other women who also experienced conflict about their sexuality helped women feel less lonely and normalized their experiences.

Kathryn: Started doing the group therapy and I really think that was, the individual therapy was really important, but the group therapy was a normalization. So it was sitting in a room with people who don't all look like me, but all identified as lesbian and all were struggling and saying the same things I'm saying. And just that realization that I'm not the only one. And it kind of opened me up to the community.

Irene: I just felt like it was nice to not be alone. My individual therapy has been fantastic. I've felt my therapist is great and I think she has done a great job of helping me to accept myself and she's been supportive, but I think to hear other people say the things that I've only felt and to experience that vicariously through them and to understand that I'm not alone. That's been phenomenal. That's been incredible for me . . . it was a bonding experience, but I thought that it was therapeutic as well. So loved it. Surprisingly.

Unhelpful treatment. Several women initially sought services through a behavioral health service organization connected to the LDS Church. Families and ecclesiastical leaders quickly referred women to LDS Family Services as they knew these counselors would approach therapy from a Mormon perspective and would encourage women to remain within the LDS Church and disavow their sexual orientation. The women in this study who obtained services at this agency reported negative experiences because of the negative messages they received about their sexuality.

Jessica: My mom got me therapy at LDS Family Services…It was possibly the worst therapeutic experience of my life. She told me that she could not give me sexual identity counseling and I was like, what does that even mean? She wanted to have a therapy, a family therapy session, she wanted my parents to come in and she wanted me to share my feelings with them, but I refused and so eventually I just stopped going and just repressed shit for a while.

Other women received messages that they were gay because of negative experiences, such as childhood sexual abuse, even when directly contradicted by women who reported no such abuse.

> Andie: [I spoke with] a woman [who is considered an expert on] same-sex attraction . . . Ah, that was the biggest nightmare. Basically what it came out is that she said that this is a choice. That I chose this and was socialized this way because I chose it. But I said, but wait a minute, you can't tell me that a person at age 6 chooses their sexual identity. I didn't know what sex is, let alone choosing their sexual identity. And she says, "well that's the way it is, that you've chosen it and that." And I said well how do you account then for me knowing at age 6 that I was this way. And why would I choose this when it has gone against everything that I hold dear to my heart? But it's also a part of my identity. Why would I choose this? Why would I choose to be depressed and attempt suicide? To suffer from anxiety? Why would I choose that? To go against, to make my family unhappy? Why? And she says, "well the only way I can explain it is that something terrible must have happened in your youth." Nothing happened in my youth. My youth was fine.

What women found extremely unhelpful or even harmful was when a therapist dismissed their sexuality or tried to force the therapist's beliefs onto them.

> Aidan: I would slash myself as a teenager and that's why they brought Child Protective Services in and they sent me to a therapist. The first therapist was okay, but didn't really understand how to get to what's really is going on because I couldn't express anything at that time. This therapist was a Mormon therapist and my parents felt like okay, maybe this therapist will work. Basically, I told her I think I might be, but I think. And she said, "well just read the Book of Mormon and you won't be gay." And no therapy could happen after that. The rest of the few months of therapy I was like I'm not even listening, I'm turning off.
>
> Nicole: I go to the therapist every week and we've tried to address this issue and she, she's a younger woman and she had just barely gotten endowed and barely gotten married in the Temple so she's . . . in a very concrete place in the Church. And so I, I tried to address this issue with her and she's tried to kind of say, "Well you're trying to figure out who you want to become and stuff, and that's great but you know you, you've felt lost for the longest time and I think you're kind of just

> going along with, with whatever thought pops into your mind." And it's very hard for me to express and get her to understand . . . and she knows a lot about my relationships with men and she says, "You're going after women now because your poor experiences with men and that's all." And I'm like no, that's not all, and it's very hard to explain to her my attraction to women. We're not on the same page. And so, so I've tried to find other means of therapy. It's just very frustrating. And I feel like I don't know how to present myself in a way to convince people this is really, truly how I feel. I'm not just trying to get weird attention . . . And it's just very frustrating.

Women also experienced negating environments from non-LDS therapists who would not allow them the self-determination to set their own goals.

> Samantha: I also went to therapy right after [Tom and Amanda] started dating. I really went through this depression and I went to see a therapist. And I talked about these, and I specifically picked . . . I picked a therapist who is not LDS and I know she, that intrigued her like I specifically wanted a non-LDS therapist. I wasn't ready to accept that I was having some homosexual feelings, but she went there with me when I told her how much I admired my Spanish, my music teacher. Cause I had said the word admired and she's like you were in love with them. And I'm like uh I was not in love, I thought she went a little too far you know. And the other thing is that I really, really wanted to work on stopping masturbation. And she's like "well, how frequently do you do it?" I'm like, "probably once a month or every 2 months or something." And she's like, "that's not bad." She's like, "that's not, you're fine." I'm like, "no, you don't understand . . . this is part of my religion and my belief, I really don't want to do this." And she just would not go there with me. So I ended up not continuing therapy with her and I haven't ever been back. But anyway, some of those things that she said did stick with me where I thought maybe I really, maybe, maybe I'm not a totally, total freak. that there is a reason that I do find myself, you know, I don't know, attracted to certain women or whatever.

Ecclesiastical leaders of the Mormon Church also referred women who struggle with same-sex attraction to an organization that attempted to help individuals live within standards of the Mormon Church. This organization historically supported the notion that individuals could change their orientation to heterosexual. Both Andie and Ellen reported negative encounters with this organization.

Daisy Jane: I just had one thought . . . about the, the approach to try to change me. To me that was, to me that is what represents like a sexual lobotomy and so to me, it's completely immoral and the approach is immoral and I've never had an opportunity to voice that, so that's why I'm telling you. I just think it is such an immoral approach and that's why I don't agree with [their] tactics and I know that we are coming a long ways as a society and I appreciate that, and that's why wanted to participate in this [research], but I think that trying to change someone's sexuality or to talk them out is such a violation. I only feel that way because I feel that way, I have experienced the feeling.

Although no women actively engaged in the organization, a few women did try to change their sexual orientation through other services.

Lynn: I did reparative therapy [at a religious university] because I had tried everything else that I could think of not to be gay. And one of the counselors or psychologists . . . was just yeah reparative therapy will work like if you're willing to put forth the effort, it's possible to change your sexual orientation. So then like that consisted of basically I had to wear an elastic band on my wrist and anytime I felt attraction for women I'd snap myself with the elastic band and then . . . I was supposed to spend an hour or 2 hours a day thinking of women as disgusting and these abusive people and think of men as these wonderful people. And imagine how wonderful it would be to spend time with them. And things like that. And at first I thought that the reparative therapy had worked because well I wasn't feeling attracted to men, but I wasn't feeling attracted to women either. But I think overall I was just so depressed that I wasn't really feeling any sexual feelings by the end of the semester. And I ended up putting on 40 pounds over like 3 months.

Family and Community Influences

Family and community affected women's experiences with same-sex sexuality. Depression often resulted due to rejecting family behaviors, such as when women's families forced them to choose between romantic relationships or maintaining familial ties. Choosing to engage in a same-sex relationship could mean the loss of family support.

Chris: Because all I was thinking was I am making a lifetime commitment to being a lesbian if I buy this house with her. You know, this is a huge

commitment. And my family is going to freak out, my mom is going to hate it. I'm going to go to hell. Every time I have anxiety attacks, which at this point, well anyway it's because I think I am going to go to hell. And my dad died when I was [young] so everything is hinged on that. You know if you ever want to see dad again, you better be celibate. And that, that right there has been the hardest thing in my life. The hardest thing in my life. If you want to see dad again, then you can't have love in your life basically. So every time I've had a girlfriend, I've literally thought I am making a decision here between my eternal family, you know nieces, nephews, dad, and you know this woman, whoever it would be at the time.

Ellen: Well I guess my experience is not completely generalizable across the board at least to some of my friends it's been a very harsh experience. And that's mostly related to the coming out process with my family . . . My brother who's older than myself he said that I wasn't welcome in his home and I couldn't see his kids anymore and so those types of things. So I was really ostracized from his family and from his wife. And my, my mom tried to remain somewhat understanding but always with the belief that I was sinning and able to change and if not marry a man at least be celibate type of things. And then my dad of course I mean I guess not of course, but he's very traditional minded, most of my family is, and he was outright disgusted I think by, by my sexuality. And most of my family including aunts and cousins and things haven't really been all too accepting and I attribute that to the culture to the Utah culture and the religious beliefs that they have, all of them being Mormon.

Not all families rejected the participant's sexual orientation. Having family support appeared to minimize the potential for negative mental health consequences.

Mel: But after I graduated high school, I sat down with my sisters and said, "Do you think it's weird that I've kissed a girl and that I really liked it and that we did it for a long time?" And they said, "So what. No one cares." And it's, I've never really sat down and told my parents, but they've heard enough snippets to realize that . . . I can find a girl attractive and I would be willing to kiss a girl if I wasn't in a relationship [with my husband] . . . and they don't have a problem with that.

