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Universalism, Conservation and Attitudes toward Minority Groups

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Running head: UNIVERSALISM, CONSERVATION AND ATTITUDES TOWARD MINORITIES

Universalism, Conservation and Attitudes toward Minority Groups

*Abstract*¹

Findings from previous studies corroborate the hypothesis that universalism and conservation values are associated with negative attitudes toward immigration. In the current study we examine whether universalism and conservation values also play a critical role in the explanation of attitudes toward other minority groups. Drawing on previous research on group-focused enmity, we explore its relations with universalism and conservation values in a German sample. Employing structural equation modeling, we find that individuals who prioritize universalism values approve of various minorities more whereas those who prioritize conservation values exhibit more disapproval.

Keywords: universalism values, conservation values, attitudes toward minority groups, group-focused enmity (GFE), structural equation modeling

¹ Abbreviations used in the text: group-focused enmity = GFE

Highlights

- The study considers attitudes toward diverse minority groups
- It shows that negative attitudes toward different minority groups can be considered as an expression of one syndrome, called group-focused enmity (GFE)
- The study examines the associations of the value priorities universalism and conservation with attitudes toward diverse minority groups in Germany.
- It shows that the associations of attitudes toward diverse minority groups with the values conservation and universalism are similar in size.

1. Introduction

In the recent elections of the European Parliament in 2014, right-wing populist parties gained a considerable number of votes in many countries (e.g., the French Front National, the Freedom Party of Austria, and the United Kingdom Independent Party).² During the election campaigns, political issues such as immigration (e.g., of refugees or 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. Indeed, these developments corroborate recent findings suggesting that European citizens disapprove of several different social outgroups at the same time (Zick, Küpper, and Hövermann, 2011).

The observed co-occurrence of negative attitudes toward different outgroups has long been discussed in social psychological and sociological prejudice research. As Allport (1954, p. 68) stated more than 60 years ago, "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. Building on Allport's assumption, the phenomenon has commonly been described as group-focused enmity (GFE; Zick, Küpper, and Heitmeyer, 2010). It implies that prejudices toward different outgroups (e.g., foreigners, homeless people, Jews, women, gays and lesbians; Zick et al., 2008) can be described as being substantially interrelated, (Zick et al., 2008) 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-

² 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 20, 2014)

Semitism, sexism, support for the rights of the established; Zick et al., 2008). Indeed, “any feature that differentiates 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, p. 7).

In order to scrutinize the sources and reasons for negative attitudes toward minority groups, researchers have often drawn on value research (Feldman, 2003; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). Several studies demonstrate that individual value priorities, particularly universalism and conservation, are strongly associated with negative attitudes toward immigration. Individuals who prioritize universalism values approve of immigration more whereas those who prioritize values of conservation exhibit more disapproval (Davidov, Meuleman, Billiet, and Schmidt, 2008; Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Davidov, Meuleman, Schwartz, and Schmidt, 2014). However, the scope of these studies is generally limited to immigrants, and other minority groups are not taken into consideration. In the current study we are going to address this gap by examining whether universalism and conservation values also play an important role in the prediction of attitudes toward *other* minority groups.

2. Previous research

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 group-focused enmity revealed that the level and longitudinal change pattern of negative attitudes toward different minority groups are similar (Davidov et al., 2011). In addition, generalized negative attitudes toward different minority groups were found to transfer to behavior (Asbrock et al., 2007). Most importantly, previous research suggests that the aforementioned negative attitudes toward different minority groups share similar predictors and outcomes (McFarland, 2010; Zick et al., 2008).

