

Sexual Prejudice in Europe

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Introduction

Tolerance and equality constitute two fundamental principles of democracies (e.g. Weldon, 2006). Likewise, the European Union condemns discrimination on various grounds such as ethnicity, religiosity, gender, and sexual orientation (e.g. Ellis, 2005). Yet, within European countries, discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation remains widespread. In 2012, nearly half of about 93.000 lesbian, gay, bi- and transsexual people (LGBT) from the 28 European member states felt discriminated against on grounds of their sexual orientation in the past twelve months (FRA, 2013). Yet, the share of LGBT who experienced discrimination hugely varies between these European countries: Obviously, the country LGBT people live in matters.

Likewise, European countries also considerably differ in protecting lesbians and gays from discrimination in various societal domains and in providing them with equal civil rights (e.g. ILGA Europe, 2010; FRA 2009, 2010). Whereas some European countries legally recognize same-sex partnerships and parenting rights, other countries barely offer basic protection from discrimination. Granting rights to gays and lesbians remains a hotly debated topic in Europe's public and politics. At the same time, Europeans have indeed become increasingly accepting of homosexuality and homosexuals. Yet, negative attitudes to homosexuality and homosexuals, i.e. sexual prejudice, still persist in large parts of the European public. Moreover, sexual prejudice tremendously varies both within and between European countries (e.g. Gerhards, 2010, van den Akker et al., 2013). Acknowledging between-country differences in sexual prejudice, this dissertation asks for the role of the context in shaping sexual prejudice. Unlike prejudice directed at other minorities such as ethnic minorities, sexual prejudice has received less attention in the social sciences (Herek, 2009a). By taking a comparative perspective, this dissertation takes upon the task and sets off to advance the understanding of the sources of sexual prejudice.

By defining sexual prejudice as “a heterosexual person's negative attitude toward sexual minority individuals or toward homosexuality” (Herek, 2009a: 445), sexual prejudice relates to

homosexual behavior, people with a homosexual or bisexual orientation, and communities of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people (Herek, 2000). Like any other kind of prejudice directed at outgroups, sexual prejudice directed at homosexuals is based on notions of deviance from socially constructed norms which distinguish the minority group from the majority. In case of sexual prejudice, these norms relate to sexual orientations (Herek, 2009a, 2009b). Accordingly, Herek differentiates *individual sexual prejudice* as “internalization and acceptance of sexual stigma” (Herek 2009a:443) from culturally evolved *sexual stigma* which “constitutes socially shared knowledge about homosexuality’s devalued status relative to heterosexuality” (Herek 2009a:441). Derived from sexual stigma, disparities in power and status are legitimized and enforced by societal institutions such as religion, law and medicine. Embodied in societal institutions, institutional and structural stigma, i.e. heterosexism, affects all individuals equally – independent from the individuals’ sexual prejudice (Herek, 2009a). By differentiating between individual sexual prejudice and societies’ heterosexism, the necessity of accounting for the country-level influences on individuals’ sexual prejudice becomes evident. By legitimizing heterosexism, societal institutions provide the institutional sources for heterosexuals’ prejudice to gays and lesbians. Likewise, by delegitimizing heterosexism, societal institutions have to ability to put into force new norms on homosexuality which no longer legitimize power and status related differentials between homosexuals and heterosexuals (Herek, 2009a; Kelman, 2001).

Acknowledging cross-national differences in sexual prejudice, cross-national research on sexual prejudice has recently started to account for structural and institutional sources of sexual prejudice such as countries’ religious and cultural traditions (e.g. Adamczyk and Pitt 2009, Andersen and Fetner 2008, Beckers 2009, Gerhards 2010, Jäckle and Wenzelburger 2011, Kelley 2001, Stulhofer and Rimac 2009, van den Akker et al. 2012, Widmer, Treas and Newcomb 1998). Few studies have also identified the legal regulation of homosexuality as an important source of between-country-country differences in sexual prejudice. In this line of research, progressive laws

are associated with lower levels of sexual prejudice (Tákacs and Szalma, 2011; van den Akker et al., 2012; Hooghe and Meeusen 2013, Jäckle and Wenzelburger 2011 but see Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009, for contrasting views on this association see Lax and Phillips, 2009). Following one established line of research on outgroup prejudice attributing primary importance to minority rights in explaining residents' prejudice (e.g. Allport, 1954, Pettigrew, 1991; see Schlüter et al., 2013), in brief, the legal regulation of homosexuality in a country is assumed to contribute to its residents' sexual prejudice by conveying social norms about the status of the gays and lesbians and the mode of conduct in intergroup interactions (see also van den Akker et al., 2013). Drawing on the notion that individuals are aware of country-level stances to homosexuality and homosexuals, i.e. the sexual stigma (Herek, 2009a), tolerant social norms relating to outgroups can foster positive attitudes to outgroups (Allport, 1954, Chong, 1994).

Besides the direct effect of norms on homosexuality put into force by the institutional characteristics on sexual prejudice, they can also interact with individual-level characteristics in shaping sexual prejudice. As from a functional perspective, an individual's sexual prejudice is determined "by a combination of psychological needs, situational factors, and perceptions of the cultural meanings attached to sexual minorities and to homosexuality" (Herek, 2009a: 456), the importance of accounting for these interactions becomes evident.¹ First, although social norms affect all individuals independent of their sexual prejudice, not all individuals are affected in the same way. When conceived as illegitimate, people might disapprove of institutional sexual stigma (Herek et al., 2007). Likewise, individuals might draw on different sources than these norms, e.g. intergroup contact experiences, when forming their attitudes to gays and lesbians. Thus,

¹ Approaching individual-level behavior as being determined by (some kind of) interactions of individual traits with situational characteristics can be traced back to the trait-situation debate in psychology starting in the 1960s (e.g. Kihlstrom, 2012; Fleeson and Nofle, 2009; Mischel, 2004) and was already advocated by Kurt Lewins' understanding of the 'field' (e.g. Kihlstrom, 2012). From an empirical perspective, multilevel analyses adds to the analysis of this interactive association by enabling the 'situation' to directly and interactively predict individual-level outcomes, thereby exceeding simple analysis of variance and moderated regression (Mathieu, Aguinis, Culpepper, and Chen, 2012).

depending on individual characteristics, social norms on homosexuality can influence individuals' sexual prejudice to a different extent. Second, these norms might also affect the association between individual-level predictors and sexual prejudice. For instance, Boer and Fischer (2013) could show that contextual characteristics moderated the associations of individual values with various attitudes by decreasing a) the saliency of motivations underlining values, b) the importance of a specific attitude or c) restricting expression of values in attitudes by limiting personal choice due to prevalence of strong social norms. Moreover, religiosity was shown to be more strongly related to attitudes toward homosexuality in countries whose culture emphasized self-expression rather than survival (Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009). By conceptualizing attitudes as function to serve psychological needs (Herek, 2009a, see also Herek, 1968), these moderational effects can be addressed from a more general level. From this perspective, personal needs can offset the contextual influences just as situational and contextual settings might determine whether personal needs can be satisfied by the expression of attitudes. For example, if sexual prejudice serves an object-appraisal or schematic function, individuals follow their self-interest when expressing their attitudes to an 'object' by evaluating the consequences an 'object' has for their well-being (Herek, 2009a:456) which can in turn outweigh social norms on homosexuality. If sexual prejudice serves a social adjustment or social expressive function, individuals might try to gain social approval by expressing sexual prejudice (Herek, 2009a:456). If social norms on homosexuality sanction the expression of sexual prejudice, this function can no longer be served. Other functions include the affirmation of self-concept (value-expressive function) and coping with threats to self-esteem (defensive function) (Herek, 2009a: 457; see also Herek, 1986).

Moreover, although individual motivations of expressing sexual prejudice differs among individuals and within individuals, across situation and objects (Herek, 2009a: 457; also see Herek, 1968), research on outgroup prejudice has assumed attitudes to different outgroups to be interrelated already for a long time (e.g. Allport 1954). As Allport (1954: 68) stated, "one of the

facts of which we are most certain is that people who reject one outgroup will tend to reject other outgroups." Based on an ideology of inequality, prejudice to different outgroups is assumed to share a common underlying motivational core (Allport, 1954). Thus, the common motivation expresses in prejudice based on group membership to all outgroups conceivable in a society as all outgroups share a socially devalued status (e.g. Herek, 2009a). Differences in outgroup prejudice can therefore also stem from the socially shared knowledge about the outgroup and the social acceptance of stigma related to the outgroups which Herek (2009a) perceives to differentiate sexual prejudice from prejudice to other outgroups. Moreover, sexual prejudice differs from prejudice to other minority groups due to the concealability of sexual orientation. Thus, research on the interrelation of various kinds of prejudice and their common and differential motivations adds to knowledge about sexual prejudice.

To sum up, institutional characteristics such as the laws regulating homosexuality can be assumed to not only directly affect peoples' sexual prejudice but also to interact with individual-level characteristics. Moreover, the motivations of prejudice can differ across individuals and outgroups. Yet, even though sexual prejudice differs from prejudice to other outgroups, all outgroups share the devalued status within society. Therefore, outgroup prejudice can be assumed to be interrelated and to share motivational causes.

Consequently, analyzing the joint effect of both institutional sources as well as individual-level sources of sexual prejudice offers a promising approach in advancing the understanding about cross-national differences in sexual prejudice. Moreover, relating prejudice to various outgroups and to their common and diverging antecedents provides a promising approach of gaining knowledge about the particular and common motivations for sexual prejudice as compared to other outgroups.

Scientific aims of the study:

By taking a comparative perspective, this study sets off to advance the understanding of the sources of sexual prejudice in several ways. By taking a *country-comparative perspective*, the first two studies of this dissertation aim at advancing the understanding of how individual-level and country-level sources interact in determining between-country differences of sexual prejudice in Europe. By taking an *outgroup-comparative perspective*, the third study of this dissertation aims at contributing to the knowledge about the sources and differences of sexual prejudice in the context of and in comparison to prejudices to other outgroups and their common and diverging value-based motivations in Germany. In the following, I will outline the three research questions addressed in this dissertation (see table 1).

Research questions

The first research question focuses on the interaction between intergroup friendship and the legal regulation of homosexuality in shaping cross-national differences of sexual prejudice. Although research on prejudice has long identified minority rights as well as intergroup friendship as important predictors of citizens' prejudice, to date, research on sexual prejudice still misses out on the opportunity to combine both approaches in explaining sexual prejudice. In numerous studies, intergroup friendship was shown to efficiently reduce sexual prejudice (e.g. Anderssen, 2002, Herek and Capitanio; 1996; Herek and Glunt, 1993, Hodson et al. 2012, Hooghe/Meeusen, 2012, Merino 2013; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006) as intergroup friendship, among other things, increases knowledge about the outgroups (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2008, 2011). Most of the research on the association between intergroup friendship and sexual prejudice concentrated on single countries, thereby neglecting the possibility of testing for the cross-national generalizability and variability of the friendship-prejudice link (also see Christ and Wagner, 2013). As explained above, the countries' legal climate on homosexuality can be

seen as source which provides its citizens with social norms about homosexuality (e.g. van den Akker et al., 2013). Yet, we ask whether individuals with and without intergroup friends rely on this contextual source in the same way:

1. Do friendship relations with gay/lesbian people reduce the association of LGB civil rights with sexual prejudice?

The second research question also addresses the interplay of individual-level predictors and the legal regulation of homosexuality in predicting approval of homosexuality. This second research question, however, focuses on individual value priorities as predictors of individuals' approval of homosexuality. Research has not only shown values to be important predictors of various social and moral attitudes (e.g., Beckers, Siegers, & Kuntz, 2012 ; Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet, & Schmidt, 2008; Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995; Schwartz, Caprara, & Vecchione, 2010) but has also shown various value predictors to efficiently predict attitudes to homosexuals and homosexuality (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; van den Akker, et al., 2013; Beckers, 2008; Gerhards, 2010; Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2011; Vicario, Liddle, & Luzzo, 2005). As basic human values are defined as trans-situational goals that serve as guiding principles (Schwartz, 1992), they are assumed to underlie attitudes. Based on values, people are assumed to have positive attitudes to objects that help them to attain their value-based goals and negative attitudes to those that hinder goal attainment (Schwartz, 2006). Previous studies have mostly concentrated on either single values or single countries. By focusing on single values, these studies neglected the possibility of systematically studying the association between various interrelated values which has been shown to be preferably over single values when explaining sexual prejudice (e.g., Beckers, et al., 2012). Moreover, by focusing on single countries, previous studies neglected the possibility of analyzing and explaining between-country variations of the values' effects on approval of homosexuality. Previous research has shown that values relate differently to various social attitudes and behaviors depending on contextual characteristics such as the national culture or the normative climate (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Boer & Fischer, 2013). Likewise, as outlined

above, the legal regulation can be assumed to provide normative guidance about homosexuality.

In this study, we therefore address the following research question:

2. *Does the effect of individual value priorities vary with the legal regulation of homosexuality?*

Sexual prejudice differs from prejudice to other outgroups in one major issue: Unlike other minority members, gays and lesbians might hide their sexual orientation from others in social interactions (e.g. Herek, 2009a). Nevertheless, sexual prejudice also shares much with prejudices directed at other minority groups. Among other things, all minority groups are socially devalued (Herek, 2009a). The third research question addresses the interrelation of prejudice to six different outgroups and their common and target-specific motivations. Research on outgroup prejudice has long assumed attitudes to different outgroups to be interrelated (Allport, 1954). Within this research tradition, prejudice directed at different outgroups is assumed to be part of a larger syndrome called group-focused enmity (GFE, e.g. Zick, Küpper, and Heitmeyer, 2010) which is based on an “ideology of inequality” (Allport, 1954). One of the major vantage points of studying the co-occurrence of prejudice to different outgroups is the gain of knowledge about the general motivation of outgroup prejudice and the generalizability of theories explaining outgroup prejudice. Yet, research on the interrelation of prejudice to different outgroups and their motivational causes is rather rare. By taking advantage of the well-established theory of basic human values as motivational causes of prejudice to various outgroups, this research question builds upon the previous one by generalizing findings on the association of conservation and universalism values to the GFE- syndrome while also analyzing target-specific value-based motivations. The research question therefore asks:

3. *How does prejudice to different outgroup relate? Is prejudice to different outgroups motivated by the same values?*

Outline of the study

As outlined above, this study aims at advancing the understanding of Europeans' sexual prejudice from a comparative perspective. The first two research questions focus on the interaction of established individual-level characteristics with the legal regulation of homosexuality in explaining sexual prejudice from a country comparative perspective. The third research question focuses on the interrelated structure and common motivational causes of prejudice to diverse outgroups. Each of the following chapters deals with one of these research questions. Table 1 provides an overview of the title, research question, dependent variables, main predictors, research design, data and method.

Chapter 2, *LGB civil rights, intergroup friendship, and sexual prejudice. A comparative multilevel analysis of European societies*, takes on a cross-national perspective to test the joint effect of intergroup friendship with the LGB civil rights for two complementary forms of sexual prejudice, i.e. social distance to homosexuals and disapproval of homosexual politicians. Drawing on the extensive multilevel data base of the Eurobarometer 69.1 (European Commission, 2012) combined with detailed information on country-level LGB civil rights, this study allows for analyzing the research question across more than 20.000 individuals in 28 European countries by means of hierarchical linear modeling.

Chapter 3, *Human values, legal regulation, and approval of homosexuality in Europe: A cross-country comparison*, follows chapter 2 in taking a cross-national perspective. We test the interaction between individuals' values priorities and the countries' legal regulation of homosexuality in explaining individuals' agreement with whether "[...] gays and lesbians should be free to live as they wish". To measure individuals' values priorities, we rely on a short version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ, Schwartz, 2003). Combining the rich data source of the fifth round of the European Social Survey (ESS 2010) with a comprehensive measure of the

countries' legal regulation of homosexuality, the predictions are analyzed across more than 45.000 respondents in 27 European countries by employing multilevel analysis.

Finally, chapter 4, *Value-Related Motivational Underpinnings of Group-Focused Enmity*, analyzes the association between six different outgroups in Germany: Sexism, anti-Semitism, anti-foreigner attitudes, devaluation of homosexual people, devaluation of homeless people, and anti-Muslim attitudes. Prejudice to the six items is measured by two items for each outgroup. To measure the basic human values, we make use of the refined measurement instrument for the basic human values which allows differentiating between these values more precisely (PVQ-R, Schwartz, et al. 2012). To account for measurement errors, the internal structures of the GFE syndrome as well as of the values are assessed with confirmatory factor analyses. Assumptions on the associations of basic human values with GFE and with prejudice to specific attitudes are tested by means of structural equation modeling. We test our predictions with a German online access panel.

	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4
Title	<i>LGB civil rights, intergroup friendship, and sexual prejudice A comparative multilevel analysis of European societies.</i>	<i>Human values, legal regulation, and approval of homosexuality in Europe: A cross-country comparison</i>	<i>Value-Related Motivational Underpinnings of Group-Focused Enmity</i>
Research question	Do friendship relations with gay/lesbian people reduce the association of LGB civil rights with sexual prejudice?	Does the effect of individual value priorities on approval of homosexuality vary with the legal regulation of homosexuality?	How does prejudice to different outgroup relate? Is prejudice to different outgroups motivated by the same values?
Dependent variable	1. Social distance to homosexual neighbors 2. Disapproval of homosexual politicians	Approval of homosexuality	<i>Six components of group focused enmity: anti-Semitism, devaluation of homeless people, anti-foreigner attitudes, anti-Muslim attitudes, sexism, and devaluation of homosexual people.</i>
Main predictors	<i>Individual-level:</i> Friendship with gays and lesbians <i>Country-level:</i> LGB rights	<i>Individual-level:</i> value priorities <i>Country-level:</i> LGB rights	Basic human values
Data	Eurobarometer 69.1	Fifth wave of the European Social Survey	German online access panel
Country	28 European member states	27 European countries	Germany
Year	2008	2010-2011	2013
Method	Hierarchical linear modeling	Hierarchical linear modeling	Confirmatory factor analyses Structural equation modeling

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Specification of contributions of the co-authors:

The study presented in chapter 2, “*LGB civil rights, intergroup friendship, and sexual prejudice. A comparative multilevel analysis of European societies*” has been coauthored by Prof. Dr. Elmar Schlüter. In this study, I am the first author. This paper is currently under review for *Social Science Research*.

Anabel Kuntz:

1. Conceptualization of the study
2. Compiling the research literature
3. Data preparation
4. Empirical analysis
5. Discussion of the results

Elmar Schlüter

1. Support for theoretical and empirical strategy of the study
2. Revision of all parts of the article

The study presented in chapter 3 “*Human values, legal regulation, and approval of homosexuality in Europe: A cross-country comparison*”, has been coauthored by Prof. Dr. Eldad Davidov, University of Zurich, Switzerland, Prof. em. Shalom Schwartz, PhD, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel, and National Research University—Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia, and Prof. Dr. em. Peter Schmidt University of Giessen, Giessen, Germany, and National Research University—Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia. I am the first author of this study. The paper has recently been published online first by the *European Journal of Social Psychology* (DOI: 10.1002/ejsp.2068).

Anabel Kuntz:

1. Conceptualization of the study
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3. Data preparation
4. Empirical analysis
5. Discussion of the results

Eldad Davidov and Shalom Schwartz

1. Support for theoretical and empirical strategy of the study
2. Revision of all parts of the article

Peter Schmidt

1. Suggestions for improvement of the study

The study presented in chapter 4, “Value-Related Motivational Underpinnings of Group-Focused Enmity” is a joint work of Dr. Constanze Beierlein, Prof. Dr. Eldad Davidov and me. In this study, I am the second author. The paper has been submitted for review to the journal *Social Science Research*.

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2. Development of the empirical part of the article
3. Data preparation
4. Empirical analyses
5. Description of the empirical analysis and the results
6. Revision of all parts of the paper

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3. Development of the theoretical part of the paper
4. Data collection
5. Description of the dataset
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Eldad Davidov

1. Conceptualization of the study
2. Revision of all parts of the study
3. Support of the empirical analyses
4. Discussion of the results

LGB civil rights, intergroup friendship, and sexual prejudice: A comparative multilevel analysis of European societies (chapter 2)²

(co-authored with Elmar Schlüter)

Abstract

There is ample evidence that differences in the governmental provision of civil rights for lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people are key to explaining cross-national variation in sexual prejudice. Likewise, at the individual-level, intergroup contact has been shown to be a prime factor shaping negative sentiments towards LGB people. However, knowledge about the interplay of these factors across different analytical levels is surprisingly scant. To remedy this research gap, this study shifts attention to the role of intergroup friendships as a moderator of the relation between LGB civil rights and sexual prejudice. The theoretical model developed in this paper predicts that friendships with LGB people buffer the prejudice-reducing impact of more progressive LGB civil rights. Based on combined survey and contextual data from 28 European countries and using multilevel regression techniques, we find firm support for our predictions. This adds novel and timely knowledge to the growing literature on the multiple sources of sexual prejudice.

Keywords: Sexual prejudice; LGB civil rights; Intergroup friendship; Cross-national research; Multilevel analysis

² The manuscript has been submitted for review to Social Science Research.

Introduction

The provision of civil rights to lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people persists as a highly divisive issue of the political culture in contemporary European countries. Several countries have long been punishing discrimination based on homosexual orientation. Some governments, additionally, grant legal recognition to same-sex marriage. But in several other countries the legal emancipation of LGB people remains a topic of intense public and political conflict, with little sign of this debate subsiding in the years ahead. In parallel to this situation, a growing number of studies point to considerable variation in negative attitudes towards gay, lesbian, and bisexual people – in other words, heterosexuals’ sexual prejudice – both between and within European countries (e.g., Kuntz et al., 2014; van den Akker et al., 2013). Given the severe consequences of heterosexuals’ widespread sexual prejudice for its victims and society at large (Herek 2000, FRA 2010, 2013), understanding the sources underlying negative sentiments towards LGB people warrants systematic inquiry that combines different social science perspectives. Specifically, one established line of explanation has identified governmental recognition of LGB civil rights to be a potent predictor explaining cross-country differences in sexual prejudice. The core theoretical argument underlying this research is that the nature of a country’s LGB civil rights provides its citizens the social norms of appropriate intergroup conduct and thereby centrally contributes to the level of peoples’ sexual prejudice.

To explain why sexual prejudice varies among people within single countries, intergroup friendships with LGB people have proven to be of central importance. A large body of research demonstrates that intergroup friendship effectively reduces and prevents prejudice towards LGB people (e.g., Herek and Capitano; 1996; Herek and Glunt, 1993, Merino 2013; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2006), for example because friendship relations amend biased cognitions via learning about the minority group (Davies et al., 2011; Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp, 2008, 2011). Curiously, although there are obvious theoretical gains in combining country-level and

individual-level perspectives to uncover the sources of sexual prejudice, to the best of our knowledge to date there has been no attempt to synthesize the different literatures on LGB civil rights and on intergroup friendship. Apart from methodological complications, this research gap might simply be due to the absence of suitable measures of key variables in previous opinion data. Fortunately, the recent availability of cross-national survey data containing adequate measures not only of sexual prejudice but also of intergroup friendships with LGB people offers new opportunities to overcome such restrictions.

This study takes up this task. Extending previous theory and research, the main theoretical rationale advanced in this paper is that friendship relations with gay/lesbian people importantly reduces the well-known negative association of LGB civil rights with sexual prejudice. To test this interactive cross-level relation, we use a multilevel model that combines cross-sectional, cross-national survey data on intergroup friendship and sexual prejudice from more than 25,000 respondents in 28 European societies with detailed information on country-level LGB civil rights. Collectively, this research advances our understanding of the antecedents underlying Europeans' sexual prejudice in several ways. First, by theorizing how individual-level intergroup friendships interact with LGB civil rights as a country-level, institutional factor in predicting Europeans' anti-LGB sentiments, this paper connects two prominent lines of explanation that have up to now remained isolated from each other. Second, in synthesizing these complementary research traditions, this study explicitly responds to recent calls by scholars to acknowledge the contextual conditions within which intergroup contact relates to anti-minority prejudice (Christ and Wagner, 2013). Finally, the broad multilevel data sources and analytical techniques used in this paper allow generalizable and timely conclusions to be drawn about the ways LGB civil rights and intergroup friendship affect sexual prejudice between and within European societies.

