Neither cold nor hot:
An Analysis of Christian World Wide Web Sites That Address GLBT Publics

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Abstract
This research analyzes Christian Web sites addressing gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered publics. The study involved content analysis of visual, operational, and informational enhancements and a frame analysis to assess issues of intent, consistency, accuracy, and validity. Web sites emphasized information dissemination rather than evangelization or proselytization; were overwhelmingly framed as collections of linked resources, rather than as online destinations for users seeking spiritual comfort; were almost completely devoid of traditional Christian symbols, scripture, and testimony; and failed to acknowledge in depth the complex debate over same-sex relationships.

I know your deeds, that you are neither cold nor hot. I wish you were either one or the other!
The Bible, Revelation 3:15 (NIV)

Introduction
The World Wide Web is a fairly new technological advancement, so it has only been within the past few years that much scholarly research has focused on its use. There still are many gaps in the literature. In particular, there has not been a great deal of attention paid to the subject of how religious organizations use the Web for information dissemination, evangelization, and proselytization—three primary strategic goals for a religious entity.

Within this subject area, the issue of how Christian groups use the Web to address gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered (GLBT) publics is especially pertinent. There is intense debate within the Christian community about whether GLBT worshipers should be accepted in the church—and whether their interpersonal relationships should be affirmed (Higgin, 2002; Maloney, 2001). Some Christian groups welcome GLBT worshipers. Others do not, because they view homosexuality as unpardonable sin. Both sides believe there is Biblical authority for their philosophical position. Without a doubt, the acceptance and affirmation of gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered people in the Christian community is "the most controversial issue facing the church today" (Davis, 2001, p. E3).

This study seeks to provide some understanding about one aspect of the issue by examining World Wide Web sites operated by Christian organizations that specifically address GLBT publics. A group of Web sites representing a wide range of denominations was chosen for study. Sites were subjected to a content analysis of visual, operational, and informational enhancements to determine the presence or absence of these dimensions that, together, significantly impact users' perceptions of Web site content, functionality, and value (Chanson, 1999). As a result of content found, conclusions can be made about intent, consistency, accuracy, and validity (Cutbirth, Shapiro & Williams, 1993) of religious content as framed in the World Wide Web site.

The findings of this research should allow greater understanding of the controversial issue of how Christian organizations address GLBT publics, and how those worshipers are included in different Christian communities. It should also allow Christian groups that actively seek out GLBT worshipers to assess their online communication strategies and become more effective in fulfilling the wants and needs of this population.

The Online Experience
In the past few years, there has been tremendous growth among consumers who use the Web as an information resource. Between 2000 and 2002, CommerceNet estimated a 40% increase in users worldwide—with 349 million people now using the World Wide Web. One-third of those users are in the U.S. (CommerceNet, 2002).
While it is difficult to quantitatively estimate growth in online content, researcher R. H. Zakon estimated that somewhere between 35 million and 40 million Web sites existed online in March, 2002. This represents a 100% growth since March, 2000 (Zakon, 2002).

The establishment of a World Wide Web site is a technological endeavor that transforms reality "for practical ends" (Christians, 2002, p. 38). The hosting of a Web site allows people to indirectly define themselves as individuals (Pappal, 2002) or as members of a group.

The Web site hosted on behalf of a Christian group is a distinct cultural 'reality' that can accomplish three key objectives. The first is information dissemination. A Web site can present information to create an inward sense of community, allowing those who share the same faith to communicate about their experiences. The Web site can have an outward evangelistic role, as well–as it can communicate persuasively with followers and the general public about the group's theology and organizational structure. Finally, the Web site can allow for proselytization, through which the organization can identify and recruit new followers.

The Web site can allow a Christian movement to be legitimized in a number of ways. It can help build a dialogue with the public, solicit volunteers, encourage study of the issues, and even raise money and sell merchandise to further group objectives or work against the objectives of an opposed religious theology or organization.

The Religious Experience

The need to believe in an ethereal being or God is "a part of our nature, built into our neuronal mainframe" as human beings (Shermer, 2000, p. 47). Human beings want to believe in a greater power, and, at the same time, want to share this religious experience. This sharing allows humans to integrate spirituality into their personal and professional lives (Schwinder, 1989).