Indeed, a recent study on right-wing extremism in Germany conducted by the German Friedrich Ebert Foundation demonstrates that negative attitudes towards *several* outgroups are not widespread only among marginal societal groups but also common among the majority population (Zick and Klein, 2014).³

Yet the focus of the present study is on human values as a potential explanation of negative attitudes toward minorities. Empirical studies have provided comprehensive evidence that social and political attitudes such as prejudices are strongly associated with individual value priorities (Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995; Schwartz, 2010; Schwartz, Caprara, and Vecchione, 2010; Vecchione et al., 2014; for a review on the predictive potential of values, see Datler, Jagodzinski, and Schmidt, 2013). Yet to date, most studies have focused on the role of values for explaining attitudes toward immigration or foreigners (Beckers, Siegers, and Kuntz, 2012; Davidov, Meuleman et al., 2008; Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Davidov et al., 2014; Schiefer, 2013) with a few explaining attitudes toward other minority groups (Muslims: Helbling, 2014; gays and lesbians: Beckers et al., 2012; Kuntz, Davidov, Schwartz, and Schmidt, 2015; for a review see also Sibley and Duckitt, 2008). As a consequence, these studies concentrated solely on attitudes toward these specific outgroups. This approach is accompanied by important limitations. First, despite the fact that several studies support the idea that negative attitudes to different minority groups are strongly related with each other and reflect a general prejudice factor, only a few researchers have empirically investigated the relations between attitudes toward *different* outgroups (e.g., Zick et al., 2008; Asbrock et al.,

³ Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick (2008) distinguish reactions to different social groups by referring to the Stereotype Content Model. According to this model, attitudes towards different groups encompassed in the GFE framework can be differentiated by two underlying fundamental dimensions of social perception: warmth and competence. In other words, groups and group members are evaluated on the basis of their perceived intentions and capabilities. Warmth judgments (e.g., trustworthy, kind, friendly) are influenced by the perception of outgroup members as competitors or allies. Competence judgments (e.g., efficacious, skilled, intelligent), however, are affected by the perceived social status of the group (low or high). The two dimensions are independent: Attitudes toward outgroup members may thus be univalent or ambivalent in character. For example, a recent study in the German context (Asbrock, 2010) shows that homeless people are perceived as cold and incompetent, people with physical disabilities are regarded as warm but incompetent, Muslims and Turks are perceived as cold and medium competent, housewives were judged as warm but medium competent.

2007). Second, to the best of our knowledge, the relation between human values and attitudes toward *various* minority groups has not yet been explored within a single research framework (Zick et al., 2011). Therefore, it remains to be clarified whether this relation varies depending on the type of minority group.

3. Aims of the current research

The current study aims at extending the current knowledge base by exploring the relations of group-focused enmity and attitudes toward different minority groups with universalism and conservation values:

- 1) We test a higher-order factor model in which group-focused enmity is specified as a general, higher-order factor which represents 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 universalism and conservation are associated with negative attitudes toward *different* minority groups. In other words, we examine whether these values are 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 are related to values and whether these relations are similar for different attitudes.

4. Schwartz's theory of basic human values and attitudes toward minority groups

In general, values may be conceived of as desirable goals which vary in importance. They serve as guiding principles in people's lives (Schwartz, 1992, 2010; Rokeach, 1973) and affect a person's thoughts and actions (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; Meuleman et al., 2008). Indeed, 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)⁴.

With his theory of basic human values, Schwartz (1992) proposed a definition and structure of the human value system which has been empirically supported by an abundance of studies (e.g., Davidov, Schmidt, and Schwartz, 2008; Fontaine et al., 2008; Schwartz and Boehnke, 2004; Schwartz et al., 2012; Steinmetz, Isidor, and Bäuerle, 2012). Values are associated with different motivational goals depending on their location within the value 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. Together they form a quasi-circumplex structure with two dimensions. 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 (self-transcendence vs. self-enhancement).

In general, negative attitudes toward minority groups may be boosted or reduced by different values (e.g., Asbrock, Sibley, and Duckitt, 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., 2015; Pedersen and Hartley, 2012). 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

⁴ It should be noted that we do not exclude the possibility that attitudes may in turn affect values, although theoretically the effect of values on attitudes is more plausible. Consequently, wherever possible, we try to refrain from using causal language in the text.