Theoretical framework

LGB civil rights and sexual prejudice

Why should LGB civil rights shape the formation of peoples' prejudice against LGB people? To answer this question, we begin by noting that laws and legal regulations are widely considered to be of general importance for affecting peoples' attitudes and behaviors. Put simply, the legal environments people reside in matter, for they provide normative guidance about the appropriateness of various behavioral and attitudinal practices (Pacheco, 2013). Consistent with this standard perspective, researchers conceive the legal recognition of a minority group to convey the social norms prescribing the desired status of that group in society and 'appropriate' interaction with minority group members (e.g., Pettigrew, 1991; Schlüter et al., 2013). Presumably, when embedded in legislation, minority group rights win "considerable moral and symbolic weight" (Bonfield, 1965, p. 111) and hence become widely accepted normative standards of appropriate conduct for group members. Indeed, intergroup norms have long proved as a fertile source of inspiration for research on anti-minority sentiments (e.g., Westie, 1964; Allport, 1954). Allport (1954), for example, contends that more tolerant social norms decrease prejudice, just as less tolerant social norms might increase prejudice (Allport, 1954, p. 471; see also p. 477; Schlueter et al., 2013). As Chong (1994, p. 32) hypothesizes, "changes in the norms, in the direction of either greater lenience or restrictiveness, have the capacity to pull along changes in tolerance and underlying attitudes." These predictions are consistent with the theoretical rationale that people recognize that deviating from normative prescriptions that 'ought' to happen during intergroup situations might evoke negative sanctions, which they seek to avoid. From this view, short-term changes in anti-LGB sentiments following legislative change (Tákacs and Zalma, 2011, p. 375) might be due to simple compliance (Kelman, 1958; see also Allport 1954, p. 471). Yet minority group rights might also foster the internalization of intergroup norms, for example through peoples' exposure to intergroup norms in the education

system. Such processes of political learning could then be expected to bring about long-term changes in anti-minority prejudice as an outcome.

Yet, another line of research puts forward a contrasting view on the association between LGB rights and prejudice. Arguing that politicians respond to residents' public opinion in the form of aggregated sexual prejudice by enacting corresponding country-level LGB civil rights, Lax and Phillips (2009), for example, consider public opinion to be the "primary driver" of changes in LGB civil rights. However, they also acknowledge that the strength of policy responsiveness varies with the policy in question and depends on various characteristics of policies. Unfortunately, panel studies on the prejudice/LGB right links are very rare due to a lack of longitudinal data. Yet, Kreitzer, Hamilton and Tolbert (2014) could show that changes in opinion on same-sex marriage took place even within a very short time span after implementation same-sex marriage rights for LGB couples even if these changes mostly restricted to individuals. In their analyses of repeated cross-sectional data from the European Social Survey data, Takács and Szalma (2011) found that peoples' anti-gay/lesbian attitudes improved after countries introduced same-sex partnership legislation. In contrast, in countries that did not legally recognize same-sex partnership, no significant changes in anti-gay/lesbian attitudes occurred.

As our study focuses on general prejudice towards homosexuals, it differs from studies analyzing the relationship between opinion on specific LGB rights and their legal implementations such as same-sex marriage. Certainly, opinion on specific policies and the implementation of these policies are more closely related than general prejudice to specific policies. Supporting same-sex marriage does not necessarily go along with being comfortable with having homosexual neighbors (e.g. Herek, 2009). Indeed, policies might be responsive to public opinion. Yet, responsiveness is also limited by various institutions such as courts and the European Union. While acknowledging that the relationship between LGB civil rights and sexual prejudice might indeed reciprocal, in the present study, we focus on the prejudice-reducing effect of LGB rights.

To date, there have only been a handful of studies that examined the relationship between LGB civil rights and sexual prejudice. Although most of this work supports the assumption that more progressive LGB civil rights are associated with lower levels of sexual prejudice (Tákacs and Szalma, 2011; van den Akker et al., 2013; Hooghe and Meeusen 2013; but see also Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009), researchers have only just begun to examine whether and to what extent LGB rights interact with individual characteristics (Kuntz et al., 2014). In this view, this study is the first cross-national study that provides a systematic test as to whether and to what extent intergroup friendship moderates the relation between LGB civil rights and sexual prejudice – an important endeavour that has not been previously addressed.

Intergroup friendship and sexual prejudice

Originating in Allport's (1954) classic work, personal contact experiences with minority group members have long been identified to be a central force that ameliorates negative attitudes toward minority groups and individual group members. The vantage point of the highly influential contact literature is the intuitive idea that negative attitudes towards minority groups are to a large extent based simply on ignorance. Because, as the assumption goes, personal contact experiences with minority members involve "learning about the outgroup" (Pettigrew, 1998, p. 70f.), positive intergroup encounters have the potential to amend biased views of the minority group. To be sure, more recent developments in intergroup contact theory note that multiple individual-level processes such as lessened intergroup anxiety, greater empathy, or perspective taking account for the prejudice-reducing effect of close intergroup ties (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2008). Still, as Pettigrew (1998) points out, the social learning approach continues to play an important role in our understanding of how contact impacts anti-minority prejudice. Research has also moved forward regarding the boundary conditions of intergroup contact. Early studies in this field presumed intergroup contact to reduce anti-outgroup sentiments only during intergroup encounters characterized by ideal conditions (Allport, 1954) – including, but not

limited to, common goals, intergroup cooperation, equal status, and authority support. However, more recent evidence testifies that in the absence of such facilitating conditions, even casual, everyday intergroup encounters are typically associated with a decreased level of anti-minority sentiment, at least as long the encounters do not involve negative contact experiences with minority group members (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2008). That said, there is common agreement among researchers that it is personal intergroup contacts involving enduring and beneficial social interaction – in other words, intergroup friendships – that are the most effective in decreasing anti-minority sentiment (Davies et al., 2011).

Originally, intergroup contact theory focused on explaining majority members' negative sentiments towards members of different ethnic or racial groups. Fortunately, heterosexuals' anti-LGB prejudice provides no exception to the robust empirical regularity that intergroup contact reduces respectively prevents anti-minority group sentiments. On the contrary: Heterosexuals' intergroup friendships with LGB people have in fact been deemed the single most important factor promoting positive attitudes towards LGB people (Herek and Glunt, 1993; Steffens and Wagner, 2004). While acknowledging that friendship with homosexuals might be biased by selection processes, research has proven the association between friendship with homosexuals and sexual prejudice to be reciprocal (e.g Herek and Capitano, 1996; Anderssen 2002). Besides from the prejudice-reducing effect of intergroup friendship, people's preceding prejudice might determine their willingness to engage in close relationship with gays and lesbians in the first place, whereas gays and lesbians might retain their sexual orientation from prejudiced others. Although longitudinal analyses are very rare due to a lack of appropriate data, preceding intergroup friendships did predict lower levels sexual prejudice at later time points in panel designs (Herek and Capitano, 1996; Anderssen, 2002, Hodson et al. 2012, Hooghe/Meeusen, 2012, see also Sakalli, 2008). Moreover, Hodson and colleagues (2012) report that not only the effect of intergroup friendship was stronger than bare contact experiences but also found support

against selection biases. They report that high right-wing authoritarians did not differ from low right-wing authoritarians with respect to the number of gay and lesbian friends. More importantly, higher RWAs with gay and lesbian friends exhibited lower levels of prejudice compared to higher RWAs without those friendship experiences. Both the nature of the relationship and the outgroup add to the quality of the association between friendship and prejudice. Unlike characteristics of other outgroups such as race, individuals might hide their sexual orientation from others (Herek, 2009a; Hodson et al. 2012). Self-disclosure on the other hand was shown to be highly related to the degree of intimacy which both are associated with lower levels of sexual prejudice (Herek and Capitanio, 1996). An extensive meta-analytical study on the association between contact with and prejudice towards various outgroups could show that the effect of intergroup contact on prejudice in experimental settings offering choice of engaging in contact as compared to those which did not offer choice was not significantly larger (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). All these studies suggest that the relationship between intergroup friendship and sexual prejudice is indeed reciprocal which, turn, supports the prejudice reducing effect of intergroup friendship.

After all, existing studies on the relation between intergroup contact and anti-LGB prejudice share many of the limitations that characterize the intergroup contact literature in general. For example, most work on the contact/sexual prejudice nexus is based on U.S. data only. As a consequence, it is unclear if and to what extent the beneficial effects of having personal ties with LGB persons generalize to other national populations. Further, and related to the previous point, previous studies in this field rarely account for the contextual conditions within which intergroup relations between members of heterosexual majority groups and LGB people take place. One promising opportunity to improve upon this state of knowledge is to take a cross-national, comparative research perspective. Below, we take up this task and specify how individual-level

intergroup friendship might affect the link between-country-level LGB rights and sexual prejudice.

Intergroup friendship as moderator of the LGB civil rights/sexual prejudice relationship

As outlined above, intergroup friendships with LGB people rank among the most important individual-level characteristics known to ameliorate sexual prejudice. However, besides having an independent prejudice-reducing influence, there are strong theoretical arguments to hypothesize that intergroup friendships with LGB people might importantly reduce the positive association between LGB civil rights and peoples' sexual prejudice described above. Developing and testing a moderating relation of that kind is beneficial, for it can help us to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the cross-level mechanisms that shape negative sentiments towards LGB people.

Why, then, should intergroup friendships moderate the LGB rights/prejudice relationship? Recall that fostering more accurate knowledge about minority group members represents one key mechanism via which intergroup friendship presumably decreases biased views on LGB people. Put differently, this means that intergroup friendships act as a prime source of the information underlying heterosexuals' attitudes toward LGB people. Conversely, in the absence of close personal relationships with LGB people, alternative information sources – such as the social norms that LGB civil rights bring about – should become more relevant and increase their influence on peoples' attitudes towards LGB people. To illustrate this mechanism, imagine someone living in a society characterized by relatively less progressive LGB civil rights who has no close personal ties to LGB people as compared to someone living in the same society but having LGB people in his circle of close friends. Of course, we would expect the individual having LGB friends to show a lower level of sexual prejudice (which equals the ameliorating influence of contact on prejudice itself). Yet more importantly, if the above reasoning on the

function of intergroup contact as providing first-hand information about minority groups is correct, this individual's sexual prejudice should be less affected by LGB civil rights as compared to the person having no close personal ties with LGB people.

Hypotheses

Based on the theoretical considerations above, we formulate three hypotheses. To explain differences in sexual prejudice at the country-level, we contend more progressive LGB civil rights to be associated with lower levels of sexual prejudice (*hypothesis 1*). Focusing on the individual-level, we anticipate that having friendships with gays and lesbians predicts lower levels of sexual prejudice (*hypothesis 2*). Combined, both lines of explanation lead us to specify a novel cross-level interactive relation between-country-level LGB civil rights and friendships with gays and lesbians at the individual-level; we hypothesize that having friendships with gays and lesbians will be associated with a weaker impact of LGB civil rights on sexual prejudice (*hypothesis 3*).

Data and measurement

To examine our hypotheses, we took advantage of cross-national survey data from the Eurobarometer 69.1 wave.³ Face-to-face interviews for this survey were conducted based on nationally representative samples of respondents aged 15 years and older in February to March 2008. As mentioned above, whereas various cross-national surveys include indicators about attitudes towards homosexuals, the Eurobarometer survey is uniquely suited for this research, because it also includes a question that identifies respondents who have LGB friends. After removing individuals who identified themselves as non-heterosexual (0.6%) and those who were born outside the country in which the survey was carried out (5.7%), the total sample size

³Data and further information on data collection and documentation are available at [http://www.gesis.org/?id=2261&tx_eurobaromater_pi1\[vol\]=2261&tx_eurobaromater_pi1\[pos1\]=1470](http://www.gesis.org/?id=2261&tx_eurobaromater_pi1[vol]=2261&tx_eurobaromater_pi1[pos1]=1470)

comprised N = 25,063 individuals nested in the following 28 societies: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Northern Ireland, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden.

Dependent variables

Two face-valid single indicators allowed us to measure complementary forms of respondents' sexual prejudice. The first indicator we used refers to respondents' social distance towards homosexuals (Gentry, 1987). Assessing negativity towards homosexuals in the private domain, respondents were asked to indicate how they would feel about having 'a homosexual (gay or lesbian woman) as a neighbor' on a 10-point Likert-type scale; the original response options ranged from 1 ('very uncomfortable') to 10 ('very comfortable'). The second indicator we used focuses on anti-LGB sentiment in the political domain and tapped respondents' disapproval of homosexual political leaders (Golebiowska, 2001). Here, respondents were asked to indicate how they would feel about having 'a homosexual (gay man or lesbian woman) in the highest elected political position in (OUR COUNTRY).' Original response options ranged from 1 (very uncomfortable) to 10 ('very comfortable'). We recoded both indicators so that higher values indicate relatively more sexual prejudice. Evidence that the presumed moderating function of intergroup friendships holds for both measures of sexual prejudice would considerably enhance confidence in the generalizability of our empirical conclusions.

Independent variables

To operationalize *intergroup friendships with gays and lesbians*, we use a dichotomous indicator. In line with approved measures in related research, the item asked respondents to indicate

whether they had homosexual friends or acquaintances or not (0 = ‘no’; 1 = ‘yes’).⁴ Consistent with intergroup contact theory, asking for relations of friendship or acquaintances clearly meets the criterion of assessing intergroup contact of high personal relevance (van Dick et al., 2004). To measure country-level LGB civil rights, we relied on data from an expert rating of the legal situation of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people in European countries (ILGA Europe, 2009; see van den Akker, van der Ploeg and Scheepers, 2013).⁵ Each of seven categories of LGB civil rights was assigned a certain number of positive or negative points. Positive scores were assigned for: (a) the presence of anti-discrimination legislation for LGB people (0-3 points), (b) the existence of partnership recognition for same-sex couples (0-3 points), (c) the granting of parenting rights for same-sex couples (0-3 points), and (d) the existence of anti-hate crime legislation for LGB people (0-1 point). Negative scores were assigned if: (e) an unequal age of consent exists for homosexual and heterosexual couples (0-1 point), (f) freedom of assembly for homosexuals is violated (0-1 point), and (g) same-sex activities are illegal (0-1 point). Thus, originally, the ILGA index could vary from a minimum score of -3 to a maximum score of 10. To ease interpretation, we recoded this index so that it ranged from a minimum score of 0 (least progressive LGB civil rights) to a maximum score of 1 (most progressive LGB civil rights). Preliminary analyses revealed substantial correlations among the ratings of the seven legal areas ($\alpha = 0.74$). We therefore totaled these scores to obtain a single additive index of country-level LGB civil rights.

⁴ Age and LGB civil rights were grand-mean centered by subtracting the overall sample mean from the original value. All other variables were left uncentered. We acknowledge that using uncentered individual-level predictor variables in multilevel models might confound the presumed cross-level interaction with a between-group interaction (Enders and Tofighi, 2007). To dispel such concerns, we examined additional models where we centered the dichotomous measure of intergroup friendship at its group mean. Given that the results of these alternative models reconfirmed all of our earlier conclusions, we conclude that our results are not confounded with a between-group interaction.

⁵ Notice that information on LGB civil rights were collected for 2009. We consulted additional sources to account for changes in the legal situations of homosexuals from 2008 to 2009 (FRA, 2009, 2010; Ottoson, 2009; Waaldijk, 2009). When constructing the ILGA index, we followed the construction of the Rainbow Europe Country Index, which was first launched in 2010 (ILGA Europe, 2010).

Control variables

In addition to the aforementioned indicators of primary theoretical interest, we included a range of control variables in our models. The major purpose of these covariates was to reduce concerns that compositional differences between national populations might bias the results of hypotheses testing. To begin with, we took into account that men commonly show more sexual prejudice than women. This finding has been attributed to perceptions of threat among men by behavior considered to be feminine, which could result either from women or homosexual men (Kite & Whitley, 1996; Herek, 2000). We operationalized *gender* as a dichotomous item (0 = female; 1 = male). *Age*, which has also been found to be positively associated with sexual prejudice, possibly due to a stronger degree of conservatism among the elderly, respectively lower levels of social tolerance among older cohorts (e.g., Andersen and Fetner, 2008a), was measured in years. Higher educational attainment typically is negatively associated with self-reported anti-minority prejudice. The prejudice-reducing impact of education has been attributed to increased knowledge of minority-groups as well as to greater empathy and more liberal attitudes in general (e.g., van den Akker et al. 2013, Scheepers et al., 2002). To assess respondents' *educational attainment*, we used the age at which the respondent completed full-time education and coded a categorical variable with 0 = low education (below 16 years), 1 = no full-time education, 2 = medium education (16-19 years), and 3 = high education (above 19 years) and still studying. To measure the *size of residence*, we constructed a dummy variable comparing persons residing in a large town (= 1) to persons living in a rural area or village or in a small or medium-size town (= 0). The theoretical rationale here is that presumably living in a larger community is associated with greater exposure to social heterogeneity, which presumably fosters tolerance (Fischer, 1971). Likewise, religious individuals have been shown to be relatively more prejudiced towards

homosexuals⁶. The assumption here is that greater religiosity is accompanied by exposure to stricter norms on sexual morality as promoted by religions (e.g., Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009, van den Akker et al, 2013) as well as exposure to different masculinity beliefs as promoted by different denominations (Reese et al., 2013). Among religious affiliations, being Muslim was shown to result in the most restrictive attitudes, followed by Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Jews, and Protestants (Adamczyk and Pitt, 2009; Gerhards, 2010; Jäckle and Wenzelburger, 2011; van den Akker et al., 2013). To measure religious affiliation, we coded seven dummy variables, with atheist or agnostic (reference category), Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, other Christian denominations, Muslim, and other denominations. We also took into account whether or not a country had experienced *communist rule* in the past, which is known to be associated with more pronounced levels of sexual prejudice (e.g., Andersen and Fetner, 2008b; Kelley, 2001; Jäckle and Wenzelburger, 2011). Postcommunist states can be characterized as transitioning states with a restrictive past concerning attitudes towards homosexuals and sexual permissiveness in general (Andersen and Fetner, 2008b; Jäckle and Wenzelburger, 2011; Kon, 1993; Stuhlhofer and Sandfort, 2005).

Method

Our data are hierarchically structured with respondents (level 1) nested in countries (level 2). Assuming individuals within the same country to be more similar on certain characteristics than individuals of different countries, this data structure violates the assumption of independence of errors of OLS models. To deal with this clustering adequately, we estimated a series of two-level regression models. Allowing distinguishing between individual-level and country-level variation, these hierarchical linear models avoid underestimating the standard errors of our parameter

⁶ Unfortunately, the Eurobarometer does only contain information on the respondent's religious affiliation but not on religious belief and participation. Yet, previous research has shown that crossgroup friendship predicts sexual prejudice above and beyond religious belief and religious participation (e.g. Hooghe and Meeusen, 2012; Merino, 2013).

estimates.⁷ Although not reported here in detail, preliminary analyses revealed that up to 18% of the total variance of respondents' social distance towards homosexuals and up to 24% the total variance in their disapproval of homosexual politicians could be attributed to country-level differences.

Tables 1 and 2 present the respective results from the HLM models for social distance towards homosexuals and disapproval of homosexual politicians. For each of these dependent variables, the analyses proceed in three models that build incrementally. The initial model 1 included only the individual-level control variables and the measure of intergroup friendship. The aim here was to account for possible compositional differences between countries and to examine the presumed negative association of intergroup friendship with sexual prejudice from a cross-national perspective (*hypothesis 1*). In this model, only the intercept is allowed to vary across countries, i.d. to be random. In formal terms, the model for the individual-level reads as follows:

$$\begin{aligned}
 (1)y_{ij}(\textit{sexual prejudice}) & \\
 &= b_{0j} + b_1(\textit{intergroup friendship}) + b_2(\textit{age}) + b_3(\textit{male}) \\
 &+ b_4(\textit{education}) + b_5(\textit{large town}) + b_6(\textit{Catholic}) + b_7(\textit{Protestant}) \\
 &+ b_8(\textit{Orthodox}) + b_2(\textit{other Christian}) + b_2(\textit{Muslim}) \\
 &+ b_2(\textit{other denominations}) + r_{ij}
 \end{aligned}$$

The inscript *i* denotes individuals and the incript *j* denotes countries. The sexual prejudice of an individual *i* in a country *j* is explained by the mean level of sexual prejudice (b_{0j}), the individual-level predictors and a residual error term. The between-country differences in the mean level of sexual prejudice are accounted for by (2) $b_{0j} = \gamma_{00} + u_{0j}$. This means that the mean level of

⁷All models are based on a full maximum likelihood estimation procedure and used listwise deletion of the missing values (Hox, 2010). For any of the individual-level predictor variables, the amount of missingness did not exceed 4.6%.

sexual prejudice in a country j (b_{0j}) consists of the overall mean of sexual prejudice across all countries (y_{00}) and the country-specific deviation from this overall mean (u_{1j}).

In model 2, the country-level control variables and LGB civil rights index were added. This allowed us to examine the assumption that progressive country-level LGB civil rights predict lower levels of sexual prejudice (*hypothesis 2*). The between-country differences in the mean level of sexual prejudice are now explained by the country-level predictors. The level of sexual prejudice in a country j (b_{0j}) is predicted by the overall mean of sexual prejudice (y_{00}), the LGB civil rights index ($y_{01}(ILGA - Index)$), the communist legacy ($y_{02}(Communist Regime)$) and the remaining country specific deviation u_{0j} .

$$(3)b_{0j} = y_{00} + y_{01}(ILGA - Index) + y_{02}(Communist Regime) + u_{0j}$$

The final model 3 expanded upon the previous test by including a cross-level interaction term to capture the moderating influence of intergroup contact on the association of LGB civil rights with sexual prejudice (*hypothesis 3*). In this model, the effect of contact is allowed to vary across countries, i.e. the slope of contact is set random. The country-specific effect of contact (b_{1j}) is explained by the overall effect of contact (y_{10}), the country's LGB rights ($y_{11}(ILGA - Index)$) and the country specific deviation from this effect.

$$b_{1j} = y_{10} + y_{11}(ILGA - Index) + u_{1j}$$

To evaluate the relative improvement in model fit when entering the individual-level and country-level variables into the HLM models, we compared the reduction in the deviance of the subsequent models based on the differences in the -2 log-likelihood statistic.

Results

Social distance towards homosexuals

Table 1 shows the results for respondents' social distance towards homosexuals. Looking at the parameter estimates for the control variables in model A1, we find that the results are generally in accordance with previous research on the antecedents of negative attitudes towards LGB people. We consider these findings only briefly, as they are not the main interest of this study. The data reveal that male respondents and older as compared to younger respondents report higher levels of social distance against homosexuals. Further, as compared to atheists, persons identifying themselves as Catholic, Orthodox, or Muslim report relatively higher levels of social distance towards homosexuals. Finally, higher levels of educational attainment as well as living in a relatively larger town predict less social distance toward homosexuals. Together, these control variables significantly decreased the deviance statistic, indicating improvement in the fit of the model.

Next, our attention shifts to the association of intergroup friendship with social distance toward homosexuals. Consistent with *hypothesis 1*, we find that having homosexual friends clearly predicts less social distance toward homosexuals. This is an important result in and of itself, for it provides the first cross-national evidence that intergroup friendship with homosexuals was associated with lower levels of sexual prejudice. In model A2, we note relatively higher levels of social distance in countries that had experienced communist rule; the parameter estimate for this county-level control is significantly positive. Are the remaining country-level differences partly due to the prevailing LGB civil rights, as *hypothesis 2* predicts? The results suggest an affirmative answer to this question: the data show a significantly negative association between the LGB civil rights index and a country's average level of social distance towards homosexuals. Put differently, in countries with more progressive LGB rights the average social distance to

homosexuals was lower. Thus, LGB civil rights represent an important institutional characteristic shaping individuals' sexual prejudice. This step significantly improved the fit of the model.