Along with the fear of losing family both in this life and the after-life, women also faced losing the tight-knit religious community in which almost

all of the women had grown up. Women noted that the loss of community, beyond the loss of religion, was one of the most significant and unexpected losses they experienced in the process. Losing the Mormon community, either due to real or perceived rejection of their same-sex sexuality, was especially difficult given that most women did not have other social supports to bolster against this injury.

> Farah: The things I was most afraid of, other than the lightning, did happen. Did lose friends, did lose my church community, my family disappeared for 4 years, so did [my partner's].
>
> Barbarella: I do identify as a lesbian. The thing I guess that's been more surprising for me recently is that I don't identify necessarily as much as I thought I would as part of the gay community. And I think that that's really more of our recent thing and I've realized that, that's what I miss most about being Mormon is the community . . . meeting someone who's Mormon and then feeling this sort of immediate kinship or you know immediately knowing at least what their beliefs are, whether they follow them or not, you kind of know what their background is and a little bit about who they are. And really I think I had it in my head somehow, because I think that gay community puts it out, that they are community, which I think is actually a farce in a lot of ways. And I think I thought I could transition from one to another, but particularly I find in Utah it's very disconnected and painfully unorganized and very angry. And it's not, you know when I'm in a group of like a roomful of gay people, I often find myself thinking I'm not like these people, maybe I'm not even gay. Like that will still come up for me because I feel so not connected to them. And I miss that. I mean I miss the sense of community.

At the same time, some women did find connection with others in the LGBT community.

> Wendy: Well there's definitely a culture around it. I know when I came out it was kind of a culture shock when I started hanging out in the gay community. One of the things that I liked about it was I could relate to the other lesbians, like their sense of humor was more like mine. Other experiences, not sexually related, were similar to mine.

Microaggressions. Because of the potential devastating loss of community, most women tried to stay within the Mormon community for as long as

possible. This meant having to deal with microaggressions from a community focused on perpetuating heterosexuality. The feeling of being a second-class citizen reverberated throughout the interviews. Some women felt unable to participate in their religious community because of the constant negative messages they heard about same-sex sexuality.

> Stargays: And being stuck in a community where people are so negative against me because of various reasons, not just for the fact that I'm gay, actually contributes to a really poor mental health situation.
>
> Parker: I don't think the Mormon culture realizes how much they cut people up. I don't think they have a clue about [it] because they're in their little microcosm and they don't feel the, the exclusion and the isolation.

Mental Health Recovery

Healthy-self concept. Women described varying degrees of recovery. A few women stated that despite the resolution of their beliefs with their sexuality, they believed that they would deal with anxiety and/or depression for the rest of their lives. Despite this, they continued to strive for self-acceptance and reconciliation of identity. The process of recovery is learning to love and accept oneself. The process often required, as Parker described it, "critical support" from therapists, family, and friends. Healing included working on a healthy self-concept and changing the negative messages that they gave themselves.

> Rebecca: I think that I was depressed because I couldn't figure out, I think that most of it is I couldn't figure out why I was like this. Does that make sense? I think all my depression stems from why do I have to experience this. Why do I have to experience this imperfection? Does that make sense? To me, I think I'm broken, but more and more each day I don't feel that. I'm starting to learn to accept it and make changes so that I can accept it.
>
> Kathryn: You hit bottom and you got nowhere to go but up, right? So we started building. Just trying to build a healthy view of me and a healthy view of the world and a healthy relationship with my family.

Not living up to others' expectations. Several women healed from their depression once they stopped attending church because they no longer received constant messages from their community that their same-sex sexuality made them evil.

> Lynn: After I left the Church, that's when I felt a huge shift in my mental health because I wasn't hearing all of these messages all the time . . . like I don't have to take antidepressants anymore. I'm happy most of the time. Granted, there are days that are bad, but everybody has those. Whereas before, growing up it was like most of my days were bad and I'd have a day here and there where I actually felt happy and that was like I valued those days because not too many of them came along. Whereas now, it's like I am happy most of the time. I understand now what it's like, I guess, to live life and I don't feel like I really felt that before because I was mostly just miserable before and depressed. And I couldn't understand why people would want to live to be 100 because I didn't even want to live to be 25. And now it's like, oh, I understand now why people like being alive and I understand why people like living because there are a lot of good things you can look forward to. But for me, before, it was, it didn't feel that way. But when I stopped kind of like living up to other people's expectations and it didn't really become a problem . . . I mean it took a long time to get here to this point.

Same-sex sexuality and negative mental health outcomes may be related, but experiencing same-sex sexuality does not always lead to negative mental health. Resilience and determination echoed throughout all of the women's stories. They sought self-acceptance. They sought healing.

Discussion

Results from this study provide rich insights into the mental health experiences and needs of women with same-sex sexuality and Mormon backgrounds. Participants reported deep struggles and feelings of isolation, worthlessness, and loss due to conflicting identities shaped by religious beliefs and sexuality. Mental health counselors may potentially affect a woman's ability to navigate the conflict by assessing for feelings of depression, anxiety, suicidality, and decreased community and familial support.

The sample for this study appears consistent with previous research that found higher rates of mental health disorders in sexual minority populations compared with heterosexuals (Hughes, Haas, Razzano, Cassidy, & Matthews, 2000; King et al., 2008; Meyer, 2003; Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 2012). The disparities in mental health are most likely due to minority stress. Mormon women with same-sex sexuality experience microaggressions from a religious community that bombards them

with negative messages about same-sex sexuality and heavily endorses heteronormative behaviors (Nadal et al., 2011).

Although identity development is often viewed as a primarily psychological process, family and community influence the trajectory and shape the experience. Participants identified parents, siblings, friends, and the local religious community as significantly influencing how they felt about themselves given their same-sex sexuality and as fueling their conflict between their religious and spiritual identity given the potential consequences of losing family and community. Counselors must consider the social aspect as well as the psychological. In addition to facing disapproval, participants also faced community and familial rejection. Research by Ryan, Russell, Huebner, Diaz, and Sanchez (2010) shows that individuals with highly rejecting families are at greater risk for both negative health and mental health consequences, such as substance abuse, risky sexual behaviors, and suicide. Women in this study discussed their experiences of depression, anxiety, and suicidal thoughts as connected to family acceptance. For this reason, counselors need to help their clients consider potential consequences of coming out to their family, as possible rejection may be detrimental. Because the Mormon culture can create an unwelcoming environment for LGBT individuals, The Family Acceptance Project recently released a pamphlet titled "Supportive Families, Healthy Children: Helping Latter-day Saint Families With Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual & Transgender Children" (Ryan & Rees, 2012). This pamphlet, an excellent resource to provide Mormon families, discusses the link between rejecting family behaviors and a family member's risk of using substances, engaging in risky sexual behavior, and attempting suicide. This guide provides concrete behaviors that families can practice without having to change their belief system, to ameliorate these negative consequences.

Counselors working with individuals who experience conflict between their religion and sexual orientation should work within the client's values and not devalue either aspect of their identity (Morrow et al., 2004). The developmental process includes crisis, mourning, re-evaluation, identity deconstruction, and growth. The goal is to seek identity synthesis rather than identity foreclosure or compartmentalization (APA, 2009).

Several women in this study had counselors tell them that people who experience same-sex attractions have been sexually abused or are somehow defective. However, research does not support this (Friedman & Morgan, 2009). This message may cause women to feel alienated or provoke confusion, which may delay healthy identity formation. Counselors should further consider how clients may be utilizing LDS teachings to address or reconcile same-sex feelings.

Clinicians need to be willing to challenge their own faith and beliefs (Turner, Fox, Center, & Kiser, 2006). This includes critically examining any negative beliefs about the Mormon Church that a non-Mormon counselor may hold. Mormon counselors working with Mormon clients need to recognize that the "right" answer for their client is not always the religious answer that aligns with a counselor's personal beliefs. Some women in this study specifically choose not to see an LDS counselor due to their concern of having those beliefs pushed on them. At the same time, women wanted a counselor who understood their cultural background and the Mormon religion. Counselors should start where the client is at and respect her self-determination (Hunter, 2010). Counselors should help clients find appropriate resources; however, be careful when directing women to information about sexuality as some information may harm if it negatively stereotypes same-sex sexuality (Whitehead & Baker, 2012).

Most women in this study experienced a negative impact on their self-esteem, implying that counselors should assess a client's sense of self-worth and focus, as appropriate, on this aspect of internal well-being. More specifically, the therapist needs to determine which elements of the client's life are most influential on the client's sense of self-worth/esteem. One research study reported that "having greater sense of social support, less internal conflict over one's sexual orientation, greater sense of existential well-being, and extrinsic social orientation to religion" predicts higher self-esteem (Yakushko, 2005, p. 131). This suggests areas where a counselor can focus therapeutic interventions.