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 (Davidov, Meuleman et al., 2008). This general underlying 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 any minority outgroup, 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, foreigners bring along new traditions and norms, Jews practice a different religion than the majority population, 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 (Schwartz et al., 2012; Schwartz and Boehnke, 2004) over favoring change. Thus, individuals scoring high on conservation values are expected to display *more* negative attitudes toward members of *any* minority group (Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski, and Sulloway, 2003).

In contrast, universalism is expected to *reduce* negative attitudes toward minority groups (Sagiv and Schwartz, 1995). Universalism encompasses the motivational goals of understanding, tolerance and expressing concern for the welfare of all people (Schwartz et al., 2012, p. 664). It has been found to be positively correlated with prosocial concerns such as world poverty, hunger and intergroup conflict 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 attitudes toward minority groups 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, Meuleman et al., 2008; Davidov et al., 2014; Schwartz, 2010), positive attitudes toward Muslims (Pedersen and Hartley, 2012), objection to sexism (Feather and McKee, 2012), approval of homosexuality (Kuntz et al., 2015) 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 et al., 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, Meuleman et al., 2008; Davidov et al., 2014), homosexuality (Kuntz et al., 2015) as well as women and poor people (Chambers et al., 2012). Based on our theoretical considerations, we have derived a number of hypotheses which are presented below.

5. Hypotheses

The first group of hypotheses is related to the *measurement* of group-focused enmity. Given the theoretical considerations and the empirical evidence so far, we expect that *negative attitudes toward six minority groups (sexism, anti-Semitism, anti-foreigner attitudes, devaluation of homosexual people, devaluation of homeless people, anti-Muslim attitudes) are positively related to each other but can be empirically distinguished from each other. In technical terms, we expect them to reflect a higher-order factor which we name group-focused enmity (GFE) (H1).*

However, besides the general interrelation of prejudice against these outgroups, studies cited above (e.g., Zick et al., 2011; see also Sakalli, 2002) provide evidence on co-occurring prejudice against more than one outgroup. 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 more positive correlations between negative attitudes toward immigrants as well as toward Muslims. The largest group of immigrants in Germany, for example, is of Turkish origin and, thus, predominantly Muslim⁵ (Haug, Müssig, and Sticks, 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 are related to each other more strongly than to attitudes toward other minorities. In technical terms, we expect them to 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 are related to each other more strongly than to attitudes toward other minorities. In technical terms, we expect them to load on an additional 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 (H2c).*

The second group of hypotheses is related to the linkage between universalism, conservation values and attitudes toward different minority groups. First, *we expect individuals who endorse higher conservation values to display a higher level of group-focused enmity (H3).* In other words, these individuals are expected to be more negative toward *all* minority groups. Second, *we expect individuals scoring higher on universalism*

⁵ Retrieved from https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/StatistischesJahrbuch/Bevoelkerung.pdf?__blob=publicationFile (June 15, 2014).

values to score lower on group-focused enmity (H4). In other words, these individuals are expected to be less negative toward *all* minority groups.

6. Methods

6.1 Sample. Data were drawn from two waves of the GESIS Online Panel Pilot (GOPP), a German online access panel study. The GOPP consists of German-speaking respondents aged 18 years and older who use the Internet at home or outside of their home not only for work-related purposes. The random sample was drawn by using the dual approach for the telephone recruitment. The cumulative response rate for the first survey was 5% (with an overall response rate of 17.8%)⁶. Data collection took place during May (GOPP wave 13) and July 2013 (GOPP wave 14). The heterogeneous sample consisted of German-speaking participants aged 18 years and older. 1,665 respondents were willing to participate in the GOPP and provided valid email addresses. Recruitment rate for the overall survey was 9%. For wave 13, 872 panelists were invited to participate. Of those who were invited, 534 respondents completed the survey (completion rate of 61%). Given an overall response rate for wave 13 of $(534/1,665 =) 32\%$, the cumulative response rate for wave 13 was $(9\% \times 32\% =) 2.88\%$. Of the 869 panelists invited to participate in wave 14, 490 completed the survey, constituting an overall response rate of $(490/1,665 =) 29\%$ for this wave (with a completion rate of 56%). Thus, the cumulative response rate for wave 14 was $(9\% \times 29\% =) 2.61\%$. For further details about the study design and the sample, see Struminskaya, Kaczmirek, Schaurer and Bandilla (2014). In these two waves that were used for the present study, 227 panel participants responded both to value questions in wave 13 and to questions measuring attitudes toward