Table 1. Multilevel regression models predicting social distance towards homosexual neighbors

	Model A1		Model A2		Model A3	
	B	s.e.	b	s.e.	b	s.e.
Intercept	4.129***	0.209	3.662***	0.177	3.737***	0.182
<i>Individual-level predictors</i>						
Intergroup friendship	-1.223***	0.048	-1.217***	-0.048	-1.414***	0.070
Age	0.010***	0.001	0.010***	0.001	0.010***	0.001
Male	0.444***	0.038	0.445***	0.038	0.452***	0.038
Education	-0.264***	0.030	-0.266***	0.030	-0.266***	0.030
<i>Size of residence</i>						
Rural area/village, Small/medium town	<i>Reference</i>					
Large town	-0.363***	0.045	-0.363**	0.045	-0.351***	0.045
<i>Religious belonging</i>						
Atheist/agnostic	<i>Reference</i>					
Catholic	0.221**	0.062	0.212**	0.061	0.231***	0.061
Protestant	-0.026	0.075	-0.015	0.075	0.029	0.075
Orthodox	0.653***	0.128	0.661***	0.125	0.612***	0.125
Other Christian	0.224*	0.099	0.226*	0.099	0.227*	0.099
Muslim	0.755**	0.253	0.761**	0.253	0.790**	0.252
Other	0.174	0.157	0.181	0.157	0.163	0.156
<i>Country-level predictors</i>						
Former communist regime			1.312***	0.281	1.009**	0.267
ILGA index			-1.273*	0.614	-2.196**	0.657
ILGA index* Intergroup friendship					1.859***	0.293
<i>Variance components</i>						
Residual variance	7.019		7.019			
Intercept variance	1.024		0.391			
Slope variance					0.0607	
<i>Explained Variance</i>						
Reduction in residual variance ^a	7%		7%			
Reduction in intercept variance ^a	39%		77%			
Reduction in slope variance ^b					76%	
<i>Model comparison</i>						
-2 log-likelihood	97342.588		97316.157		97214.913	
Difference -2 log-likelihood	1547.344 ^c		26.431		101.244	
Difference dF	12		2		3	
p value	0.000		0.000		0.000	

Notes: n = 20,310, N = 28, unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors, ***p < 0.000, ** p < 0.001, * p < 0.05.

^a Reduction of variances as compared to variance components of the empty model: residual variance (σ) = 7.570, intercept variance ($\tau(\text{intercept})$) = 1.686.

^b Reduction of slope variance as compared to variance components of the random slope model: slope variance ($\tau(\text{slope})$) = 0.25530.

^c Improvement in model fit compared the empty model: -2 log-likelihood = 98889.932, df = 3.

In model A3 we address the major empirical question under consideration in our analysis. Recall that according to *hypothesis 3*, we anticipated the strength of the negative association between LGB civil rights and social distance towards homosexuals to be weaker for those persons who have intergroup friendships with gay and lesbians. Consistent with this expectation, the coefficient for the cross-level product term is significantly positive, which further improved the fit of the model.⁸ To foster an intuitive understanding of the nature of this interaction, the predicted social distance to homosexual neighbors is plotted for different levels of LGB rights and for respondents with and without intergroup friends separately. Fig. 1 indicates that there is a strong negative association between LGB civil rights and sexual prejudice among persons without intergroup friends. However, for persons having gay and lesbian friends, sexual prejudice is lower and independent of prevailing LGB civil rights.

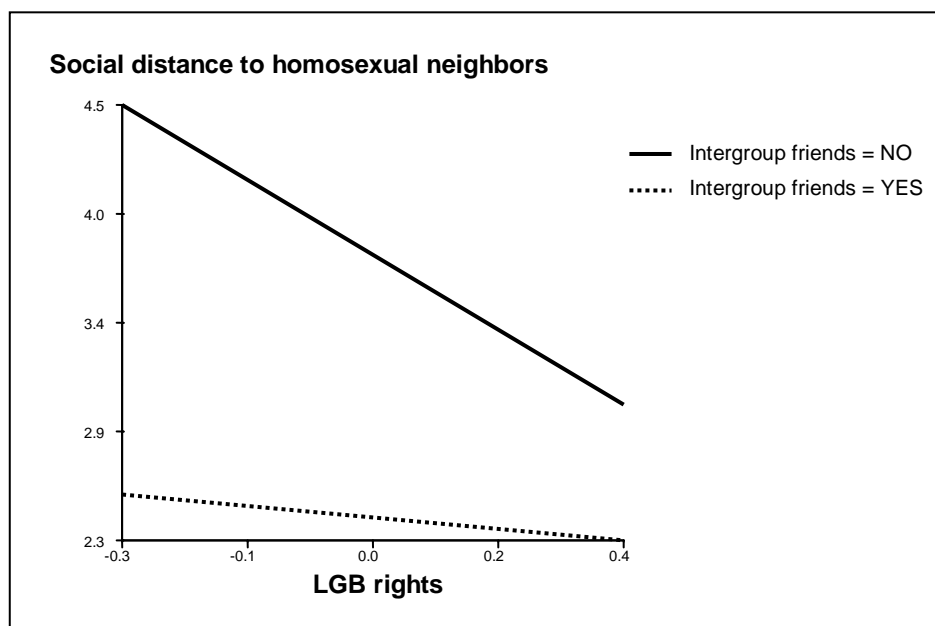


Fig. 1. Effect of LGB rights on the social distance towards homosexual neighbors for individuals with and without homosexual friends. Eurobarometer 69.1, n = 20,310, N = 28, grand-mean centered LGB rights.

⁸ These findings also hold true when additionally controlling for: (1) democratic longevity (Marshall and Gurr, 2012; see Hooghe and Meeusen, 2013), (2) Gross Domestic Product per capita (UNSD, 2014, see Hooghe and Meeusen, 2013; Peffley and Rohrschneider, 2003), and (3) years since homosexuality was decriminalized (Waldijk, 2009, see Jäckle and Wenzelburger, 2011), respectively.

Fig. 2 offers an alternative interpretation of these results: In countries with least progressive LGB rights, having gay and lesbian friends is associated with less social distance to homosexual neighbors compared to having no intergroup friends. In contrast, in countries with most progressive LGB rights, respondents with and without intergroup friends differ considerably less in their social distance to homosexual neighbors. These results indicate that having intergroup friendships buffers the negative influence of LGB civil rights on social distance towards homosexuals.

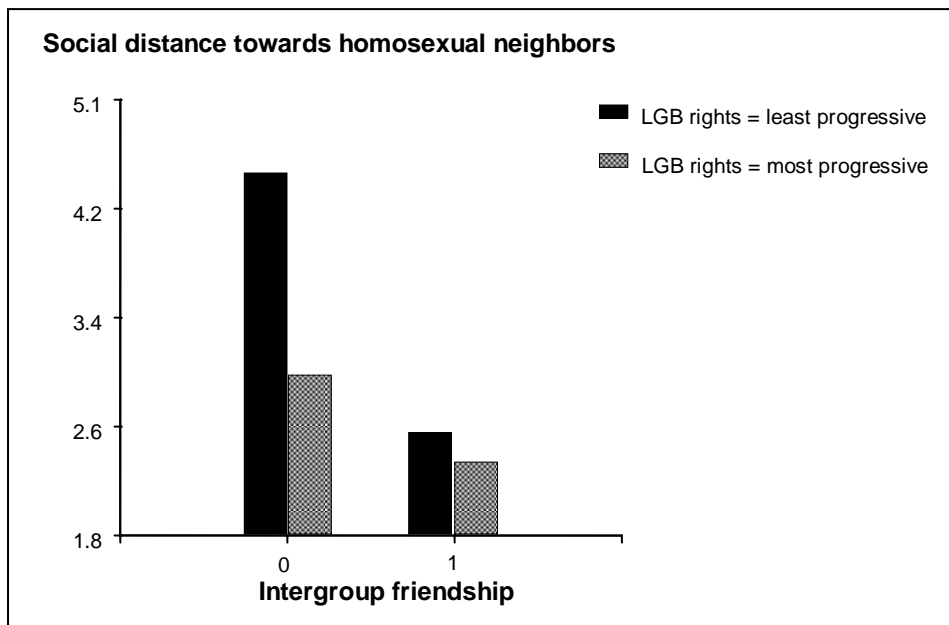


Fig. 2. Effect of intergroup friendship on the social distance towards homosexual neighbors in countries with least and most progressive LGB rights. Eurobarometer 69.1, $n = 20,310$, $N = 28$, grand-mean centered LGB rights.

Disapproval of homosexual politicians

Table 2 presents essentially the same models as those reported in Table 1, but here we focus on respondents' disapproval of homosexual political leaders. Model B1 shows that the pattern of findings for the control variables remains very similar to Table 1, with the only exception that religious denomination exerts relatively less of an influence on disapproval of homosexual political leaders. In line with *hypothesis 1*, having homosexual friends proves to significantly

predict less prejudice towards homosexual political leaders. This step significantly improved the fit of the model and underlines the relevance of intergroup friendship for predicting different forms of sexual prejudice.

Table 2. Multilevel regression models predicting disapproval of homosexual politicians

	Model B1		Model B2		Model B3	
	b	s.e.	B	s.e.	B	s.e.
Intercept	5.023***	0.267	4.596***	0.194	4.570***	0.196
<i>Individual-level predictors</i>						
Intergroup friendship	-1.272***	0.051	-1.266***	0.051	-1.425***	0.089
Age	0.019***	0.001	0.019***	0.001	0.018***	0.001
Male	0.572***	0.040	0.573***	0.040	0.579***	0.040
Education	-0.264***	0.031	-0.265***	0.031	-0.264***	0.031
<i>Size of residence</i>						
Rural area/village, Small/medium town	<i>Reference</i>					
Large town	-0.336***	0.047	0.338***	0.047	-0.331***	0.047
<i>Religious belonging</i>						
Atheist	<i>Reference</i>					
Catholic	0.347***	0.065	0.339***	0.065	0.347***	0.065
Protestant	0.248**	0.080	0.258**	0.080	0.291**	0.080
Orthodox	0.930***	0.135	0.968***	0.132	0.938***	0.132
Other Christian	0.474***	0.104	0.479***	0.104	0.475***	0.104
Muslim	0.555*	0.263	0.580*	0.263	0.579*	0.263
Other	0.253	0.167	0.253	0.168	0.235	0.167
<i>Country-level predictors</i>						
Former Communist regime			1.195**	0.310	1.195**	0.301
ILGA index			-3.388***	0.678	-3.936***	0.704
ILGA index*Intergroup friendship					1.612***	0.379
<i>Variance components</i>						
Residual variance	8.013		8.013			
Intercept variance	1.767		0.479			
Slope variance					0.129	
<i>Explained variance</i>						
Reduction of residual variance ^a	9%		9%			
Reduction of intercept variance ^a	37%		83%			
Reduction of slope variance ^b					54%	
<i>Model comparison</i>						
-2 log-likelihood	102764.242		102728.653		102651.442	
Difference -2 log-likelihood	1945.291 ^c		35.589		77.211	
Difference dF	15		2		3	
p value	0.000		0.000		0.000	

Notes: n = 20,863, N = 28, unstandardized regression coefficients with standard errors, ***p < 0.000, ** p < 0.001, * p < 0.05.

^a Reduction of variances as compared to variance components of the empty model: residual variance (σ) = 8.792, intercept variance ($\tau(\text{intercept})$) = 2.804.

^b Reduction of slope variance as compared to variance components of the random slope model: slope variance ($\tau(\text{slope})$): 0.280.

^c Improvement in model fit compared to empty model: -2 log-likelihood = 104709.533, df = 3.

Model B2 first adds the control variable identifying countries that had experienced communist rule in the past, which turns out to exert a significantly positive effect. Of course, of greater theoretical interest is the presumed positive association between LGB civil rights and disapproval of homosexual political leaders. Here, the results confirm that the prediction of *hypothesis 2* generalizes for respondents' disapproval of homosexual politicians. Accompanied by an improved model fit, relatively more progressive LGB civil rights at the country-level tend to be associated with lower average levels of sexual prejudice. Thus far, we have dealt with the independent influences of LGB civil rights and intergroup friendship on anti-LGB prejudice. Our main hypothesis, however, focuses on the possible interaction of intergroup friendship and LGB civil rights: Do close intergroup relations of high personal relevance buffer the effect of LGB civil rights on respondents' disapproval of homosexual politicians? To answer this question, in model B3 we added the cross-level interaction term representing the moderation of the LGB civil rights/sexual prejudice nexus by intergroup friendship. This step significantly decreased the model fit. As expected, the data reveal that having intergroup friends was associated with a weaker negative association of LGB civil rights with respondents' disapproval of homosexual politicians.⁹ Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 illustrate the nature of this cross-level interaction. Fig. 3 shows that LGB civil rights matters most for persons having no intergroup friendships, where there is a strong negative association. On the other hand, for persons having intergroup friendships, the association of LGB civil rights with respondents' disapproval of homosexual politicians is considerably weaker. Put differently, Fig. 4 shows that having intergroup friends exerts the strongest effects in countries with least progressive LGB civil rights. In contrast, in countries with most progressive LGB civil rights, respondents with and without intergroup friends differ considerably less in their disapproval of homosexual politicians. But still, we find renewed

⁹ Also these findings hold true when additionally controlling for: (1) democratic longevity (2) Gross Domestic Product per capita and (3) years since homosexuality was decriminalized, respectively (see footnote vii).

evidence that intergroup friendship buffers the prejudice-reducing effect of LGB civil rights that are relatively progressive.

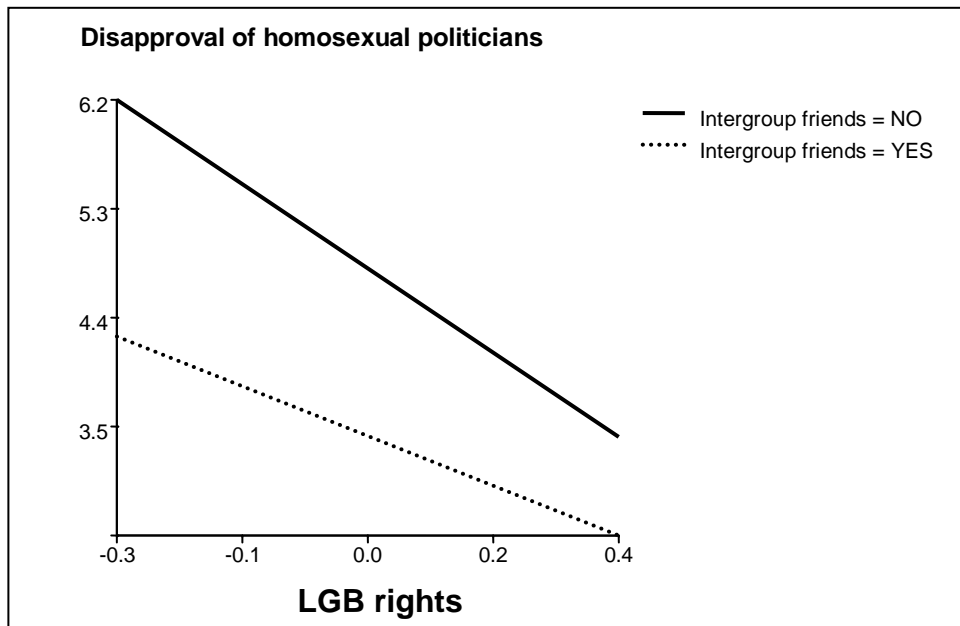


Fig. 3. Effect of LGB rights on disapproval of homosexual political leaders for individuals with and without homosexual friends. Eurobarometer 69.1, $n = 20,810$, $N = 28$, grand-mean centered LGB rights.

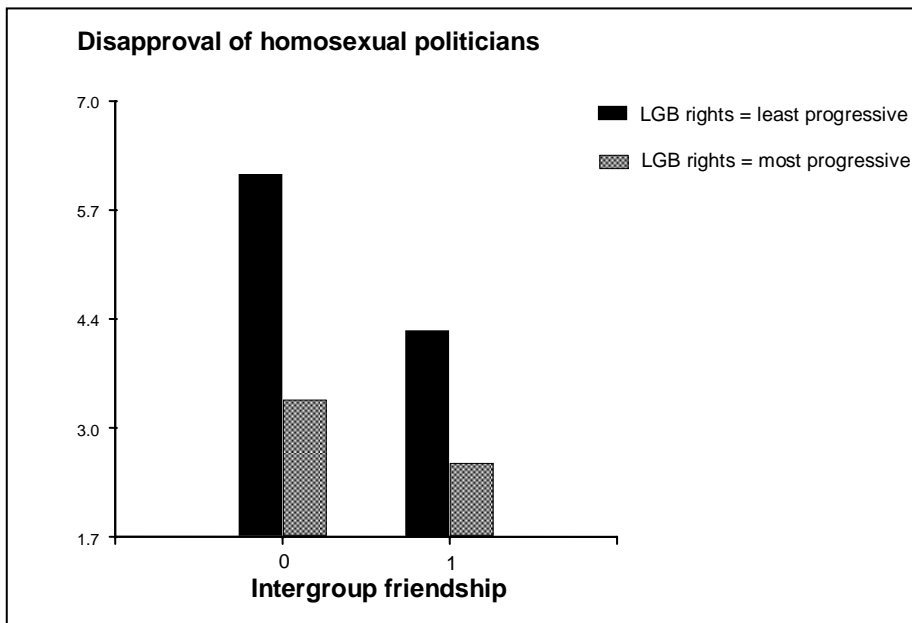


Fig. 4. Effect of intergroup friendship on the disapproval of homosexual politicians in countries with least and most progressive LGB rights. Eurobarometer 69.1, $n = 20,310$, $N = 28$, grand-mean centered LGB rights.

Supplementary Analyses

As outlined in the theoretical section above, the key concern of the present study was to analyze the interaction of individual-level intergroup friendships with country-level LGB civil rights in explaining sexual prejudice. Yet, due to the cross-sectional nature of our data, we can neither rule out reverse causality nor a reciprocal association of LGB rights with sexual prejudice. Public opinion in the form of aggregated sexual prejudice might also affect the provision of country-level LGB civil rights (e.g. Erikson, Wright, and McIver, 1993, Lax and Phillips 2009, also see Hooghe and Meeusen 2013). To further analyze the association between LGB civil rights and sexual prejudice, we performed several supplementary analyses with which we were able to cross-validate our present findings by analyzing alternative country-level and individual-level data sets. Using a time-lagged measure assessing LGB civil rights in the year 2003 (Reynolds, 2013) yielded essentially the same results as compared to our main analyses based on the ILGA index that refers to the situation in 2009. In addition, we gained further empirical leverage from the Eurobarometer survey wave 77.4 conducted in 2012¹⁰. This survey asked for respondents' disapproval of homosexual politicians using the same indicator as in this study, thus allowing for a partial replication. The results of these additional analyses reconfirmed our present results.

Discussion

The aim of this study was to enhance our understanding of how individual-level and country-level sources interact in shaping cross-national differences in sexual prejudice. Building on and extending previous research, we proposed a novel explanation according to which intergroup friendship importantly decreases the positive influence of LGB civil rights on sexual

¹⁰ Data and further information on data collection and documentation are available at [http://www.gesis.org/?id=7976&tx_eurobarometer_pi1\[vol\]=7976&tx_eurobarometer_pi1\[pos1\]=0](http://www.gesis.org/?id=7976&tx_eurobarometer_pi1[vol]=7976&tx_eurobarometer_pi1[pos1]=0)

prejudice. Based on cross-national survey data from 28 European societies, the results of multilevel regression analyses provided firm empirical support for our theoretical predictions. The findings demonstrate that having LGB friends predicted a weaker negative effect of LBG rights on different forms sexual prejudice as measured by individual social distance towards homosexual neighbors and disapproval of homosexual political leaders.

These findings carry several key implications. Most immediately, this study demonstrates the capacity of intergroup contact to moderate the impact of country-level LGB civil rights on sexual prejudice. This means not only that personal close ties with LGB people can offset the role of social norms provided by LGB civil rights. Alternatively, when viewed from a different angle, these results also imply that the relevance of heterosexuals' friendships for improving attitudes towards LGB people decreases given institutional arrangements that prescribe social norms that no longer privilege the heterosexual majority over LGB people. Accordingly, the results help to integrate an important contextual characteristic – LGB civil rights – with intergroup contact theory, which has long assigned primary importance to individual-level theory and research only. More generally, then, this study underlines that integrating individual-level and contextual-level characteristics allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the sources shaping prejudice against gay/lesbian people than would have been available from studying these factors in isolation.

We believe that these contributions deliver novel and important insights but also acknowledge the shortcomings of our study, in part because they point to promising avenues for future research. To begin with, one possible critique focuses on the presumed direction of causality guiding our analyses. It might plausibly be argued that rather than it being intergroup friendship that shapes sexual prejudice, it is sexual prejudice that shapes intergroup friendship. Perhaps persons who harbor strong anti-LGB sentiments prefer to avoid friendship relations with LGB people right from the outset, whereas, conversely, persons who have more positive attitudes

towards LGB people might be relatively more likely to form such friendship relations. Given our cross-sectional research design, we cannot adjudicate between these rival perspectives. We must therefore remain open to the possibility that part of the associations that we observed reflect the presence of reciprocal relations among heterosexuals' intergroup friendship with gay/lesbian people and their sexual prejudice. Besides the reciprocal nature of this relationship, evidence from longitudinal research assigns primary importance to the influence from intergroup friendship to sexual prejudice, which supports our theoretical predictions and empirical analyses (Anderssen, 2002, Hodson et al. 2012, Hooghe and Meeusen, 2012, see also Sakalli, 2008, Pettigrew and Tropp, 2011).

A related issue is that we cannot definitely rule out the possibility that public opinion in the form of aggregated sexual prejudice affects the provision of country-level LGB civil rights, which would deviate from our predictions. Yet several arguments support the direction of influence that we suggested. First, the results of our supplementary analyses reconfirmed our present conclusions. Second, it should also be noted that in their analyses of repeated cross-sectional data from the European Social Survey data, Takács and Szalma (2011) found that peoples' anti-gay/lesbian attitudes improved after countries introduced same-sex partnership legislation. In contrast, in countries that did not legally recognize same-sex partnership, no significant changes in anti-gay/lesbian attitudes occurred. Also, Kreitzer, Hamilton and Tolbert (2014) could show with panel data that attitude change took place even within a very short time span after policy implementation. Besides this, institutions such as courts as well as the European Union play an important role in defending and surveilling minority rights. Many EU-member as well as candidate countries introduced protection against discrimination in employment only in consequence of a specific EU directive. Finally, even if the alternative hypothesis that aggregated sexual prejudice affects country-level LGB civil rights applies, this would not necessarily contradict our theoretical predictions. Instead, the presence of a reverse effect from public

opinion to LGB civil rights might indicate the existence of reciprocal causal relations among these constructs, which would leave our theoretical rationale intact. Of course, these possibilities remain speculative, but they might be profitably examined in future research.

A further issue, which is not addressed in the present study, relates to the association between-country-level LGB rights and individual-level intergroup friendships. By enforcing liberal norms on homosexuality and providing gay and lesbians equal rights in various domains, progressive LGB rights presumably also encourage gays and individuals to disclose their sexual orientation and “come out”. This, in turn, might affect citizens’ sexual prejudice in two ways: Increased visibility of homosexuality in everyday life fosters familiarization with homosexuality. Familiarization presumably reduces sexual prejudice in line with the “mere exposure effect” (Zajonc, 1968). Besides this direct effect, the share of openly gay and lesbians in a country might also reduce its residents’ sexual prejudice indirectly by increasing contact opportunities. Yet, we do not assume this mediation to bias our results as the common variance of LGB civil rights and intergroup friendship is accounted for in our models.