Counselors should also consider referring women to group counseling. Past research has demonstrated the effectiveness of group counseling in providing support against the family and community rejection (Thomas & Hard, 2011). Referring individuals to group counseling may be beneficial because of the normalization they can experience in a group (Morrow & Beckstead, 2004). Although women in this study appeared to prefer women-only groups, mixed-gender groups may help to expand women's understanding and acceptance of other individuals with same-sex sexuality and may help further break down internalized stereotypes of the LGBT community.

If a client requests reparative therapy, a counselor's duty is to discuss the limitations and potential negative consequences of this type of therapy (APA, 2009). Women in this study reported their interactions with reparative therapy as a "violation." Professional mental health organizations strongly recommend that counselors do not engage in this type of therapy, rather affirmative therapy should be employed (APA, 2009). If clients identify the goal to remain celibate and practice religious beliefs, then it is a counselor's duty to help them toward those goals without promising unrealistic outcomes, such as heterosexuality (Morrow & Beckstead, 2004).

Limitations

The data of this study are based in retrospective accounts, which poses some limitations as participants reflect on past experiences (Metts, Sprecher, & Cupach, 1991). The results may reflect bias as women unconsciously attempt to conform their current beliefs and practices to past experiences. Retrospective accounts may not accurately depict an event as it had occurred, but may represent the reconstruction of that event from a person's memory (Polkinghorne, 2005). Retrospective data still provide an excellent source for current interpretations of the experience.

The sample in this study lacked a sufficient number of individuals who converted to the LDS faith or belong to an ethnic minority. Their experiences may be different due to other intersecting identities. The women who chose to participate in this study may differ significantly from Mormon women with same-sex attractions who did not volunteer to participate. The manner of recruitment biased the sample toward the highly educated and those most likely to have access to a computer. It cannot be known how representative this sample is of all Mormon women who experience same-sex sexuality. At the same time, the experiences of the women who participated in this study may have implications for the experiences of other Mormon women who seek professional counseling for conflict with sexuality.

Conclusion

Counselors are often the first line of support for individuals who experience conflict between their religious beliefs and same-sex sexuality. It is therefore essential that counselors understand the issues inherent in this conflict, potential family and community pressures, and be willing to challenge their own beliefs and stereotypes in order not to harm their clients through the projection of personal biases. Counselors should consider working on self-esteem with clients in individual therapy and refer women to group counseling. Further research needs to examine specific practice interventions to determine effective evidence-based practices. In addition, research should continue to explore the impacts of other intersecting identities to inform clinical best practices.

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Sexual Orientation Change Efforts Among Current or Former LDS Church Members

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This study examined sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE) by 1,612 individuals who are current or former members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS). Data were obtained through a comprehensive online survey from both quantitative items and open-ended written responses. A minimum of 73% of men and 43% of women in this sample attempted sexual orientation change, usually through multiple methods and across many years (on average). Developmental factors associated with attempts at sexual orientation change included higher levels of early religious orthodoxy (for all) and less supportive families and communities (for men only). Among women, those who identified as lesbian and who reported higher Kinsey attraction scores were more likely to have sought change. Of the 9 different methods surveyed, private and religious change methods (compared with therapist-led or group-based efforts) were the most common, started earlier, exercised for longer periods, and reported to be the most damaging and least effective. When sexual orientation change was identified as a goal, reported effectiveness was lower for almost all of the methods. While some beneficial SOCE outcomes (such as acceptance of same-sex attractions and reduction in depression and anxiety) were reported, the overall results support the conclusion that sexual orientation is highly resistant to explicit attempts at change and that SOCE are overwhelmingly reported to be either ineffective or damaging by participants.

Keywords: LGBTQ, SOCE, psychotherapy, religion, Mormon

Many twenty-first-century, traditional world religions continue to denounce both same-sex attractions (SSA) and same-sex sexual activity as immoral, despite a growing social and professional consensus that views both as positive variants of human sexuality (Fontenot, 2013). As a result of this conflict, many traditional religious individuals who experience SSA engage in sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE) in an attempt to conform to religious teachings and social pressure (Beckstead, 2012; Jones & Yarhouse, 2011; Maccio, 2010). Despite a recent increase in public discourse regarding SSA, SOCE studies have been limited in quantity, scope, and methodology, and ultimately have failed to demonstrate either the effectiveness or benefit/harm of SOCE (American Psychological Association Task Force on Appropriate Therapeutic Responses to Sexual Orientation [APA], 2009). Even with the APA's (2009) extensive report and recommendations regarding SOCE, considerable questions remain regarding SOCE demographics, prevalence, and intervention types. Consequently, the purpose of this study was to document and evaluate the prevalence, variety, duration, demographics, effectiveness, benefits, and harm of SOCE within one particular faith tradition—the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS, Mormon). We built upon the APA (2009) recommendations for improving SOCE research by using (a) more representative sampling methods, (b) more precise measures of sexual orientation and identity, (c) references to life histories and mental health concerns, and (d) increased inquiry regarding efficacy and safety.

Brief History of SOCE Research

Some early studies purported to demonstrate SOCE effectiveness (e.g., Birk, Huddleston, Miller, & Cohler, 1971; James, 1978; McConaghy, Armstrong, & Blaszczynski, 1981; Tanner, 1975). While not claiming the elimination of a same-sex orientation, some of these authors reported limited success in decreasing same-sex attraction and behavior, usually without a reciprocal increase in opposite-sex attraction or sexual behavior (cf. APA, 2009). However, this work suffered from major methodological flaws, including the absence of control groups, biased samples, very small treatment groups (< 15 subjects per treatment group), and internally inconsistent methods of data collection. In many recent

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studies, researchers have attempted to gain a deeper understanding of SOCE through surveys, case studies, clinical observations, and descriptive reports with convenience-sampled populations from religiously affiliated organizations, where conflict and distress remain high despite increasing social acceptance of LGBTQ individuals (e.g., Nicolosi, Byrd, & Potts, 2000; Schaeffer, Hyde, Kroencke, McCormick, & Nottebaum, 2000; Silverstein, 2003; Spitzer, 2003). A recent review of this literature by an APA (2009) task force on SOCE efforts showed that individuals reported varied rationale for SOCE (also see Morrow & Beckstead, 2004). For example, telephone interviews with 200 self-selected individuals claiming success in sexual orientation change cited personal, emotional, religious, and/or marriage-related issues as reasons for seeking change (Spitzer, 2003).

The APA (2009) also reported widely varied SOCE strategies. A survey of 206 licensed mental health professionals who practice sexual orientation change therapy reported providing individual psychotherapy, psychiatry, group therapy, or a combination of individual and group therapies to address clients' reported desire to change sexual orientation (Nicolosi et al., 2000). Many individuals have attempted sexual orientation change with the help of nonprofessional individuals or organizations, which are often religiously or politically motivated (e.g., Evergreen International, Exodus International, Focus on the Family, Jews Offering New Alternatives for Healing; cf. Besen, 2012; Drescher, 2009). Such efforts range from one-on-one pastoral counseling to group conferences or retreats and can include such practices as confession, repentance, and self-control, as well as cognitive behavioral approaches (Ponticelli, 1999). Individuals may also engage in personal efforts to change sexual orientation. One recent qualitative study of sexual and religious identity conflict among late adolescents and young adults reported heightened efforts to be faithful, bargains with God, prayer, fasting, and increased church involvement as commonly self-reported individual efforts to "overcome" SSA (Dahl & Galliher, 2012). The outcomes of these private and religious efforts, however, remain almost completely unstudied.

Finally, qualitative reports have suggested that individuals who engaged in SOCE reported a variety of perceived benefits and harms (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Shidlo & Schroeder, 2002). Based on a comprehensive review of this work, the APA (2009) SOCE task force concluded that no study to date has demonstrated adequate scientific rigor to provide a clear picture of the prevalence or frequency of either beneficial or harmful outcomes. More recent studies claiming benefits and/or harm have done little to ameliorate this concern (e.g., Jones & Yarhouse, 2011; Karten & Wade, 2010).

Limitations of Previous Work

Experimental, quasi-experimental, correlational, and qualitative SOCE studies are limited in scope, methodological rigor, and comprehensiveness (APA, 2009). Previous studies have employed problematic sampling procedures, including biased subjects, small samples sizes, and a lack of female participants (e.g., McCrady, 1973; Mintz, 1966; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003). Virtually all studies to date have relied on convenience sampling, without any attempt to draw from nonbiased sources (Silverstein, 2003). Many researchers have drawn directly from those who were previously enrolled in therapeutic religious programs intended to change sexual orientation—participants who may be under cultural, religious, or personal pressure to make a positive self-report (e.g., Maccio, 2011; Nicolosi et al., 2000; Spitzer, 2003). Furthermore, previous studies have lacked consistency in the definitions of sexual orientation and sexual orientation change, making it difficult to compare across studies (Savin-Williams, 2006).

