Changing Homophobia:
A Global Perspective

by

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Abstract

The present thesis aims to understand the global decrease of homophobia over the last few decades. In Chapter 1, I summarise previous research on homophobia, especially in the context of Romania and the UK.

The next two chapters focus on psychological interventions to reduce homophobia. A systematic review and set of meta-analyses in Chapter 2 found that education and contact with LGB people were effective interventions. The same review found that most research was conducted with American college students, and that some high-quality research performed by postgraduates was left unpublished. In Chapter 3, a systematic qualitative review found that these interventions were often described by participants as 'eye-opening', but were sometimes criticised as 'out of context'.

In the following chapter (Chapter 4), I looked at the change in homophobia on a societal level. Reanalysing data from a large scale international survey, I found that the same model could explain homophobia in the US, the UK and Romania, but the decrease of homophobia over a 20-year period remained unexplained.

In the next two chapters, I turned from the causes to the consequences of the decrease in homophobia, asking whether the acceptance of LGB people may have negative implications for ethnic prejudice. In Chapter 5, I performed discourse analysis on media reports of a gay pride parade in Romania, finding that LGB people were excluded from constructions of Romanian national identity. In Chapter 6, I proposed a questionnaire and an experimental task to study sexualised nationalism, a set of ideologies that either include or exclude LGB people from national identities. I found that more acceptance of LGB people in Romania and the UK was not linked to exclusion of ethnic minorities.

In the conclusion (Chapter 7), I propose that reducing homophobia can be achieved within a plurality of theoretical and practical frameworks.

Statement of Originality

This thesis and the work to which it refers are the results of my own efforts. Any ideas, data, images, or text resulting from the work of others (whether published or unpublished) are fully identified as such within the work and attributed to their originator in the text, bibliography, or footnotes. This thesis has not been submitted in whole or in part for any other academic degree or professional qualification. I agree that the University has the right to submit my work to the plagiarism detection service TurnitinUK for originality checks. Whether or not drafts have been so assessed, the University reserves the right to require an electronic version of the final document (as submitted) for assessment as above.

Signed:

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Note

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CHAPTER 1. Introduction: Seven Things We Know About Homophobia

About 50 yards from the office where I am writing this thesis, there is a statue of Alan Turing. His life story is broadly known from a recent film (Tyldum, 2014), a few voluminous biographies (esp. the reprinting of Hodges, 1983), and numerous retellings in the media: an exceptional mathematician, he was a code-breaker for the British Government during World War II, and his work prefigured today's information technology. As a man attracted to other men at a time when homosexuality was illegal, he was arrested, forced to undergo hormone injections, and took his own life in 1954. In recent years, his contribution to science has been recognised, his life story acknowledged, and his sexuality celebrated. As I mentioned above, a major film was based on his life, and statues (such as the one at this University) have been unveiled in his honour. The British Government has apologised for Turing's mistreatment in 2009, and he was granted a royal pardon in 2013. The same year, same-gender couples were granted the right to marry in England and Wales, after having a number of other rights recognised. As Jeffrey Weeks (2007) put it, this is 'the world we have won'.

Two aspects of Turing's (posthumous) story are remarkable. Firstly, it happened over a relatively short time. Born in 1912, Turing was slightly younger than my grandfather. Homosexuality was illegal in the UK for almost four and a half centuries (1533 – 1967), while the U-turn from Turing's persecution to his rehabilitation happened within human remembrance. Similarly remarkable changes have happened even more quickly: discussing homosexuality in UK schools 'as a pretended family relationship' was made illegal in 1988 (Local Government Act 1988, s. 28); this decision was followed by a repeal (Local Government Act 2003) and an apology (Pierce, 2009) within about two decades. Secondly, many people's existence around the world still resembles Turing's life story rather than his posthumous affirmation. Numerous countries around the world still punish homosexuality (ILGA, 2015). In 2012-2015, about 29,000 people in England and Wales were the victims of hate crime due to their sexuality (Home Office, 2015).

There seems to be a major shift in attitudes towards lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) people which is relatively recent (indeed, ongoing), relatively quick, and very uneven. Many people around the world have changed their minds about sexuality over the last few decades. Indeed, in 2004, only 44% if Millennials in the US (people born between 1981 and 1995) supported same-gender marriage; in 2014, it was 68% (Pew Research Center, 2015). The central objective of this thesis is to explore *how homophobia has changed*. Moreover, I aim to study cross-cultural variation in the decrease of homophobia, and to understand resistance to change.

Following common practice, I use the term *homophobia* to refer to a form of social exclusion, and the acronym *LGB* (lesbian, gay, and bisexual) when referring to the targets of such exclusion. Scholars who write on homophobia are often vague: Bisexual people are sometimes implied but rarely named explicitly; other forms of sexuality are only now becoming visible to psychology (e.g., see *Psychology and Sexuality*'s 2013 special issue on asexuality, volume 4, issue 2). I also recognise that bisexual people face specific challenges (i.e., biphobia), in relation to both LGB and straight people (for a recent synthesis, see Eisner, 2013). Since an important part of biphobia is the erasure of bisexual people in discussions of sexuality, homophobia and LGB rights, I have opted to include biphobia in this thesis. This is not to be read as treatment of biphobia as ancillary to homophobia, but affirmation of the need to discuss bisexuality. While it is customary to see transgender people added to this list (especially in the acronym LGBT and its variations), this thesis focuses on prejudice based on sexuality, not gender identity. Transgender people who are also LGB may experience homophobia in addition to cisgenderism (i.e., prejudice related to their self-designated gender; Ansara, 2010).

The present thesis focuses on comparing homophobia in the UK and Romania. Both the similarities and the differences between these two counties make this comparison interesting. On the one hand, both countries are members of the European Union, and share a Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian and secular/Enlightenment cultural heritage. On the other hand, the UK has a recent history of colonialism, decolonisation, early industrialisation and economic development, while Romania is a post-socialist country with an emerging economy.

Most importantly, both countries protect LGB people against discrimination, but societal attitudes differ broadly (Inglehart, 2008; see also Chapter 4). Last but not the least, both participants from these two countries and information on their cultures were accessible to me, as I was educated in Romania and now live in the UK. The comparison is further developed in the historical sketches below, and throughout the entire thesis.

I shall start this thesis with *seven premises* – a synthesis of established knowledge that can serve as the starting point for my work. These premises include concepts and their definitions, theories and the evidence that support them, scientific and social practices and their critique. The role of these premises is to clarify and support with evidence the intuitions occasioned by my reflection on Turing's life and posterity, and to provide a theoretical and socio-historical context to the five studies that aim to answer the questions of the thesis.

Premise 1: **Homophobia is the totality of social and psychological adversity faced by LGB people**

People with same-gender attractions and relationships have been facing rejection throughout history. Even societies recognized for their acceptance usually imposed heavy restrictions on same-gender bonds. In pre-colonial Zimbabwe, for example, liaisons between men were often treated as a misdemeanour (Epprecht, 1998), while in Imperial Korea, same-gender relationships were seen as being at odds with the existing social and religious order (Lim & Johnson, 2001). Even where such relationships are accepted, they are often regarded as ancillary to the heterosexual family (see, e.g., Kendall, 1998, on women in precolonial Lesotho, and Dover, 2002, on men in Ancient Greece). Both same-gender love and the rejection thereof have been labelled and described in a number of ways; 19th century Western psychiatry coined the term *homosexuality* to conceptualise same-gender sexual attraction (and, to a lesser extent, behaviour and identity; Sell, 1997). *Homophobia* was later defined to designate the rejection of homosexuality (Smith, 1971; Weinberg, 1972), and it has now become widely used and accepted.

The notion of homophobia emerged in the 1970s, when social sciences reconsidered same-gender sexuality; in particular, the idea that the gay community was a marginalised subculture emerged to counter the previous dominant model of homosexuality as a disease (Maher et al., 2009; Pettit, 2011). The term *homophobia* (Smith, 1971; Weinberg, 1972) emerged as a way of (re)describing the difficulties faced by the gay community: the problem no longer lay with gay men, lesbians, and bisexual people themselves, but with the *homophobes* who rejected them. Therefore, the gay movement of the 1970's was able to call for intensive psychological research to understand and contain homophobia (Plummer, 1981; Herek, 2004). As Western societies grew more accepting, and gay men, lesbians and bisexual people gained recognition as (sexual) minorities (Herek, 2004), the concept of homophobia has also undergone changes: while initially having psychiatric undertones, it then became a key conceptual tool for managing the AIDS crisis and, more recently, for public policies in general.