Future research on sexual prejudice could also improve upon the individual-level indicators that we used in this study. On the one hand, we sought to make empirical progress by measuring alternative forms of sexual prejudice (van den Akker et al., 2013, p. 16). Although the secondary data at our disposal provided us with measures of anti-LGB prejudice that refer to the private, respectively public, domain, we could still use only single items. Yet, the present study underlined the added value of differentiating between sexual prejudice which refers to different domains. By doing so, the analyses revealed that intergroup friendship and LGB rights might behave differently depending on the domain the sexual prejudice referred to. Intergroup friendships predicted lower levels of social distance to homosexual neighbors independent from prevailing LGB rights on the country-level. In contrast, with respect to disapproval of homosexual politicians, LGB rights affected both respondents with and without gay and lesbian

friends. These results directly relate to the questions in how far the prejudice reducing effect of intergroup friendship generalizes across the whole outgroup, which components of prejudice are affected by predictors in question and for mediators of these predictors on sexual prejudice. Thus, to conduct more comprehensive tests of the empirical conclusions suggested here, researchers would benefit from novel cross-national survey initiatives equipped with multiple indicators of different dimensions of sexual prejudice. Limitations in the survey data at our disposal also prevented us from studying the processes that mediate the influence of intergroup contact on sexual prejudice. As outlined above, prior research established that contact can lead to a reduction of anti-minority prejudice not only by enhancing knowledge about the minority but also by reducing intergroup anxiety as well as by increasing empathy and perspective taking. Thus, data permitting, it would certainly be desirable to examine the individual-level characteristics that transmit the moderator effect of intergroup contact to sexual prejudice. Analyzing mediators between intergroup friendship and different kinds of sexual prejudice offers a promising approach in advancing the varying effect of intergroup friendship and LGB rights on different kinds of sexual prejudice referring to specific social domains such as public and private.

Research on sexual prejudice has benefited from studying country-level influences on these attitudes. Yet, research which also analyzes how contextual characteristics interact with individual-level characteristics is able to show boundary conditions for predictors on both levels. Thus, despite the limitations of this study, it is important to restate its primary contributions: This study bridges previous theories on the roles that LGB civil rights and intergroup contact play in explaining sexual prejudice and delivers sufficient evidence that having intergroup friendships with gay/lesbian people importantly buffers the negative association between more progressive LGB civil rights and Europeans' sexual prejudice.

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Human values, legal regulation, and approval of homosexuality in Europe: A cross-country comparison (chapter 3) ¹¹

(co-authored with Eldad Davidov, Shalom H. Schwartz, and Peter Schmidt)

Abstract

Although research has revealed a trend toward liberalization of attitudes toward homosexuality in Western countries, acceptance of homosexuality differs remarkably among individuals and across countries. We examine the roles of individual value priorities and of national laws regarding homosexuality and the interaction between them in explaining approval of homosexuality. Data are drawn from the European Social Survey (ESS) and include representative national samples of 27 European countries in 2010. As hypothesized, individuals who prioritized openness to change and universalism values approved of homosexuality more whereas those who prioritized conservation and power values exhibited more disapproval. Approval was greater in countries whose laws regarding homosexuality were more progressive. In addition, legal regulation of homosexuality moderated the associations of individual value priorities. In countries with more progressive laws, both the positive effect of openness to change values and the negative effect of conservation values on approval of homosexuality were weaker. However, the positive effect of universalism values and the negative effect of power values did not vary as a function of national laws regarding homosexuality.

Keywords: human values; conservation; openness to change; universalism; power; approval of homosexuality; laws regarding homosexuality; Rainbow Europe Country Index; European Social Survey

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Introduction

The European Union's anti-discrimination law explicitly forbids discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation (Ellis, 2005). Western countries, however, differ in granting civil rights to gay and lesbian couples. Although public opinion about homosexuality has become more liberal, approval of homosexuality differs remarkably among individuals and across countries (e.g., Gerhards, 2010). People's general attitude toward homosexuality may reflect their approval or disapproval of homosexual behavior, of people with a homosexual or bisexual orientation, and/or of communities of gay, lesbian, and bisexual people (Herek, 2000).

To date, the substantial research on approval of homosexuality and of the rights of homosexuals has mainly focused on such sociodemographic characteristics as religiosity, religious affiliations, level of education, intensity of contact with homosexuals and such social psychological characteristics as authoritarianism and traditional gender roles (e.g., Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; Davies, 2004; Kelley, 2001; Reese, Steffens, & Jonas, 2013; Simon, 2008; Steffens & Wagner, 2004; Van de Meerendonck & Scheepers, 2004; Whitley & Lee, 2000). Several studies have also considered the influence of different indicators of individual value priorities on approval of homosexuality (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; Beckers, 2008; Gerhards, 2010; Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2011; van den Akker, von der Ploeg, & Scheepers, 2013; Vicario, Liddle, & Luzzo, 2005). These studies reveal that various indexes of value priorities can predict approval of homosexuality.¹²

Yet, these studies investigated only single value priorities, thereby neglecting the joint effects of multiple value priorities. Studies that predict social and moral attitudes with multiple rather than single value priorities are more successful because they consider the possible interplay between

¹²Beckers (2008), Gerhards (2010), Jäckle and Wenzelburger (2011) investigated the effect of postmaterialism on attitudes toward homosexuality. Van den Akker and colleagues (2013) analyzed the effect of conformity and tradition. Vicario and colleagues (2005) analyzed relations between the Rokeach (1972, 1973) values and antigay attitudes. Adamczyk and Pitt (2008) used an index measuring self-expression and survival values.

various value predictors (e.g., Beckers, Siegers, & Kuntz, 2012). Past studies have also been limited to single countries, thereby overlooking possible variation in effects of value priorities across countries. Previous value research has shown that value priorities often relate differently to attitudes and behavior depending on contextual conditions such as the normative climate or national culture (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003; Boer & Fischer, 2013).

This study goes beyond previous studies of approval of homosexuality in several ways: (a) We propose and test a wider set of theory-grounded hypotheses that link several individual value priorities to approval of homosexuality; (b) we examine variation in value-attitude links across 27 countries by analyzing representative national samples; (c) we investigate country differences in approval of homosexuality as a function of variation on a comprehensive measure of their legal regulation of homosexuality; (d) we analyze possible moderations of the effects of particular individual value priorities on approval of homosexuality by the legal regulation of homosexuality. Our data come from the fifth round (2010) of the European Social Survey (ESS). We use multilevel analysis to take the nested structure of the data into account.

Numerous studies have demonstrated substantial influences of basic human values on social and moral attitudes (e.g., Beckers et al., 2012; Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet, & Schmidt, 2008a; Davidov & Meuleman, 2012; Sagiv & Schwartz, 1995; Schwartz, Caprara, & Vecchione, 2010). Basic human values are trans-situational goals that serve as guiding principles in the lives of individuals and groups (Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Value priorities underlie attitudes; they are the source of the positive or negative valences that people attribute to different actions, objects, people, and events (Feather, 1995). People feel positively toward what is likely to help them attain their valued goals and negatively toward what may hinder or threaten goal attainment (Schwartz, 2006). Research has shown that basic values have similar meanings across cultures and predict a wide variety of attitudes and behaviors across numerous contexts and countries (see

summary in Roccas & Sagiv, 2010). This makes basic values particularly important for cross-national research.

Recent studies have also investigated how laws regulating homosexuality predict between-country variation in approval of homosexuality. These studies have yielded inconsistent results. Both Van den Akker et al. (2013) and Jäckle and Wenzelburger (2011) found that more progressive national laws toward homosexuality related positively to approval of homosexuality. Finke and Adamczyk (2008) reported that legalization of same-sex unions and/or protection from discrimination correlated positively with liberal attitudes toward homosexuality. However, Adamczyk and Pitt (2009) found no association between approval of homosexuality and an index based on laws against discrimination and laws permitting same-sex unions.

The inconsistent findings in these studies regarding the effects of laws may be due to their use of different measures of legal regulation and/or to inadequate coverage of some important legal dimensions. The current study addresses the latter limitation by adopting the more comprehensive Rainbow Europe Country Index (RECI; ILGA Europe, 2010) to measure legal regulation of homosexuality. This index includes eight broad legal characteristics that concern protecting the rights and legal status of homosexuals. To the best of our knowledge, no previous study has used the complete RECI to measure legal regulation of homosexuality.

In addition to studying effects of individual differences in value priorities and of country-level legal regulations on approval of homosexuality, we examine possible cross-level interactions. That is, we generate hypotheses about stronger and weaker relations of particular value priorities to attitudes toward homosexuality as a function of national policies. A few studies have investigated how relations of individual-level variables to attitudes toward homosexuality vary across countries (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009, Andersen & Fetner, 2008, Beckers, 2008, Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2011). However, none of these studies examined whether relations with

individual value priorities vary as a function of national differences in the legal regulation of homosexual rights.

Basic Human Values

People's value priorities and their links to beliefs, attitudes, and behavior have interested social scientists for several decades (for an overview, see Eagly & Chaiken, 1993, Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; van Deth & Scarbrough, 1995). Summarizing the various shared attributes of values specified in numerous studies, Schwartz (1992, 2006) defined values as desirable, trans-situational goals that vary in importance and serve as guiding principles in life. What distinguishes among values is their motivational domain or goal. Schwartz (1992) suggested that all basic values derive from one of three universal human requirements: needs of individuals as biological organisms, requisites of coordinated social interaction, and requirements for the smooth functioning and survival of groups.

Schwartz (1992) identified 10 basic values that people around the world recognize and understand in relatively similar ways. He labeled these values universalism, benevolence, tradition, conformity, security, power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, and self-direction. The 10 values, ordered as above, form a circular continuum that reflects the compatibility or conflict between their motivational goals. Values whose goals are compatible are adjacent on the circular continuum (e.g., achievement and power), whereas value whose goals conflict are situated on opposite sides of the continuum (e.g., security and stimulation).

Two bipolar dimensions, each consisting of two opposing higher order values, can summarize the circular continuum. The first dimension opposes the higher order *self-transcendence* values (universalism and benevolence) to *self-enhancement* values (achievement and power). It captures the opposition between concern for the interests of others versus self. The second dimension opposes the higher order *conservation* values (security, tradition, and conformity) to *openness to*

change values (self-direction, stimulation, and usually hedonism). It captures the opposition between avoiding anxiety, threat, and change versus seeking self-expression, challenge, and autonomy. In ESS analyses, the hedonism value is usually part of openness to change (Bilsky, Janik, & Schwartz, 2011).¹³ Studies both with single values and with higher order values can illuminate the motivational bases of various attitudes and behaviors (Schwartz et al., 2012).

To clarify why we posit that values influence attitudes, we note some of the differences between values and attitudes. Hitlin and Piliavin (2004) suggested three main differences. (1) A value is a belief, whereas an attitude is the evaluative sum of several beliefs about a specific object. (2) Values transcend specific situations, whereas attitudes refer to a specific object or situation. (3) Values develop and are acquired through socialization, are presumably more stable across the lifetime, and are more central to the self-concept than attitudes. Additional distinctions include (Schwartz, 2006): (4) Values vary in importance as guiding principles; attitudes vary on positivity/negativity. (5) Values are ordered hierarchically based on their relative importance, attitudes are not ordered hierarchically.

Several studies support the assumption that value priorities are relatively stable. For example, longitudinal analyses by Bardi and colleagues (2014) show high stability of values even during major life changes (see also Cieciuch, Davidov & Algesheimer, 2014). This stability refers both to the mean importance of single values and to their relative importance (cf. Bardi & Goodwin, 2011). Previous research also supports the causal influence of value priorities on attitudes. Studies have demonstrated that manipulating the importance of particular values leads to attitude change but that manipulating attitudes has little or no effect on values (Maio, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2010). As noted above, values underlie attitudes, providing their motivational direction.

¹³ In theory, hedonism is located between openness to change and self-enhancement because it encompasses elements of both dimensions (Schwartz et al., 2001).

People have positive attitudes toward objects likely to help them attain their valued goals and negative attitudes toward objects that may hinder or threaten goal attainment (Schwartz, 2006).

Value priorities and approval of homosexuality

The analyses of perceived and actual ramifications of homosexuality for society, presented below, suggest that homosexuality is relevant to the motivational goals of conservation, openness to change, universalism, and power values. We next portray the mechanisms that may link these values to approval of homosexuality.

People often perceive homosexuality as a threat to the traditional family (Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993; Haddock & Zanna, 1998). Accepting homosexuality entails abandoning traditional views of sexual morality and gender roles in favor of changing mores. Individuals who prioritize obeying prevailing social norms and expectations (conformity values), preserving traditional practices and customs (tradition), and avoiding disruption of the status quo of social arrangements (security) should disapprove of homosexuality because it threatens the realization of these values. The higher order conservation value is close to right-wing authoritarianism both conceptually and empirically (e.g., Altemeyer, 1998; Cohrs, Moschner, Maes, & Kielmann, 2005). Numerous studies have linked right-wing authoritarianism to outgroup derogation, feelings of moral superiority, and disapproval of homosexuality (e.g., Altemeyer, 2002; Feather & McKee, 2012; Haddock & Zanna, 1998; van den Akker et al., 2013). We therefore hypothesize that ascribing priority to conservation values relates negatively to approval of homosexuality (H1).

Approving of homosexuality entails accepting the legitimacy of counter-normative, autonomous behavior that departs from prevailing social arrangements. It entails accepting the rights of people to pursue less standard ways of building relationships and finding satisfaction and pleasure in life. Attributing importance to openness to change values is likely to facilitate

acceptance of such alternative lifestyles that challenge conventional mores. Self-direction values emphasize autonomy, exploration, and creativity in thought and behavior. Stimulation values emphasize the pursuit of novelty, excitement, and challenge. Hedonism values emphasize the free pursuit of pleasure. These values apply to the self, but they also legitimize pursuit of these same goals by others. We therefore hypothesize that ascribing priority to openness to change values relates positively to approval of homosexuality (H2).

Self-transcendence values encompass tolerance, understanding, and appreciation of all individuals (universalism values) and caring for the welfare of close others (benevolence values) (Schwartz, 1992, 2006). Universalism values imply tolerance and acceptance of those who differ from oneself, understanding for rather than rejection of those with unconventional lifestyles. Universalism values emphasize equal opportunities for all. Although benevolence values also express concern for the welfare of others, this concern focuses on close others. Benevolence values may therefore only relate to approval of homosexuality if these close others openly identify themselves as gays or lesbians. Hence, priority for universalism but not for benevolence values is relevant to approval of homosexuality. We therefore hypothesize that ascribing priority to universalism values relates positively to approval of homosexuality (H3).

In contrast, self-enhancement values encompass pursuit of self-interest, either through dominating others (power) or attaining personal success (achievement) (Schwartz, 1992, 1994). Valuing power implies pursuit of superiority for self and an absence of sympathy for those one dominates. Prejudice against weak or unconventional groups such as homosexuals is a way to assert one's superiority. Power values underlie and correlate positively with authoritarianism and social dominance orientation (e.g., Cohrs et al., 2005; Feather & McKee, 2012), both of which correlate with disapproval of unconventional groups (Feather & McKee, 2012). Achievement values concern gaining social approval for one's success but not dominating others (Schwartz, 1992). Hence, priority for power but not achievement values is relevant to approval of

homosexuality. We therefore hypothesize that ascribing priority to power values relates negatively to approval of homosexuality (H4).

Laws Regarding Homosexuality

Does legislation affect prejudice? More than 50 years ago, Allport (1954) answered this question positively, positing that individuals adapt to and accept new norms and legislation. Research on ethnic and racial prejudice has underlined the importance of the legal rights granted to minorities in changing intergroup relations (e.g., Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1979). Laws against discrimination presumably reduce outgroup prejudice directly via the learning of new norms and indirectly via providing optimal conditions for intergroup contact (Allport, 1954, p. 469ff.). Allport held that laws and policies operate in both the long and the short run (cf. Schlüter, Meuleman, & Davidov, 2013).

In the short run, individuals adapt their behavior to the new laws because they know that otherwise they will be sanctioned. Changed behavioral patterns lead, in turn, to changed attitudes in order to avoid cognitive dissonance (e.g., Allport, 1954). In the long run, laws and policies against discrimination of homosexuals institutionalize tolerant norms (Allport, 1954; van den Akker et al., 2013). They create a changed atmosphere in which the law recognizes homosexuality as legitimate and conveys the expectation that individuals reconsider negative attitudes toward homosexuality (Altemeyer, 2002; Stangor, 2000). Moreover, as homosexuality becomes more visible in everyday life, the increased familiarity with it may directly enhance approval, in line with the “mere exposure effect” (Zajonc, 1968). Following the reasoning above, we hypothesize that approval of homosexuality is higher in countries whose legal system is more progressive toward homosexuality (H5).

In addition to its effects on country-level approval of homosexuality, the cultural or legal atmosphere may moderate the relations between particular values and approval of

homosexuality. Two studies showed that this was the case for individual religiosity. Religiosity related more strongly to attitudes toward homosexuality in countries whose culture emphasized self-expression rather than survival (Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009). Moreover, relations of individual religiosity to attitudes toward sexual morality, which is not uniformly sanctioned by legal codes (e.g., cohabitation before marriage), varied more across countries than relations to attitudes toward morality, which is uniformly sanctioned (e.g., cheating on taxes, accepting bribes) (Finke & Adamczyk, 2008). The latter study suggests that in the absence of clear norms individuals may rely more on their own values and cultural perceptions in forming their attitudes.

Laws that prohibit discrimination and give equal rights to homosexuals promote tolerant norms toward homosexuality and provide a legal framework that supports them. In the absence of such laws, individuals are exposed to a variety of public views from which to formulate their own opinions on homosexuality. The religious establishment and traditions continue to promote opposition to homosexuality (Finke & Adamczyk, 2008; Pickel, 2001), but other sources such as NGOs and the European Union promote more liberal views. Hence individuals may rely more on their own values as sources of their attitude. In the presence of legal regulations that clearly legitimize homosexuality, however, choice based on individual dispositions is less likely to determine approval of homosexuality.

The above reasoning suggests that individuals' value priorities should relate less strongly to approval of homosexuality the more progressive the legal system is in a country. However, this may be the case only for conservation and openness to change values. That is, the moderating effect of the legal system should be present for conservation and openness to change values but not for universalism and power values, as explained below.

Openness to change values emphasize autonomy, novelty, and lifestyle freedom, all of which facilitate approval of homosexuality. In the absence of laws that call for accepting homosexuality, individuals' priority for openness to change values should strongly influence

their attitudes to homosexuality. When the laws legitimize homosexuality, however, the additional contribution of strongly endorsing openness to change values to the inclination to approve homosexuality may be minimal. Hence, the positive effect of openness to change values on approval of homosexuality is weaker in countries with more progressive legal regulation of homosexuality (H6a)

Conservation values emphasize conformity to authorities, laws, and norms. Hence, if the law and the norms it promulgates call for accepting homosexuality, those who endorse conservation values may feel constrained to express positive attitudes so as not to deviate from expectations. If the law does not call for accepting homosexuality, however, those who endorse conservation values can freely express their value-based disapproval. Hence, the negative effect of conservation values on approval of homosexuality is weaker in countries with more progressive legal regulation of homosexuality (H6b).

An alternative possibility for conservation values seems less persuasive to us. It suggests that progressive laws toward homosexuality might increase, rather than decrease, the effects of conservation values on approval of homosexuality. Granting legal rights to homosexuals might magnify the symbolic and practical threat they pose to the status quo. It might therefore intensify rejection and disapproval of homosexuality among those who endorse conservation values. Coping with threats to the status quo is the key motivation of conservation values, but it does not motivate the other values. This alternative hypothesis states that the negative effect of conservation values on approval of homosexuality is stronger in countries with more progressive legal regulation of homosexuality (H6c).

The following reasoning suggests that the progressiveness of the legal system may not moderate the positive effect of universalism values and the negative effect of power values on approval of homosexuality. Universalism and power values relate directly to approval of homosexuality. Universalism values emphasize tolerance and understanding for all others, including those who

are different from the self. Unlike conservation values, the social concern that universalism values express is a proactive, self-transcending concern for the welfare of all others, regardless of their legal status.

Power values express the opposing motivation, dominating others and asserting one's superiority by rejecting members of outgroups. Unlike conservation values that cope with uncertainty by passively yielding to social norms, authorities, and traditions, power values cope with uncertainty by seeking to actively control and dominate the social and physical environment. Legal recognition of homosexuality does not change the fact that it still represents difference and that homosexuals remain a weak outgroup over which to assert superiority. Given their direct connection with negative attitudes toward outgroups, power values are likely to motivate disapproval of homosexuality regardless of its legal status.

In sum, we expect universalism values to promote and power values to inhibit approval of homosexuality regardless of the legal climate in the environment. Nonetheless, we will perform an exploratory analysis to assess whether there is a moderating effect of the legal system in the case of these values.

Data and Method

We use data from the fifth round (2010/2011) of the European Social Survey (ESS) to test the hypotheses. The ESS employs a multistage random sampling design and conducts face-to-face interviews with representative samples of residents aged 15 years and over (Jowell, Roberts, Fitzgerald, & Gilian, 2007). We analyzed the data from 27 European countries and regions:¹⁴ Belgium ($n = 1,704$), Bulgaria (2,434), Croatia (1,649), Cyprus (1,083), the Czech Republic (2,386), Denmark (1,576), Estonia (1,793), Finland (1,878), France (1,728), Germany East (1,056), Germany West (1,975), Greece (2,715), Hungary (1,561), Ireland (2,576), Lithuania

¹⁴We separated East from West Germany because we included a variable controlling for former communist regime.

(1,677), the Netherlands (1,829), Norway (1,548), Poland (1,751), Portugal (2,150), Russia (2,595), Sweden (1,497), Slovenia (1,403), Slovakia (1,856), Spain (1,885), Switzerland (1,506), Ukraine (1,931), and the United Kingdom (2,422). The data and further information about documentation and data collection are found at <http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/>.

Measures

Approval of homosexuality. We measured approval of homosexuality with the following item that refers to giving equal rights to gays and lesbians in choosing their lifestyles: "...to what extent do you agree or disagree ... [that] gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish?" Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*agree strongly*) to 5 (*disagree strongly*). We reverse coded the item so that higher values indicated greater approval of homosexuality.

Individual value priorities. We measured values with the 21-item ESS Human Values Scale (Schwartz, 2003). Each item consists of a two sentence verbal portrait that describes a person (gender-matched to the participant) in terms of his or her motivations, goals, or aspirations. For example, a universalism item is "It is important to her to listen to people who are different from her. Even when she disagrees with them, she still wants to understand them." Respondents indicate how similar this person is to them on a 6-point scale ranging from 1 (*very much like me*) to 6 (*not like me at all*). Respondents' own values are inferred from the values of those they view as similar to themselves. Six items measured the higher order conservation value, six the higher order openness to change value, three the universalism value, and two the power value. We reverse coded these items so that higher values indicated higher similarity. Appendix A lists the 17 value items that were used in our analyses (for a full list of all 21 items of the ESS Human Values Scale, see Davidov, 2008).

We wished to assess the explanatory power of individual values over and above background variables known to correlate with approval of homosexuality. Past research reported that individuals who are more religious, less educated, older, and male tend to disapprove of homosexuality more strongly (e.g., Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; Beckers, 2008; Gerhards, 2010; Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2011; van den Akker et al., 2013). We therefore introduced the following individual-level controls.

Religiosity. We operationalized religiosity in two ways: (1) respondents' self-reported religiosity on a scale ranging from 0 (*not at all religious*) to 10 (*very religious*), (2) respondents' self-reported frequency of attendance at religious services, measured on a seven-point scale (1 = Every day, 2 = More than once a week, 3 = Once a week, 4 = At least once a month, 5 = Only on special holy days, 6 = Less often, 7 = Never). We recoded this variable so that higher values indicated a greater frequency.