The frequency and rate of SOCE in SSA populations remain unknown (see Morrow & Beckstead, 2004, for a discussion). No known study to date has drawn from a representative sample of sufficient size to draw conclusions about the experience of those who have attempted SOCE. Furthermore, no known study to date has provided a comprehensive assessment of basic demographic information, psychosocial well-being, and religiosity, which would be required to understand the effectiveness, benefits, and/or harm caused by SOCE. Most studies have focused on the outcome of interventions led by licensed mental health professionals, while neglecting to directly assess the effectiveness or potential harm of self-help, religious, or nonlicensed efforts to change, understand, or accept sexual orientation. Finally, in spite of the APA's 2009 report on SOCE, considerable debate continues about the meaning of the report (cf. Hancock, Gock, & Haldeman, 2012; Rosik, Jones, & Byrd, 2012), focusing specifically around the lack of more conclusive SOCE-related outcome research.

The LDS Church and Same-Sex Attraction

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a U.S.-based Christian religious denomination claiming more than 14 million members worldwide (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2013). The LDS church claims the Holy Bible as scripture and, through traditional Biblical interpretations, has historically both condemned same-sex sexuality as sinful (cf. Kimball, 1969; O'Donovan, 1994) and explicitly encouraged its lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) members to attempt sexual orientation change (Byrd, 1999; Faust, 1995; Packer, 2003; Pyrah, 2010). While the LDS church has somewhat softened its stance toward LGBTQ individuals in recent years (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Church, 2012), it continues to communicate to its LGBTQ members that sexual orientation change is possible through various means including prayer, personal righteousness, faith in Jesus Christ, psychotherapy, group therapy, and group retreats (e.g., Holland, 2007; Mansfield, 2011). In these respects, the LDS church's approach to SSA has closely paralleled other religious traditions including Orthodox Judaism, evangelical Christianity, and Roman Catholicism (Michaelson, 2012).

The Present Study

In the current study, we aimed to build on previous work to present a comprehensive analysis of the (a) prevalence of SOCE in a sample of SSA Mormons, (b) most commonly pursued SOCE methods, (c) demographic and developmental factors associated with increased likelihood to engage in SOCE, (d) effectiveness of SOCE, and (e) extent to which SOCE treatments have led to reported positive or iatrogenic effects. Our sample included sufficient numbers of men and women so that gender can be included as a factor in analyses, allowing for a more nuanced assessment of gendered SOCE processes. We sought to overcome many of the limitations of previous work by reporting from a large, interna-

tional, demographically diverse sample and by employing a large battery of qualitative and quantitative measures of demographic information, psychosocial well-being, mental health, sexuality, and religiosity. We also believed that the LDS church's long-standing opposition to same-sex sexuality, along with its continued support of SOCE in various forms, made the LDS SSA population ideal for a deeper study of these issues—one that could also inform our understanding of SOCE within other religious traditions.

Method

Research Team

Given the controversial nature of SOCE research, we feel it is important to engage transparently in our research dissemination. All authors self-identify as LGBTQ allies and also affirm the position of the American Psychological Association on the importance of affirming and supporting religious beliefs and practices (American Psychological Association, 2010). All authors have been active in supporting the LGBTQ community through campus, community, online, and national/international engagement. Four of the five authors were raised LDS, and two remain active LDS church participants. All authors work closely with LGBTQ Mormons in their professional and/or personal roles.

Participants

Participants were recruited for a web-based survey entitled "Exploration of Experiences of and Resources for Same-Sex-Attracted Latter-day Saints." Inclusion criteria were as follows: Participants had to (a) be 18 years of age or older, (b) have experienced SSA at some point in their life, (c) have been baptized a member of the LDS church, and (d) have completed at least a majority of survey items (i.e., the basic demographics, relevant sexual history, and psychosocial measures sections).

Data management. The LimeSurvey online survey software (Schmitz & LimeSurvey Project Team, 2011) marked 1,588 responses as "completed." Of these responses, 40 were excluded because the respondents failed to meeting participation criteria in the following ways: underage ($n = 8$), no indication of LDS membership ($n = 3$), no indication of ever experiencing same-sex attraction ($n = 17$), and leaving the majority of the survey blank (i.e., nothing beyond the demographic information, $n = 12$). Data for one participant was lost during downloading and data cleaning. Of the records designated as "not completed" by Limesurvey, 65 were included because they met the aforementioned inclusion criteria. This process left 1,612 respondents in the final data set.

Demographic information. Seventy-six percent of the sample reported to be biologically male and 24% reported to be biologically female. Regarding gender, the following responses were reported: "male" (74.5%), "female" (22.2%), "female to male" (0.3%), "male to female" (0.6%), "neither male nor female" (0.5%), and "both male and female" (1.9%). The mean sample age was 36.9 years ($SD = 12.58$). Approximately 94% reported residing in the United States, with 6% residing in one of 22 other countries (Canada being the next most common, at 2.8%). Of those residing in the United States, 44.7% reported residing in Utah, with the remainder residing across 47 other states and the District of Columbia. Regarding race/ethnicity, 91.1% identified as exclusively White, 4.5% as multiracial, 2.2% as Latino/a, and the remainder as either Asian, Black, Native American, Pacific Islander, or other.

Regarding educational status, 97.2% reported at least some college education, with 63.7% reporting to be college graduates. Sexual orientation self-labeling indicated that 75.5% identified as gay or lesbian, 14.5% as bisexual, and 4.9% as heterosexual, with the remaining 5.1% identifying as queer, pansexual, asexual, same-sex or same-gender attracted, or other. Relationship status was reported as 40.8% single, 22.7% unmarried but committed to a same-sex partner, 16.9% married or committed to heterosexual relationships, 12.6% in a marriage, civil union, or domestic partnership with a same-sex partner, and 5.8% divorced, separated, or widowed. Regarding LDS church affiliation, participants described themselves as follows: 28.8% as active (i.e., attending the LDS church at least once per month), 36.3% as inactive (i.e., attending the LDS church less than once per month), 25.2% as having resigned their LDS church membership, 6.7% as having been excommunicated from the LDS church, and 3.0% as having been disfellowshipped (i.e., placed on probationary status) from the LDS church.

Measures

The survey included items developed specifically for this study and a number of pre-existing measures assessing psychosocial health and sexual identity development. Major survey sections included demographics; sexual identity development history; measures of psychosocial functioning; an exploration of various methods to accept, cope with, or change sexual orientation; and religiosity. The larger study yielded data for a number of research questions; only measures relevant for the current study are described in the following sections. Specifically, measures for this study focus on methods related to SOCE and on a number of outcome variables related to sexual identity development (i.e., sexual identity distress) and positive psychosocial functioning (self-esteem and quality of life) that allowed us to assess SOCE correlates related to general well-being.

Sexual orientation identity, history, and religiosity. Participants answered several questions about their sexual orientation identity, history, sexual development milestones, disclosure experiences, and religiosity. Participants rated levels of family and community support for LGBTQ identities via a 6-point Likert-type scale from 0 (*closed or nonsupportive*) to 5 (*very open or supportive*). Participants rated their sexual behavior/experience, feelings of sexual attraction, and self-declared sexual identity on a 7-point Likert-type scale (modeled after the one-item Kinsey scale), ranging from 0 (*exclusively opposite sex*) to 6 (*exclusively same sex*), with the additional option of asexual also provided (Kinsey, Pomeroy, & Martin, 1948). Participants rated early and current religious orthodoxy on a 6-point Likert-type scale from 0 (*orthodox*—a traditional, conservative believer) to 5 (*unorthodox*—more liberal and questioning).

Attempts to cope with same-sex attraction. Participants were asked which of several activities they had engaged in to "understand, cope with, or change" their sexual orientation. Options included: (a) individual effort (e.g., introspection, private study, mental suppression, dating the opposite sex, viewing

opposite-sex pornography), (b) personal righteousness (e.g., fasting, prayer, scripture study), (c) psychotherapy, (d) psychiatry (medication for depression, anxiety, sleep problems, somatic complaints, and so forth), (e) group therapy, (f) group retreats, (g) support groups, (h) church counseling (e.g., LDS bishops), and (i) family therapy. These options were developed by the research team based on several sources, including direct clinical practice with LDS LGBTQ individuals, familiarity with LDS culture/practice and doctrine (Holland, 2007; Mansfield, 2011), and the psychology LGBTQ literature (APA, 2009). For each option, participants were asked to provide their ages when the effort began, the duration (in years), and a rating of the perceived effectiveness of each method (effort: 1 = *highly effective*, 2 = *moderately effective*, 3 = *not effective*, 4 = *moderately harmful*, 5 = *severely harmful*). These variables were later reversed scored to ease interpretation, such that 1 = *severely harmful*, 2 = *moderately harmful*, 3 = *not effective*, 4 = *moderately effective*, and 5 = *highly effective*. Participants were also provided an open-ended field to describe each effort in their own words.