The term *homophobia* is usually credited to George Weinberg, who used it in his 1972 book *Society and the Healthy Homosexual*. However, the term was in use earlier, a fact readily acknowledged by Weinberg himself (personal communication cited in Herek, 2004). The earliest academic paper using this word seems to be Kenneth Smith's (1971) 'Homophobia: a tentative personality profile.' It is notable that the paper contains a proposed questionnaire to assess homophobia, but it does not define the term. On the one hand, this suggests that *homophobia* was already widely understood in the early 1970s; on the other hand, the attention given to measurement at the expense of conceptual clarity has remained an issue throughout *homophobia*'s forty-year history (see e.g. Bryant & Vidal-Ortiz, 2008).

The term *homophobia* has been criticised for a number of reasons throughout its four-decade history. First, Herek (2004) argues the term is inaccurate: *-phobia* is misleading in this context, since it clusters homophobia with anxiety disorders. The pathologisation of homophobia is seen as ethically challenging by many authors: '[a]t root, it employs all the same pseudo-scientific weapons that are used to condemn homosexuality' (Plummer, 1981, p. 62), and it thus perpetuates the logic that delineates and excludes 'abnormal' groups. Second, as *homosexuality* with no other

specifications is often used to refer to men, *homophobia* may also focus attention on gay men and render lesbians invisible (Plummer, 1981; Kitzinger, 1987; Herek, 2004). While ignoring lesbians is a serious concern for psychological research (see below), most people will actually think of both women and men when discussing homosexuality (e.g. Simon, 1998). Third, speaking of *homophobia* and *homophobes* focuses research on psychological aspects, concealing social and political implications (Plummer, 1981; Kitzinger, 1987; note that *homosexuality* had previously enabled a similar focus on the individual psyche at the expense of other issues; Sell, 1997).

Numerous alternatives to the term *homophobia* have been proposed: *heterosexism* (e.g., Neisen, 1990), *homonegativity* (e.g., Hudson & Ricketts, 1980), *sexual prejudice* (e.g., Herek, 2004), and *heteronormativity* (Warner, 1993), to name just the most common ones. While these concepts may avoid the pathologisation and androcentrism discussed above, they fail to address some of the most substantial criticism directed at homophobia. All of these concepts cover a wide range of phenomena, and they have shifting definitions (Bryant & Vidal-Ortiz, 2008). Heterosexism, for example, has been used to designate institutionalised prejudice (Herek, 2004), to name prejudice that does not involve violence (Savin-Williams, 2001), or merely as a synonym for homophobia (e.g., Szymanski & Meyer, 2008). The use of a paramount term (or a small set of terms) inevitably masks the complex psychological (Franklin, 1998) and social (Plummer, 1975) roots of homophobia, and its historical shifts (Herek, 2004).

In this thesis, I opted for the term *homophobia* for three intertwined reasons. First, a better alternative seems to be lacking. As discussed above, some of the more serious critiques of homophobia apply to the alternative terms as well. Second, both research and activism strongly rely on the notion of homophobia, problematic as it may be. Most studies define their aim as a significant reduction in individual participants' scores on *homophobia scales* (or some equivalent). Third, the term originates in the gay community itself (see Herek, 2004), it is by far the most popular term in psychological research (Hegarty, 2006), and it is widely used and accepted even by those who propose other concepts (see, e.g., Butler, 1991).

A corollary of a broad definition of homophobia is that it covers several domains of social and individual life, each of them approached by different disciplines with different methods. Herek (2004, 2007) distinguished three levels or facets of the rejection of LGB people: the individual, the sociopolitical, and the cultural (see, e.g., Esses et al., 2004, for a similar approach to other forms of prejudice). He termed these three levels *sexual prejudice*, *heterosexism*, and *sexual stigma*, respectively. Adam (1998) had previously remarked that studies on these three levels are 'characterised by considerable disciplinary insularity' (p. 387). Specifically, each of these areas has different philosophical roots, attempts to answer different questions, and proposes different solutions. Research on *homophobia* regards prejudice as a characteristic of the person, and attempt to understand it in terms of individual psychology. *Heterosexism* stems from political activism, and it focuses on institution and policies. Finally, the term *heteronormativity* emerged from a post-structuralist perspective which aims to deconstruct the very notions of gender and sexuality (Warner, 1993). As for containing prejudice, the latter two approaches typically focus on large-scale social and cultural change, while homophobia research is concerned with designing individual and small-group interventions such as educational workshops and role-playing exercises. All three perspectives are limited, and their disciplinary isolation is highly undesirable (Adam, 1998; Herek, 2004). Nevertheless, heterosexism and heteronormativity have been arguably useful in combating anti-homosexual bigotry: political discourse on gay rights and media representations of sexuality would be difficult to comprehend and critique without the deconstructionist tools enabled by heteronormativity (Adam, 1998); and institutional and legal changes were made possible by the political understanding of prejudice that underlies heterosexism (Herek, 2004).

I recognise that homophobia has individual, social and cultural facets, and I intend to explore these facets and their interplay. I also recognise that, as a scientific construct, homophobia is part of a *nomological network*, i.e., an intricate system of concepts, hypotheses and theories (cf. Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). As such, 'homophobia' is only as good as the nomological network it is part of: it is meaningful to adopt one definition of homophobia or the other if that definition engenders a

working theory. For example, it makes sense to define homophobia as an attitude if research on attitudes can be used to understand (and possibly reduce) homophobia (which is the case; see Chapter 2). Therefore, I propose a broad understanding of homophobia as *the totality of social and psychological adversity faced by LGB people*. More specific definitions, and the theories they are part of, will be discussed throughout this thesis.

Premise 2: **Homophobia is detrimental to individuals and to society**

Homophobia is broadly seen as reprehensible for numerous ethical, social and political reasons. A comprehensive review of the ethics and politics of homophobia is beyond the scope of a thesis in psychology. It must be noted, however, that numerous ethics codes to urge psychologists to strive against all forms of prejudice, including that based on sexuality (e.g., American Psychological Association, 2008; British Psychological Society, 2009).The understanding of LGB people has undergone a radical shift in the second half of the 20th century: the dominant view of Western scientists and policymakers shifted from viewing homosexuality as a form of deviance (a crime, a sin, and/or mental illness) to seeing LGB people as a discriminated minority in need of legal protection (Connell, 1995; see Premise 5 below for a more detailed history). Homosexuality was removed from the DSM in 1973, and from the ICD in 1990. The American Psychological Association (APA) had a prompt positive response. The APA resolution supporting the psychiatric professions' decision to depathologise homosexuality also condemned all legal, housing and employment discrimination against LGB people, likening it to discrimination based on 'race, creed, color etc.' (Conger, 1975, p. 633) Moreover, the APA 'urge[d] all mental health professionals to take the lead in removing the stigma of mental illness that ha[d] long been associated with homosexual orientations.' (p. 633)

At least two discussions around the ethics of homophobia are germane to the subject of this thesis. On the one hand, there is a question of what the nature of homophobia is, and what should be done about it – a *philosophical* question *what* we want to achieve in fighting homophobia that needs to be addressed before any *scientific* discussion of *how* to achieve it. These debates are surveyed under Premises

3 and 4 in this chapter. On the other hand, psychology (and social science more generally) can make a utilitarian argument against homophobia. There is overwhelming evidence that homophobia has a negative impact on the health and wellbeing of those affected. In order to prove this point, we need to clarify that: (1) LGB people indeed have, on average, poorer mental and physical health outcomes than heterosexual people; (2) that these undesirable outcomes are linked to homophobia; and (3) that the link is causal.

Firstly, several large-scale studies and systematic reviews of the literature have shown that gay men, lesbians, and bisexual people have poorer health and wellbeing outcomes than heterosexuals (Cochran, 2001). Gay and bisexual men are more likely to have a major depressive episode or an anxiety attack in their lifetime than heterosexual men, and lesbian and bisexual women have an increased prevalence of generalized anxiety disorder (Cochran et al., 2003). Also, gay men are at increased risk for eating disorders (Feldman & Meyer, 2007). Non-heterosexual individuals also have a larger number of suicidal thoughts, plans and attempts than their heterosexual peers (King et al., 2008). Also, gay men and bisexual persons report poor physical health compared to heterosexuals, both in the US (Cochran & Mays, 2007) and Western Europe (Wang et al., 2007). LGB individuals have higher risks for chronic diseases, such as cancer and diabetes (Lick et al., 2013). Non-heterosexual youth have a three times higher risk for substance abuse (Marshal et al., 2008).

Secondly, there is an association between discrimination and the health problems experienced by sexual minorities. A number of correlational studies provide an affirmative answer to this question. Discriminated generally tend to have a poorer health status than the general population (Pascoe & Richman, 2009). Experiences with discrimination partially explains the high prevalence of distress and psychiatric disorders in non-heterosexual people (Mays & Cochran, 2001). Also, gay and bisexual men who feel discriminated are more likely to report common illnesses (Huebner & Davis, 2007). Perceived discrimination explain the increased emotional distress and suicidal ideation in non-heterosexual teenagers (Almeida et al., 2009).