Religious affiliation. We coded seven dummy variables, with no religious affiliation as the reference category: Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Other Christian denominations, Eastern denominations, Muslim, and Other Non-Christian denominations.

Education. We assigned respondents to one of three educational groups, based on the coding scheme of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED; UNESCO, 2011): low (ISCED 0 – 2), medium (3 – 4), and high (5 – 8). We used low education as the reference category and dummy variables for the other levels.

Gender. Male = 0, female = 1.

Age. Respondent's age in full years.

Legal regulation of homosexuality. We used the Rainbow Europe Country Index 2010 (RECI) provided by the European unit of the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (ILGA Europe, 2010) to measure the legal regulation of homosexuality. This index

is, to the best of our knowledge, the only measure combining multiple dimensions of the legal status of gay and lesbian people in Europe. RECI varies from -4 (*least progressive*) to +10 (*most progressive*) (see Appendix B for country scores). It assesses four dimensions: (1) anti-discrimination legislation referring to sexual orientation, (2) recognition of partnership of same-sex couples, (3) parenting rights for same-sex couples, and (4) the application of criminal law to hate speeches or crimes against people of a different sexual orientation. It assigns varying numbers of points to each dimension. For example, legal recognition of same-sex marriage adds three points to a country's RECI score, legality of registered partnerships adds two, and legality of cohabitation one. The RECI assigns one negative point to a country for each of the following: (1) violations of freedom of assembly for homosexuals, (2) violations of freedom of association or expression for homosexuals, (3) illegality of same sex acts, and (4) different ages of consent for homosexual and heterosexual couples.

Country-level control variables. We controlled for two country-level variables, former communist regime and country religiosity, because both have been linked to disapproval of homosexuality (e.g., Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2011; Kon, 1993; Stulhofer & Sandfort, 2005). We operationalized *country-level religiosity* as the mean self-reported religiosity of the country sample. We treated *former communist regime* as a dummy variable with 1 = former communist regime and 0 = otherwise.

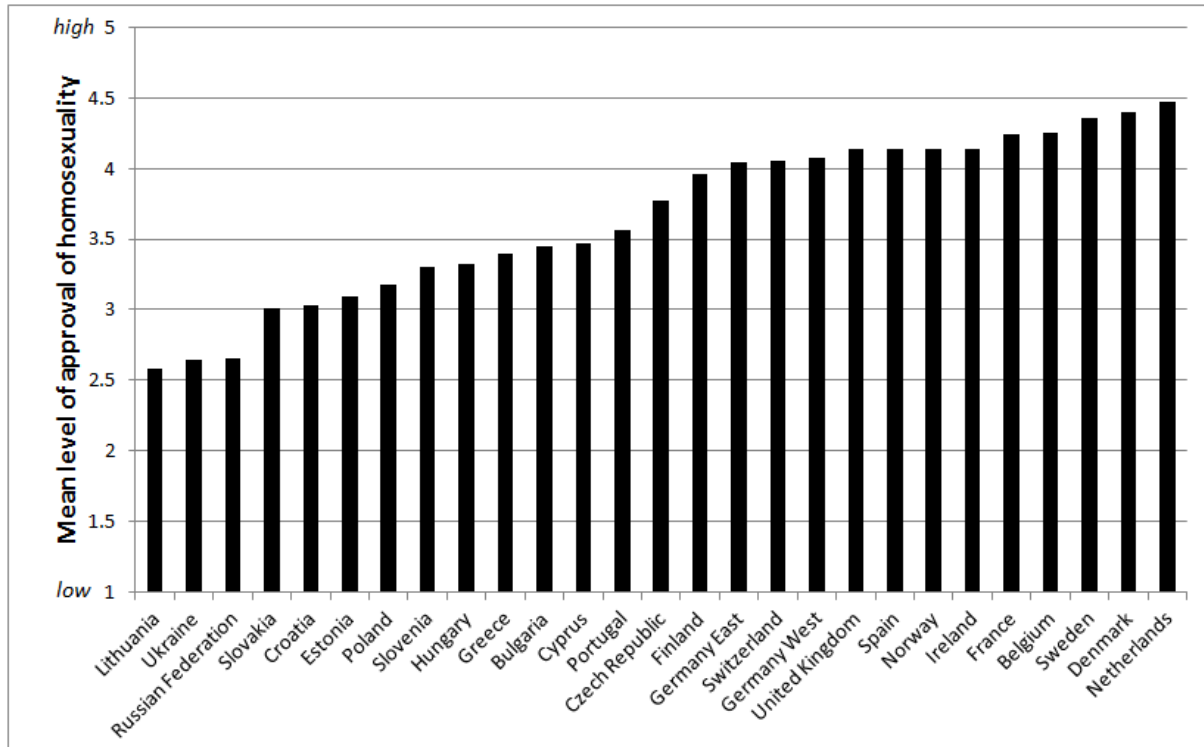
Results

Descriptive Statistics

Figure 1 shows that the level of approval of homosexuality differs substantially across countries. Lithuania has the lowest level of approval of homosexuality (means lower than 2.60 on the 1 to 5 scale) and the Netherlands has the highest level (4.48). The populations in the Southeastern and

Eastern European countries (with the exception of the Czech Republic) show lower levels of approval than those in other countries.

Figure 1. Approval of Homosexuality in 27 European Countries



Note: Responses to the question: “...to what extent do you agree or disagree ... [that] gay men and lesbians should be free to live their own life as they wish?” (1 = agree strongly to 5 = disagree strongly, reverse coded). ESS round 5, 2010 (total N = 45,474).

Explaining variation in approval of homosexuality

We ran multilevel analyses to explain within- and between-country variation in approval of homosexuality. This takes into account the hierarchical data structure of individuals nested in countries. We used full information maximum likelihood estimation (FIML).

Prior to the analyses, we standardized all variables over the pooled dataset. This enabled us to interpret the regression coefficients as standardized regression coefficients (Hox, 2010). We additionally group mean centered the four value priorities used as predictors prior to standardization because we were interested in their individual-level effects and their cross-level interactions with the legal regulation (Enders & Tofghi, 2007; Hofmann & Gavin, 1998). This

eliminated between-country variation by subtracting country means on the value priorities from the individual value priority scores. A test of the empty model with no predictors yielded an intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) of .22. This indicated that 22 percent of the total variance in approval of homosexuality was due to between-country differences and 78 percent to individual-level differences.

Measurement invariance is necessary to permit meaningful cross-country comparisons (e.g., Davidov, 2008). Because a single item measured approval of homosexuality, we could not test its invariance. Previous research has supported the cross-national invariance of the ESS human values scale (Davidov, 2008, 2010; Davidov & Meuleman, 2012; Davidov, Meuleman, Schwartz, & Schmidt, 2014; Davidov, Schmidt, & Schwartz, 2008b). The four value priorities that serve as our main predictors at the individual-level and other basic value priorities exhibited full or partial metric invariance across a large subset of the ESS countries. Metric invariance does not guarantee that value effects are the same across countries. However, metric invariance is a necessary condition to allow comparing these effects across countries meaningfully and drawing substantive conclusions (Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998). Thus, findings of partial metric invariance enable us to compare the effects of values on attitudes toward homosexuality across countries meaningfully.

To test our hypotheses we performed a series of multilevel regressions consecutively, adding different sets of variables to the models at each step. Table 1 presents the results for these models. Model 1 included the individual-level control variables of education, age, gender, religiosity, frequency of attendance at religious services, and religious denomination and the country-level control variables former communist regime and country-level religiosity. These variables accounted for 10 percent of the individual-level variance and 82 percent of the between-country variance in approval of homosexuality. All of the background variables

contributed significantly to the explanation, with age being the strongest predictor on the individual-level and former communist regime being the strongest predictor on the country-level. Model 2 tested hypotheses H1, H2, H3, and H4 by adding the four value priorities, conservation, openness to change, universalism, and power, to the background variables and H5 by adding the index of country-level legal regulation of homosexuality (RECI). Confirming hypotheses H1 to H4, ascribing priority to conservation and power values was significantly associated with lower levels of approval of homosexuality, whereas ascribing priority to universalism and openness to change values was significantly associated with higher levels of approval of homosexuality. The effect of universalism values was at least as strong as the effects of all the background variables except age. The four values increased the within-country variance accounted for in approval of homosexuality by 3 percent. Confirming hypothesis H5, RECI related positively to the country-level approval of homosexuality; approval of homosexuality was higher in countries whose laws regarding homosexuality were more progressive¹⁵. Approval was lower in countries that were more religious and especially in former communist countries. The associations of former communist regime and of country-level religiosity with approval decreased once the RECI index was introduced into the model. RECI explained an additional 3 percent of the between-country variance, and the model fit improved significantly after introducing RECI and the individual value priorities ($\Delta\text{LogLikelihood} = 1250.626$, $\Delta\text{dF} = 5$, $p < .001$).

¹⁵ A separate analysis (not reported here) revealed a significant quadratic effect of RECI that indicated a leveling off of the effect of RECI at higher levels.

Table 1. Multilevel Regression Models Predicting Approval of Homosexuality

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3a	Model 3b	Model 3c	Model 3d	Model 4a	Model 4b	Model 4c	Model 4d
Intercept	.008	.003	.002	-.001	.000	.002	.002	-.001	.000	.002
<i>Individual-level Controls</i>										
<i>Education</i>										
Low	<i>Reference</i>									
Medium	.069***	.055***	.054***	.054***	.053***	.055***	.054***	.055***	.053***	.055***
High	.125***	.096***	.095***	.097***	.095***	.096***	.095***	.097***	.095***	.096***
Age	-.161***	-.135***	-.133***	-.133***	-.134***	-.134***	-.133***	-.133***	-.134***	-.134***
Female	.090***	.086***	.087***	.086***	.086***	.086***	.087***	.086***	.086***	.086***
Religious importance	-.061***	-.059***	-.059***	-.060***	-.060***	-.059***	-.059***	-.060***	-.060***	-.059***
Attendance at religious services	-.102***	-.095***	-.095***	-.095***	-.095***	-.095***	-.095***	-.095***	-.095***	-.095***
<i>Religious Denominations</i>										
None	<i>Reference</i>									
Catholic	-.011	.001	.002	.000	.001	.001	.002	-.000	.001	.002
Protestant	-.014**	-.008	-.010*	-.009	-.008	-.008	-.010*	-.009	-.008	-.008
Orthodox	-.050***	-.040***	-.039***	-.036***	-.039***	-.040***	-.039***	-.036***	-.039***	-.040***
Other Christian	-.031***	-.031***	-.030***	-.031***	-.030***	-.031***	-.030***	-.031***	-.030***	-.030***
Eastern	.003	.003	.003	.002	.003	.003	.003	.002	.003	.003
Other Non-Christian	-.001	-.003	-.002	-.003	-.002	-.003	-.002	-.003	-.002	-.003
Muslim	-.067***	-.061***	-.060***	-.060***	-.060***	-.061***	-.060***	-.060***	-.060***	-.061***
<i>Individual Value Priorities</i>										
Conservation (CONS)		-.087***	-.087***	-.091***	-.085***	-.087***	-.087***	-.092***	-.085***	-.087***
Openness to Change (OPEN)		.069***	.068***	.068***	.067***	.069***	.068***	.067***	.067***	.069***
Universalism (UN)		.123***	.123***	.127***	.126***	.123***	.123***	.128***	.126***	.122***
Power (PO)		-.038***	.040***	-.037***	-.035***	-.038***	-.040***	-.036***	-.035***	-.038***
<i>Country-level Controls</i>										
Former Communist Regime	-.371***	-.293***	-.292***	-.237***	-.251***	-.292***	-.292***	-.237***	-.251***	-.292***
Level of religiosity	-.144**	-.099*	-.099*	-.086*	-.087*	-.098*	-.099*	-.085*	-.087*	-.098*
Legal regulation (RECI)		.128*	.128*	.122*	.135**	.128*	.130*	.170**	.159**	.129*
<i>OPEN*RECI</i>							-.027**			
<i>CONS*RECI</i>								.023*		
<i>UN*RECI</i>									.013	
<i>PO*RECI</i>										-.001

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3a	Model 3b	Model 3c	Model 3d	Model 4a	Model 4b	Model 4c	Model 4d
<i>Variance Components</i>										
Residual Variance	.706***	.687***	.685***	.684***	.684***	.687***	.685***	.684***	.684***	.687***
Random Intercept	.040***	.032***	.032***	.036***	.033***	.032***	.032***	.034***	.033***	.032***
Random Slope OPEN			.002***				.001***			
Random Slope CONS				.003***				.002***		
Random Slope UN					.003***				.003***	
Random Slope PO						.000**				.000**
<i>Explained Variance^a</i>										
reduction of residual variance	10 %	13 %								
reduction of intercept variance	82 %	85 %								
reduction of respective slope variance							38%	19%	7%	3%
<i>Model Comparison</i>										
-2LogLikelihood	113353.477	112102.851	112026.274	111949.236	111953.904	112096.224	112015.816	111944.817	111952.499	112096.160
Difference	5004.823 ^b	1250.626	76.577 ^c	153.615 ^c	148.947 ^c	6.627 ^c	10.458 ^d	4.419 ^e	1.405 ^f	.064 ^g
-2LogLikelihood Difference df	15	5	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1
<i>p</i> -value	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	< .001	.037	.001	.036	.236	.800

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Note: N (individuals) = 45,474, N (countries) = 27; group mean centered individual value priorities; all variables were standardized prior to model estimation; Source: ESS round 5, 2010.

^aReduction in variances compared to the residual components of the empty model; Residual variance $\sigma = .788$; random intercept variance: τ (intercept) = .217.

^bImprovement in model fit compared to empty model: 2LogLikelihood = 118358.230, degrees of freedom (dF) = 3.

^cImprovement in model fit compared to Model 2.

^dImprovement in model fit compared to Model 3a.

^eImprovement in model fit compared to Model 3b.

^fImprovement in model fit compared to Model 3c.

^gImprovement in model fit compared to Model 3d.

Before testing for cross-level interactions, we examined whether the effect of the values varied across countries (Model 3 a-d in Table 1). All values showed significant random slopes, signifying that the effect of the values varied across countries. Model 4a evaluated hypothesis H6a and tested whether higher levels of legal regulation of homosexuality in a country were associated with weaker effects openness to change. Model 4b evaluated hypothesis H6b vs. hypothesis H6c. They tested whether higher levels of legal regulation of homosexuality were associated with weaker or stronger effects of conservation values. Models 4c and 4d tested whether the legal regulation of homosexuality moderated associations of universalism and power values with approval of homosexuality. Due to the limited number of countries, we estimated separate models with cross-level interactions for each value.

Model 4a yielded a significant interaction of RECI with openness to change values and Model 4b yielded a significant interaction with conservation values. This indicates that RECI moderates the effects of these values on approval of homosexuality. The signs of the interactions show the nature of the moderation. Supporting hypotheses H6a and 6b and rejecting the alternative hypothesis 6c for conservation values, the positive effect of openness to change values and the negative effect of conservation values are both weaker in countries with more progressive legal regulation of homosexuality. Figure 2 shows that the effect of openness to change on approval of homosexuality is more positive in countries with less progressive legal regulations of homosexuality and less positive in countries with more progressive legal regulation of homosexuality. regulation of homosexuality. It should be noted that although RECI moderates the strength of the value associations, their direction is the same in all countries. Figure 3 shows that the effect of openness to change

on approval is more negative in countries with less progressive legal regulation of homosexuality and less negative in countries with more progressive legal.

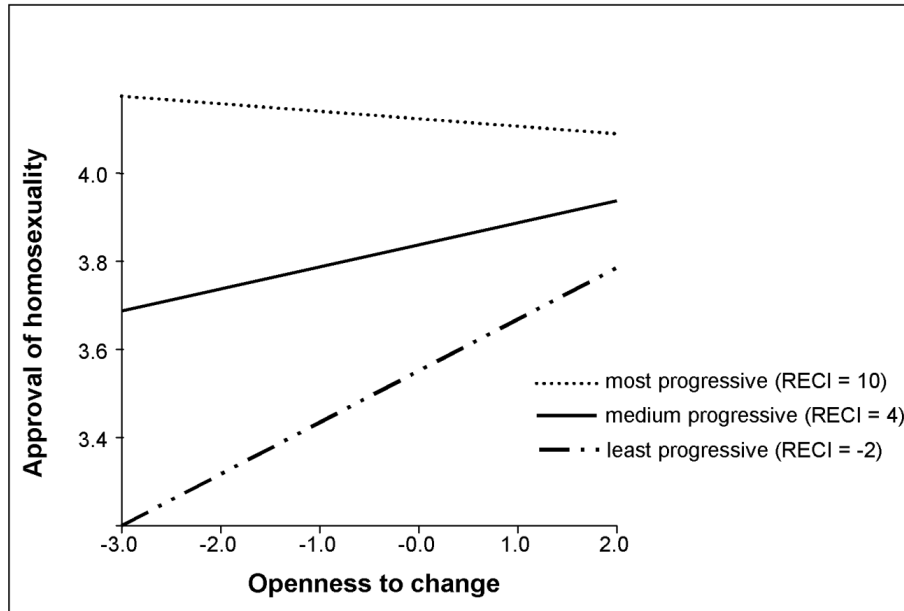


Figure 2. Relations of Openness to Change Values to Approval of Homosexuality as a Function of Countries' Legal Regulation of Homosexuality. *Note:* ESS round 5, 2010; N (individuals) = 45,474; N (countries) = 27, unstandardized variables, group mean centered openness to change values.

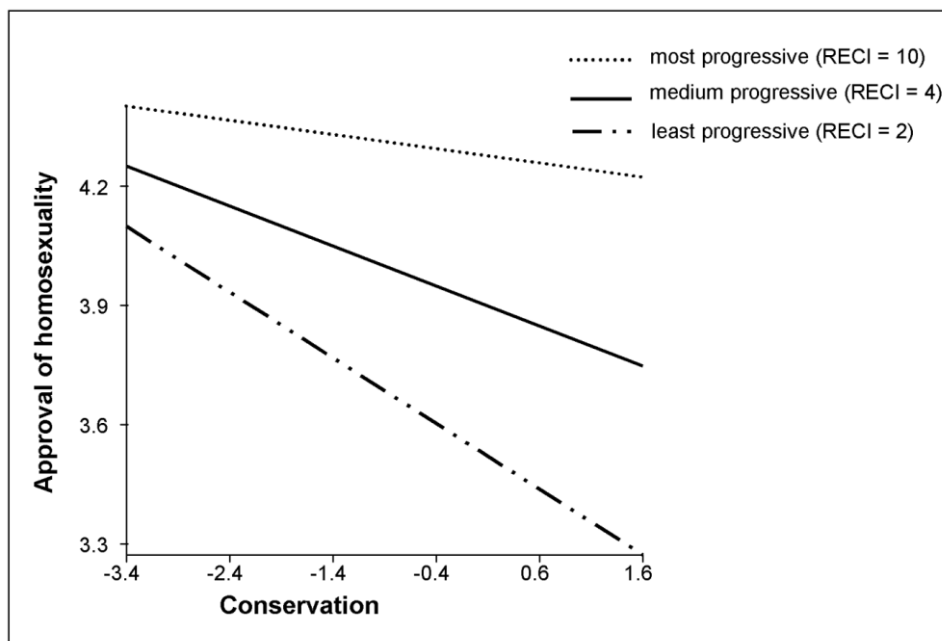


Figure 3. Relations of Conservation Values to Approval of Homosexuality as a Function of Countries' Legal Regulation of Homosexuality. *Note:* ESS round 5, 2010; N (individuals) = 45,474; N (countries) = 27, unstandardized variables, group mean centered conservation values.

Regarding universalism, Model 4c indicates that RECI did not significantly moderate its positive association with approval of homosexuality. Regarding power values, Model 4d showed no moderation of its negative association with approval of homosexuality.

In addition to the cross-level interactions, we estimated the effect of value priorities on approval of homosexuality in countries where the legal regulation is least progressive (RECI = -2) and most progressive (RECI = 10) (Table 2). The effect of conservation values was weaker in countries with the most progressive laws but still significant in the most progressive countries. In contrast, the effect of openness to change values was not significant in countries with the most progressive laws. The effects of universalism and power values were significant in countries with both most and least progressive laws, although somewhat larger in the former.

Table 2. Simple slopes: The effect of the value priorities in countries with least and most progressive legal regulations of homosexuality

	Least progressive laws (RECI = -2)	Most progressive laws (RECI = 10)
Openness to change	.117***	.022
Conservation	-.134***	-.052*
Universalism	.102***	.149***
Power	-.035**	-.040**

Note: ESS round 5, 2010; N (individuals) = 45,474, N (countries) = 27.

In sum, at the individual-level, prioritizing conservation and power values was associated with lower levels of approval of homosexuality whereas prioritizing openness to change and universalism values was associated with higher levels of approval across 27 European countries and regions. This held even after controlling the effects of religiosity and various sociodemographic variables. On the country-level, more progressive legal regulation of homosexuality was associated with higher levels of approval of homosexuality. Moreover,

the positive effects of openness to change values and the negative effects of conservation values on approval of homosexuality were weaker the more progressive the legal regulation of homosexuality in a country has been. The legal regulation did not significantly moderate the association of universalism and power values with approval of homosexuality.

Discussion

Although the EU anti-discrimination law explicitly forbids discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation, not all European countries grant equal civil rights to homosexuals, and many people in European countries show low levels of approval of homosexuality. The purpose of this study was twofold. First, we investigated the influence of individuals' basic value priorities on their approval of homosexuality. Second, we examined whether the effect of individuals' value priorities varied with the legal regulation of homosexuality.

Individual values have emerged as powerful influences on a wide range of social and moral attitudes (e.g., Schwartz et al., 2010). This study was the first, however, to explain approval of homosexuality systematically with priorities for several individual values and across a large set of countries. It revealed a consistent pattern of effects across a wide range of European countries.

It is noteworthy that the effects of individual value priorities were at least as strong as the effects of such variables as religiosity, gender, and religious denomination and were similar to those of age and education. This might be because value priorities underlie, motivate, and justify approval of homosexuality and partly mediate the effects of sociodemographic variables. The effects of age and education were stronger than those of gender and religiosity. It is likely that both younger and more educated persons, compared with older and less educated, have been exposed to more direct socialization and persuasion to

approve of homosexuality regardless of their own motivations. The strength of the effects of value priorities underlines the importance of considering individual values in research that seeks to explain differences in the approval of homosexuality. This result also corresponds to findings from previous research which have shown that differences in anti-gay attitudes among individuals from different religious denominations are due to psychological processes rather than to the religious affiliation itself (Reese et al., 2013).

We recognize that attitudes and values might also influence one another in reciprocal causality. Yet values are usually formed in childhood and youth and subsequently remain relatively stable across the life span for most people (e.g., Hitlin & Piliavin, 2004; Inglehart, 2008). Thus, we postulate that the causal influence is stronger from values to approval of homosexuality. Although values are difficult to change in adulthood, socialization of youth that promotes universalism and openness to change and discourages conservation and power values should increase approval of homosexuality as they grow older.

At the country-level, progressive regulation of homosexuality was associated with greater approval of homosexuality. This underscores the potential role of the legal system in combating prejudice. Of course, more liberal attitudes and national policies may have mutual causal effects on one another. Coleman's (1990) boat hypothesis suggests a feedback loop in which country-level characteristics shape individual attitudes, which, in turn, affect behavior that influences the country-level characteristics. Thus, progressive laws may promote positive attitudes toward homosexuals that promote positive behavior that feeds back to progressive laws. In many European countries, however, progressive changes in laws regulating homosexuality have taken place as a response to directives of

the European Union and may not reflect attitude change within the country (see also Pettigrew, 1979; Schlüter et al., 2013). Assessing this assumption requires panel studies.