Participants were asked to indicate their original goals for each effort, along with what was actually worked on (e.g., "desire to change same-sex attraction," "desire to accept same-sex attraction"). Participants were grouped into two categories: "SOCE reported" and "SOCE not reported." The participants in the SOCE-reported group consisted of those who checked the "desire to change same-sex attraction" box for at least one method or who responded affirmatively to one of the following two questions: (a) "My therapist(s) actively worked with me to reconsider my same-sex sexual behavior and thought patterns in order to alter or change my same-sex attraction," and/or (b) "My therapist(s) used aversive conditioning approaches (i.e., exposure to same-sex romantic or sexual material while simultaneously being subjected to some form of discomfort) in attempts to alter my attraction to members of my same-sex." All other participants were categorized as SOCE not reported.

Sexual Identity Distress Scale. The Sexual Identity Distress Scale (SID; Wright & Perry, 2006) is a seven-item measure assessing sexual-orientation-related identity distress. SID scores are obtained by reverse scoring the negative items and summing the scores. Higher scores indicate greater identity distress. According to its authors, the SID has demonstrated high internal consistency (α = .83), test–retest reliability, and strong criterion validity (Wright & Perry, 2006). Cronbach's alpha for the current sample was .91.

Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSES; Rosenberg, 1965) is a 10-item measure of self-esteem developed for adolescents but used with samples across the developmental spectrum. The RSES uses a Likert-type scale (1–4), with higher scores indicating higher self-esteem (reverse scoring required). The RSES demonstrated test–retest reliability of .85 and has demonstrated good validity. Cronbach's alpha for the current sample was .92. Total scores are calculated as the average across items.

Quality of Life Scale (QOLS). The QOLS (Burckhardt, Woods, Schultz, & Ziebarth, 1989) is a 16-item instrument measuring six domains of quality of life: material and physical well-being; relationships with other people; social, community and civic activities; personal development and fulfillment; recreation; and independence. The average total score for "healthy populations" is about 90. Average scores for various less-healthy groups range between Israeli patients with posttraumatic stress disorder (61) and young adults with juvenile rheumatoid arthritis (92). Evaluations from various studies indicate that the QOLS has demonstrated internal consistency (αs = from .82 to .92) and high test–retest reliability (*r*s = from .78 to .84; Anderson, 1995; Wahl, Burckhardt, Wiklund, & Hanestad, 1998). Cronbach's alpha for the current sample was .90.

Procedures

Data collection and recruitment. This study was approved by the institutional review board at Utah State University. It was released as an online web survey from July 12 through September 29, 2011, and required both informed consent and confirmation that the respondents had only completed the survey once. Participants were given the option of providing their names, e-mail addresses, and phone numbers in order to receive study results and/or be contacted for future studies; approximately 70% of the respondents voluntarily provided this information.

Since past SOCE outcome studies have been criticized for either small or biased samples, considerable efforts were made to obtain a large and diverse sample, especially with regard to ideological positions toward SOCE. Journalists in the online and print media were contacted about this study as it was released. Because of feature coverage by the Associated Press, articles about this study appeared in over 100 online and print publications worldwide, including the Huffington Post, ReligionDispatches.org, *Salt Lake Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Q-Salt Lake*, and KSL.com. In all, 21% of respondents indicated that they heard about the study directly through one of these sources or through direct Internet search.

Leaders of major LDS-affiliated LGBTQ support groups were also contacted and asked to advertise this study within their respective organizations (e.g., Affirmation, Cor Invictus, Disciples, Evergreen International, LDS Family Fellowship, Gay Mormon Fathers, North Star, and Understanding Same-Gender Attraction). In total, 21% of respondents indicated learning about the survey from one of these groups. Careful attention was paid to include all known groups and to ensure inclusion across the spectrum of varying LDS belief and orthodoxy (to avoid claims of selection/recruitment bias). Special emphasis was made to reach out directly and in multiple ways to conservative LDS LGBTQ support groups such as Evergreen and North Star. Only Evergreen International refused to advertise, although many among our respondents acknowledged either current or past Evergreen affiliation.

Nonreligiously affiliated LGBTQ support organizations (e.g., Equality Utah, Salt Lake City Pride Center) were also helpful in promoting awareness about this survey. In total, 5% of respondents indicated learning about the survey from one of these sources. Once the survey was promoted through the previously described venues, a sizable portion of survey respondents (47%) indicated learning about the survey through word of mouth, including e-mail, Facebook, blogs, online forums, or other web sites.

Missing data. An analysis of missing data for the variables hypothesized to be associated with SOCE (family and community support, early religious orthodoxy, Kinsey scores, and the SID, RSES, and QOLS measures) revealed that 373 of the 1,612 cases (23.1%) contained at least some missing data across these vari-

ables, with 693 of the 62,175 fields overall (1.1%) being left blank. To account for potential bias in our statistical analyses arising from these missing data, we conducted a multiple imputation analysis using SPSS Statistics Version 20 to test the robustness of our findings with respect to the group comparisons using these measures. In SPSS, the imputation method was set to "automatic," and the number of imputations was set to five. When comparing the pooled imputed results with the original analyses, we found significance levels remained unchanged (with one exception noted in a later discussion), and *t* values changed minimally. Consequently, all statistical analyses reported are based on the original, nonimputed data.

Results

SOCE Prevalence, Methods, and Effectiveness

SOCE prevalence. Overall, 73% of men ($n = 894$) and 43% of women ($n = 166$) reported engaging in at least one form of SOCE, $\chi^2(1, n = 1{,}610) = 120.81$, $\Phi = .274$, $p < .001$. Of those who did attempt sexual orientation change, participants averaged 2.62 ($SD = 1.60$) different SOCE methods (maximum of eight, and minimum of one). Men reported utilizing a higher number of different SOCE types ($M = 2.76$, $SD = 1.63$) than did women ($M = 1.93$, $SD = 1.22$), t (adjusted $df = 286$) $= -7.58$, $p < .001$, $d = 0.58$.

Most common SOCE methods. Personal righteousness was reported by both men and women as the most commonly used SOCE method with the longest average duration, followed by individual effort, church counseling, and psychotherapy. Some of the most common personal righteousness methods mentioned included increased prayer, fasting, scripture study, focus on improving relationship with Jesus Christ, and temple attendance. Some of the most common individual effort methods mentioned included cognitive efforts (e.g., introspection, personal study, journaling), avoidance (e.g., suppression, self-punishment), seeking advice from others, seeking to eliminate or reverse same-sex erotic feelings (e.g., date the opposite sex, view opposite-sex pornography, emphasize gender-conforming appearance or behavior), and exploration in the LGBTQ community. A full list of prevalence rates, average durations, and effectiveness ratings for the nine SOCE methods is provided in Table 1. As a group, religious and private efforts (personal righteousness, ecclesiastical counseling, and individual efforts) were by far the most commonly used change methods (use exceeding 85% by those attempting change), with

Table 1
Sexual Orientation Change Efforts (SOCE) Method Prevalence, Starting Age, Duration, and Effectiveness Ratings by Sex

SOCE method	Count/%		Age began SOCE method (yrs.)		Method duration (yrs.)		SOCE method effectiveness		Method effectiveness w/out SOCE			Effect size
	n	%	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*d*
Personal righteousness												
Men	688	77	16.65	6.91	12.40	9.73	2.57	1.21	218	3.39	1.26	−0.66
Women	114	68.7	17.55	6.75	8.18	8.14	2.37	1.09	91	3.33	1.15	−0.86
Individual effort												
Men	520	58.2	17.45	6.78	11.24	9.25	2.88	1.18	376	3.93	0.98	−0.97
Women	62	37.3	19.28	6.33	8.07	6.88	2.97	1.12	176	4.09	0.93	−1.09
Church counseling												
Men	448	50.1	21.10	7.86	7.34	8.65	2.58	1.15	161	3.06	1.22	−0.41
Women	54	32.5	21.61	7.25	6.34	6.89	2.59	1.11	33	2.45	1.20	0.12
Psychotherapy												
Men	330	36.9	24.29	9.06	4.70	5.76	3.23	1.20	335	3.96	0.91	−0.68
Women	37	22.3	23.11	6.75	6.27	6.79	3.22	1.16	155	4.11	0.82	−0.89
Support Groups												
Men	138	15.4	28.34	10.16	3.61	4.65	3.24	1.06	202	4.22	0.81	−1.04
Women	7	4.2	26.29	6.55	4.86	6.50	3.71	0.95	50	4.14	0.97	−0.45
Group therapy												
Men	126	14.1	27.93	10.44	2.71	3.38	3.16	1.18	111	4.04	0.85	−0.85
Women	6	3.6	32.00	9.10	1.58	0.80	3.00	1.79	31	3.90	0.98	−0.62
Group Retreats												
Males	56	6.3	29.88	11.18	2.45	3.84	3.45	1.24	53	4.36	0.83	−0.86
Females	3	1.8	26.33	3.51	0.70	0.52	2.67	1.53	4	4.50	1.00	−1.42
Psychiatry												
Men	33	3.7	25.52	10.73	8.38	9.42	3.06	1.30	276	3.91	0.90	−0.76
Women	2	1.2	25.50	3.54	17.00	5.66	4.50	0.71	115	3.95	0.98	0.64
Family therapy												
Men	34	3.8	24.42	9.21	4.37	6.40	2.88	1.07	65	3.65	1.02	−0.74
Women	1	0.6	21.00	N/A	0.25	N/A	N/A	N/A	12	3.58	0.67	N/A