Thirdly, the discrimination-health relationship is likely to be a causal one, as suggested by several prospective studies. Hatzenbuehler et al. (2008) examined a

group of gay men in the San Francisco Bay Area whose partners or close friends died due to complications of AIDS; symptoms of depression, substance abuse and risky sexual behaviour were better predicted by perceived discrimination and internalised homophobia than by bereavement-related stress. A large-scale prospective study compared the mental health of LGB people in US states where same-sex marriages were banned in 2004-2005 with those living in states where no such laws were enacted; the prevalence of affective, anxiety disorder and alcohol-related increased significantly among LGB people in states with unfavourable legal changes (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2010). Another large-scale prospective study found that prejudice-related over a one-year period was related to worse physical health even when controlling for other stressors (Frost et al., 2015).

Premise 3: **Homophobia can be understood as a form of prejudice**

French encyclopedists of the 18th century introduced 'prejudice' as a general term for 'false judgements' (Jaucourt, 1765, p. 283), i.e., ideas contrary to the Enlightenment. This definition, as well as the encyclopedists' comparison of prejudice with an epidemic disease survived well into the 20th century (Kitzinger, 1987; Danziger, 1997). Then as now, scholars have seen prejudice as irrational, self-centred, and morally objectionable (Billig, 1991). However, the 20th century witnessed violence and genocide on a greater scale and with more systematic organisation. In the postwar period, the Holocaust was recognised as a definitive infringement of the ideals of the European Enlightenment. Many scholars searched for, and authored explanations of the Holocaust, drawing on knowledge of individuals, societies, cultures and ideologies (see, e.g., Staub, 1989).

After the Second World War, 'prejudice' became an object of the new science of social psychology, and Gordon Allport's (1954) *The Nature of Prejudice* was both the defining text of this field and its most enduringly influential synthesis. In spite of numerous theoretical and terminological alternatives, the term 'prejudice' has remained prominent. The long-standing treatment of women as sub-ordinates to men, usually termed *sexism* or *misogyny*, has been sometimes subsumed within the overall category of prejudice. As an increasing range of groups make collective claims

for equal treatment, *homophobia*, *fat prejudice*, *ableism*, *mental illness stigma*, and *ageism* have all become objects of study for social and political psychology (Nelson, 2006).

In the 1950s, the work of Allport's (1954) and Adorno et al. (1950) placed all forms of group-based social exclusion on the same plane. Shortly after the Second World War, Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford (1950) tried to understand the racism underlying the Holocaust by applying questionnaires to a large number of people in the US. They concluded that racism was part of a complex authoritarian personality. In line with then-dominant psychoanalytic theories, Adorno et al. attributed this disposition to early experiences: repressive parenting prompts children to strictly control both others' and their own behaviour. Fascism, superstition, conventionalism, and prejudice are but facets of this need for control (Fromm, 1965). More recent research has further refined the work of Adorno et al. (e.g., Altemeyer, 1981) and integrated it with other theories of prejudice and personality (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). Allport (1954) consecrated the term 'prejudice' for the forms of social exclusion that Adorno et al. (1950) had tried to explain. Allport (1954) also argued that contact between the targets and the beholders of prejudice could be a remedy for prejudice. Later empirical research provided broad support for the idea that people who held some form of prejudice were more likely to hold others, and that all prejudices were related to authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1998; Stenner, 2009); as well as the effectiveness of contact in reducing prejudice (for a meta-analysis, see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

Situationist theories brought about a very important theoretical turn arguing that all of us can espouse prejudice in certain contexts. *Dispositionist accounts* cannot explain wars and genocide on their own (Houghton, 2009); although psychological authoritarianism is widespread, extreme violence is fortunately rare. In a classical study, Hovland and Sears (1940) showed that Black people were more frequently lynched in the Southern US during economic downturns, thus demonstrating how social (and not just individual) factors played a role in prejudice. Laboratory studies later found that experimenters could easily induce distrust (Tajfel, 1970) and even violence (Milgram, 1963; Haney, Banks & Zimbardo, 1973) in people with no

particular disposition. Second, as dispositionist theories see prejudice as ingrained in one's personality, they leave little basis to guide efforts for change. Indeed, proponents of dispositionist theories often recommend situationist strategies for prejudice reduction (see, e.g., Altemeyer's, 2006, recommendations for educational and legal reform).

A classic situationist explanation of prejudice emerged when Muzafer Sherif and his colleagues (1954) divided a group of boys on a summer camp into two teams. When the teams had to compete for rewards, they showed intense loathing of each other; however, when they needed to cooperate for common goals, their feelings changed accordingly. Based on this study, Sherif proposed a Realistic Conflict Theory of prejudice: groups loathe each other because they compete for scarce resources -- or at least construe the situation as competitive. Henri Tajfel (1970) later showed that competition was not necessary for group tensions. He randomly assigned strangers to two groups, and asked them to allocate points to members of their own and the other group. Although there was no interaction or common task, people clearly favoured members of their own group. Such results led Tajfel to formulate a Social Identity Theory of prejudice: people become prejudiced when they identify with an 'ingroup' and assign others to an 'outgroup' (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Later research in this tradition showed how changing the way people categorise others and themselves can reduce prejudice (Crisp & Hewstone, 2007).

In the 1970s, people marginalised due to their sexuality started using the prejudice model to frame their quest for social equality. Following the work of Adorno et al. (1950) on anti-Semitism, researchers tried to identify types of people 'whose structure is such as to render [them] particularly susceptible' (p. 1) to homophobia. To this goal, Kenneth Smith (1971) created the first scale to measure homophobia, followed by many others (Hudson & Rickets, 1980; Herek, 1984; Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Men tend to be more homophobic than women (Herek, 1987; Kite & Whitley, 1996); this is likely due to most societies having stronger expectations around male roles, thus making men more aware of their community's standards on gender and sexuality (Kimmel, 1994; for a review of the evidence, see Herek & McLemore, 2013). Older people tend to be more homophobic than younger

people: this difference is due both to younger generations being more tolerant and to people changing their views over time (Andersen & Fetner, 2011). People who are less educated are more homophobic than those who are more educated (Herek, 2009; West & Cowell, 2015). Finally, people of lower socio-economic status are more homophobic than those of higher status (Carvacho et al., 2013; West & Cowell, 2015). Authoritarianism is also strongly correlated with homophobia, as it is with other forms of prejudice (Altemeyer, 1998; Goodman & Moradi, 2008; Whitley & Lee, 2000). Homophobia is also correlated with racism (Aosved & Long, 2006; Campo-Arias *et al.*, 2014). More religious people tend to espouse more homophobic attitudes (McDermott & Blair, 2012; West & Cowell, 2015; for a review, see Herek & McLemore, 2013), just as they tend to also hold more racial prejudice (for a meta-analysis, see Hall et al., 2010).

In the wake of social change and political reform, a more nuanced understanding of prejudice became necessary. Over the last five decades, the values of people living in Western countries have shifted: they started to prioritise such issues as social equality and the environment (i.e., postmaterialistic values) at the expense of economic concerns (i.e., materialistic values) and traditional value systems such as religion (Inglehart, 2008). Open manifestations of racism became less acceptable in the US after the accomplishments of the African-American Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. McConahay (1983) proposed the concept of a *modern racism* to describe the ambivalent and subtle expressions of racism prompted by white Americans valuing racial equality as a principle while still marginalising Black people (see also Monteith et al., 1996). Today, as anti-gay discrimination is outlawed in many countries, a similar ambivalence leads to a *modern homophobia*: Rather than explicitly asking people whether they dislike LGB people, Morrison and Morrison's (2002) *Modern Homonegativity Scale* asks whether the LGB people have too many rights or have gone too far in demanding equality. The newer forms of prejudice, such as modern racism, may not emerge in societies where tolerance and equality have not become normative values. Bilewicz (2012) remarked that the openly hostile prejudice (often labelled as 'old' or 'traditional' in the West) is still widespread in Eastern Europe.

An important corollary of understanding homophobia as prejudice is that remedies exist against it. Allport (1954) proposed early on that positive interactions between groups could reduce prejudice. Allport qualified his 'contact hypothesis' with a list of conditions: contact would effectively reduce prejudice in situations where the two groups have equal status, people can cooperate and make friends, and authorities promote tolerance. In a large meta-analytic review, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) found that contact was indeed moderately effective in reducing prejudice. As predicted, Allport's conditions facilitate prejudice reduction, but contact remains effective even when these criteria are not met (Pettigrew et al., 2011). Gaertner et al. (1990) found that the effect of contact was mediated by social categorisation processes: meeting people from an outgroup changes the way we categorise them, leading to a more inclusive worldview. Contact also reduces intergroup anxiety, by familiarising people with outgroup members, and making future encounters less awkward (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Pettigrew et al., 2011). Negative encounters, on the other hand, may increase prejudice (Paolini et al., 2010).