⁶ The response in the GOPP reflects a general trend of decreasing response rates in telephone surveys. It has already been described in recent scientific literature (e.g., Peytchev, Carley-Baxter, and Black, 2011). Thus, the overall response rate of the GOPP and, consequentially, the cumulative response rates based on the recruitment process are no exception to this general trend. The nonresponse in our sample is thus comparable to other surveys (see, e.g., Schneiderat and Schlinzig, 2009)

different minority groups (i.e., the GFE components) in wave 14. Of these, 130 (57%) were male. The average age of the participants was $M = 48$ ($SD = 15$).⁷

6.2 Measures. The panel survey, at waves 13 and 14, contained a number of instruments to measure our theoretical constructs.

Attitudes toward minority groups. Each of the six factors measuring attitudes toward various minority groups was measured by two items tapping the negative attitudes toward a specific outgroup⁸: *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 attitudes toward different minority groups as well as their means, standard deviations and frequency distribution.

⁷ Despite the small number of respondents in our sample, the distribution of sociodemographic variables such as gender, age or education in the GOPP was found to be highly congruent with those of the German General Social Survey (ALLBUS) in the year 2012 and the German Census in the year 2011. Further information can be provided from the first author upon request. Unfortunately, we have no information on group memberships of the respondents in our data with the exception of gender. As a result, we cannot exclude respondents who belong to minority groups from our data. Yet it is very probable that the great majority of our respondents do not belong to any minority group: Foreigners, Muslims as well as homeless people are members of hard to reach populations, and gays and lesbians or Jews represent a small part of the German population. In our analysis we control for the effect of gender.

⁸ 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 two items to measure each GFE element is that it allows us to control for measurement errors (Bollen, 1989).

1 **Table 1. Wording of the items measuring the attitudes toward six minority groups**

2

	Item	Question wording (1 = fully disagree, 2 = rather disagree, 3 = rather agree, 4 = fully agree)	Mean (SD)	Frequencies (%)			
				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 take their role as wives and mothers more seriously.	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.

Universalism and conservation values. 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 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 presented a verbal portrait of a gender-matched person depicting the motivations, goals or aspirations of that person. Respondents indicated 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 of the 19 values is measured with three items.

The value universalism has three subdimensions: universalism-concern, universalism-nature and universalism-tolerance. We did not consider the first-order value universalism-nature in our analysis because it is not relevant for the prediction of attitudes toward minority groups (it reflects the importance of protecting the environment). One of the items measuring universalism-concern is “She wants everyone to be treated justly, even people she doesn’t know.” Conservation consisted of three value dimensions: tradition (that reflects the importance of tradition and customs), security (that reflects the importance attributed to personal and societal security) and conformity (that represents the importance attributed to obeying rules and avoiding upsetting other people). Security consists of two subdimensions according to the theory: security-personal and security-societal. The (second-order) value conformity consists of two subdimensions: conformity-interpersonal and conformity-rules. 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^a	M (SD)
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. Previous studies have demonstrated that these variables predict attitudes toward minority groups, particularly immigrants, with more negative attitudes found in older and less educated people (Kunovich, 2004)⁹.