Perhaps the most interesting finding of this study was the moderation of the effects of particular individual values on approval of homosexuality by the legal regulation of homosexuality in countries. The more progressive the regulations, the weaker the effects of individuals' conservation and openness to change values are on their approval of homosexuality. This fits the reasoning behind hypotheses H6a and 6b that individuals rely less on their own values to form attitudes to the extent that legal regulations prescribe the attitude that is socially expected. These results are also in line with findings from previous research that identified boundary conditions for the effects of value priorities: Individuals tended to behave in conformity with normative expectations, regardless of their own value priorities, when a value or behavior was widely sanctioned, whether positively or negatively (Bardi & Schwartz, 2003).

As expected, however, legal regulations regarding homosexuality did not moderate the effects of universalism and power values. Universalism values promote and power values inhibit approval of homosexuality regardless of the legal climate in the environment. The core goal of universalism values is tolerance and understanding for *all* others, not only for ingroup members but also for those who are different from the self. For most respondents, homosexuals fall into this category. Universalism values find expression in a proactive, self-transcending concern for the welfare of all others. Hence, universalism values support approval of homosexuality regardless of its legal status.

The core goal of power values is dominance and control over others. Power values impel people to take action to control others and situations actively in order to cope with potential threats to their status or resources. Valuing power leads people to assert their own

superiority over those whom they perceive as different and weaker. The different lifestyle of homosexuals questions the superiority of the conventional lifestyle of heterosexuals (the sample majority) if they value power, though it may pose no challenge to the conventional lifestyle of others. For those who value power, rejecting homosexuality is therefore a direct and necessary assertion of superiority and social dominance. Hence, power values inhibit approval of homosexuality regardless of its legal status.

We have examined one country-level moderator of the associations between personal values and approval of homosexuality. Future research should examine other possible country-level moderators of the relations of specific values with attitudes toward homosexuality. Potential moderators that may affect the normative environment (e.g., gay pride parades, sympathetic portrayals of homosexuals in the media) are especially good candidates for study.

The ESS data provided only a single item to measure approval of homosexuality. This limitation did not allow us to take measurement error in this variable into account or to assess its invariance across countries. A multi-item index would be preferable, but the high quality of the ESS data and the unique opportunity it provides to test the hypotheses across many European countries compensate for this limitation. Future research would profit from using multi-item and multidimensional measures of approval of homosexuals and homosexuality. Such measures can provide more robust evidence about the within- and between-country causes of these attitudes.

The present study identified specific values that correlate with approval of homosexuality and suggested mechanisms through which the values may influence these attitudes. It also revealed that policies moderate the effects of particular values on approval of

homosexuality. Highly progressive policies apparently reduce opposition to homosexuality even among people with strong conformity values that inherently oppose it.

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Appendix

Appendix A. Portrait Value Questionnaire items for Conservation, Openness to Change, and Universalism in the ESS

Conservation	<i>Tradition</i>	It is important to him to be humble and modest. He tries not to draw attention to himself. Tradition is important to him. He tries to follow the custom handed down by his religion or his family.
	<i>Conformity</i>	It is important to him always to behave properly. He wants to avoid doing anything people would say is wrong. He believes that people should do what they are told. He thinks people should follow rules at all times, even when no-one is watching.
	<i>Security</i>	It is important to him to live in secure surroundings. He avoids anything that might endanger his safety It is important to him that the government ensures his safety against all threats. He wants the state to be strong so it can defend its citizens.
Openness to change	<i>Self-direction</i>	Thinking up new ideas and being creative is important to him. He likes to do things in his own original way. It is important to him to make his own decisions about what he does. He likes to be free and not depend on others.
	<i>Stimulation</i>	He likes surprises and is always looking for new things to do. He thinks it is important to do lots of different things in life. He looks for adventures and likes to take risks. He wants to have an exciting life.
	<i>Hedonism</i>	He seeks every chance he can to have fun. It is important to him to do things that give him pleasure. Having a good time is important to him. He likes to "spoil" himself.
Self-Transcendence	<i>Universalism</i>	He thinks it is important that every person in the world should be treated equally. He believes everyone should have equal opportunities in life. It is important to him to listen to people who are different from him. Even when he disagrees with them, he still wants to understand them. He strongly believes that people should care for nature. Looking after the environment is important to him.

Self- enhancement	<i>Power</i>	It is important to him to be rich. He wants to have a lot of money and expensive things. It is important to him to get respect from others. He wants people to do what he says.
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Appendix B. Rainbow Europe Country Index by country (ILGA Europe, 2010)

Belgium	9
Bulgaria	2
Croatia	4
Cyprus	0
Czech Republic	3
Denmark	7
Estonia	2
Finland	6
France	5
Germany East/West	5
Greece	1
Hungary	4
Ireland	3
Lithuania	2
Netherlands	9
Norway	9
Poland	0
Portugal	5
Russia	-2
Slovakia	2
Slovenia	4
Spain	9
Sweden	10
Switzerland	4
Ukraine	-2
United Kingdom	8

Appendix C. Correlations among the variables in the analysis

	Approval	Education			Age	Female	Relig. Imp.	Attend.	Religious Denominations							
		Low	med.	high					None	Cath.	Prot.	Ortho.	Other Chris.	East.	Non-Chris.	Musl.
Approval of homosexuality	1															
<i>Education</i>																
Low	-.066***	1														
Medium	-.020***	-.552***	1													
High	.088***	-.388***	-.554***	1												
Age	-.197***	.163***	-.094***	-.059***	1											
Female	.030***	.032***	-.052***	.025***	.036***	1										
Religious importance	-.213***	.110***	-.067***	-.037***	.193***	.185***	1									
Attendance at religious services	-.242***	.087***	-.039***	-.043***	.148***	.142***	.632***	1								
<i>Religious Denominations</i>																
None	.191***	-.08***	.052***	.029***	-.148***	-.102***	-.589***	-.548***	1							
Catholic	-.098***	.108***	-.003	-.105***	.092***	.057***	.326***	.379***	-.519***	1						
Protestant	.085***	-.018***	-.037***	.059***	.091***	.017***	.128***	.032***	-.298***	-.253***	1					
Orthodox	-.185***	-.024***	-.023***	.031***	.031***	.054***	.192***	.180***	-.330***	-.281***	-.161***	1				

(continues)

Appendix C. (continued)

	Approval	Education			Age	Female	Relig. Imp.	Attend.	Religious Denominations							
		Low	med.	high					None	Cath.	Prot.	Ortho.	Other Chris.	East.	Non- Chris.	Musl.
Other Christian	-.033***	-.002	-.002	.004	-.014**	.012*	.093***	.094***	-.086***	-.073***	-.042***	-.047***	1			
Eastern	.020***	-.002	-.006	.009	-.030***	-.002	.033***	.019***	-.044***	-.037***	-.021***	-.024***	-.006	1		
Other Non-Christian	.007	-.002	.007	-.006	-.009 ⁺	.002	.022***	.011*	-.042***	-.035***	-.020***	-.023***	-.006	-.003	1	
Muslim	-.058***	.053***	-.021***	-.030***	-.065***	-.023***	.084***	.030***	-.107***	-.091***	-.052***	-.058***	-.015**	-.008	-.007	1
Individual Value Priorities																
Conservation (CONS)	-.101***	.071***	-.005	-.066***	.248***	.073	.224***	.169***	-.175***	.088***	.076***	.032***	.006	.003	.002	.051***
Openness to Change (OPEN)	.150***	-.130***	.031***	.096***	-.358***	-.093***	-.113***	-.096***	.089***	-.055***	-.044***	-.013**	-.007	.012*	.014**	.004
Universalism (UN)	.092***	-.073***	-.017***	.092***	.069***	.080***	.075***	.036***	-.032***	.002	.022***	.007	.015**	.013**	.017***	.015**
Power (PO)	.001	-.039***	-.008	.048***	-.156***	-.100***	-.033***	-.019***	.001	-.007	-.016***	.006	-.007	.007	.008 ⁺	.045***
Country-level variables																
Former Communist Regime	-.353***	-.190***	.177***	-.007	.003	.036***	-.026***	-.052***	-.025***	.072***	-.220***	-.091***	-.010*	-.032***	-.013**	-.007
Level of religiosity	-.193***	.084***	-.064***	-.013**	.007	.034***	.356***	.371***	-.391***	.264***	-.120***	.313***	.005	-.016**	-.018***	-.024***
Legal regulation (RECI)	.379***	.126***	-.090***	-.027***	.017***	-.044***	-.133***	-.232***	.192***	-.026***	.271***	-.486***	.011*	.026***	.014**	-.002

(continues)

Appendix C. (continued)

	<i>Individual value priorities</i>				<i>Country-level variables</i>		
	CONS	OPEN	UN	PO	Former comm. reg.	Level of relig.	RECI
Approval of homosexuality							
<i>Education</i>							
Low							
Medium							
High							
Age							
Female							
Religious importance							
Attendance at religious services							
<i>Religious Denominations</i>							
None							
Catholic							
Protestant							
Orthodox							
Other Christian							
Eastern							
Other Non-Christian							
Muslim							
Individual Value Priorities							
Conservation (CONS)	1						
Openness to Change (OPEN)	.035***	1					
Universalism (UN)	.480***	.255***	1				
Power (PO)	.194***	.406***	.078***	1			
Country-level variables							
Former Communist Regime	.000	.000	.000	.000	1		
Level of religiosity	.000	.000	.000	.000	-.081***	1	
Legal regulation (RECI)	.000	.000	.000	.000	-.616***	-.378***	1

*** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$

Note: ESS round 5, 2010; $n = 45,474$; unstandardized variables; group mean centered individual value priorities.

Value-Related Motivational Underpinnings of Group-Focused Enmity (Chapter 4)¹⁶

(coauthored by Constanze Beierlein and Eldad Davidov)

Abstract

Findings from numerous studies corroborate the hypothesis that negative attitudes toward different outgroups can be considered as an expression of one syndrome, called group-focused enmity (GFE). However, the scope of these studies is generally limited to one or two outgroups even though the GFE syndrome suggests that it encompasses negative attitudes toward several diverse outgroups. Thus, research that delves deeper into the internal structure and motivational sources of its various dimensions within one framework is still missing. Drawing on research on basic human values, we explore the internal structure of GFE and its relations with human values with a German panel sample. Employing structural equation modeling, we found that various dimensions of GFE share a common variance although negative attitudes toward some specific outgroups (i.e., women, gays and lesbians) are more strongly associated with each other than with other elements of the syndrome (e.g., homeless people, Jews). However, the associations of the GFE elements with the basic human values conservation and universalism are rather similar. Thus, similar motivation underpinnings are associated with several and diverse types of prejudice.

Key words: values, group-focused enmity, prejudice, structural equation modeling, outgroups

¹⁶ The manuscript has been submitted for review to Social Science Research.

Introduction

In the recent elections of the European Parliament in 2014, right-wing populist parties considerably gained in votes in many countries (e.g., the French Front National, the Freedom Party of Austria, the United Kingdom Independent Party).¹⁷ During the election campaigns, political issues such as immigration (e.g., of Sinti and Roma from Romania and Bulgaria) or the legal rights of gays and lesbians have been singled out as key topics by a number of European right-wing populist parties (Langenbacher and Schellenberg, 2011). By doing so, these parties appealed to voters' negative attitudes toward several specific outgroups in society. These developments are corroborated by recent findings suggesting that European citizens disapprove of several different social outgroups at the same time (Zick, Küppers, and Hövermann, 2011).

The observed co-occurrence of negative attitudes toward different outgroups is also reflected by current theoretical debates in prejudice research. As Allport (1954: 68) stated, "one of the facts of which we are most certain is that people who reject one outgroup will tend to reject other outgroups." For example, people who oppose Muslims are also expected to oppose homosexuals. The phenomenon has commonly been described as the syndrome of group-focused enmity (GFE; Zick, Küpper, and Heitmeyer, 2010). It implies that prejudices toward different outgroups can be described as being substantially interrelated (Zick, Wolf, Küpper, Davidov, Schmidt, and Heitmeyer, 2008). Thus, negative attitudes toward various outgroups constitute a "generality of prejudice" (Asbrock, Sibley, and Duckitt, 2010: 324) and share a common underlying motivational core – an ideology of inequality (Allport, 1954). Several elements of GFE have already been identified (e.g., devaluation of homeless people, anti-foreigner attitudes, anti-Semitism, sexism, support for the rights of the established; Zick et al., 2008). Moreover, prejudices against further outgroups are also conceivable: "Any feature that differentiates

¹⁷ Retrieved from <http://www.results-elections2014.eu/en/country-introduction-2014.html> as well as from <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/aboutparliament/en/00082fcd21/Results-by-country-%282009%29.html?tab=26> (June 20th, 20014)

outgroups from the normative consensus of a dominant group can serve to indicate deviance, while also confirming the normality of the ingroup” (Asbrock, Christ, and Wagner, 2007: 7).

To date, there are numerous empirical studies which reinforce Allport’s thesis by demonstrating that prejudice generalizes across different target groups (e.g., Akrami, Ekehammar, and Bergh, 2011; Altemeyer, 1998; Ekehammar and Akrami, 2003; Zick et al., 2008). Indeed, one of the rare longitudinal studies on the GFE syndrome revealed that the level and longitudinal change pattern of several elements of the GFE are similar (Davidov, Thörner, Schmidt, Gosen, and Wolf, 2011). In addition, generalized negative attitudes were found to transfer to behavior: In a study by Asbrock et al. (2007), discriminatory intentions against one outgroup correlated with hostile intentions toward further outgroups. Indeed, previous research suggests that the aforementioned elements of GFE share similar predictors and outcomes (McFarland, 2010; Zick et al., 2008). However, only few studies examine the co-occurrence of different types of GFE and their common predictors (e.g., Davidov et al., 2011, Zick et al. 2008). In this study we are going to address this gap by investigating the internal structure and the common motivational base of GFE elements as reflected in individuals’ basic human values. We will examine whether different types of prejudice may be attributed to similar motivational underpinning in the form of basic human values.

Previous research on values and group-focused enmity

In order to scrutinize the sources and reasons for generalized prejudice, researchers have often drawn on value research (Feldman, 2003; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Empirical studies have provided comprehensive evidence that social and political attitudes such as prejudices are well predicted by individual value priorities (Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995; Schwartz, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2010; Vecchione et al., 2014). To date, most studies have focused on the role of values for explaining prejudice toward one specific outgroup (e.g., homosexuals, immigrants,

women, Muslims; see Davidov et al., 2008; Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Helbling, 2014; Kuntz, Davidov, Schwartz, and Schmidt, 2014; Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995; Schiefer, 2013; for a review see also Sibley and Duckitt, 2008). As a consequence, these studies concentrated on the motivational underpinnings of attitudes solely against these specific outgroups. This approach is accompanied by important limitations. First, despite the fact that several studies support the idea of a general prejudice factor, only a few researchers have investigated the internal structure of GFE by uncovering commonalities between certain elements of the syndrome (e.g., Zick et al., 2008; Asbrock et al., 2007). Second, to the best of our knowledge, the motivational basis of prejudice toward various minority groups in the form of basic human values has not yet been explored within a single research framework (Zick et al., 2011). Therefore, it remains to be clarified whether the motivational factors in the form of basic human values associated with attitudes toward *different* outgroups vary in source and intensity depending on the type of outgroup.

Aims of the current research

The current study aims at extending the current knowledge on GFE in several ways:

- 1) We test a hierarchical factor model of GFE. In this model, GFE is specified as a general, higher-order factor which reflects prejudice toward six different minority groups (sexism, anti-Semitism, anti-foreigner attitudes, devaluation of homosexual people, devaluation of homeless people, anti-Muslim attitudes) (Zick et al., 2008).
- 2) We test whether and to what extent different human values are associated with negative attitudes toward different minority groups. In other words, we examine whether specific values are more or less relevant in shaping attitudes toward *various* minority groups. For this purpose, we utilize the basic human values model of Schwartz et al. (2012). Hence,

we empirically test if negative attitudes toward *different* minorities share a common cause by allowing specific values to influence the different elements of the GFE syndrome.

Schwartz' theory of basic human values

In general, values may be conceived of as desirable goals which vary in importance and serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Schwartz, 1992, 2010; Rokeach, 1973). Values affect a person's thoughts and actions by inducing positive or negative valences on actions, objects, people and events (Feather, 1995; Feather and McKee, 2008). They are commonly conceptualized as abstract social cognitions which transcend situations. By contrast, an attitude reflects the summarized evaluations of several beliefs concerning a certain and specific object (Davidov et al., 2008). Homer and Kahle's (1988) value-attitude-behavior hierarchy implies that values influence attitudes directly and behavior indirectly via attitudes (see also Boer and Fischer, 2013).

With his theory of basic human values, Schwartz (1992) proposed a definition and structure of humans' value system which has been empirically supported by a plethora of studies (e.g., Fontaine, Poortinga, Delbeke, and Schwartz, 2008; Schwartz and Boehnke, 2004; Schwartz et al., 2012; Steinmetz, Isidor, and Bauerle, 2012). According to Schwartz and Boehnke (2004), values form a quasi-circumplex structure. They are associated with different motivational goals depending on their location within the circle. Adjacent values that are located closer to each other share a common motivational core and are, thus, compatible. Competing values, on the contrary, are located at opposing ends of the circle. These values are rather conflicting and reflect incompatibilities with regard to their motivational goals.

In a recent publication, Schwartz and colleagues further refined the postulated value circle by distinguishing between 19 basic human values. The 19 basic human values, in turn, may be integrated into a broader values system with two (orthogonal) dimensions (Schwartz and

Boehnke, 2004; Schwartz et al., 2012). The first dimension includes groups of values which stress new ideas, actions and experiences versus values that express self-restriction, order and avoidance of change (Openness to Change vs. Conservation). The second dimension contrasts those values that emphasize transcending one's own interests and goals for the sake of others with values that highlight pursuing one's own interests (Openness to Change vs. Conservation).

Motivational underpinnings of outgroup rejection

In general, prejudice against outgroup members may be boosted or reduced by different values (e.g., Pedersen and Hartley, 2012; Asbrock et al., 2010; Chambers, Schlenker, and Collisson, 2012; Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Fasel, Green, and Sarrasin, 2013; Feather and McKee, 2012; Herek and McLemore, 2013; Kuntz et al., 2014). If the realization of values is either blocked or promoted by the presence of certain outgroups, the subjective relevance of these values for the formation of attitudes toward these minority groups will become evident. Different outgroups might pose a threat to valued goals. However, they may pose higher or lower levels of threat to the realization of specific values. This general mechanism will be outlined below for those values which we find especially relevant for the formation of negative attitudes toward minorities: conservation and universalism values.

When confronted with members of minority outgroups, members of the dominant ingroup may feel challenged or threatened with regard to the status quo of the social and cultural arrangements (Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995; see also Cohrs and Asbrock, 2009). Muslims practice their own religion and customs, and gays and lesbians endorse nontraditional beliefs about gender equality, sexual morality and family concepts. Conservation values reflect three elements in the value theory of Schwartz: conformity, tradition and security values. All three elements give weight to maintaining the existing social and cultural arrangements, and thus individuals scoring high on

conservation values are expected to display negative attitudes toward members of *any* minority group (Jost et al., 2003)..

By way of contrast, universalism is expected to reduce negative attitudes toward outgroups (Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995). Universalism encompasses the motivational goals of understanding, tolerance and expressing concern for the welfare of all people. It has been found to be positively correlated with prosocial concerns such as world poverty, hunger and intergroup conflict on the one hand and negatively correlated with prejudice (Schwartz, 2010; see also Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995). The theoretical assumptions on the relationship between conservation and universalism values and prejudice are supported by previous empirical studies. Placing priority on universalism values was associated with an increase in the willingness for outgroup contact (Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995), support for immigration (Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Davidov et al., 2008; Schwartz, 2010), positive attitudes toward Muslims (Pedersen and Hartley, 2012), objection to sexism (Feather and McKee, 2012), approval of homosexuality (Kuntz et al., 2014) and support for left wing-parties which accept or support social equality and tolerance for different living concepts in society (e.g., with regard to different sexual orientations) (Schwartz, Caprara, and Vecchione, 2010; Piurko, Schwartz, and Davidov, 2011). Conservation values, in turn, were found to be positively correlated with negative attitudes toward immigration (Davidov and Meulemann, 2012; Davidov et al., 2008), homosexuality (Kuntz et al., 2014) as well as women and poor people (Chambers et al., 2012). Based on our theoretical considerations, we derive below a number of hypotheses.

Hypotheses

The first group of hypotheses is related to the internal structure of group-focused Enmity. Given the empirical evidence on GFE so far, we expect that *six commonly described elements of GFE (Sexism, anti-Semitism, anti-foreigner attitudes, devaluation of homosexual people, devaluation*

of homeless people, anti-Muslim attitudes) can be empirically distinguished from each other and reflect a common underlying motivational core (H1).

However, besides the general interrelation of prejudice against these outgroups, studies cited above (e.g., Zick et al., 2011; Sakalli, 2002) provide evidence that prejudice against certain outgroups is more likely to co-occur. First, sexist attitudes and devaluation of homosexuals have been found to be closely related. Herek and McLemore (2013) concluded that traditional beliefs about gender roles as well as traditional values regarding sexual behavior and family structure are associated with negative attitudes toward homosexuals. Sakalli (2002) found that people who hold conservative and sexist attitudes are more likely to reject homosexuals at the same time. Second, we expect positive correlations between negative attitudes toward immigrants as well as toward Muslims. The majority group of immigrants in Germany is of Turkish origin and thus, predominantly Muslim¹⁸ (Haug, Müssig, and Stichs, 2009). Zick et al. (2011) could show that two thirds of the respondents of a German sample thought of Turks when being asked about immigrants. This leads to a strong conceptual overlap between the two categories, thus, yielding similar attitudes toward both outgroups. Therefore, *we expect that attitudes toward Muslims and foreigners load on a second-order common factor ('anti-immigrants') that in turn loads on the general higher-order GFE factor (H2a).* Furthermore, *we expect that sexism and homophobia also load on a second-order common factor ('sexual prejudice') that in turn loads on the general higher-order GFE factor (H2b).* Finally, *we expect that anti-Semitism and devaluation of homeless people load directly on the general higher-order GFE factor (H2a).*

The second group of hypotheses is related to the linkage between basic human values and different elements of GFE. First, *we expect individuals who endorse higher conservation values to display a higher level of GFE (H3).* Second, *we expect individuals scoring higher on*

¹⁸ Retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/StatistischesJahrbuch/Bevoelkerung.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (June 15th, 2014).

universalism values to score lower on the GFE syndrome (H4). Immigrants, in general, and Muslims in particular, might be associated with criminal acts and terrorism. Therefore, these outgroups might be considered as especially relevant for security values and we expect individuals with higher priority on personal security values (a subdimension of conservation values) to show higher levels of anti-immigrant attitudes (H5a) over and above the general effect of conservation on GFE. Furthermore, we hypothesize personal security values to display a direct effect on devaluation of homeless people over and above the general effect of conservation on GFE because the confrontation with poor and homeless people in one's own neighborhood or town may invoke fear and, thus, detrimental feelings toward this outgroup (H5b). With respect to sexual prejudice and devaluation of homosexuals in particular, we assume that among individuals who prioritize tradition values, homosexuals will be considered as a large threat because homosexuality might deviate most strongly from the traditional concept of family and marriage (Haddock, Zanna, and Esses, 1993; Haddock and Zanna, 1998). Furthermore, a strong inclination to uphold tradition values should also promote gender prejudice which acts to bolster the current status quo of traditional gender roles. Consequently, we expect tradition values to exhibit a direct effect on the second-order factor sexual prejudice over and above the general effect of conservation on GFE (H6). In contrast, individuals who endorse universalism values are expected to be willing to protect the rights of people even if they are different from themselves and, thus, hold positive attitudes toward this group. Priority placed on these values encompasses equality and tolerance concerns which are independent from moral standards and social norms (Kuntz et al. 2014). We therefore expect universalism values to exhibit a direct effect on sexual and gender prejudice over and above its effect on GFE (H7). We also hypothesize individuals scoring higher on universalism values to endorse positive attitudes toward homeless people over and above the effect on GFE (H8), because homeless people constitute a particularly weak group in society which cannot protect itself.