Beyond contact, a range of other approaches have proved effective in reducing prejudice (Paluck & Green, 2009). Educational programmes have been numerous, and seem effective, but research has not satisfactorily explained how or why they work (Paluck & Green, 2009). More recent experiments have often attempted to make tolerance and empathy more salient to their participants (e.g., Monteith, et al., 1996). The effect of the mass-media on prejudice is a particularly salient question today: seeing cross-group friendships in the media can reduce prejudice (Pettigrew et al., 2011), but the mechanisms behind this effect remain unclear (Paluck & Green, 2009). Overall, a great deal of research is needed to understand *whether* and *how* strategies other than contact can reduce prejudice (Dovidio et al., 2010). Psychological interventions to reduce homophobia are reviewed in Chapter 2.

Premise 4: 'Prejudice' is not the only way to understand homophobia

The notion of prejudice came under scrutiny in the 1980s, as discursive psychologists and queer theorists started questioning its political and philosophical underpinnings. Potter and Wetherell (1987) argued that prejudiced and unprejudiced

statements were uttered to achieve goals, not to express stable attitudes towards a group. For example, a study by Wetherell et al. (1986; cited in Potter & Wetherell, 1987) on white New Zealanders' attitudes towards the Maori found that the same person would sometimes make both strongly 'racist' and highly 'tolerant' statements in order to support their argument. In a similar vein, other scholars argued that such labels as 'racism' and 'homophobia' created the illusion that only a minority of people were prejudiced, while society at large held a narrowly-defined set of 'unprejudiced' attitudes (Billig, 1991; Kitzinger, 1987; Sedgwick, 1991/1994). Discursive psychology and queer scholarship have provided vast evidence that racism and homophobia can permeate language, culture, and social institutions, rather than being the characteristic of only certain people (Butler, 1990; Kitzinger, 1987).

Discourse analytic research emphasises that talk is highly variable and that the construction of events, people, and objects depends on context. Thus, the New Zealanders in Wetherell's study probably did not construct themselves as non-racist in every social encounter: talk occurs in a specific situation (e.g., a research interview) and fulfils specific goals (e.g., to make a good impression). Discourse analysis aims to provide a critique not just of prejudice, but also of its constructed opposite, 'tolerant' talk. People in our society try to present themselves as rational, unprejudiced beings; they use disclaimers (Wetherell et al., 1986), and construe makeshift arguments when they berate a group (Kleiner, 1998). People also tend to present prejudice as a characteristic of small, 'extremist' groups, emphasising that most people (including themselves) are above irrational loathing of others (Billig, 1991; Sedgwick, 1991/1994). One powerful form of discourse is to construct what is 'normal' against which marginalised groups perceived as asking for too many rights (Peel, 2001a). Arguments against prejudice may subtly confirm it. For example, those who claim that women are as good as men in leadership positions tacitly agree that men are the benchmark of competence (Bruckmüller et al., 2012). Claims that families with gay parents resemble families with straight parents imply that the latter are the 'norm' (Clarke, 2002).

Discourse analytic research prompted Potter and Wetherell (1987) to reject both dispositionist and situationist accounts of prejudice in favour of a theory of discourse

as actively accomplishing social action. Thus the construction of oneself as 'not a racist' exemplifies how 'categories [of people] are selected and formulated in such a way that their specific features help accomplish certain goals' (p. 137). Wetherell (1998) went on to argue that discourse was explained by looking at both the dynamics of conversation and the 'interpretive repertoires' that people draw upon to accomplish action in talk. Discourse then serves social, economic, and political interests.

This discursive approach puts the social psychology of prejudice in more explicit dialogue with critical theory and post-structuralist thought. Marxist thinkers of the 20th century have typically assumed that long-standing forms of labelling and exclusion have economic explanations (Parker, 2004). French philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1949) remarks that women had become *the Other* in philosophical thought, whose existence was described by positioning women in contrast with or secondary to men. Misogyny fulfils the interests of men, just as racism and anti-Semitism serve White people. Beauvoir's partner Jean-Paul Sartre (1960) later analysed dehumanising race relations in French Algeria in related terms, concluding that racism is the psychological internalisation of (economic) colonialism. Specifically, exploitation leads to a 'hate and fear' that turn the colonised into the 'Other-than-human' (p. 676).

Michel Foucault later contested Sartre's and others' assumptions that Othering had primarily economic explanations, in favour of a theory that discourse had a self-organising character. Modern states, Foucault argued, aim to regulate their citizens' health, sexuality, and mortality, resulting in increasingly common forms of *biopolitics* that focus on bodily difference and productivity (Foucault, 2009). Since biopolitics occurs within modern, rational societies, it relies on claims with a scientific aura for its legitimacy. While racism was useful for justifying economic exploitation in the colonies, biopolitics was the enterprise that really needed racist, sexist, and homophobic justifications: by arguing that non-white races were inferior, that homosexuals were mentally ill, that women were hysterical, 19th and 20th century governments could legitimise measures like forced sterilisation, segregation, starvation, and eventually mass murder (Stoler, 1995). Foucault himself wrote a

three-volume study to the *History of Sexuality* (1976-1984), in which he examines how law and medicine have created such categories as the 'homosexual' in order to regulate private life.

On one hand, 'sexual minorities' have achieved (some of) the rights liberal democracies typically warrant to minorities (Herek, 2004); on the other hand, they have been *minoritised* (Sedgwick, 1990), i.e., positioned as a small, exceptional group. Positioning gay people as a minority creates a vicious cycle. An organized, self-conscious community can protest exclusion, but such organization also reinforces the idea that gay people are a 'different' group (see Foucault, 1976; Butler, 1991; and Bourdieu, 2000, for three comparable accounts of this issue).

In line with Hegarty and Massey (2006), I believe that both queer theory and mainstream social psychology offer valid contributions to the understandings of homophobia, and that competing interpretations can be productive (see, e.g., Kitzinger & Powell, 1995). I am also aware that '[t]here is no happy détente between these approaches' (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998, p. 17). Within this thesis, talk about homophobia is analysed in Chapters 3 and 5, while Chapters 2 and 4 rely primarily on quantitative prejudice research. An integration is attempted in Chapters 6 and 7.

Premise 5: Homophobia varies across space and time

Laws, practices and perceptions around same-gender relationships and LGB people vary greatly across the world. Countries like Australia and Ecuador recognise same-gender civil partnerships while other, such as the Netherlands and South Africa, recognise same-gender marriages. In other countries, such as Kenya and Uzbekistan, homosexuality is punishable by imprisonment; in yet others, such as Iran and Mauritania, it is punishable by death. LGB people are sometimes treated very differently in countries that other otherwise perceived to be similar. For example, among the so-called BRIC countries (a group of large, fast-growing economies; O'Neill, 2001), same-gender marriages are performed in Brazil, LGB people are imprisoned in India, and have no legal protection in China; in Russia, 'homosexual propaganda' has recently been made illegal. A simplified map of the legality of homosexuality and same-gender unions is given in Figure 1.

Figure 1

Simplified map of LGB rights across the world (based on ILGA, 2015).

Possibly the most striking contrasts in homophobia occur in Europe. Within the European Union, all countries are bound to outlaw discrimination against LGB people (EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, art. 21), but other aspects of homophobia still vary significantly: many Western European countries, such as Portugal and Norway, perform same-gender marriages, while some Eastern European countries, such as Slovakia and Bulgaria, constitutionally limit marriage to one man and one woman. Interestingly, Estonia recognises same-gender civil partnerships, while its Baltic neighbours Latvia and Lithuania have constitutional limits on marriage; Hungary and Croatia both recognise civil partnerships and constitutionally exclude marriage. Societal homophobia also varies across the EU: in a recent survey, 88% of Spaniards but only 42% of Poles answered that 'homosexuality should be accepted by society' (Pew Research Center, 2013). Overall, however, Europe still seems divided along the 'Iron Curtain', i.e., the border that separated the capitalist West from the socialist East between 1945 and 1989.

Table 1

Selective Timeline of LGB Issues.

Dates/periods	Events
1869	Karl Ulrichs and Karl Maria Kertbény challenge the criminalisation of homosexuality in an open letter to the German (Prussian) government.
1897	Magnus Hirschfeld founds the Scientific Humanitarian Committee in Germany, often considered the first gay right organisation.
1933 – 1945	In Nazi Germany, gay organisations are banned, and numerous people are persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and/or killed due to their sexuality.
1940s – 1950s	The International Classification of Diseases (ICD-6, 1949) and the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM, 1952) include homosexuality as a diagnostic category. The first LGB organisations are founded in the US: the Mattachine Society (1950) in Los Angeles and the Daughters of Bilitis (1955) in San Francisco.
28 June 1969	The patrons of the Stonewall Inn, an LGBT bar in New York City, riot against police persecution. This event starts the tradition of annual pride parades across the world.
1972	The American Psychiatric Association removes homosexuality from the DSM.
1980s – 1990s	The AIDS crisis. Gay and bisexual men are disproportionately affected. The crisis is used as an argument against extending gay rights.
1989	Denmark becomes the first country to recognise civil partnerships between same-gender couples.
17 May 1990	The World Health Organisation removes homosexuality from the ICD. The date is celebrated as the International Day Against Homophobia and Transphobia (IDAHOT).
2001	The Netherlands is the first country to legalise same-gender marriage.