7. Results

7.1 Descriptive Results. Table 1 reports means, standard deviations and frequency distributions for the items measuring attitudes toward minority groups. The means of the items range between $M = 1.43$ for the second sexism item (SE2) and $M = 2.34$ for the second item assessing devaluation of homeless people (HL2). 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

⁹ 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, Meuleman et al., 2008; Davidov and Meuleman, 2012; Kuntz et al., 2014). Furthermore, it could well be the case that sociodemographic variables such as education or age moderate the effect of values on attitudes toward minorities. This possibility could be tested using a multigroup comparison, but it was not tested due to the limited sample size. Additionally, previous studies in different countries did not identify major interaction effects between sociodemographic characteristics and values in the explanation of attitudes toward immigration (Davidov and Meuleman, 2012) or homosexuals (Kuntz et al., 2014).

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, after 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 ($SD = 1.04$).

7.2 Measurement Model of Attitudes toward Minority Groups and Group-Focused Enmity.

Before assessing the influence of the universalism and conservation values on attitudes toward minorities and group-focused enmity, we analyzed the structure of the group-focused enmity model using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA; Arbuckle, 2012; Bollen, 1989; Brown, 2006)¹⁰. To test our first hypothesis H1 on the structure of the group-focused enmity model, we first modeled the six factors that reflected attitudes toward six minority groups (attitudes toward Muslims, foreigners, Jews, homeless people, gays and lesbians and gender roles) as six separate first-order factors. Supporting the hypothesis, the standardized factor loadings presented in Table 3 were indeed substantial. 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 group-focused enmity (*GFE*), was introduced to explain the first-order factors *devaluation of homeless people* and

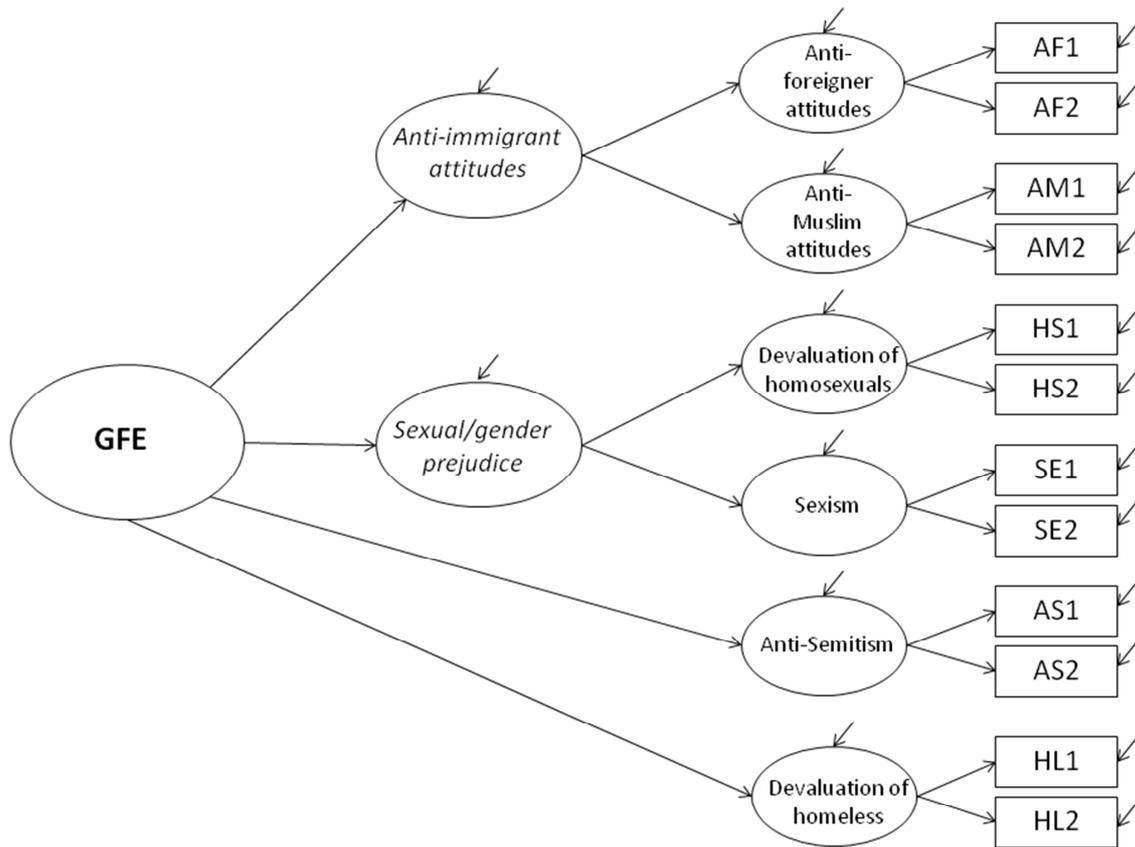
¹⁰ We used the software package Amos (Arbuckle, 2012) for the analysis and applied the full information maximum likelihood estimation (FIML), a technique which efficiently deals with the problem of missing values (Schafer and Graham, 2002). Missing values were negligible in this study (on average, less than 1% of the responses to the values and attitudes questions were missing). Additional analyses with the WLSMV procedure that account for the ordered-categorical character of the data (Flora and Curran, 2004) resulted in similar conclusions.