For most religious people, this shared experience takes place within the organizational structure commonly referred to as the church. Within the church, followers develop their spiritual beliefs in accordance with the theology of the host denomination (Neck & Millman, 1994). Followers align their values with the organization, to reflect "emotional investment" in its structure (Becker & Welsh, 1994, p. 22). Followers submit to and participate in "relationship-based organizing" (Sass, 2000, p. 201) which connects its participants, their values, and activities in socially meaningful and supportive ways. The result is a religious organization that can interpret the world and its relationships for followers and the general public (Appelrouth, 1999).

At the same time, the organization creates a religious identity for itself. In fact, S., Caplovitz observes that this identity rests on two foundations--"a commitment to religious beliefs and practices and a feeling of kinship with a social group united by a common religious tie" (Caplovitz, 1977, p. 181).

In recent years, Christian churches have faced a number of troubling issues. Beginning in the early 1980s, a progression of moral scandals caused many Americans to lose faith in religious denominations and those who led them (Ganson, 2001; Lord, 1987). These scandals involved financial misappropriation (Fraser, 1999; Barr, 1988), sexual misconduct by leadership (Ganson, 2001), the public expression of impolite comment by leadership (Goodman, 2001), and accusations of intellectual dishonesty (Barr, 1988). A world-wide scandal even left the once-sacrosanct Catholic Church to be widely perceived as manipulative and corrupt to its very core (Collins, 2002).

Public support for religious denominations has been shown to drop dramatically in the wake of scandal (Fan, Wyatt, & Alten, 2001). It has also been suggested that in recent years, at least partially in response to scandal, an increasingly cynical public has been shyng away from some denominations and churches based on the perception that they "cause more problems than they solve" (Barron, 1993, p. A1). Worshipers who happen to be Christian and gay find themselves in a particularly difficult situation. They face widespread negative public stereotyping at the community level (Yang, 1997; Stimp & Kerr, 1989). They also can find themselves unwanted in church because they're gay (Rubns, 2001) and are "shut out by the gay movement" because they're Christian (How fundamentalists, ... 2002, p. D8). Some of the most prejudicial attitudes toward gay Christians are expressed within the GLBT community itself (Waynark & Gorka, 2001).

It could be argued that the recent social and cultural climate is quite favorable to the development of religious organizations that address specific concerns common to GLBT publics. A gay-friendly Christian church would offer these worshipers comfort and support that they may not find within mainstream denominations, churches, and theologies.

Christianity, GLBT Issues, and Apostasy

An apostate is a person who at one time identified with a particular religious denomination, but for one or more reasons subsequently severed his or her relationship. The apostasy process begins with "individuals experiencing doubts about the viability of religious life and their own commitment to that life" (Bromley, 1988, p. 15). The highest level of apostasy is that of personal "disengagement" (p. 16) from the religious denomination. Apostasy involves more than church membership. "Apostasy implies disaffection, not just of religious identity, but, in part, of the dominant culture's values" (Bromley, 1988, p. 30).

It is not unusual for those who become apostates to experience great personal and emotional suffering. Apostates often break from the established group during times of rapid social change that are already difficult for people to deal with (White, 1988). They are commonly rejected by family members and friends (Bobo, 1981) and in some situations are accused of having psychological problems (Witham, 1998).

While some of the blame is due to the difficulty of the situation by commonly categorizing apostate groups among sects and cults in a way that can make them be perceived as deviant (Witham, 1998), It's a common mistake to speak of the difficulty of the situation by commonly categorizing apostate groups among sects and cults in a way that can make them be perceived as deviant (Witham, 1998). Witham says this editorial treatment results from news media logic that seeks to draw attention to unusual behavior that results in social conflict. It also results from input by family and friends of religious group members who pressure media to expose alleged wrongdoing by dissenters. The process is exacerbated by mainstream religious groups that "add the aura of established religious authority to criticism of small groups" (1998, p.3).