Despite such differences in laws and attitudes, however, LGB people have become more accepted in all parts of Europe since fall of the Iron Curtain (Kuyper et al., 2013). Changes have indeed been remarkable: in 1989, Denmark has become the

first country in the world to recognise same-gender civil-unions, while the Netherlands was the first one to legalise marriage between people of the same gender in 2001. Today, same-gender marriage is legal in 13 European countries, and civil partnerships are legal in another 11. While sodomy laws were still enforced in some countries in 1989 (such as Romania and the Soviet Union), discrimination based on sexual orientation is now almost universally banned (ILGA, 2015).

Changes in homophobia are not limited to laws and public opinion. Science has also turned from treating homosexuality as a pathology to regarding LGB people as a stigmatised minority, a change explained above (see Premise 2). But LGB people themselves have also shaped to their own history. On the one hand, they have greatly (though often discreetly) contributed to the research that challenged pathologisation (see Minton, 2002). On the other hand, they have organised themselves in order to educate the public, lobby decision makers and protest against injustice (see Adam, 1995). LGB people have created organisations such as the Scientific Humanitarian Committee in prewar Germany or the Mattachine Society in the postwar US; notably, they have violently resisted persecution by the police in such events as the Stonewall riot in 1969. (For a selective list of landmarks in LGB history, see Table 1.)

Premise 6: The history of homophobia differs by country

The present thesis focuses on the recent decrease in homophobia in many parts of the world, with a special focus on Romania and the UK. Therefore, the history of LGB people in these two countries is sketched in the sections below. A comprehensive history is of course beyond the scope of this thesis, but a brief inventory of developments in law, sexual science and LGB movements is provided.

Homophobia in the UK

Sexual acts between men were first criminalised in England during the reign of Henry VIII. The role of the Buggary Act 1533 was arguably to overrule Church practices and bring make the policing of sexual morality the remit of the Crown (Plummer, 1975). Successive laws have kept male homosexuality illegal, while reducing punishments (from death in the Buggary Act 1533 to 10 years imprisonment

in the Offenses against the Person Act 1861), and ignoring sex between women. London, however, was home to a thriving underground culture of illegal sex (on the 'Mollie houses' of the 18th century onward, see Weeks, 1981b; on cruising venues in the mid-20th century, see Houlboork, 2005); and sodomy laws were often unknown (or largely ignored) among the working class of the industrial North (Smith, 2015). The early 20th century was the time of a 'first wave' of LGB psychology in the UK (Kitzinger & Coyle, 2002), characterised by the quest to depathologise homosexuality. Most notably, Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis founded the British Society of the Study of Sex Psychology in 1914, which aimed improve societal attitudes towards homosexuals through education (Clarke & Peel, 2007).

After World War II, support intensified for abolishing sodomy laws. The Wolfenden Report (Committee on Homosexual Offences and Prostitution, 1957) recommended the decriminalisation of homosexuality, and the Homosexual Law Reform Society was formed. The law was eventually changed in ten years later (Sexual Offenses Act 1967). The first London pride took place in 1972, and it testified to the continued difficulties faced by LGB people despite legal reform: banners showed texts such as 'We demand the right to show affection in public!!!' The silence around LGB issues was later codified by Section 28 of the Local Government Act 1988, which prohibited councils in the UK from 'promoting homosexuality'.

A 'second wave' of LGB psychology has also unfolded after World War II (Kitzinger & Coyle, 2002), and saw such important work as June Hopkins's (1969) 'The lesbian personality' (which has been likened to Evelyn Hooker's, 1957, work on gay men in the US; Clarke & Peel, 2007), John Hart and Diane Richardson's (1981) critique of pathologisation, and Golombok, Spencer and Rutter's (1983) work on gay parenting. Despite these remarkable contributions, research in this period has been criticised for at least two reasons. First, it lagged behind US publications: citing Furnell's (1986) assessment, Clarke and Peel (2007) appreciate that 'the British literature in the mid-1980s resembled the US literature in the late 1960s and early 1970s' (p. 11). Second, Kitzinger and Coyle (2002) decry that LGB psychology forgot its prewar origins, often 'reinventing the wheel' (e.g., by ignoring the precursors of

the essentialism-constructionism debate) and referring to American rather than European benchmarks (e.g., emphasising Stonewall over Karl Ulrichs's activism).

Over the last 15 years, numerous laws have been enacted in the UK to protect LGB people. Section 28 was repealed in (Local Government Act 2003), and sexual orientation has become a protected characteristic (Equality Act 2010). Same-gender couples are allowed to enter civil partnerships (Civil Partnership Act 2004), adopt children (Children and Adoption Act 2002), and marry (Marriage [Same Sex Couples] Act 2013)[1].

LGB psychology in the UK has been recognised by the creation of the Lesbian and Gay Psychologies Section (now Psychology of Sexualities Section) of the British Psychological Society in 1998. This recognition has been achieved after decade-long efforts, and the section was approved by BPS member by a slim majority (Kitzinger & Coyle, 2002). Within the same decade, LGB psychologists in the UK have also developed the constructionist framework I have discussed in detail under Proposition 4. Clarke and Peel (2007) contrast Celia Kitzinger's (1987) *Social Construction of Lesbianism* with its American contemporary, the Boston Lesbian Psychologies Collective's (1987) *Lesbian Psychologies*. The former's critique of the liberal agenda embraced by the latter is seen as defining of British LGB psychology. 'Typical of the British approach are engagement with both feminist and critical perspectives, the use of qualitative as well as quantitative methods, and theoretical and epistemological sophistication.' (Coyle & Kitzinger, 2002, back cover) British sophistication is explained by the UK being 'broadly speaking, a more liberal and secular society than the US' (Clarke & Peel, 2007, p. 18).

Homophobia in Romania

The first Romanian Penal Code (Parliament of Romania, 1865) was based on the French model and therefore it did not specifically prohibit same-gender sexual activity. Beginning in 1936, five special provisions were included for prosecuting 'acts of sexual inversion', particularly 'if it leads to public scandal' (Parliament of Romania,

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[1] Regional variations exist. For example, marriage was legalised in Scotland by the Marriage and Civil Partnerships (Scotland) Act 2013, and it is still not legal in Northern Ireland as of January 2016.

1936, art. 431). The following political regimes have maintained this provision (esp. Great National Assembly, 1968, art. 200). After the fall of the national-communist regime in 1989, 'sexual rapports between persons of the same sex' were still punishable by imprisonment, but Romanian and international gay rights organizations began to question this prohibition. In 1996, the law was changed to decriminalise homosexuality unless it led to 'public scandal' (Parliament of Romania, 1996, art. 1, no.81). In 2001, Article 200 of the Penal Code was finally abolished by an act of the Government (Government of Romania, 2001). At around the same time, anti-homophobia measures were drafted and voted into law (Government of Romania, 2000). Marriage, however, remains denied to same-gender couples in Romania, and anti-gay proposals, interpellations, and statements occasionally occur in Parliament (Spineanu-Dobrotă, 2005; see also Chapter 5). Legal changes were admittedly made for Romania to become eligible for EU membership, a fact often criticised by the (nationalistic) media (Crețeanu & Coman, 1998).

Gay movements and communities in Romania have emerged relatively late. Although gay rights movements emerged in some other European countries in the 19th century (e.g., Ulrichs' 'Uranist' movement in Germany), no such group seems to have existed in Romania. A gay scene seems to have existed between the two World Wars, but it was most likely accessible only to the upper classes and not visible to the rest of Romanian society (for a journalistic inquiry, see Olivotto, 2007). Unfortunately, little is documented about gay life in Romania before the 1990s. There were some underground gay groups during this time that were short-lived and under-resourced (Nicoară, 1995). After the fall of Communism in 1989, a few gay rights organisations began to operate in Romania, including Be An Angel Romania (BAAR) and ACCEPT. The latter developed and annually organises the GayFest in Bucharest. Gay Movie Nights are organised annually in Cluj-Napoca, the country's second largest city.

A pride parade in Bucharest was attempted and abandoned in 2004 (Woodcock, 2009). The first GayFest (2005) was only 30 minutes long and it was marred by Noua Dreaptă [New Right] protesters throwing food and homemade explosives at the parade. In 2006, a protest was sanctioned by Romanian courts to be held prior to

GayFest, and it was conducted by uniformed New Right members and Romanian Orthodox Church officials. Twenty Antifa (anti-fascist) counter-protesters were arrested after they took action against the New Right protesters and seized some of their banners. Since 2006, there have been no reported violent incidents associated with GayFest, but protests against it still occur regularly. (Media coverage of the 2010 GayFest is analysed in Chapter 5.)