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).

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

Construct	Item name	Unstandardized factor loadings	Standardized factor loadings
anti-Semitism		.866	.714
	AS1	1.000	.837
	AS2	.744	.835
devaluation of homeless people		.730	.553
	HL1	1.000	.960
	HL2	.567	.563
<i>Anti-immigrant attitudes</i>		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
<i>Sexual and gender prejudice</i>		.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 value abbreviations, see Table 1.

Figure 1. GFE and attitudes toward different minority groups

7.3 The Measurement Model of Universalism and Conservation Values. The measurement model of the individual value priorities was specified as stated above by theory and tested using a CFA. The model was supported by the data as indicated by the model fit (CFI = .963, RMSEA = .052, $P_{close} = .392$, $\chi^2 = 151.78$, $df = 94$, $p < .001$), and all standardized factor loadings were considerable and significant (see Table 4).

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

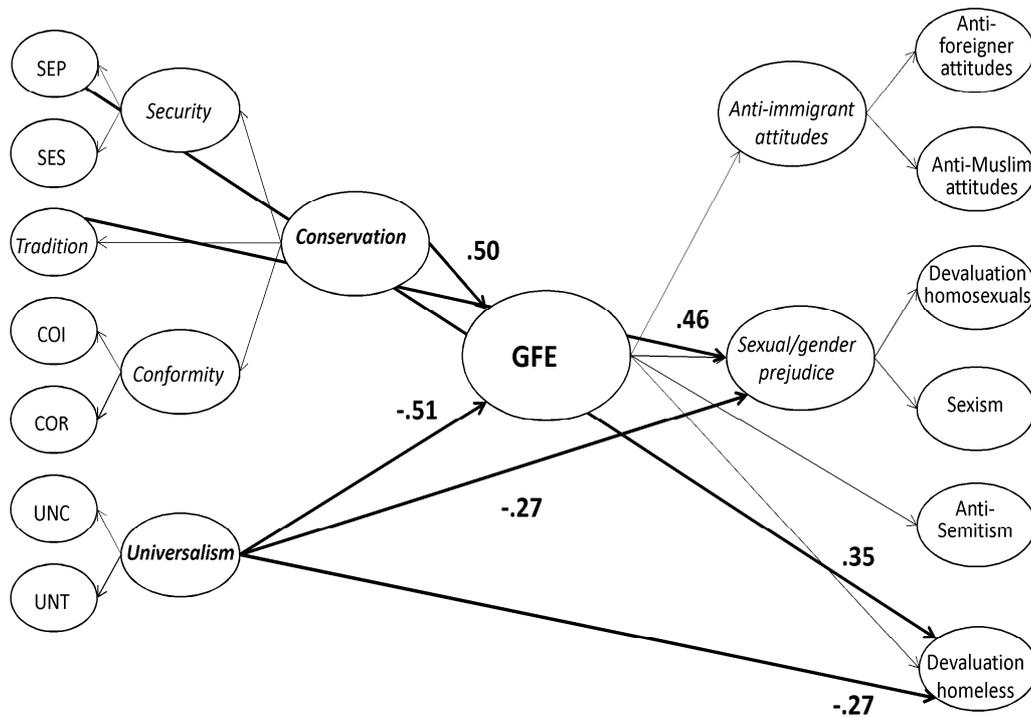
Value	Unstandardized factor loading	Standardized factor loading
Conservation		
<i>Conformity</i>	1.000	.945
Conformity-rules	1.000	.857
COR1	.912	.851
COR2	.911	.849
COR3	1.000	.885
Conformity-interpersonal	.815	.838
COI1	.500	.429
COI3	1.000	.776
<i>Security</i>	.878	.894
Security-personal	.786	1.000
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 $p < .001$.