Note. The % column indicates, out of the total number (by sex) who attempted to change, the percentage who used each method. Method effectiveness: ratings: 1 = *severely harmful,* 2 = *moderately harmful,* 3 = *not effective,* 4 = *moderately effective*, 5 = *highly effective*. The "method effectiveness w/out SOCE" columns represent those who engaged in the respective method without attempting to change their sexual orientation. Regarding comparisons of method effectiveness with and without SOCE, *t* values ranged from −0.5 to 14.5; *p* values ranged from .59 to < .001. Effect size (*d*) reflects differences between SOCE-focused methods and non-SOCE-focused methods.

therapist-led (40.4%) and group-involved (20.8%) change efforts trailing significantly in prevalence. Finally, 31.1% of participants reported engaging exclusively in private forms of SOCE, not indicating any effort that involved external support.

Method effectiveness/harm ratings. As detailed in Table 1, when sexual orientation change was not reported as a method objective, participants rated all but one of the methods as at least moderately effective (scores between 3.0 and 4.0), with a few methods (support groups, group therapy, group retreats, psychotherapy, psychiatry, individual effort) approaching or exceeding highly effective status (4.0 and above). Conversely, when sexual orientation change was reported as a method objective, in almost all cases reported method effectiveness was significantly lower (i.e., more harmful), with medium to large Cohen's *d* effect sizes (see Table 1 for exact effect sizes). Several SOCE methods including personal righteousness, individual effort, church counseling, and family therapy received average effectiveness ratings below 3.0 (more harmful than helpful). As shown in Figure 1, the SOCE methods most frequently rated as either ineffective or harmful were individual effort, church counseling, personal righteousness, and family therapy. The SOCE methods most frequently rated as effective were support groups, group retreats, psychotherapy, psychiatry, and group therapy. Ironically, methods most frequently rated as "effective" tended to be used the least and for the shortest duration, while methods rated most often as "ineffective" or "harmful" tended to be used most frequently and for the longest duration.

Developmental Factors Linked to SOCE

As reported in Table 2, some developmental factors that appear to be associated with SOCE included less family and community support for LGBTQ identities (for men only) and high levels of religious orthodoxy prior to acknowledging SSA (for both men and women; highly significant with a Bonferroni corrected $\alpha = .008$). Those who reported growing up in a rural community were more likely to engage in SOCE (71.0%) than those who reported growing up in an urban (63.0%) or a suburban (64.4%) community, $\chi^2(2, n = 1{,}565) = 6.95$, $\Phi = .067$, $p = .03$.

Effectiveness of Change Efforts

Reported changes in sexual identity. With regard to self-reported sexual attraction and identity ratings, only one participant out of 1,019 (.1%) who engaged in SOCE reported both a heterosexual identity label and a Kinsey attraction score of zero (exclusively attracted to the opposite sex). As shown in Table 2, the mean Kinsey attraction, behavior, and identity scores of those reporting SOCE attempts were not statistically different from those who did not indicate an SOCE attempt. Multiple imputation procedures to account for missing data yielded only one significant change in outcome; the statistical difference in Kinsey attraction scores between women who reported engaging in SOCE versus those who did not was found to be significant for the pooled imputation results at $t = -2.0$, $p = .045$ (vs. $t = -1.75$, $p = .08$ in the original analysis)—indicating that women who reported

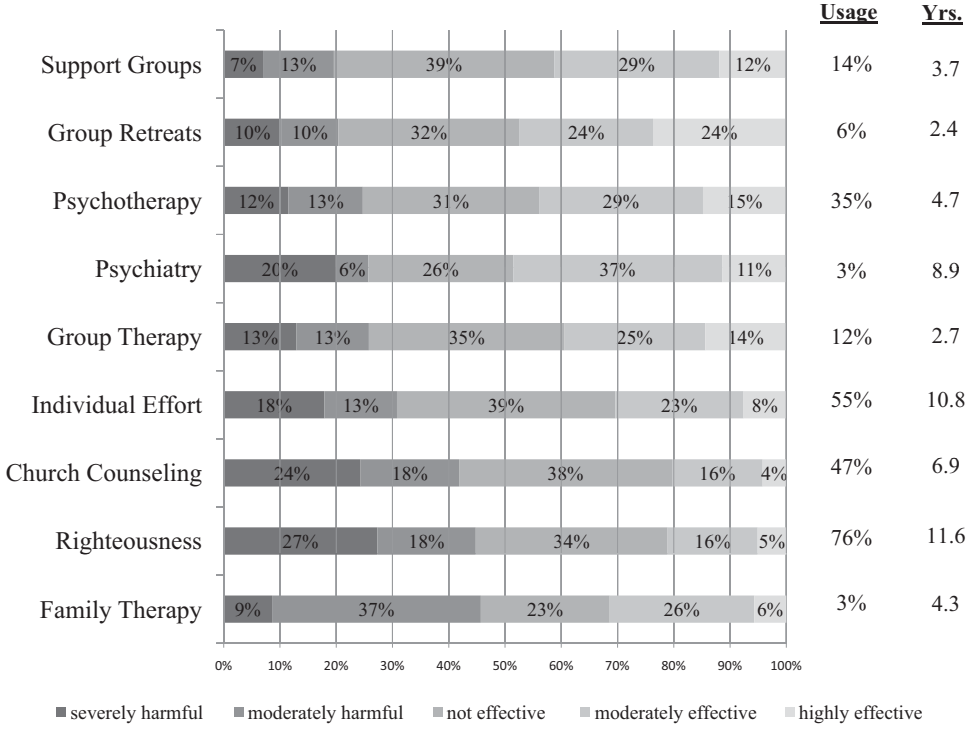

Figure 1. Graph displaying nine sexual orientation change effort (SOCE) methods, participant ratings of each method's effectiveness or harmfulness, percentages of participants who used each method, and the average number of years each method was employed.

Table 2
Developmental Factors, Kinsey Scores, and Psychosocial Health by Sexual Orientation Change Efforts (SOCE) Involvement

Variable	SOCE reported			SOCE not reported						
	n	*M*	*SD*	*n*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*d*
Developmental factors by sex										
Men										
Family LGBTQ support	879	0.89	1.31	323	1.33	1.63	4.4	483[a]	<.001	0.30
Community LGBTQ support	881	0.96	1.32	325	1.33	1.6	3.73	495[a]	<.001	0.25
Religious orthodoxy before acknowledging SSA	874	1.22	1.61	293	2.46	1.94	9.89	435[a]	<.001	0.70
Women										
Family supportive growing up	165	0.84	1.23	218	1.00	1.42	1.11	381	.268	0.12
Community supportive growing up	164	1.09	1.41	221	1.23	1.43	0.95	383	.343	0.10
Religious orthodoxy before acknowledging SSA	165	1.51	1.73	213	2.77	1.95	6.66	369[a]	<.001	0.68
Kinsey scores by sex										
Men										
Feelings of sexual attraction	858	5.12	1.28	315	4.93	1.62	−1.88	466[a]	.061	0.13
Sexual behavior/experience	849	4.49	2.00	306	4.72	1.89	1.71	1153	.088	0.12
Sexual identity	845	4.82	1.98	308	4.87	1.98	0.37	1151	.709	0.03
Women										
Feelings of sexual attraction[b]	161	4.45	1.57	209	4.15	1.62	−1.75	368	.08	0.19
Sexual behavior/experience	157	3.76	2.09	206	3.32	2.15	−1.97	361	.05	0.21
Sexual identity	154	4.47	2.02	204	4.09	2.04	−1.76	356	.08	0.19
Psychosocial health by sex										
Men										
Quality of life	894	82.28	14.3	326	82.48	14.74	0.21	1218	0.834	0.01
Sexual identity distress	894	10.16	7.61	325	7.01	6.23	−7.35	697[a]	<.001	0.45
Self-esteem	894	3.15	0.64	328	3.29	0.61	3.38	1220	0.001	0.22
Women										
Quality of life	166	81.9	13.2	222	83.01	13.81	0.79	386	0.428	0.08
Sexual identity distress	166	9.49	7	221	7.04	5.91	−3.65	320[a]	<.001	0.38
Self-esteem	166	3.13	0.64	222	3.21	0.66	1.22	386	0.220	0.12

Note. LGBTQ = lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer; SSA = same-sex-attracted.
[a] Corrected degrees of freedom. [b] Multiple imputation analyses conducted to account for missing data found a statistical difference in Kinsey attraction scores (from 0, *exclusively opposite sex* to 6, *exclusively same sex*) between women who reported engaging in SOCE vs. those who did not at $t = -2.0$, $p = .045$. Also, those who self-rated as "asexual" (i.e., rating of 7) were not included in the Kinsey analyses so as to not alter the commonly accepted interpretations of Kinsey scores.

engaging in SOCE reported significantly higher Kinsey attraction scores than women who did not report engaging in SOCE.