Psychological research has been mostly silent on Romanian sexualities: a search for *Romanian AND (gay OR homosexual)* in PsycINFO returns only 5 results as of January 2016. It must be noted that the relative penury of psychological research in Romania does not affect only sexuality: given that the communist regime effectively outlawed psychology in the 1980s, the field had to be rebuilt from scratch after 1989 (Kiss, 2012). Scholars of Romanian sexualities have mostly examined either sexual behaviour in relation to AIDS, or societal attitudes towards homosexuality. Much of this research replicates findings from US or Western European studies. Unsurprisingly, contact with non-heterosexual people is associated with less prejudice (Moraru, 2010). Gay men's experiences of prejudice are associated with less emotional wellbeing, and this link is partially explained by discriminated gay men feeling less supported and cared for by others (Bartoș, 2010). Longfield et al. (2007) performed an ethnographic study of the sexual practices of men who have sex with men in the Balkans, tackling such issues as using the Internet to find sexual partners. They suggest a causal chain that leads from homophobia through hiding to unsafe sex.

Conclusions on the History of Western and Eastern European Sexualities

The history of LGB people in Europe has often been written in relation to largely American landmarks, such as the ones in Table 1, and many authors have criticised such a narrative. Kulpa & Mizielińska (2011), for example, 'ask[ed] what is left of 'queer' in the CEE [Central and Eastern European] context, where Stonewall never happened' (Kulpa & Mizielińska, 2011, p. 2). Also criticising the use of the Stonewall riot as universal landmark, Kitzinger and Coyle (2002) saw the emphasis on American histories as an erasure of the achievements LGB people in Europe (and thus the UK).

Referring to the timeline sketched in Table 1 is particularly problematic for Eastern Europe. Western histories are linear and cumulative, progressing through meaningful stages; see, for example, the 'waves' of LGB psychology in the UK (Kitzinger & Coyle, 2002; Clarke & Peel, 2007). On the contrary, the post-socialist history of Eastern Europe is 'knotted', with many superimposed changes in a short period of time. In Romania, for example, the abolition on sodomy laws and the instatement of anti-discrimination laws coincided (see above). Such 'knotting' of history is not new to Eastern Europe: Romanian philosopher Lucian Blaga (1976/1997) contrasted the Western 'time-growing' to the Romanian 'time-passing' essentially conveying the same tension as Mizielińska and Kulpa's (2011) 'Western time of sequence' versus 'Eastern time of coincidence' (p. 15).

Table 1 also tells a story of progress, of increasing inclusion of LGB people. Such a narrative leads to the question whether the rest of the world is 'behind' or 'backwards' and whether it needs to 'catch up'. Comparing one's own country to the West, lagging behind or catching up, imitating the West or seeking originality have long been (often dominant) themes in Eastern European national cultures (see Blagojević, 2011, for the example of Serbia). In Romania[2], for example, comparison with the West was already an important political issue in the 18th century (Marino, 2005). By the late 1800s, it had become possibly the most important point of dispute in literary circles. Literary critic Titu Maiorescu[3] (1868) called Western influences 'shapes without a background' ('forme fără fond', also translated as 'forms without substance'). This still-used phrase resonates with Mizielińska and Kulpa's (2011) observation that names (such as 'LGBT') sometimes appear in CEE before their referent (in this case, self-described 'LGBT' people). Contrary to Maiorescu, literary historian Eugen Lovinescu (1924/1992) argued that the imitation of the West (in his terms, 'simulation') would eventually lead to originality ('stimulation'). Mizielińska (2011) refers to Polish LGB organisations to argue that some of the changes in Eastern Europe may resemble those in the West, but the differences are essential: for

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[2] For an English-language summary of Romanian debates on "synchronising" with the West, see Hitchins (1992).

[3] Also a prime-minister, diarist, editor, and one of the first psychology lecturers in Romania.

example, a broad palette of discourses are used to argue for LGB inclusion, such as identity politics, queer theory, and synchronisation with the West itself.

Premise 7: Recent changes in homophobia pose new challenges

In the previous sections, I have argued that the history of sexuality matters. However, my narrative of homophobia in the UK and Romania has largely focused on the successes of identity politics, and the quantitative reduction of prejudice. I now argue that the history of sexuality matters beyond the realm of LGB lives, having an impact on issues as broad and fundamental as the nation state. I also move on the reduction of prejudice to more complex, qualitative forms of change.

The link between nationalism and homophobia has a different history in different countries. In the West, the two have arguably emerged as aspects of modernisation. As modern nation-states were being formed, governments gradually took over the regulation of private life from the Church (Foucault, 1976; Plummer, 1975; Weeks, 1981a). Scientific planning and rationalisation became markers of modern life, and many previously marginalised people, including those with same-gender attraction, were pathologised (Foucault, 1976). During the colonial era, sexual mores formed one of the fault lines between 'civilised' and 'primitive' societies (Pryke, 1998); and some colonisers (most notably Victorian Britons) imposed sodomy laws onto the colonised (Pryke, 1998; Hemmings, 2007).

Today, sexuality is once again playing a role in how the West is plotted against the rest of the world, but this role is now very different from colonial sodomy laws. In the 20th century, Western societies have experienced the shift of values that Ronald Inglehart (2008; Inglehart & Baker, 2000) has called *postmodernisation*: equality, diversity, and self-affirmation have become primary goals for societies and their governments, often eclipsing economic priorities. LGB people, like other oppressed groups, have formed social movements and they have achieved various degrees of acceptance across the Western world (see Premise 5). In the meantime, in the wake of decolonisation and increased global mobility, many nationalist voices have refocused on restricting immigration to the West from poorer countries (see, e.g., Hekma, 2011). One argument used against immigrants is that they are less

tolerant of LGB people than locals. 'There is a transition underway in how queer subjects are relating to nation-states [...], from being figures of death (i.e., the AIDS epidemic) to becoming tied to ideas of life and productivity (i.e., gay marriage and families).' (Puar, 2007, p. xii). Now gay rights – rather than Victorian prudishness – are the proof of Western superiority, and the reason to keep out the potentially less tolerant immigrants. This new dynamic of nation and sexuality has been called *homonationalism* (Puar, 2007).

Since Eastern Europe has a historical and geopolitical situation different from that of the West, the link between homophobia and nationalism is also different. Kulpa (2011) directly challenged the usefulness of homonationalism as a conceptual tool to understand Eastern Europe. He argued that homonationalism 'implies more than it actually refers to' (p. 58): the overwhelming issue in Eastern Europe is the link between heteronormativity and nationalism. Indeed, research on sexuality and nationalism in the Eastern Europe has typically found that gay people were excluded from national identity, and associated with the West, which was construed as morally corrupt (see, e.g., the first issue of the journal *Sextures*, dedicated to 'Queering sexual citizenship'). Moreover, Kulpa (2011) has suggested that Eastern Europe may develop a positive version of homonationalism, whereby LGB people could 'win back patriotism […]' rather than 'leave this powerful social identification/ imagination for ab/use by populists and xenophobes.' (p. 56) As with LGB history more generally, the question is to what extent Western models and theories can be applied in Eastern Europe, and to what extent LGB people in this region can develop their own models.

The Present Thesis

This introductory chapter did not only define homophobia and outline the main explanatory theories; but it also established that the decline of homophobia is an ongoing, pervasive and fairly advanced process. Consequently I set myself the goal to understand how this change has been accomplished, looking at both the successes and shortcomings of psychological strategies (Chapters 2 and 3), and at broader societal processes such as secularisation and (post)modernisation (Chapter 4). Moreover, as the decline of homophobia is a phenomenon that has been ongoing for

a few decades, I ask questions not just about the causes, but also about the consequences of this decline. In the light of previous work about homo- and heteronationalism, I look into the entanglement of sexualities and national identities (Chapters 5 and 6).

As promised in the title, I aim at a coverage of the change of homophobia that is *global*. My use of the term is, nevertheless, not strictly geographical. I focus on two countries (Romania and the UK; Chapters 4, 5 and 6), and I also use data from other European nations (in the second half of Chapter 4). Moreover, I examine both research (Chapters 2 and 3) and data (Chapter 4) from the US. The rest of the Globe, however, is not covered in this thesis: for example, the complex issues around gay rights and homophobia in Africa (e.g., Bangwayo-Skeete & Zikhali, 2011; see also Figure 1 above) are beyond the theoretical scope and practical reach of my research. In effect, the word 'global' in the title is meant to connote my focus on the globalisation of knowledge. As shown by the systematic reviews in Chapters 2 and 3, most research on homophobia is conducted in the US and other countries of the global North. Other countries need this knowledge, and the possibility of its transfer needs to be investigated (see Chapter 4). Similarly, it is often qualitative, post-structuralist scholarship that innovates our understanding of social injustice, but large-scale policies and programmes require quantification within a realist/positivist framework (Kitzinger, 1997; Rivers, 2001). Homonationalism (Puar, 2007), for instance, is an insightful intellectual tool coming from a social constructionist, post-structuralist perspective, and its usefulness to the psychology of homophobia requires a reassessment from an experimental perspective (see Chapter 6). Therefore, the term 'global' in the title does not simply refer to cross-cultural comparisons: the change of homophobia cuts across both geographical and philosophical boundaries.