7.4 Universalism, Conservation and Attitudes toward Minority Groups. To test the hypotheses on the association between universalism and conservation value priorities and group-focused enmity, we estimated a structural equation model (see Bollen, 1989; Kline, 2005). We simultaneously included the (higher-order) values universalism and conservation as well as group-focused enmity in the model while controlling for the effect of age, gender and education. This model was supported by the data. However, the modification indices

required adding a few theoretically justified direct paths from specific values to attitudes toward specific outgroups which we describe below. The final model was supported by the data as indicated by the model fit indices (CFI = .946, RMSEA = .043, $P_{close} = .935$, $\chi^2 = 560.050$, $df = 397$, $p < .001$). Table 5 summarizes the results with both the standardized and unstandardized coefficients. Figure 2 displays the significant standardized paths from the value priorities to GFE.

Figure 2. SEM model: Universalism and conservation values predicting GFE



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

Table 5. Values predicting group-focused enmity (GFE)

	Endogenous variables							
	GFE		Sexual and gender prejudice		Devaluation of homeless people		Devaluation of homosexuals	
	<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								
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 association with the group-focused enmity factor. Individuals with a higher preference for conservation values showed higher levels of group-focused enmity in our model, that is, more negative attitudes toward all minority groups included in the model. In addition, as expected by H4, individuals who prioritized universalism values displayed significantly lower levels of anti-minority sentiments. Essentially, universalism and conservation values exerted a similar association (in size but with opposite signs, $-.51$ and $.50$ respectively) with the higher-order factor of group-focused enmity.

In addition, the model required adding a few specific paths from specific values to attitudes toward specific outgroups. Endorsement of security-personal values was significantly related to devaluation of homeless people over and above the association found between group-focused enmity and conservation values. This path may be justified, as the presence of poor and homeless people in one's own neighborhood or town may invoke fear and, thus, may result in activating particularly personal security values. Furthermore, attributing importance to tradition values was found to be significantly associated with sexual and gender prejudice (which reflected sexism and devaluation of homosexuals) over and

above the association between conservation and the higher-order factor of group-focused enmity. Also, this path may be justified: Especially individuals who prioritize tradition values may consider homosexuals as a 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 may also be related to gender prejudice which acts to bolster the current status quo of traditional gender roles. Finally, attributing a higher priority to universalism values was significantly associated with a lower sexual and gender prejudice as well as with a weaker devaluation of homeless people over and above the negative association between group-focused enmity and universalism. Homosexuals, women and homeless people may be perceived as belonging to the national ingroup at least in terms of ethnicity and cultural background, in contrast to immigrants, Muslims and Jews. Thus, although universalism is associated with lower devaluation toward *all* minority groups, universalists may find it easier to develop even more positive attitudes toward sexual minorities and homeless people.

With respect to the control variables, more highly educated individuals displayed lower levels of group-focused enmity. However, age and gender did not significantly predict group-focused enmity. Nevertheless, women showed lower levels of sexual and gender prejudice. Finally, older individuals displayed more negative attitudes toward homosexuals¹¹.