While apostasy is not a direct concern of this research, it is a related issue. Many of those Christian denominations hold the theological viewpoint that homosexual behavior is sinful. A Christian group that claims to be housed within such a denomination--but at the same time uses its Web site to communicate affirmation of same-sex relationships--would technically be engaged in apostasy. This concern, and similar moral and ethical questions raised by Web sites studied, will be dealt with through exploration of issues of Web site intent, consistency, accuracy, and validity.
Research Design

This research required an objective means of determining the level of Web site enhancements perceived by site users. The content analysis method was chosen because it allows for measurement of communication content in a manner that is "objective, and quantitative" (Kimmer & Dominick, 1994, p. 184). Content analysis is widely favored among researchers investigating electronic or published media content because it allows for a "systematic examination of materials that are more typically evaluated on an impressionistic basis"—such as Web sites (See Babbie, 1990, p. 30).

An additional method of analysis was needed to allow for broader qualitative generalizations to be made about Web site content. The method chosen was frame analysis—a strategy whereby the investigator proceeds to "select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicative text" in order to define and interpret communication content (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

A frame serves as a means for organizing information that allows members of publics to adopt particular beliefs. A frame can organize key words, phrases, concepts (Scherer, 2002); audio/visual messages (Hung, 2001); graphic images such as photos or cartoons (Ragan, 1979); or sources from which information originates or to whom it is attributed (Entman, 1983). Frames can be used to describe or characterize the communicative relationships that take place as a result of gender (Devitt, 2002); or ethnicity (Moody-Hall, 2002) or any of numerous other explicit or implicit variables (Hung, 2001) that result in—and result from—communication.

In this research, frame analysis was used as an organizing device to make conclusions based on what was found in the content analysis. Specifically, it was used to assess issues of intent, consistency, accuracy, and validity (See Cutbirth, Shapiro, & Williams, 1983) as found in the Web site. It allowed the researcher to isolate issues that Web sites portrayed as salient for public discussion from those that were not (See tankard, 1997) and allowed an overall characterization of how Christian Web sites addressing GLBT worshipers select and emphasize "certain aspects of experience or ideas over others" (See Andsager & Smiley, 1997, p. 2).

Research Questions

Four research questions were posed in regard to Christian groups' use of World Wide Web sites to address GLBT publics:

RQ 1: What types of visual, operational, and informational enhancements are commonly used to address GLBT publics?

RQ 2: What quantitative differences exist among sites in regard to the use of visual, operational, and informational enhancements to address GLBT publics?

RQ 3: What similarities and differences in regard to perceived intent, consistency, accuracy, and validity of content can be identified among World Wide Web sites addressing GLBT publics?

Methodology

An extensive search was made on the World Wide Web to identify Web sites for study. The author sought to identify religious organizations that demonstrated a national base of support—rather than those whose support was isolated within a particular community, or directed toward a localized GLBT public. Although the Web-based search for qualified organizations was not random it was exhaustive. This search began with inquiries via Yahoo and Google to identify Christian organizations that communicated specifically that they were reaching out to gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered publics. From an initial sample of more than 100 organizations, the researcher identified 12 Christian groups, all of which identified a national base of support. The groups represented a variety of different religious denominations across the wide theological spectrum of Christian worship. Subject Web site names, group names (if different), URL addresses, and statements of purpose as found on Web sites are shown in Figure 1.

Existing content analysis designs located by the author were insufficient to fully extrapolate the visual, operational, and informational elements of these Web sites. Therefore, the author created a content analysis instrument and procedure similar to that used in previous studies of Web sites (See Swanson, 1999 and Mitchell, 1998). The content analysis procedure identified presence or absence of 12 types of visual enhancements, 20 types of operational enhancements and 17 categories of information which are commonly found on religious Web sites. Sites were scored to receive one point for each enhancement type present, regardless of the number of instances of the enhancement which were evident. No points were given for enhancement types not present. The enhancement categories measured are shown in Figures 2, 3, and 4.

The final procedure carried out was a frame analysis. The frame analysis served to identify the intent, consistency, accuracy, and validity of each site based on its claims and in comparison with the enhancements offered (See Cutbirth, Shapiro, & Williams, 1983). Because the Web is a constantly changing medium, it was important to conduct the content analysis procedure in a way that would come as close as possible to obtaining a 'snapshot' of all the sites' content at a single point in time. All analysis of site content was conducted by the author during a six hour time frame on a single day—January 31, 2003. Each site was viewed once, for 30 minutes. Access was accomplished on an IBM Thinkpad PC using Internet Explorer 6.0 on a local area connection at 100.0 Mbps. A content analysis form for each accessed site was completed manually as each site was accessed and analyzed. All sites were accessible without delay on first attempt.