Methods

Sample. Data were drawn from two waves of a German online access panel study collected during May and July 2013, respectively. The heterogeneous sample consisted of German-speaking participants aged 18 years and older. For further details about the study design and the sample, see Struminskaya, Kaczmirek, Schaurer, and Bandilla (2014). In the two waves that were used as data collection occasions for the present study, 231 panel participants responded both to questions measuring the GFE components in wave 1 and the value questions in wave 2. Of these, 130 (57%) were male. The average age of the participants was $M = 48$ ($SD = 15$).

Measures. The panel survey, at waves 1 and 2, contained a number of instruments to measure our theoretical constructs.

Group-focused enmity. Six components of the GFE syndrome were measured by two items each tapping prejudice toward a specific outgroup¹⁹: *anti-Semitism, devaluation of homeless people, anti-foreigner attitudes, anti-Muslim attitudes, sexism, and devaluation of homosexual people.* The item formulations were adopted from Zick et al. (2008: 370-71). Respondents indicated their agreement on a four-point response scale ranging from 1 = fully disagree to 4 = fully agree. For example, devaluation of homosexuals asks for the agreement with the following two statements: “It is disgusting when homosexuals kiss in public” and “Marriage between two women or two men should be allowed”. The second item was recoded so that higher scores indicated higher levels of prejudice. Table 1 lists the item formulations that were used to measure the GFE components as well as their means, standard deviations and frequency distribution.

¹⁹ Preliminary analyses allowed us to choose the two best performing items for each of the six outgroups in our study. The item selection was based on identifying the highest standardized factor loadings. Racism was excluded from the analysis due to measurement problems and low factor loadings. The advantage of using 2 items to measure each GFE element is that it allows us to control for measurement errors. Particularly attitudes toward minority groups may be susceptible to social desirability response bias and include measurement errors.

Individual value priorities. We measured the individual value priorities using the revised version of the Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ-R, Schwartz et al., 2012). The PVQ-R is a more fine-tuned version of the PVQ (Schwartz et al., 2001) which allows a more precise differentiation between different values. The PVQ-R measures 19 value priorities with 57 items. For each item, respondents were described a verbal portrait of a gender-matched person which reflects motivations, goals or aspirations of the person described. For example, the value universalism is considered to reflect three subdimensions, universalism-concern, universalism-nature and universalism-tolerance. One of the items measuring universalism-concern is “She wants everyone to be treated justly, even people she doesn’t know”. Respondents indicate how similar the described person is to them on a 6 point-scale ranging from 1 = not at all like me to 6 = very much like me. Each single value is measured with three items.

Table 1. Wording of the items measuring GFE

<i>GFE</i>	Item	Question wording ^a	Mean (<i>SD</i>)		Frequencies (in percent)			
					1 = fully disagree	2 = rather disagree	3 = rather agree	4 = fully agree
anti-Semitism	AS1	Many Jews try to take advantage of having been victims during the Nazi-era.	2.00 (.95)	37.6	31.9	23.6	7.0	
	AS2	Jews have too much influence in Germany.	1.61 (.71)	50.7	39.7	7.9	1.7	
devaluation of homeless people	HL1	Begging homeless should be chased away from the pedestrian zone.	1.91 (.89)	38.7	37.0	18.7	5.7	
	HL2	The homeless in the towns are unpleasant.	2.34 (.87)	20.4	31.1	42.4	6.1	
anti-foreigner attitudes	AF1	There are too many foreigners living in Germany.	2.10 (.93)	30.4	37.0	24.8	7.8	
	AF2	When jobs get scarce, the foreigners living in Germany should be sent (back) home.	1.70 (.81)	48.3	37.0	11.3	3.5	
anti-Muslim attitudes	AM1	With so many Muslims in Germany, one feels increasingly like a stranger in one's own country.	1.93 (.99)	44.8	26.1	20.9	8.3	
	AM2	Immigration to Germany should be forbidden for Muslims.	1.67 (.82)	52.2	33.0	10.9	3.9	
sexism	SE1	Women should think stronger on the role as wives and mothers.	1.72 (.83)	49.1	33.5	13.9	3.5	
	SE2	It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself.	1.45 (.71)	64.8	27.8	4.8	2.6	
devaluation of homosexual people	HS1	Marriages between two women or between two men should be permitted (reverse coded).	1.85 (1.04)	50.0	27.4	10.4	12.2	
	HS2	It is disgusting when homosexuals kiss in public.	1.84 (.94)	47.2	27.1	20.1	5.7	

Note: English translation of item wording adopted from Zick et al., 2008, ^a 1 = fully disagree, 2 = rather disagree, 3 = rather agree, 4 = fully agree

The values measurement instrument (PVQ-R) reflects an underlying hierarchical structure of values. The higher-order value conservation consists of three value dimensions: tradition, security and conformity. Security consists of two subdimensions according to theory: security-personal and security-societal. The second-order value conformity consists of two subdimensions: conformity-interpersonal and conformity-rules. The second-order value universalism consists of three subdimensions: universalism-concern, universalism-tolerance and universalism-nature. We did not consider the first-order value universalism-nature in our analysis because there were no hypotheses derived for any relation between universalism-nature and prejudice. Table 2 lists the 16 items included in our study to measure these values, their means and standard deviations.

Table 2. Items measuring individual value priorities

Value	Item name	Question wording	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)
CONSERVATION			
<i>Conformity</i>			
<i>Conformity-rules</i>	COR1	It is important to her never to violate rules or regulations.	3.94 (1.24)
	COR3	It is important to her to obey all the laws.	3.91 (1.31)
<i>Conformity-interpersonal</i>	COI1	It is important to her to avoid upsetting other people.	4.60 (1.13)
	COI2	It is important to her never to annoy anyone.	4.44 (1.17)
	COI3	It is important to her never to make other people angry.	3.91 (1.25)
<i>Security</i>			
<i>Security-personal</i>	SEP1	It is very important to her to avoid disease and protect her health.	4.57 (1.20)
	SEP2	It is important to her to be personally safe and secure.	4.53 (1.06)
<i>Security-societal</i>	SES1	It is important to her that there is stability and order in the wider society.	4.84 (0.98)
	SES3	It is important to her that her country protects itself against all threats.	4.30 (1.28)
<i>Tradition</i>			
	TR1	It is important to her to maintain traditional values and ways of thinking.	3.96 (1.32)
	TR2	It is important to her to follow her family's customs or the customs of a religion.	3.18 (1.48)
UNIVERSALISM			
<i>Universalism-tolerance</i>			
	UNT1	It is important to her to be tolerant toward all kinds of people and groups.	4.99 (1.02)
	UNT2	It is important to her to listen to and understand people who are different from her.	4.63 (0.98)
	UNT3	It is important to her to accept people even when she disagrees with them.	4.93 (0.85)
<i>Universalism-concern</i>	UNC1	It is important to her to protect the weak and vulnerable people in society.	4.67 (1.01)
	UNC2	It is important to her that every person in the world have equal opportunities in life.	4.76 (1.07)

Note: $n = 227$,

^a 1 = not like me at all, 2 = not like me, 3 = a little like me, 4 = somewhat like me, 5 = like me, 6 = very much like me

Control variables. Three sociodemographic variables were included as control variables in the study. To measure respondents' *educational attainment*, we followed the classification scheme of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED; UNESCO, 1997) by referring to the highest completed level of full-time education in Germany. The lowest level of education was coded with 1, medium level education with 2, and the highest level of education was coded with 3. *Age* was measured in years. *Gender* was coded as 1 for males and 2 for females.²⁰

Results

Descriptive Results

Table 1 reports means, standard deviations and frequency distributions for the items of the GFE syndrome. The mean values of the GFE items range between $M = 1.43$ for the second sexism item and $M = 2.34$ for the second item tapping devaluation of homeless people. In terms of frequencies, 7.4% percent of the respondents indicated their agreement with the statement "It is more important for a wife to help her husband's career than to have one herself" (SE2), whereas 48.5% of the respondents rather or fully agreed that "the homeless in the towns are unpleasant" (HL2). About 30% of the respondents also rather or fully agreed to the statements "Many Jews try to take advantage of having been victims during the Nazi era" (AS1), "There are too many foreigners living in Germany" (AF1) and "With so many Muslims in Germany, one feels increasingly like a stranger in one's own country" (AM1). In contrast, next to the second sexism item (SE2), respondents agreed least with the statement "Jews have too much influence in Germany." Nonetheless, 9.7% of the respondents still did agree. The statement "Marriages between two women or between two men should be permitted" displayed the strongest variation across response categories ($SD = 1.04$).

²⁰ Religiosity, religious denomination, political orientation and income are often controlled for in empirical studies of prejudice, since they have been shown to affect prejudice. Unfortunately, these variables are not available in our dataset. However, previous research has shown that values predicted prejudice toward outgroups over and above the effect of these control variables (e.g., Davidov et al., 2008; Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Kuntz et al., 2014).

Measurement Model GFE

Before assessing the influence of the individual value priorities on the GFE syndrome, we analyzed the internal structure of the GFE syndrome using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; Arbuckle, 2012; Bollen, 1989; Brown, 2006). We used full information maximum likelihood estimation (FIML), a technique which efficiently deals with the problem of missing values (Schafer and Graham, 2002). Missing values were negligible (on average, less than 1% of the responses to the values and attitudes questions were missing). To test our hypothesis H1 about the internal structure of GFE, we first modeled the six elements of the GFE-syndrome (e.g., sexism, attitudes toward Muslims) as six separate first-order factors. Indeed, standardized factor loadings were considerable and responses were explained by the first-order factors. In other words, each single element of the GFE syndrome explained prejudice related to the specific outgroup. Next, in order to test our hypotheses H2a to H2c, two higher-order factors, *anti-immigrants* as well as *sexual prejudice*, were introduced to explain the first-order factors *attitudes toward foreigners* and *anti-Muslim attitudes*, and *sexism* and *devaluation of homosexuals*, respectively. *Devaluation of homeless people* and *anti-Semitism* were not explained by those two higher-order factors and emerged as two separate elements in the model. Thus, a third-order factor *GFE, the general syndrome*, was introduced to explain the first-order factors *devaluation of homeless people* and *anti-Semitism* and the two second-order factors *anti-immigrants* as well as *sexual prejudice* (see figure 1). The data supported the hypothesized model as indicated by the model fit statistics (CFI = .993, RMSEA = .027, Pclose = .917, $\chi^2 = 53.37$, df = 46, $p = .212$), and the standardized factor loadings all exceeded 0.55 (see table 3).

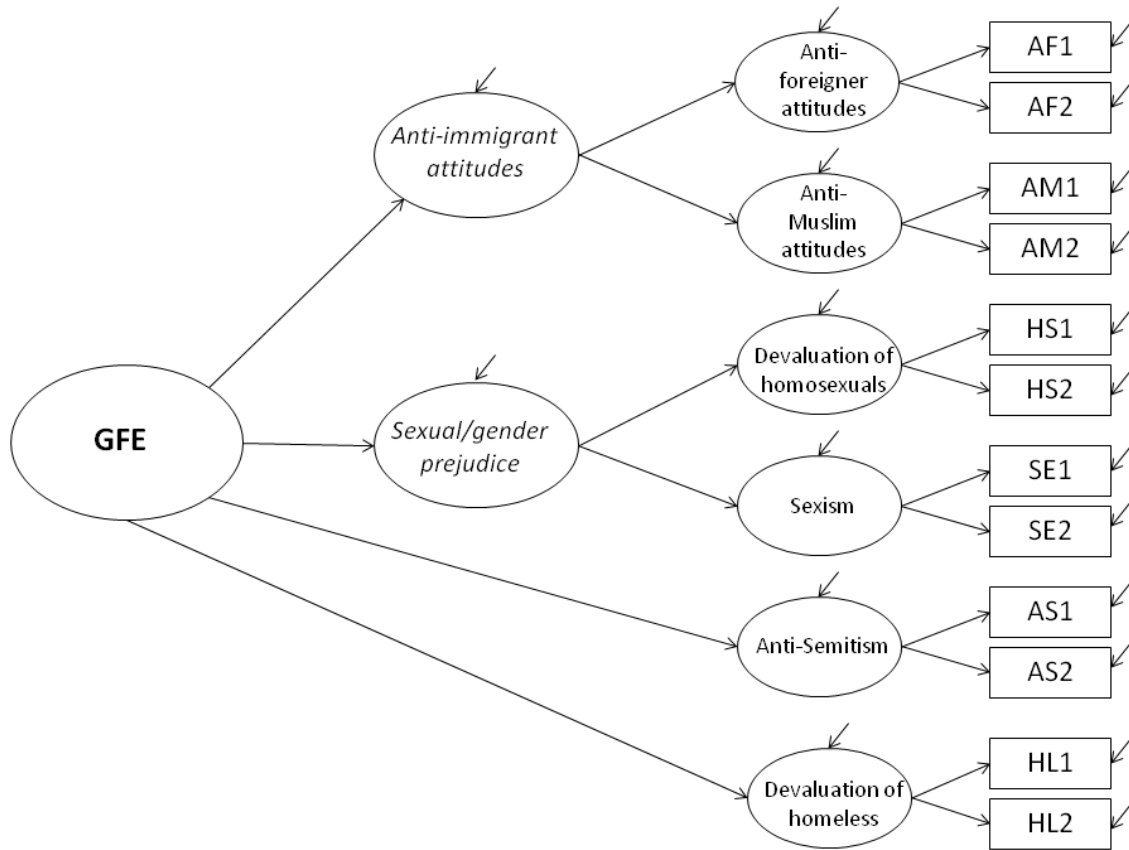


Figure 1. The internal structure of GFE the syndrome

Table 3. Unstandardized and standardized factor loading of the items measuring GFE

Construct	Item name	Unstandardized factor loadings	Standardized factor loadings
GFE			
anti-Semitism		.866	.714
	AS1	1.000	.837
	AS2	.744	.835
devaluation of homeless people		.730	.553
	HL1	1.000	.960
	HL2	.567	.563
Anti-immigrant attitudes		1.000	.878
anti-foreigner attitudes		1.000	.913
	AF1	1.000	.880
	AF2	.705	.723
anti-Muslim attitudes		1.045	.972
	AM1	1.000	.811
	AM2	.921	.907
Sexual and gender prejudice		.722	.771
devaluation of homosexual people		1.000	.841
	HS1	1.000	.697
	HS2	1.027	.799
Sexism		.660	.686
	SE1	1.000	.702
	SE2	1.044	.862

Note: $n = 227$, all factor loadings significant at $p < .001$; for abbreviations, see Table 1.

The measurement model of individual values priorities

The measurement model of the individual value priorities was specified as stated by theory and tested using a CFA. The model was supported by the data as indicated by the model fit (CFI = .963, RMSEA = .052, Pclose = .392, $\chi^2 = 151.78$, df = 94, $p = <.001$), and all standardized factor loadings exceeded 0.6 (see table 4).

Table 4. Unstandardized and standardized factor loading of the items measuring conservation and universalism values

Value	Unstandardized factor loading	Standardized factor loading
Conservation		
<i>Conformity</i>	1.000	.945
Conformity-rules	1.000	.857
COR1	.912	.851
COR2	.911	.849
COR3	1.000	.885
Conformity-interpersonal	.815	.838
COI1	.500	.429
COI3	1.000	.776
<i>Security</i>	.878	.894
Security-personal	.786	1.000
SEP1	.941	.577
SEP2	1.000	.732
Security-societal	1.000	.954
SES1	.651	.642
SES3	1.000	.761
<i>Tradition</i>	.808	.762
TR1	1.164	.879
TR2	1.000	.672
Universalism		
<i>Universalism-tolerance</i>	1.000	.903
UNT1	1.186	.718
UNT2	1.190	.756
UNT3	1.000	.730
<i>Universalism-concern</i>	1.566	.948
UNC1	.705	.643
UNC2	1.000	.863
COI1	.412	.337

Note: $n = 227$, all factor loadings significant at $p < .001$

Individual value priorities predicting GFE

To test the hypotheses about individual value priorities predicting GFE, we estimated structural equation models (see Bollen, 1989; Kline, 2005). We simultaneously included the higher-order values universalism and conservation in the measurement model of GFE and added paths from the value priorities to GFE as stated by the hypotheses. Subsequent to the values, we added the

control variables age, gender and education to predict GFE by specifying paths from the control variables to the third-order factor GFE. For the analysis we used the software package Amos (Arbuckle, 2012). The model was supported by the data as indicated by the model fit indices (CFI = .946, RMSEA = .043, Pclose = .935, $\chi^2 = 560.050$, $df = 397$, $p < .001$), and no significant modifications were required. Table 5 summarizes the results with both the standardized and unstandardized effects. Figure 2 shows the significant paths from the value priorities to GFE.

Table 5. Values predicting GFE

	Endogenous variables									
	GFE		Attitudes toward immigrants		Sexual and gender prejudice		Devaluation of homeless		Devaluation of homosexuals	
	<i>B</i>	Beta	<i>b</i>	Beta	<i>b</i>	beta	<i>b</i>	beta	<i>B</i>	beta
<i>Individual value priorities</i>										
Conservation	.349***	.503								
Universalism	-.573***	-.509			-.276**	-.272	-.417**	-.270		
Security			.062	.077						
Security-personal							.392***	.348		
Tradition					.262***	.460				
<i>Control variables</i>										
Age	.002	.042							.012***	.255
Female	.069	.054			-.244**	-.210				
Education	-.258***	-.281								

Note: $n = 227$, unstandardized and standardized regression coefficients, *** $p < .001$, ** $p < .01$.

In line with hypothesis H3, conservation exhibited a significant positive effect on *GFE*. Individuals with higher preference on conservation values show higher levels of *GFE* in our model. In contrast, as expected by H4, individuals who prioritize universalism values display significantly lower levels of *GFE*. Contrary to hypothesis H5a, security values did not significantly predict anti-immigrant attitudes reflecting both anti-foreigner and anti-Muslim attitudes. In other words, individuals who placed a higher priority on security values did not score higher on prejudice toward foreigners and Muslims. Yet as predicted by H5b, security-personal values significantly increased devaluation of homeless people. Also, in line with H6, a higher importance of tradition values was significantly associated with sexual and gender prejudice

which reflected sexism and devaluation of homosexuals. By way of contrast and as expected, a strong preference for universalism values was significantly associated with *reduced* sexual and gender prejudice (H7) as well as devaluation of homeless people (H8).

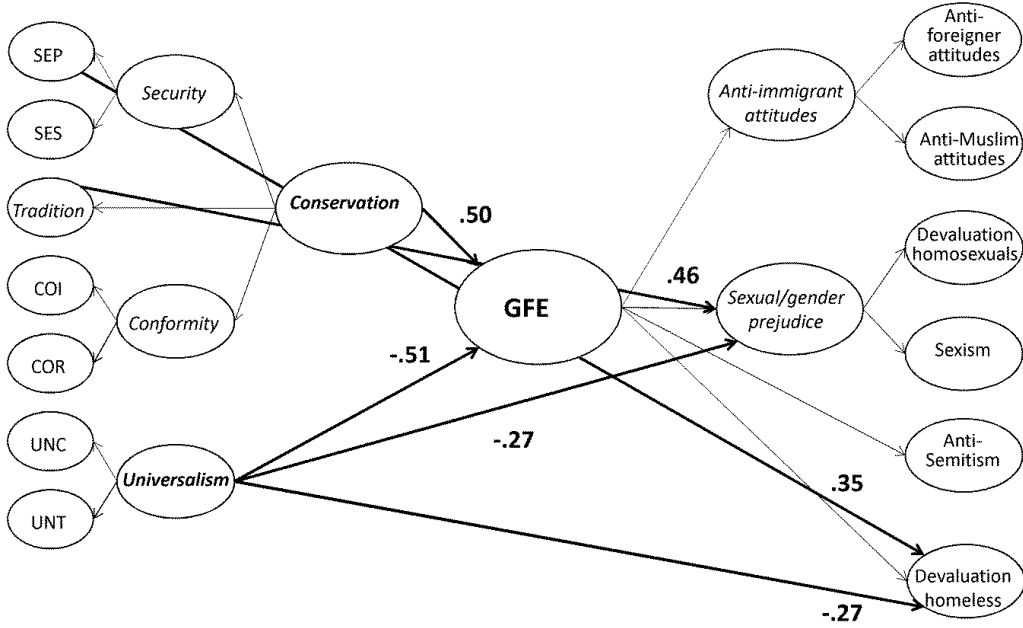


Figure 2. SEM model: Values predicting GFE elements.

Note: $n = 227$. Standardized effects. All effects significant at $** p < .01$. Age, gender and educational attainment were controlled for; for value abbreviations, see Table 2.

The control variables exerted largely the expected effects which were also observed in previous research: More highly educated individuals displayed lower levels of GFE. However, age and gender did not significantly predict GFE. Nevertheless, it turned out that women actually scored

higher on measures of sexual and gender prejudice. Finally, older individuals indicated more prejudice toward homosexuals²¹.

Summary and Conclusions

Findings from numerous studies suggest that negative attitudes toward different outgroups can be considered as an expression of one syndrome, called group-focused enmity (GFE). However, the scope of these studies has generally been limited so far to one or two outgroups, while the syndrome of GFE suggests that it encompasses negative attitudes toward several diverse outgroups. Thus, deeper research into the internal structure and motivational sources of its various dimensions within one framework was still missing. Drawing on research on basic human values, in the current study we explored the internal structure and the motivational underpinnings of GFE in a German sample.

Employing structural equation modeling, we found that various dimensions of GFE share a common variance: All six elements of the GFE syndrome that we examined in this study loaded directly or indirectly on the GFE higher-order syndrome factor. However, we found that negative attitudes toward some specific outgroups were more closely related to each other than to attitudes to other outgroups. This was evidenced in two second-order factors that loaded directly on the GFE higher-order syndrome factor: *anti-immigrants* and *sexual prejudice*, which were reflected by *attitudes toward foreigners* and *anti-Muslim attitudes*, and *sexism* and *devaluation of homosexuals*, respectively. *Devaluation of homeless people* and *anti-Semitism* represented additional and separate dimensions of the GFE syndrome and were not explained by these two higher-order factors; instead, they loaded directly on the higher-order GFE factor.

²¹ Additionally, age predicted the item SEP1 which measures the importance of personal security ($b = -.017, p < .001$, $\beta = -.249$). This effect implied that with increasing age, people care more about their personal security.

Although we found that negative attitudes toward some specific outgroups were more closely related to each other than to attitudes to other outgroups, the motivational underpinnings of all GFE elements as reflected in their associations with the basic human values conservation and universalism emerged as being rather similar. In line with our hypotheses on individual value priorities predicting GFE, conservation values fostered the higher-order syndrome of GFE, whereas universalism values reduced it. In addition, we found some outgroup-specific effects of the values: In accordance with the expectations, security-personal values increased devaluation of homeless people over and above the effect of conservation values. Contrary to our hypothesis, security values did not significantly affect attitudes toward immigrants over and above the effect of conservation values. In addition, tradition values increased sexual and gender prejudice. Finally, universalism was associated with lower sexual and gender prejudice as well as lower devaluation of homeless people over and above its effect on the general GFE syndrome.

Given these findings, the current study contributes to the research on GFE and its elements in several ways. First, our research allows further insights into the differential motivational basis of target-group specific prejudice; Schwartz' theory of basic human values provided us with a theoretically well-elaborated analytical framework which was empirically supported in several other studies and also in the current study with German data. On the basis of this model, differential motivations for having negative attitudes toward specific target groups could be analyzed. It turned out that although prejudice may be directed toward various groups, the motivational underpinnings of different types of prejudice are rather similar.