The global focus of this thesis, as described above, requires a pragmatic and integrative epistemological stance. As explained under Premises 3 and 4, there are competing philosophical perspectives on understanding homophobia, either treating it as an objective reality that can be discovered by means of the scientific method (the realist/essentialist perspective presented under Premise 3); or as a social

construction that needs to be interpreted and dismantled through the analysis of homophobic language (the social constructionist perspective summarised under Premise 4). A detailed discussion of these philosophical views (see, e.g., DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Stainton-Rogers, 2003, Chapter 1) is beyond the scope of a doctoral thesis in psychology: I shall limit myself to noting that conflict between competing epistemologies was much less difficult to manage in practice than it seems in theory. On the one hand, realists are often acutely aware of the linguistic relativity of knowledge. Carnap (1950), a central figure for the realist understanding of science, argued that scientific concepts serve practical purposes rather than reflecting an ultimate reality: 'the decisive question is not the alleged ontological question of the existence of abstract entities but rather the question whether the rise of abstract linguistic forms … is expedient and fruitful' (p. 39) Carnap's pragmatic view on *linguistic frameworks* directly informed Cronbach & Meehl's (1955) *nomological networks*: the ultimate test for psychological concepts is whether they serve as building blocks for coherent, well-supported theories. Social constructionists, on the other hand, are aware of the utility of realist assumptions, if within certain limits. Vaihinger (1911/2009) argued in his *Philosophy of As If* that all human knowledge is fiction; some fictions, however, are useful, and it is worth acting *as if* they were true. Hegarty and Massey (2006) illustrate a similar point by referring to constructionist research on the AIDS epidemic: although the science of AIDS has often been politically loaded, "we can learn to live – indeed, *must* learn to live – as though there are such things as viruses. The virus – a constructed scientific object – is also … a real source of illness and death" (Treichler, 1991, p. 69, cited in Hegarty & Massey, 2006, p. 61).

In this thesis, I maintain Vaihinger's and Treichler's notions that unsettled truths must be accepted on pragmatic grounds. This allows me two very productive exercises. First, I can examine the same issue from multiple perspectives: Chapters 2 and 3 give, respectively, realist-quantitative and constructionist-qualitative accounts of the same interventions to reduce homophobia; Chapter 6 proposes an experiment based on the lessons learnt from the qualitative research in Chapter 5. Second, how and why people embrace different philosophical views can become the object of

study for psychology rather than a starting point: in Chapter 3, I discuss at large people's reasons to profess realist or constructions beliefs about homophobia.

In brief, the present thesis aims to understand *how homophobia has changed* over the last few decades. The *how* in this question is meant in several ways. First, I want to understand the *psychological techniques and mechanisms* by which such a change can be induced. To this end, I conduct a systematic review of psychological interventions to reduce homophobia in Chapter 2. Second, I want to examine people's *experiences of embracing or rejecting change*. Therefore, in Chapter 3, I conduct a qualitative review of participants' feedback on psychological interventions. Third, I want to study change on a societal scale, looking at *value shifts that occur over decades* in different countries. To this end, in Chapter 4, I reanalyse data from the World Values Survey, comparing models of change in European countries and the US. Fourth, I want to understand not only the causes, but also the consequences of the changes in homophobia. Therefore, I conduct discourse analysis on new reports of a gay pride parade in Romania (in Chapter 5), and I devise a questionnaire and an experimental task to explore homonationalism (in Chapter 6). Finally, in Chapter 7, I revisit the premises enumerated above in light of the findings from these five studies.

CHAPTER 2. Interventions to Reduce Homophobia: A Study-Space Analysis and Meta-Analytic Review

In the summer of 2010, my friends from a local LGBT rights group were preparing their usual autumn event, the Gay Film Nights. One evening, we were standing in front of an old synagogue in Cluj, the main city in my native Transylvania, during the break of a performance. We were discussing ways to use the media strategy of the Film Nights to combat homophobia. The conversation quite naturally turned to psychology, and somebody asked me directly what I as a psychologist new about reducing homophobia. I muttered something about social influence and attitude change, but I had no proper answer. It immediately became clear to me that I had to find this piece of information: being able to answer such a question, to advise people on homophobia, was part of my understanding of my career as a psychologist. Over the following week, I started planning a review paper and a couple of experiments – the first proposal for this thesis.

I was not the only one who felt that homophobia was under-researched. In Todd Nelson's comprehensive *Psychology of Prejudice* (2006; 2nd ed.), homophobia did not receive its own chapter (unlike racism, sexism and ageism), but it was briefly discussed under 'Trends and Unanswered Questions' (together with ableism and anti-fat prejudice). Many papers on reducing homophobia have pointed out the lack of literature on this subject. In their systematic review, Tucker and Potocky-Tripodi (2006) concluded that '[n]o intervention met the criteria of a well-established or probably efficacious treatment, as all studies had substantial methodological limitations.' (p. 176) More recently (and in a publication as prestigious as the *Journal of Experimental Psychology*), Lehmiller et al. (2010) discussed 'the few experimental attempts to reduce sexual prejudice' (p. 277), citing two examples.

If some researchers argue there is little literature about reducing homophobia, others contest the utility of such a literature altogether. The individual and small-group interventions proposed by psychologists are often seen as ancillary to large-scale social reform: as Morin (1991, p. 245) put it, 'the change of society will help more people than an army of psychologists working with them one by one' (see also

Ehrlich, 1973). Literature reviews have often emphasised the methodological weaknesses of psychological studies in this domain, and they have consequently shied away from drawing conclusions on the effectiveness of such interventions (e.g., Croteau & Kusek, 1992; Tucker & Potocky-Tripodi, 2006). *The present review aims to assess the achievements and shortcomings of psychological science in its pursuit of effective techniques to reduce homophobia.* After a brief overview of previous efforts to synthesise this literature, I proceed to map the well-explored and neglected aspects of research in this area. I then describe the interventions that have been employed to reduce homophobia, and I assess their effectiveness.

Previous Reviews

This systematic review is designed to inform future efforts, within and beyond psychology, to reduce homophobia. When research is not comprehensively integrated, practitioners and policy makers have difficulty using it (Higgins & Green, 2008). The volume of the literature and its inconsistent results often frustrate policy makers, affecting both the prestige and the funding of psychological research (Schmidt & Hunter, 2003), and raising the risk of running unnecessary studies on questions that could be addressed by reassessing previous research (Mulrow, 1994).

There are only two reviews of sexual-prejudice interventions, and neither is comprehensive. Stevenson's (1988) synthesis was thorough but it is now outdated. More recently, Tucker and Potocky-Tripodi (2006) found that no intervention strategy for reducing homophobia was adequately supported by the literature. They speculated that the reticence of funding bodies might have hindered research on homophobia. However, Tucker and Potocky-Tripodi only considered published articles from a ten-year period; the seventeen studies included in their review represent little more than one tenth of the relevant literature (see below my own sample of 157 studies).

Syntheses of prejudice research in general also address homophobia, but with understandable concision. Paluck and Green's (2009) review of over 800 prejudice-reducing interventions did not differentially discuss research on specific types of prejudice. Therefore, this chapter did not allow the reader to appraise whether a

strategy described as effective was specifically tested in the case of homophobia. Moreover, this impressively broad review still covered less than one-third of the available literature on reducing homophobia.

More focused reviews are available, but they typically confine themselves to such specific interventions as panel discussions (Chonody et al., 2009; Croteau & Kusek, 1992) or gay-straight alliances (Hansen, 2007). Pettigrew and Tropp's (2006) meta-analysis on the *contact hypothesis* (Allport, 1954) also found that contact with LGB people reduced heterosexual people's homophobia. Interestingly, the effect of contact on homophobia was slightly stronger than on other forms of prejudice, such as racism. Smith et al. (2009) performed a meta-analysis exclusively on contact and homophobia, and they also confirmed the effectiveness of this approach. However, no such review explored other methods of reducing homophobia.

Therefore, a broad synthesis is needed. Meta-analyses and systematic reviews have become standard practice for disentangling the medical literature (Higgins & Green, 2008). These methods have also proved valuable for social psychology (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). More recently, study-space analysis has been proposed for identifying underexplored key issues (Malpass et al., 2008). In the case of homophobia reduction, the volume and diversity of the literature suggest the need for research integration.