Results

Web sites were electronically accessed and scored individually. Presence or absence of visual, operational, and informational enhancements was recorded by category, both individually and collectively. Qualitative observations were made, and written comments recorded, in regard to content and context of observed enhancements.

RQ 1: What types of visual, operational, and informational enhancements are commonly used to address GLBT publics?

Visual enhancements

The most common visual enhancements found on Web sites were lines/borders (12 sites, or 83%), graphic icons such as bullets and pointers (10 sites, or 83%) and frames and static photographs (each used on 9 sites, or 75%). Use of still photos (9 sites, or 75%) and illustrations (8 sites, or 67%) also were common. Half of the sites (6, or 50%) made use of a specific denominational symbol, such as the Methodist 'flaming cross' or the Jehovah's Witness 'Watchtower.'

None of the sites was found to include live audio/video or a Web camera, even though these visual elements are commonly used on the World Wide Web. None of the sites was found to use recorded video, and only one site used recorded audio clips to address the faithful. The most surprising discovery was the almost total absence of generic Christian symbols. Although the Christian cross would be the most universally-recognized symbol of the Christian faith, the cross was not found on any of the 12...
throughout the opening page and subordinate pages. The sites employed especially vibrant color schemes that were consistent with common expectations of users. Each of the 12 Web sites evaluated in this research had visual enhancements in accordance with common user expectations (Forsythe, Grose, & Ratner, 1998). As is the case with informational consistency, it is difficult to objectively measure 'accuracy' in regard to content of World Wide Web sites. Accuracy refers to the extent to which each site 'met the intent of the author, thus representing the objectivity and reliability of the author's intent' (Brophy, 1989, p. 17). Accuracy is determined by the frequency at which a site contains a resource that is viewed as relevant to the site visitor's needs. As a whole, operational enhancements were by far the most frequently found among the Web sites analyzed. The only generic Christian icon identified on any site was a cross. The sum of individual site visual, operational, and informational enhancements ranged from a low of 7 to a high of 34. The group mean was 23.75. The standard deviation was 8.05.

Figures 2, 3, and 4 show the enhancements observed during content analysis, and the frequency with which those enhancements were found displayed within the subject sites analyzed.

RQ1: What similarities and differences in regard to perceived intent, consistency, accuracy, and validity of content can be identified among World Wide Web sites addressing GLBT publics? Intent

Most of the 12 Web sites addressing GLBT publics were perceived to frame their content in the context of information dissemination, rather than evangelization or proselytization. This was evidenced by the fact that visual enhancements that would symbolically support evangelization or proselytization were seldom used (e.g., specific denominational icons or logos) or not used at all (e.g., the generic Christian cross). Operational enhancements that would facilitate evangelization and proselytization would include any functional toolkits that expedite the process through which the site visitor could join the group. Items of this type would include 'refer a friend' links and multi-lingual text. These items were found not in use on the vast majority of sites. Even the use of an access counter would quantitatively communicate to site visitors great interest by others in a particular group's religious message—but only one of the sites was found to have an access counter visible.

Informational enhancements that would offer primary persuasive support for evangelization and proselytization (e.g., testimonies, full-text scripture, sermons, leader profiles, and follower profiles) also were found to be used infrequently among all sites. Site informational enhancements most often used (e.g., news, interpretive texts, frequently asked questions) tend to be explanatory rather than persuasive.

Consistency

The 12 Web sites addressing GLBT publics were, as a group, consistent in that each was perceived to be framed as a collection of linked resources rather than as an online 'destination' for users seeking spiritual comfort. This was evidenced in a number of ways. Visual elements that would potentially provide comfort or enlightenment to a spiritual seeker would include photos and illus로부터 a particular group's religious message—but only one of the sites was found to have an access counter visible.

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Conclusion

This research demonstrates that these World Wide Web sites operated by Christian groups seeking to engage in a dialogue with members of publics who identify themselves as gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered can be characterized as ‘neither cold nor hot.’ The sites’ content was informational, not persuasive. Content was overwhelmingly social, not spiritual. The sites were perceived to be established primarily as collections of linked resources rather than electronic “interpretive communities” (See Beck, 1995) that would allow members of the groups to interact with visitors in a way that would allow site content to enliven and enhance discussion and debate.