8. Summary and Conclusions

Findings from previous studies support the hypothesis that individual value priorities, particularly universalism and conservation, are associated with negative attitudes toward immigration. Individuals who prioritize universalism values approve of immigration more whereas those who prioritize conservation exhibit more disapproval. However, the scope of

¹¹ 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.

these studies has been generally limited to immigrants, and they did not consider other minority groups. In the current study we examined whether universalism and conservation values play an important role also in the explanation of attitudes toward other minority groups. Several studies suggest that negative attitudes toward different minority groups are strongly interrelated and can be considered as an expression of a general tendency to devalue minority groups, a tendency which is often called group-focused enmity. Drawing on this literature, we explored the relation between universalism and conservation values and attitudes toward different minority groups and group-focused enmity in a German sample.

Employing structural equation modeling, we first found that negative attitudes toward minority groups were strongly interrelated. However, negative attitudes toward some specific minority groups were more closely related to each other than to attitudes toward other outgroups: *attitudes toward foreigners* and *anti-Muslim attitudes* reflected *anti-immigrants* attitudes, and *sexism* and *devaluation of homosexuals* reflected *sexual prejudice*. *Devaluation of homeless people* and *anti-Semitism* represented additional and separate dimensions¹².

Furthermore, we found that universalism and conservation values exerted essentially similar (but opposite) associations (in size) with attitudes toward diverse minority groups. In line with our hypotheses, conservation values were positively related to group-focused enmity, whereas universalism values were negatively associated with group-focused enmity. In addition, we found some outgroup-specific associations with the values: Security-personal values were related to higher levels of devaluation of homeless people over and above their relation with conservation values. In addition, attributing priority to tradition values was associated with higher levels of sexual and gender prejudice. Finally, universalism was related

¹² In more technical terms, attitudes toward these two minority groups together with the second-order factors *anti-immigrants* attitudes and *sexual prejudice* loaded directly and strongly on the higher-order group-focused enmity factor.

with lower sexual and gender prejudice as well as with lower devaluation of homeless people over and above its significant and negative relation with the group-focused enmity factor.

Given these findings, the current study contributes to the research on prejudice and negative attitudes toward minority groups in several ways. First, our study allows researchers to gain further insights into the relations between value priorities and negative attitudes toward outgroups. Schwartz's 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. Our findings reveal that although prejudice may be directed toward various groups, the sizes of the relations of specific values, universalism and conservation with different forms of prejudice, are rather similar across all outgroups.

Second, the investigation into the relations between attitudes toward different minorities supported the idea of a general higher-order factor of group-focused enmity. As theory suggests, people who are against gays and lesbians tend to be against Muslims, foreigners or any other minority outgroup. Nevertheless, some dimensions of group-focused enmity 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 specific German context. Generalizing the findings would require collecting and analyzing similar data in other European and non-European countries.

Unfortunately, we have no information on group memberships of the respondents in our data with the exception of gender. As a result, we could not exclude from our analysis respondents who belonged to minority groups. Yet it is very probable that the majority of our respondents did not belong to any minority group: Foreigners, Muslims as well as homeless people are hard-to-reach populations, and gays and lesbians or Jews represent a small part of the German population.

The majority of our findings is also in line with the implications of other theoretically related approaches: Like conservation values, right-wing authoritarianism, 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, which is negatively associated with universalism values, is also related to negative attitudes toward members of lower status groups (Feather and McKee, 2012). This tendency derives from the goal of these people 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 on only one occasion. Thus, we can only speculate about the underlying direction of effects from values to prejudice. However, we cannot rule out 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. Nonetheless, previous research could show that values are relatively stable across the lifetime (Bardi et al., 2014) and supports the assumption that causality flows (at least to a greater extent) from values to attitudes (Homer and Kahle, 1988; Maio, 2010; Schwartz et al., 2010). In addition, there is some empirical evidence suggesting that the effect of values on attitudes is stronger

than vice versa (see Homer and Kahle, 1988). Future research could profit from the use of an experimental design to address the issue of causality.¹³ Given the above-mentioned limitations, we hope that our study may stimulate further research on the causal origins of negative attitudes toward *different* types of minority groups.

¹³ 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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