With regard to sexual identity (Table 3), more than 95% of both men and women who engaged in some form of SOCE identified as nonheterosexual. Men who did and did not report engaging in SOCE did not differ from each other statistically in terms of current sexual identity labels. Women who reported engaging in SOCE were significantly more likely to self-identify as lesbian than were those who did not engage in SOCE. SOCE participants currently self-identifying as heterosexual reported a mean Kinsey attraction score of 3.02 ($SD = 1.42$), which is commonly associated with bisexuality.

Reports and explanations of successful change. Participants were provided the option to describe their various change efforts in their own words. A review of these narratives yielded 32 participants (3.1% of those attempting change) who indicated some type of SSA change. Of these 32 participants, 15 described a decrease in the frequency and/or intensity of their SSA, without mentioning a cessation of SSA. As an example, one participant wrote, "While the same-sex attraction is still stronger than heterosexual attractions, the frequency and intensity and duration of those attractions have lessened." Twelve of the 32 narratives did not mention attraction at all but instead mentioned either a decrease or a cessation of same-sex sexual behavior, as exemplified in this narrative: "I feel like I have been forgiven for my sexual behavior. I think of a same-sex relationship every day, but I don't act on it." Five of the narratives reported an increase in other-sex attractions, two of the narratives reported a reduction in anxiety about the SSA, and five indicated some sort of change that was unclear or vague (e.g., "I have felt so much strength from God to control myself"). Finally, it should be noted that some participants fit into more than one of these categories and that none of the 32 participants indicated an elimination of SSA.

Perceived Benefits and Harm Associated With SOCE

Perceived benefits. Open-ended narratives were also reviewed to provide further insight into the perceived effectiveness summarized in Table 1 and Figure 1. Based on this review, methods rated as effective did not appear to generally reflect any changes in sexual orientation but instead referred to several other benefits, such as ultimate acceptance of sexual orientation, a decrease in depressive or anxiety symptoms, and improved family relationships. One such example from the personal righteousness narratives illustrates this point: "Instead of meeting original goals, the direction of the goals changed as I learned to accept and love myself as I am—as God created me." Another participant who attempted SOCE through a psychotherapist added,

> My therapist wanted to treat what he called the "underlying factors" that could lead to my same-gender attraction. He wanted to help with

Table 3
Current Sexual Identity Status Differences by Sex and by Sexual Orientation Change Efforts (SOCE) Involvement

Variable	SOCE reported		SOCE not reported	
	n	%	*n*	%
Men[a]				
Gay	717	80.30	267	81.40
Bisexual	96	10.80	37	11.30
Heterosexual	41	4.60	14	4.30
Same-sex- or gender-attracted	20	2.20	0	0.00
Other	19	2.10	10	3.00
Subtotal	893		328	
Women[b]				
Lesbian	109	65.70	109	49.10
Bisexual	32	19.30	69	31.10
Heterosexual	7	4.20	17	7.70
Other	18	10.80	27	12.20
Subtotal	166		222	

[a] Male differences are not statistically significant. [b] Female differences are significant at $\chi^2(3, n = 388) = 11.68, \phi = .174, p < .01$.

> depression and other things he was qualified to do. It did help, and the therapy helped with coping but did not really treat the underlying cause. In fact, because of talking, I resolved to accept it.

Perceived harm. As shown in Table 2, comparisons of psychosocial health were made between those who reported SOCE attempts and those who did not. Overall, no significant difference (Bonferroni corrected $\alpha = .008$) in quality of life for men or women was found between the two groups, though participants who reported engaging in SOCE had significantly higher sexual identity distress (men and women) and lower self-esteem (men only).

A similar review of the open-ended narratives also provides additional insight into the harmful ratings assigned to the various methods. Reportedly damaging aspects of SOCE included decreased self-esteem, increased self-shame, increased depression and anxiety, the wasting of time and money, increased distance from God and the church, worsening of family relationships, and increased suicidality. One example from the personal righteousness narratives illustrates: "Therapy, meeting with the bishop, meeting with stake president, praying, fasting, etc. Nothing worked. I felt that God wasn't listening, or wanted me to suffer. I felt horrible until I changed my outlook."

A narrative from the ecclesiastical counseling narratives further illustrates:

> After first being told to go on a mission to be cleansed of these feelings (resulting in relationships that intensified my same-sex activity) and then being told to get married and have children, and the feelings would go away—I buried myself emotionally and spiritually.

Another participant wrote, "My Bishop gave me a blessing promising me that I could change. Every day I didn't change, I thought I was more a failure, more of a monster."

Discussion

The purpose of this study was to better understand the demographics, prevalence, variety, perceived effectiveness, and potential benefit/harm of sexual orientation change efforts (SOCE) among current and former LDS church members through the recruitment of a large, demographically diverse sample. Our findings suggest that the majority of participants engaged in SOCE via multiple avenues for over a decade (on average). Almost no evidence of SSA being eliminated via SOCE could be found in this sample, and minimal evidence supported successful change in sexual orientation. SOCE participants in this sample showed no differences in quality of life from those who had not engaged in SOCE, but psychosocial function was lower in those who had engaged in SOCE. Participants reported a number of positive and negative outcomes of change efforts; perceived effectiveness ratings varied substantially, depending on the particular method and the reported goals.

The Nature of SOCE

LDS SOCE demographics. Highly religious LDS men from unsupportive families and communities were most likely to report having engaged in SOCE, while LDS women were somewhat less likely to do so. These findings confirm previous research that SOCE efforts most often arise from religious and/or social pressure (APA, 2009). The finding that same-sex-attracted LDS women were less likely to engage in SOCE seems noteworthy, though the exact reasons for this are still unknown. Same-sex-attracted LDS women may feel less pressure to engage in SOCE because of the greater sexual fluidity afforded women within the constraints of socialized gender roles (Diamond, 2009); U.S. male culture tends to stigmatize male homosexuality more than female homosexuality or bisexuality (Herek, 2002). The role of LDS cultural factors, such as the church's historical emphasis on missionary service for 19-year-old men with an accompanying requirement for sexual worthiness also warrants investigation.

Prevalence of SOCE types. Although the psychology literature to date has focused almost exclusively on therapist-led SOCE (APA, 2009), religious and private forms of SOCE were far more prevalent in our sample. To illustrate, while more than 85% of SOCE participants reported engaging in either religious or individual SOCE efforts, only 44% reported some form of therapist or group-led SOCE. Personal righteousness (e.g., prayer, fasting, scripture study, improved relationship with Jesus Christ) as a form of SOCE was reported by our sample to be (a) by far the most prevalent method used to change sexual orientation (more than twice as common as psychotherapy), (b) initiated at the earliest average ages (16–18 years), and (c) utilized for the longest average duration of any SOCE method (more than12 years on average for men and eight years for women). Church counseling (e.g., with LDS bishops) and individual efforts also yielded significantly higher prevalence and duration rates than most other SOCE forms. These findings generally held true for both men and women, though LDS women reported engaging in church counseling, individual-based, and group-based SOCE at considerably lower rates than LDS men.

We recognize, from the age of onset and duration of effort data, that many of our participants were still actively engaged in efforts to understand, cope with, or change their orientation and that the efforts have been carried out across varying developmental stages and historical contexts (i.e., our participants ranged in age from 18–70 years). Thus, while our "snapshot in time" yields important information about the experiences of SOCE at a broad and com-

prehensive level, we look forward to more detailed assessment of the ways that SOCE are developmentally, historically, and culturally contextualized.

Effectiveness/Harm Rates of SOCE

The evidence from this study—based on multiple criteria including Kinsey-style self-ratings of attraction, sexual identity self-labels, method effectiveness ratings, and open-ended responses—suggests that for this sample, sexual orientation was minimally amenable to explicit change attempts. The literature supports these findings (APA, 2009; Beckstead, 2012). It is notable that zero open-ended narratives could be found indicating complete elimination of SSA via SOCE and that only a small percentage of our sample (3.2%) indicated even slight changes in sexual orientation. When survey participants did report experiencing sexual orientation change, the most common descriptions involved slight to moderate decreases in SSA, slight to moderate increases in other-sex attraction, and/or a reduction in same-sex sexual activity. As Beckstead (2012) noted, it is unclear if the decreased frequency and intensity of SSA are due to a reduction of sexual attraction or due to avoidance behaviors and/or a decrease of intense feelings, such as anxiety and shame, associated with SSA. Instead of fundamental changes in core sexual orientation, accommodation and acceptance of one's SSA were the most common themes. While these findings seem consistent with the larger literature and broad professional consensus, we are compelled by the fact that we have observed these patterns within a population that may be among the most likely to embrace and support change efforts.