Second, the investigations into the internal structure of GFE supported the idea of a general higher-order syndrome which is a source for prejudice toward diverse outgroups. As theory suggests, people who are against gays and lesbians tend to be against Muslims, foreigners or any other outgroup. Nevertheless, some dimensions of GFE seem to be closer to each other than to other dimensions. It is not surprising that attitudes toward foreigners and Muslims in Germany

are highly related; after all, the majority of the foreign born population in Germany is Muslim (Haug et al., 2009). Similarly, preference to preserve the existing order of gender roles and traditional family concepts could be the common source of both negative attitudes toward gays and lesbians and toward people who wish to change the current order with respect to females. It should however be noted, that since we used German data, our findings are limited to the German context. Generalizing the findings would require collecting and analyzing similar data in other European and non-European countries.

The majority of our findings is also in line with the implications of other theoretically related approaches: Like conservation values, right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), which is positively associated with conservation, has been found to predict negative attitudes toward people who are perceived to threaten social security and who deviate from the group norms (Asbrock et al., 2010; Duckitt and Sibley, 2010). Similarly, it has been found that social dominance orientation (SDO), which is negatively associated with universalism values, also predicts attitudes toward members of lower status groups (Feather and McKee, 2012). People who endorse low universalism values or high SDO should be more strongly inclined to devalue members of such lower status outgroups. This tendency derives from the common motivational goal of people scoring high on SDO or low on universalism to maintain the hierarchical intergroup order.

The empirical findings presented in this study were derived within the framework of a longitudinal panel study. Nevertheless, the design of the study does not allow us to make causal inferences as each of the measures was collected in only one occasion. Thus, we can only speculate about the underlying direction of effects from values to prejudice. However, we do not exclude the possibility that certain forms of prejudice may produce specific values and influence them as well. Consequently, we are referring to associations between values and prejudice but must bear in mind that relations may be causal and reciprocal. However, previous research could show that values are relatively stable across the lifetime (Bardi et al., 2014) and supports the

assumption that causality flows from values to attitudes (Homer and Kahle, 1988; Maio, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2010). Future research could profit from the use of an experimental design to address the issue of causality.²² Given the above-mentioned limitations, we hope that our study may animate further research on the causal origins of target group specific negative attitudes as well as on the internal structure of GFE elements.

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²² Although we used a panel design, we could not use an autoregressive cross-lagged model to test the direction of causality (Finkel, 1995): Value questions but no prejudice questions were included in the first wave; prejudice questions but no value questions were included for the same respondents in the second wave.

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Summary and Conclusions

This study aimed at advancing the understanding of the sources of sexual prejudice by taking a comparative perspective. By taking a country-comparative perspective, the first two chapters took upon this task by analyzing how individual-level and country-level sources interact in shaping cross-national differences in sexual prejudice in Europe. By comparing prejudice to different outgroups, this study analyzed the interrelation and value-based motivation of prejudice to six outgroups in a German sample. In this chapter, we will first summarize and discuss the findings with respect to each of the three research questions separately, followed up by an overall conclusion.

LGB civil rights, intergroup friendship, and sexual prejudice A comparative multilevel analysis of European societies (Chapter 2).

The first research question addressed the interaction of individuals' intergroup friendship with the countries' legal provision of LGB rights in explaining Europeans' sexual prejudice from a cross-national perspective:

Do friendship relations with gay/lesbian people reduce the association of LGB civil rights with sexual prejudice?

Building on previous research, this study started off with the assumption that both countries' legal regulation of homosexuality as well as intergroup friendship with gays and lesbians importantly influence Europeans' sexual prejudice. Extending previous research by combining both research traditions, we outlined how both countries' legal regulation of homosexuality as well as intergroup friendship with gays and lesbians jointly predict between-country differences in sexual prejudice. The main hypothesis put forward in this study was the potential of intergroup friendship for buffering the effect of the legal climate to homosexuality and homosexuals. Put differently, in contrast to individuals without intergroup friends, we assumed individual with gay

and lesbian friends to rely less strongly on the legal climate when forming their attitudes to gays and lesbians. We tested our predictions by combining individual data covering 28 European countries with a multidimensional index measuring the legal situation of gays and lesbians and by employing hierarchical linear modeling for two different forms of sexual prejudice, social distance to homosexual neighbors and disapproval of homosexual politicians, respectively. For both kinds of prejudice, the results strongly supported our predictions. Both progressive LGB rights and intergroup friendship predicted lower levels of sexual prejudice. More importantly, friendship with gays and lesbians was associated with a weaker negative effect of LGB civil rights on sexual prejudice. These results indicate that intergroup friendships buffer the effect of LGB civil rights on sexual prejudice. Moreover, these results also implicate that progressive laws on homosexuality make intergroup friendship less relevant in reducing sexual prejudice.

On a theoretical level, this chapter extended previous research on outgroup prejudice by linking two different research traditions. Previous research on sexual prejudice has either concentrated on intergroup friendship or LGB civil rights. This study contributed to the existing literature by advancing the understanding of the joint effect of both antecedents in shaping sexual prejudice. Thereby, this study renewed the knowledge of how intergroup friendship importantly decrease sexual prejudice and extended this knowledge by outlining how intergroup friendship restrict the influence of institutional characteristics on sexual prejudice. Furthermore, we also advanced the knowledge about how LGB civil rights affect peoples' sexual prejudice by outlining how individuals' process contextual influences depending on their personal experiences with gays and lesbians.

Moreover, we contributed to existing research on sexual prejudice by studying the association of intergroup friendship with sexual prejudice from a country-comparative perspective. Researchers on outgroup prejudice have urged to acknowledge the contextual conditions in which intergroup contact happens (Christ and Wagner, 2013). By taking upon this task, we were able to enhance

knowledge about whether and how the association of intergroup friendship with sexual prejudice generalizes and varies across countries and how institutional manifestation of sexual stigma shapes this association.

Another methodological contribution derives from testing our predictions for two different forms of the sexual prejudice, social distance to homosexual neighbors and disapproval of homosexual politicians. By doing so, we were able to test whether our predictions generalize across different forms of sexual prejudice. The results supported our prediction for both forms of prejudice. Yet, they also hint at differences in the strength of the interaction between intergroup friendship and LGB rights as the interaction of intergroup friendship and LGB civil rights turned out to be stronger for social distance to homosexuals than for disapproval of homosexuals. By revealing these differences, this study raises the issue about whether the norm-buffering effect of intergroup friendship differs for different forms of prejudice or whether these results follow from measurement issues. Thereby, this study provides a promising starting point for future research. By analyzing mediators of the association between individual-level and contextual-level predictors and sexual prejudice as well as different dimensions of sexual prejudice, future research can add to knowledge about the mechanisms by which these predictors affect sexual prejudice and which dimension of prejudice are affected by these different predictors. And finally, measuring sexual prejudice with various items would allow for the analysis of the association between different forms of sexual prejudice as well as for accounting for measurement errors.

Empirically, we contributed to existing research on sexual prejudice by testing our predictions with a large individual-level dataset covering 28 European countries combined with an extensive measure of LGB civil rights. Previous research has often relied on few dimensions of the legal regulations such as same-sex partnership recognition. Yet, the legal manifestations of sexual stigma comprise several domains (Herek, 2009a) and can be assumed to be interrelated (Van de

Meerendonck and Scheepers, 2004). By introducing the legal regulation of homosexuality as an index, we were able to account for various dimensions of the legal manifestations of sexual stigma.

Human values, legal regulation, and approval of homosexuality in Europe: A cross-country comparison (chapter 3)

Building upon the first research question, the second research question also addresses whether the legal regulation of homosexuality interacts with individual-level sources in shaping between-country differences in Europeans' sexual prejudice. Yet, this research questions focuses on individual value priorities as individual-level antecedents of approval of homosexuality.

Does the effect of individual value priorities on approval of homosexuality vary with the legal regulation of homosexuality?

Starting point of this chapter was the finding of previous research that not only various values indices importantly explain sexual prejudice but relate differently to various attitudes and behaviors depending on the contextual conditions such as the normative climate. By relying on Schwartz' theory of human values, we first theoretically related conservation, openness to change, universalism, and power values to approval of homosexuality. We then outlined whether and how the legal regulation of homosexuality can moderate the effect of these individual value priorities. Based on the assumption that individuals rely less strongly on their own values to form their attitudes if strong norms prevail, we derived our main hypothesis which assumed progressive laws on homosexuality to decrease the positive effect of openness to change and the negative effect of conservation values on approval of homosexuality. Based on an alternative theoretical consideration which assumed progressive laws to foster threat perceptions among conservative individuals, we derived an alternative hypothesis stating progressive laws to increase the effect of conservation values on approval of homosexuality. By contrast, we did not expect the legal regulation of homosexuality to moderate the positive effect of universalism values and

the negative effect of power values. We tested our assumptions in 27 European countries by combining individual data from the fifth round of the European Social Survey with a multidimensional measure of the legal regulation of homosexuality. We analyzed the data by means of hierarchical linear modeling. Supporting our predictions, the analyses revealed universalism and openness to change values to increase and conservation and power values to decrease peoples' approval of homosexuality above and beyond various individual control variables such as gender, education and religiosity. Moreover, progressive laws were associated with higher mean levels of approval. Corroborating the hypotheses that progressive laws lead individuals to rely less strongly on their own values, progressive laws were associated with weaker effects of openness to change and conservation values on approval of homosexuality. Hence, progressive laws foster approval of homosexuality even among conservative individuals. Yet, in line with our predictions, the legal regulation of homosexuality did not moderate the effect of universalism and power values on approval of homosexuality. Thus, these values relate to approval of homosexuality independent from the prevailing legal climate in a country. In line with previous research and extending it, these results identified boundary conditions of the effects of conservation and openness to change values on approval of homosexuality as determined by the legal regulation of homosexuality in a country.

This study contributed to research on sexual prejudice by theoretically linking various values to approval of homosexuality. Moreover, this study was the first to systematically explicate boundary conditions for these value effects on approval of homosexuality as we identified the legal climate to homosexuality as a moderator of the values-prejudice link. By taking a country-comparative perspective, we extended previous research as we analyzed the association between various values to approval of homosexuality across a large set of individuals and countries. Thereby, this study revealed consistent but varying associations between the values and approval of homosexuality. These variations could be partly explained by the legal climate of

homosexuality. This study contributed to the knowledge of the boundary conditions of the values as well as on whether and how the legal climate qualifies as moderator of peoples' values when shaping sexual prejudice. Put differently, our results also imply that compared to low conservative individuals, highly conservative individuals draw more strongly on the social norms on homosexuality when forming their attitudes. In contrast, attaching primary importance to openness to change values buffers the role of the legal climate. These findings call for future research to further analyze potential moderators of the values-sexual prejudice link.

In line with the previous study, this study contributed empirically by analyzing its predictions across a large set of individuals and countries and by employing a multidimensional measure of the legal regulation of homosexuality. This allowed us to account for and explain within and between-country differences of sexual prejudice across 28 European countries.

Value-Related Motivational Underpinnings of Group-Focused Enmity (chapter 4)

Drawing on a long standing research tradition which assumes prejudice to different outgroups to co-occur, the third chapter aimed at advancing the knowledge about outgroup prejudice and its motivational causes. Building upon the previous chapter, the third research question focused on values as common and specific causes of prejudice to different outgroups:

How does prejudice to different outgroups relate? Is prejudice to different outgroups motivated by the same values?

Although existing research has assumed outgroup prejudice to share common variance (Allport, 1954), most studies have focused on single outgroups. To add to the existing knowledge, we analyzed the associations between attitudes to six different outgroups (anti-Semitism, devaluation of homeless people, anti-foreigner attitudes, anti-Muslim attitudes, sexism, and devaluation of homosexual people) and their relation to values in Germany. Building on previous research, we assumed a general syndrome called group focused enmity to predict prejudice to these six outgroups. Yet, we considered anti-Muslims attitudes and anti-foreigner attitudes as well as

sexism and devaluation of homosexuals to be more strongly related. Drawing on the theory of basic human values, our main assumption expected universalism values to decrease and conservation values to increase outgroup prejudice by affecting GFE. Acknowledging target-specific differences in the value based- motivation, we additionally assumed differential value effects for specific outgroups. By means of structural equations models, we tested our predictions with a German online access panel. Supporting our predictions on the internal structure of GFE, we found the higher order factor GFE to directly or indirectly predict prejudice to the six outgroups. Furthermore, we found anti-Muslim attitudes and anti-foreigner attitudes as well as sexism and devaluation of homosexuals to be more strongly related as their association with the higher order factor GFE was mediated by two second order factors, anti-immigrant attitudes and gender/sexual prejudice, respectively. Anti-Semitism and devaluation of homeless people turned out to be separate dimensions of GFE. In line with our hypotheses on the value-based motivations of GFE, we found universalism values to decrease and conservation values to increase GFE. Yet, partly corroborating our hypotheses on differential value-based motivations of outgroup prejudice, we found target-specific value effects. Over and above the effect of conservation values, security-personal values fostered devaluation of homeless people. In contrast, we found no support for the direct effect of security value on the second-order factor attitudes to immigration. In line with our prediction, tradition values directly predicted the second order factor gender and sexual prejudice. Last, universalism directly decreased devaluation of homeless people and sexual and gender prejudice.

The contribution of this study was twofold: First, while acknowledging outgroup prejudice to the six outgroups to be part of GFE, we argued for prejudice to some outgroups to be more strongly related than to other outgroups. We derived the prediction of the stronger association between attitudes to Muslims and attitudes to foreigners from a structural characteristic of Germany: The largest immigrant group in Germany is predominantly Muslim (Haug et al., 2009). We derived

the prediction on the stronger association between sexism and the devaluation of homosexuals from beliefs about traditional gender roles and family concepts (e.g. Herek and McLemore, 2013, Whitley, 2001). Thereby, the contextual sources of sexual/gender prejudice also become evident. For example, beliefs about homosexuality to violate traditional gender roles and family concept are based in socially shared knowledge about homosexuality. Second, by relying on Schwartz' well-established theory on basic human values, we advanced the knowledge about the common and differential motivation of outgroup prejudice. We derived predictions about specific motivations of target-specific prejudice from target-specific characteristics based on socially shared knowledge about these outgroups. Although prejudice to different outgroups was caused by rather similar motivations, we found target-specific motivations. These findings provide a promising starting point for future research: By taking a country-comparative perspective, future research can profit from analyzing contextual characteristics as both (a) sources for differences in the internal structure of outgroup prejudice as well as (b) moderators of the common and target specific effects of values on prejudice to different outgroups.

As the dataset provided us with several items of prejudice to each of the six outgroups, we were able to model prejudice to each of the six outgroups as separate latent variables, each measured by two different indicators. Moreover, the dataset enabled us to test the structure of the values by measuring each of the values with two items. Employing confirmatory factor analyses and structural equation modeling allowed us to efficiently analyze the hypothesized structure of both the GFE syndrome as well as the values and their associations by taking measurement errors into account.

Overall conclusions

This dissertation started off with asking for the role of the context in explaining Europeans' sexual prejudice and addressed it by asking three research questions. By taking a comparative perspective, this study aimed at contributing to existing research on sexual prejudice by enhancing the knowledge of the sources of sexual prejudice in several ways. The first two chapters of this dissertation combined well-established research traditions on individual-level and contextual level antecedents of sexual prejudice and analyzed their joint effect on sexual prejudice cross-nationally. As a contextual antecedent of peoples' sexual prejudice, we focused on the legal manifestations of sexual stigma which we found to predict between-country differences in sexual prejudice. In both studies, progressive policies on homosexuality resulted in lower average levels of sexual prejudice across large sets of countries. Moreover, we addressed in how far laws regulating homosexuality interacted with intergroup friendship and values respectively in shaping sexual prejudice in Europe. We found intergroup friendship to buffer the effect of laws in explaining sexual prejudice. In addition, we found the legal regulation of homosexuality to be associated with weaker effects of universalism and conservation on sexual prejudice, whereas universalism and power values affected individuals' sexual prejudice independent of the legal manifestations of sexual stigma. We learned from these studies that the legal context shapes sexual prejudice both directly as well as indirectly by interacting with individual-level characteristics. Thus, combining well-established research traditions on both the contextual and individual-level turned out to be a promising approach in advancing the knowledge on the antecedents of sexual prejudice.

The third study of this dissertation built upon the previous studies and addressed the question for the role of the context in explaining sexual prejudice, by studying sexual prejudice in context, i.e. its relation, to other forms of outgroup prejudice in Germany. To add to the knowledge on the co-occurrence of prejudice to different outgroups, we set off to analyze common and target-group

specific motivations of six different kinds of outgroup prejudice by focusing on its relation to basic human values. From this study we learned that being based in a larger syndrome called GFE, prejudice to these six outgroups is indeed interrelated while the strength of the association differed. Additionally, given these diverging relations within the GFE syndrome, we found prejudice to these different outgroups to share rather similar motivations as reflected in basic human values. Yet, we also found target-specific deviations.

As an individual's sexual prejudice is determined "by a combination of psychological needs, situational factors, and perceptions of the cultural meanings attached to sexual minorities and to homosexuality" (Herek, 2009a: 456), the overall implications and contributions of this study become evident. To begin with, the legal regulation was associated with lower level of sexual prejudice in general. Moreover, as shown by this study, the legal regulations of homosexuality can interact with individual characteristic in shaping sexual prejudice. On a more general level, these findings can be approached by taking a functional approach of attitude emergence. As outlined in the introduction, individuals differ in their motivation of expressing sexual prejudice as the expression functions to serve psychological needs of the individual (Herek, 2009a). Whereas some seek social approval by expressing sexual prejudice, others might do so in order to cope with perceived threats. Depending on these motivations, individuals presumably react differently to norms on homosexuality as provided by laws as suggested. Thus, laws regulating homosexuality can for example determine whether and how psychological needs can be fulfilled and thereby buffer the effect of individual-level characteristics. For instance, highly conservative individuals might express sexual prejudice in order to cope with perceived threats by submission to prevailing norms. In turn, they are more likely to rely on legal regulations of homosexuality. In contrast, individual characteristics can buffer the effect of the legal regulation of homosexuality as well. Following self-interest, individuals with intergroup friends might express positive attitudes to homosexuals just as individuals with priority on power values express negative

attitudes. Positive friendship experiences might increase subjective well-being. In contrast, attaching priority on power values is motivated by coping with threats by dominating others. In turn, this can offset contextual influences. Both attaching priority to openness to change and universalism can be motivated by value-expressive functions. Yet, the influence of the context can differ. Universalism does depend less on the context as it encompasses tolerance to all individuals even those who are different from oneself. In contrast, individuals with priority on openness to change, especially those with priority on self-direction, might feel restricted in following their valued goal of autonomy in absence of laws granting rights to gays and lesbians. Therefore, openness to change relates more strongly to approval of homosexuality if progressive laws are absent. Bearing in mind that the function an attitude serves differs between and within individuals, across objects and situations (Herek, 2009a), the preceding depictions should be read as examples. Yet, the results of the third study of this dissertation revealed prejudice to six different outgroups in a German sample to be indeed interrelated. Moreover, their motivations as reflected in their relations to conservation and universalism values turned out to be rather similar. The major implication is that whereas some individual motivations of expressing sexual prejudice are capable of offsetting norms, others can be offset by the norm. This highlights the contribution of the present studies and underlines the scientific relevance of analyzing and acknowledging the effect of both individual and institutional characteristics as well as their interaction when aiming at understanding the sources of sexual prejudice.

Moreover, the findings from the third study carry several implications with regard to sexual prejudice as well as with regard to the role of the context in shaping outgroup prejudice in general. In line with previous research, we found renewed evidence that prejudice to homosexuals was related to sexism which both are motivated by traditional beliefs about gender roles and family as supported by the direct relation to traditional values. Also, universalism values predicted prejudice to homosexuals and sexism above and beyond the effect of conservation

values on the GFE-syndrome. Still, being prejudiced to one outgroup is most likely to go along with prejudice to other outgroups and caused by rather similar value-related motivations. Again, these findings point to the role of the context when shaping outgroup prejudice. These six outgroups individuals expressed prejudice against share one major characteristic – the socially shared knowledge about the devalued status of these outgroups (e.g. Herek, 2009a). The stronger relation of sexism and devaluation of homosexuality and their direct relation to tradition values refer to the institutional sexual stigma and the socially shared belief about homosexuality as opposing and threatening traditional family concepts and gender roles. Thus, by relating sexual prejudice to other forms of sexual prejudice and studying their value-related motivations, the third study also contributed to the knowledge about the sources of sexual prejudice and offers promising avenues for future research which would profit from studying the interrelations and motivations of prejudice to different outgroups in a cross-national perspective.

Finally, we want to briefly outline the limitations of this study which mainly related to two issues: First, relying on mostly cross-sectional data, we could not address questions of causality. We assumed the legal regulation of homosexuality to affect individuals' sexual prejudice. As discussed in more detail in the first study, we cannot rule out the possibility that politicians respond to public opinion on homosexuality when enacting laws on homosexuality (e.g. Lax and Phillips, 2009). Yet, policy responsiveness can also be limited by several institutions such as courts and the European Union. Due to a lack of appropriate data, studies analyzing the prejudice-policy link are rare. Yet, at least two studies support the assumption put forward in our study (Kreitzer, Hamilton and Tolbert, 2014, Takács and Szalma 2011). Moreover, the relationship can indeed be reciprocal which would rather complement instead of contradict our predictions. As our studies focus on general sexual prejudice, we also want to stress that our studies differ from studies focusing on attitudes to specific policies for homosexuals and their legal implementation (see also Herek, 2009a). Issues of causality also concern the relation between intergroup

friendship and sexual prejudice. As prejudiced individuals might refrain from forming friendship with gays and lesbians and gays and lesbians might refrain from disclosing their sexual orientation from prejudiced others, this association can be biased by selection processes (e.g. Herek and Capitanio, 1996). Although studies are rare due to lack of panel data, the few studies which analyzed the friendship-prejudice causality support the influence of intergroup friendship while acknowledging this relationship to be reciprocal (Herek and Capitanio, 1996; Anderssen, 2002, Hodson et al. 2012, Hooghe/Meeusen, 2012). And finally, we cannot rule out a reciprocal relationship between values and sexual prejudice. Yet, previous research supported the assumption of values predicting attitudes (e.g. Maio, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2010). The second limitation relates measurement of sexual prejudice. Although the first study aimed at contributing by testing the predictions for two different forms of sexual prejudice, the database we used provided us only with one item for each of the different forms. The same holds true for the second study. Thereby we were not able to account for measurement error. Moreover, these items differed with respect to what was measured. The first study relied on one item measuring the social distance to homosexuals and one item measuring disapproval of homosexuals. The second study measured the approval that “gays and lesbians should be free to live as they wish”. Finally, the third study combined one item measuring whether respondents agree with finding gays and lesbians kissing in public disgusting with one item measuring agreement with same-sex marriages. Although we used all these items to measure sexual prejudice, they can be different albeit related to sexual prejudice in a strict sense (Herek, 2009a, 2009b). Nevertheless, we believe that our results generalize for sexual prejudice mainly because of three reasons: In the first study, the results supported our predictions for both forms of sexual prejudice. Furthermore, although, the second and the third study measured sexual prejudice differently, they both related to conservation and universalism values. Finally, in the third study, attitudes to same sex marriage

and sexual prejudice in a strict sense were highly related. Yet, research on sexual prejudice would profit from multi-item and multidimensional measure of sexual prejudice.

To conclude, besides several limitations, we believe that this study contributed to the knowledge on sexual prejudice in several ways: First, this study links two established explanations of individual-level sources of sexual prejudice, intergroup friendship and individual values respectively with the legal regulation of homosexuality as a contextual source of sexual prejudice. By doing so, this study revealed novel findings about how these different sources interact in shaping cross-national differences in Europeans' sexual prejudice. Second, by relating sexual prejudice to prejudice to different outgroups and by relying on basic human values as motivational causes of prejudice to six outgroups, this study revealed common and diverging value-based motivations of prejudice to these outgroups in a German sample.

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