Throughout all these sites the researcher found no substantive debate–individually or collectively–of the range of issues related to same-sex attraction argued vigorously in the general community of Christian believers. While the sites did acknowledge that individual GLBT Christians might find others in disagreement with their same-sex desires, the sites did not acknowledge in any substantial way the range of issues related to spiritual, social, cultural, medical, legal, or economic concerns. If we accept Andsager and Smiley’s premise that framing of communication can emphasize “certain aspects of experience or ideas over others” (See Andsager & Smiley, 1997, p. 2) it becomes clear that the Web sites analyzed for this study emphasized informative communicative content delivered in a fairly analytical way with the apparent primary goal of connecting GLBT users with GLBT-friendly resources. Sites de-emphasized communicative content that would be perceived as evangelistic or proselytizational, overtly spiritual, or would trigger a wider debate of theological or denominational issues.

Most of these sites represent Christian groups that identify with-but are not organizationally aligned with–a particular Christian denomination that does not recognize the Biblical acceptability of same-sex relationships. In that sense, then, most of the 12 sites represent apostate groups. Because apostasy “implies a rejection, not just of religious identity, but, in part, of the dominant culture’s values” (Bromley, 1988, p. 30) it would be relevant for these sites to discuss issues of apostasy itself, and its impact on group members and visitors. Discussion of apostasy would help sites to unite behind a common purpose and build a sense of community that is critical to retention of the faithful (Caplovitz, 1977). However, none of these sites was found to take advantage of this opportunity.

This study has hinted at a number of research areas which merit further investigation. It is important to remember that this research was preliminary and limited to a very small number of sites chosen in a non-random manner. The uniformity of the findings was somewhat surprising, however. Therefore, it would be helpful for there to be an effort to more comprehensively evaluate Christian sites that address GLBT worshipers. It would also be beneficial to track these sites over time, to see on a continuing basis how the content, functionality, and value of these sites changes as a consequence of changes in site enhancements. A Web site could potentially be altered on a daily basis, and one of the subject sites in this research was altered extensively less than two weeks after the content analysis was completed. Existing literature offers no understanding of the extent to which site enhancements may be changed over time to address different visitor wants and needs. This is a subject area that warrants attention.

There should be additional research work to compare the visual, operational, and informational enhancements of Christian sites addressing GLBT publics with Christian sites that address non-GLBT worshipers. Surely some interesting comparisons and contrasts could be found.
Beyond that, we must attempt to quantify why Christian Web site creators may choose the styles they do when developing enhancements and framing related issues. We should attempt to uncover the specific social, organizational, administrative, procedural, theological, or doctrinal variables that affect the decision-making process.

All these issues are important in a general sense, in that the investigation of them will help us better explain our world and the people living and worshiping within it. But the issues are critical to the future survival of the modern Christian church, which has been threatened in many ways in the recent past and needs to create a more effective online presence in order to make the connections necessary with the worshipers of the future. References


Barr, R. (1988, Feb. 23). Religious scandal extends 'credibility crisis.' Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel, p. 3A.


Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.


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Lutherans Concerned/ North America
http://www.lcna.org/
"...Lutherans Concerned/North America stands as a community of faith, modeling the gospel with the church and within the gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered communities. We seek to employ the gospel's principles of inclusiveness and justice, celebrating God's gifts of sexuality and diversity..."

Metropolitan Community Churches
http://www.ufmcc.com/
"...a worldwide fellowship of Christian churches with a special outreach to the world's gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender communities..."

More Light Presbyterians
http://www.mlpc.org/
"...seeking the full participation of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people of faith in the life, ministry and witness of the Presbyterian Church (USA)..."

Rainbow Baptists
(American Baptists Concerned)
http://www.rainbowbaptists.org/
"...a website providing support, information and advocacy for gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender Baptists, their family and friends..."

Seventh-day Adventist Kinship International, Inc.
http://www.sdakinship.org/
"...Seventh-day Adventist Kinship International is a support organization devoted to the spiritual, emotional, social and physical well-being of current and former Seventh-day Adventists who are lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgendered (LGBT)..."
Figure 4
Web site informational enhancement categories and the frequency with which enhancements were found (n = 12 subject sites)