We note that all nine methods utilized by participants to understand, cope with, or change SSA (with the exception of church counseling for women) were rated as effective (on average) when sexual orientation change was not listed as a goal. However, when sexual orientation change was listed as a goal, a majority of methods decreased in reported effectiveness—often with large effect sizes. Personal righteousness was rated as the most "severely harmful" of all SOCE methods for our sample, particularly noteworthy given that it was also rated as the most commonly used SOCE method (76%) for the longest average duration (12 years for men, eight years for women). Church counseling and individual efforts were rated as the next most "severely damaging" SOCE methods for our sample, with church counseling being rated as only slightly less damaging than personal righteousness. Significantly higher sexual identity distress (in men and women) and lower self-esteem (in men) were associated with prior participation in SOCE, although we do not know distress and self-esteem levels prior to SOCE participation, and thus cannot determine causality.

Additional study is warranted to provide better understanding of why religious methods were simultaneously used so frequently, yet rated as most ineffective/harmful. We theorize that the high prevalence of religious SOCE is due in large part to the LDS church's continued emphasis on prayer, fasting, scripture study, improved relationship with Jesus Christ, and consulting with church leaders (e.g., bishops) as primary ways to deal with SSA (Holland, 2007; Kimball, 1969; Mansfield, 2011). We also speculate that highly religious individuals in our sample were more likely keep their SSA private due to social stigma and thus more likely to favor/trust religious or private efforts over secular ones. In addition, most licensed therapists are likely to refuse to engage in SOCE—all of which could explain the increased prevalence of private and religious forms of SOCE in this sample.

Based on our review of the open-ended responses, we also speculate that when religious SOCE did not result in the desired outcomes, it may have damaged many of our participants' faith and confidence in God, prayer, the church, and its leaders. Consequently, failed SOCE often led to high levels of self-shame, feelings of unworthiness, rejection and abandonment by God, and self-loathing, as well as "spiritual struggles" for many of our respondents (Bradshaw, Dehlin, Galliher, Crowell, & Bradshaw, 2013; Dahl & Galliher, 2012; McConnell, Pargament, Ellison, & Flannelly, 2006). This pattern of findings does emphasize the importance of ensuring that LDS church leaders are adequately trained to deal with LGBTQ issues and addressing culturally inherited leadership beliefs and practices that might be contributing to these deleterious effects.

Effectiveness. In terms of effectiveness, group-related and therapist-led methods tended to be rated by participants as the most effective and least damaging. While therapist-led SOCE were reportedly used less frequently than individual and religious methods, they were surprisingly common, given the general denunciation of SOCE by all of the major mental health professional organizations. A review of the open-ended descriptions for the various methods indicated that for the majority of participants, a rating of "effective" for therapist-led methods did not signify successful change in sexual orientation but instead indicated other outcomes such as acceptance of sexual orientation (even when change was an original goal), a decrease in anxiety or depression, and/or improvements in family relationships. These findings appear to align with APA (2009) conclusions that the secondary benefits found in SOCE can be found in other approaches that do not attempt to change sexual orientation.

Implications for Counseling

Our results present several possible implications for therapist-led and church-affiliated LGBTQ counseling. First and most obvious, these findings lend additional support to the strong positions already taken by most mental health professional organizations that therapist-led SOCE treatments are not likely to be successful—although our data indicate that such interventions are ongoing among the LDS population. Consequently, LDS-affiliated therapists, support group/retreat leaders, and ecclesiastical leaders who encourage or facilitate SOCE (whether therapist-led, religious, or group-based) might consider amending their approaches in light of these findings. LDS therapists, group, and ecclesiastical leaders might also consider providing evidence-based psychoeducation about reported SOCE effectiveness rates to their LDS LGBTQ clients, family, and fellow congregants.

Given the high prevalence and reported ineffectiveness/harm rates of religious SOCE in particular, counselors and church leaders who work with LDS LGBTQ populations might consider explicitly assessing for and exploring histories of religious SOCE with LDS LGBTQ clients. In addition, group-based methods such as support groups, group therapy, and group retreats (that do not encourage SOCE) should potentially be recommended with increased frequency, along with psychiatry (where depression/anxiety is particularly notable)—based on their reported relative effectiveness compared with other methods. Finally, as noted in Bradshaw et al. (2013), LDS-affiliated

therapists should duly consider the finding that acceptance-based forms of therapy are likely to be rated as significantly more effective and less harmful by LDS LGBTQ individuals than are change-based forms of therapy. Ultimately, these suggestions align well with the therapeutic recommendations offered by the APA (2009).

Summary and Limitations

The major findings from this study are as follows: (a) the majority of same-sex-attracted current and former LDS church members reported engaging in SOCE for mean durations as long as 10–15 years, (b) religious and private SOCE were reported to be by far the most commonly used SOCE methods for the longest average durations and were rated as the most ineffective/damaging of all SOCE methods, and (c) most LDS SOCE participants reported little to no sexual orientation change as a result of these efforts and instead reported considerable harm.

Our reliance on convenience sampling limits our ability to generalize our findings to the entire population of same-sex-attracted current and former LDS church members. For example, our sample almost certainly overrepresents men, Whites, and U. S. residents, along with those who are more highly educated and affluent, and who either read the newspaper or are Internet-connected. Because of the highly distressing, stigmatizing, and/or controversial nature of being both same-sex-attracted and LDS, it is probable that a significant number of both highly devout and highly disaffected current and former LDS church members did not become aware of or feel comfortable participating in this study.

The extent to which these findings generalize to the broader, non-LDS LGBTQ religious population is uncertain. While we acknowledge that the LDS church is distinctive in many ways from other more LGBTQ-affirming religious institutions (e.g., Reform and Reconstructionist Judaism, Unitarian Universalism, and Episcopalian), there is some evidence to suggest that the societal and theological pressures experienced by LDS LGBTQ individuals are similar to those in other conservative religious traditions (e.g., Orthodox Judaism, Catholicism, evangelical Christianity, and Islam; APA, 2009; Michaelson, 2012). Though no known research has been conducted to compare SOCE experiences across religious denominations, the APA's report on SOCE seems to acknowledge several commonalities in LGBTQ/SOCE experiences between LDS church members and those of other religious traditions, which include (a) church-based doctrinal and administrative opposition toward same-sex sexuality, (b) no known role for same-sex relationships within church structure, (c) the possible threat of expulsion for assuming an open LGBTQ identity, (d) considerable church-related familial and social pressure to eschew an LGBTQ identity and to engage in SOCE, (e) ostracizing of LGBTQ individuals at church/temple/synagogue/mosque, and (f) considerable psychological distress for religious LGBTQ individuals due to identity conflict. In addition, several studies with samples drawn from Christian reparative therapy conferences (e.g., Exodus International) have explicitly noted the participation of LDS church members, suggesting possible similarities between LDS LGBTQ experiences and those of other religious traditions (Beckstead & Morrow, 2004; Morrow & Beckstead, 2004). We are hopeful that additional research will be conducted to further assess similarities and differences in SOCE experiences between religious traditions.

Because our survey relied heavily on both self-report and participant memory, responses are likely to be impacted accordingly. Also, while we are able to provide some correlational data relative to findings such as factors associated with the likelihood of SOCE participation, average Kinsey scores of those who did and did not engage in SOCE, and a relationship between SOCE and well-being, it is not possible to determine causality and directionality of these relationships without the use of methodologies such as randomized clinical trials or longitudinal studies. For example, regarding our finding that women who have engaged in SOCE were more likely to identify as lesbian than those who did not engage in SOCE, it is difficult to ascertain from our data whether women who are more likely to identify as lesbian are also more likely to engage in SOCE, or if the process of engaging in SOCE might make one's nonheterosexual identity more salient. Finally, it should be noted that participants were not always consistent and coherent in their reports. For example, a number of participants described SOCE in their open-ended responses, even though they had not indicated "change" as either a goal or as something worked on during the methods earlier in the survey. In order to retain a more parsimonious set of classification criteria, we elected to use more conservative inclusion criteria and did not include participants in the SOCE-reported group based on open-ended responses only. Consequently, it is likely that SOCE rates are underreported in our sample.

In summary, this study contributes to the literature by demonstrating significantly greater prevalence of religious and private SOCE versus therapist-led SOCE, no meaningful evidence of reported SOCE effectiveness, and considerable evidence of SOCE-related harm—all via a large, diverse sample. Despite our results being limited to one particular faith tradition, the observed motivations, correlates, and outcomes of SOCE are likely relevant in other conservative religious contexts, and we look forward to additional research on this topic.

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