The Present Review

The aim of this review is to assess practical strategies to reduce homophobia. I consider studies regardless of disciplinary boundaries (e.g., intervention papers in educational and social work journals), theoretical underpinnings, and study design and setting (e.g., laboratory experiments and classroom interventions). However, as my focus is on intervention studies, I excluded correlational research. I also excluded all qualitative research, the methods and results of which are usually not commensurable with those of quantitative studies. Through these exclusions and restrictions I aimed to review a meaningful and coherent body of studies in a feasible way.

The present study draws on three complementary approaches to assessing and integrating scientific evidence. First, a thorough search of the literature was performed, in accordance with the Cochrane guidelines for systematic reviews (Higgins & Green, 2008).

Second, a study space analysis was performed in order to identify the issues that have been satisfactorily addressed by these studies and the issues that need further research. Malpass et al. (2008) proposed study space analysis as a procedure for 'identifying regions of concentration and inattention' (p. 794) in a field of research. A study space is a matrix in which lines and columns represent study characteristics, e.g., whether the research was experimental, or whether the participants were students. Each entry of the matrix represents the number of studies that exhibit the corresponding pair of characteristics, e.g., how many studies were experiments performed on students. An inspection of the study-space matrix can indicate the issues that have been neglected, as the corresponding cells will have visibly low counts; and inferential statistics (e.g., χ^2 tests) can elucidate whether the distribution of the studies across the study space is uneven (see e.g., Memon et al., 2010). Systematic reviews can sometimes point out underexplored issues (e.g., Paluck & Green, 2009), but study-space analyses allow for quantification and increased rigour.

Third, I performed meta-analytic reviews on clusters of studies that used a similar approach to reduce homophobia. Effect sizes were computed for all reports that provided sufficient information. However, following the advice of Borenstein et al. (2009), I only computed summary effect sizes when the studies within a cluster were both sufficiently similar and numerous. In all other cases, I reported and discussed the effect sizes of individual studies.

Table 1

Keywords for Searching Studies on Reducing Sexual Prejudice

Intervention	Sexual Prejudice
Challenge	Anti-gay/ anti homosexual/ sexual prejudice
Change	Anti-gay/ homophobic etc. violence/
Educate/ation	sentiment/ bullying/ harassment
Improvement/improve	Attitudes towards gay/lesbian people etc.
Intervention	Biphobia
Modification/modify	Gay/ lesbian/ homosexual etc. stereotypes
Prevention/prevent	Heterocentrism/heterocentric
Reduction/reduce	Heterosexism/heterosexist
	Homonegativity/homonegative
	Homophobia/homophobic
	Hostility towards gays/ lesbians etc.
	Lesbophobia
	Monosexism
	Prejudice against gay/ lesbian people etc.
	Sexual prejudice
	Sexual/ anti-gay stigma(tization)

The Systematic Search of the Literature

Literature Search

Our search for relevant literature followed the recommendations of the *Cochrane Handbook for Systematic Reviews of Interventions* (Higgins & Greeen, 2008). These guidelines demand a systematic, quasi-exhaustive strategy for collecting both published and unpublished reports; a transparent, *a priori* protocol for selecting the relevant studies; and a reliable coding scheme for recording the designs and results of those studies.

I first generated potential keywords for the literature search through brainstorming and by consulting theoretical papers on homophobia (e.g., Herek, 2004). Two lists were compiled: a series of terms representing *intervention* and an array of words and phrases representing *reactions to homosexuality* (see Table 1).

Boolean operators and wildcards were employed to facilitate the use of these keywords in search engines.

Ten electronic databases were searched for relevant reports: PsycINFO, Medline, Psychology and Behavioural Sciences Collection, International Bibliography of Social Sciences, Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, ScienceDirect, Scopus, ERIC, and ISI Web of Knowledge. All English-language reports were retrieved that contained at least one intervention-related phrase and one sexual-prejudice-related phrase in the title, abstract or keywords. In order to retrieve more recent studies, I repeated these searches on 25 March 2012. Studies published after this date were not included.

I made efforts to retrieve relevant studies not identified by searching the databases. The reference lists of several systematic reviews were checked (Hansen, 2007; Paluck & Green, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Stevenson, 1988; Tucker & Potocky-Tripodi, 2006). Recent volumes of journals likely to publish relevant studies were searched by hand. Specifically, I inspected paper copies of the two most recent volumes of the *Journal of Homosexuality* and the *Journal of Sex Research*, and the whole archive of the *Gay and Lesbian Psychology Review/Psychology of Sexualities Review*. Seven additional reports were identified through these supplementary searches.

French and German reports were sought in Persée and at the German National Library and DissOnline, respectively. Moreover, I used French, German, and Spanish versions of my keywords in PsycINFO and Google. I also performed searches in English-language databases of regional relevance, namely African Journals Online, Central and Eastern Europe Online, and the Indian Citation Index. None of these searches returned any relevant results.

Several strategies were employed to access studies that are unpublished or otherwise difficult to retrieve. First, I performed searches in Google, Google Scholar, Lexis Nexis, and Academia.edu. Second, I searched OpenGrey, a database that indexes unpublished research from across Europe. Third, special attention was granted to theses and dissertations. Although much postgraduate research (especially from the US) is indexed in major databases, I performed supplementary

searches in the Index to Theses in Great Britain and Ireland and in the ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Database. Fourth, I consulted the websites of several gay-rights and human-rights organisations: the International Lesbian and Gay Alliance, Stonewall (UK), the National Lesbian and Gay Task Force (US), Global Issues, and the United Nations. The last three strategies returned no relevant results. Except for an unpublished report retrieved through Google, all the other references suggested by these searches were already in my corpus.

I also contacted nineteen key people in the fields of prejudice reduction and homophobia, and asked them to recommend relevant reports. The list of people to contact was compiled by brainstorming, by consulting relevant handbooks (e.g., Clarke et al., 2010; Coyle & Kitzinger, 2002), and by searching my own corpus for authors with numerous papers. These experts suggested nine additional reports. One final report was indicated by an anonymous reviewer.

Inclusion Criteria

I defined the boundaries of my review in terms of population, intervention, control, and outcome (PICO; cf. Higgins & Green, 2008). My specific criteria are described in further detail in the following paragraphs.

Population. Studies were categorized by the age, gender, nationality, and ethnic composition of their sample; therefore, no study was excluded on such grounds. Only those interventions were included that targeted homophobia in heterosexual people. However, I also included both those studies that had a minority of LGB participants, and those that did not explicitly state their participants' sexuality.

Intervention. Reports were included in the review provided that (a) they described at least one intervention purposefully performed by a person or group, (b) they offered quantitative data reflecting the outcome of that intervention, and (c) the intervention was performed in order to modify reactions to homosexuality. I therefore excluded correlational studies and surveys, but I did not exclude interventions that resulted in an increase in homophobia.

Control. Studies using quantitative methods were included, such as experiments (i.e., comparisons of randomised groups) and quasi-experiments (i.e., comparisons of

non-equivalent groups and pretest-posttest studies). As explained in the *Introduction*, I excluded all qualitative research from this review.

Outcomes. Studies with outcome measures that reflected participants' reactions to homosexuality were included. In this context, *homosexuality* could refer to sexual behaviour or desire involving people of the same gender; to individuals and groups to whom such behaviours and desires are attributed (e.g., LGB people, queers); or simply to the term and its individual meanings.

Exclusion Decisions

The database searches returned approximately 40,000 references. The titles and abstracts of these reports were screened based on the inclusion criteria described above (see Figure 1 for a flowchart of the selection process).

Since this screening was performed by me alone, I assessed the reliability of the criteria. A batch of 100 articles was compiled using PsycINFO. A research assistant and I independently applied the criteria and rated each article as either *included* or *excluded*. I opted for Gwet's AC_1 statistic over the more popular Cohen's κ because AC_1 gives a better estimate of intercoder agreement when the baseline frequencies of the categories are greatly unequal (Gwet, 2008). In my case, over 90% of the studies were excluded by both coders; if I had used Cohen's method, this would have led to a substantial overestimation of the probability of random agreements and a subsequent underestimation of the reliability coefficient. Gwet's AC_1 estimates the proportion of random agreements based on binomial probabilities, but it is otherwise identical to Cohen's κ. The interrater agreement on exclusion decisions was good, Gwet's AC_1 = .96, *SE* = .02, *p* < .001. In a debriefing discussion, I agreed that the criteria were unambiguous, and that inclusion and exclusion decisions could be effectively made by me working alone.

After the literature search, I retained 238 references. Most of these were available through at least one of several academic libraries where I am a member. Thirty-one journal articles were obtained through interlibrary loans, six articles were consulted by courtesy of the authors, and five dissertations were purchased. Five reports were deemed irretrievable. Eighty-two reports did not present any relevant intervention and/or outcome, three were dissertations also published as journal articles; and two were duplicates. The resulting corpus comprised 146 reports. The selection process is summarised in Figure 1. The full list of included studies is given in Appendix A.

Figure 1. Flowchart of searching and selecting studies.
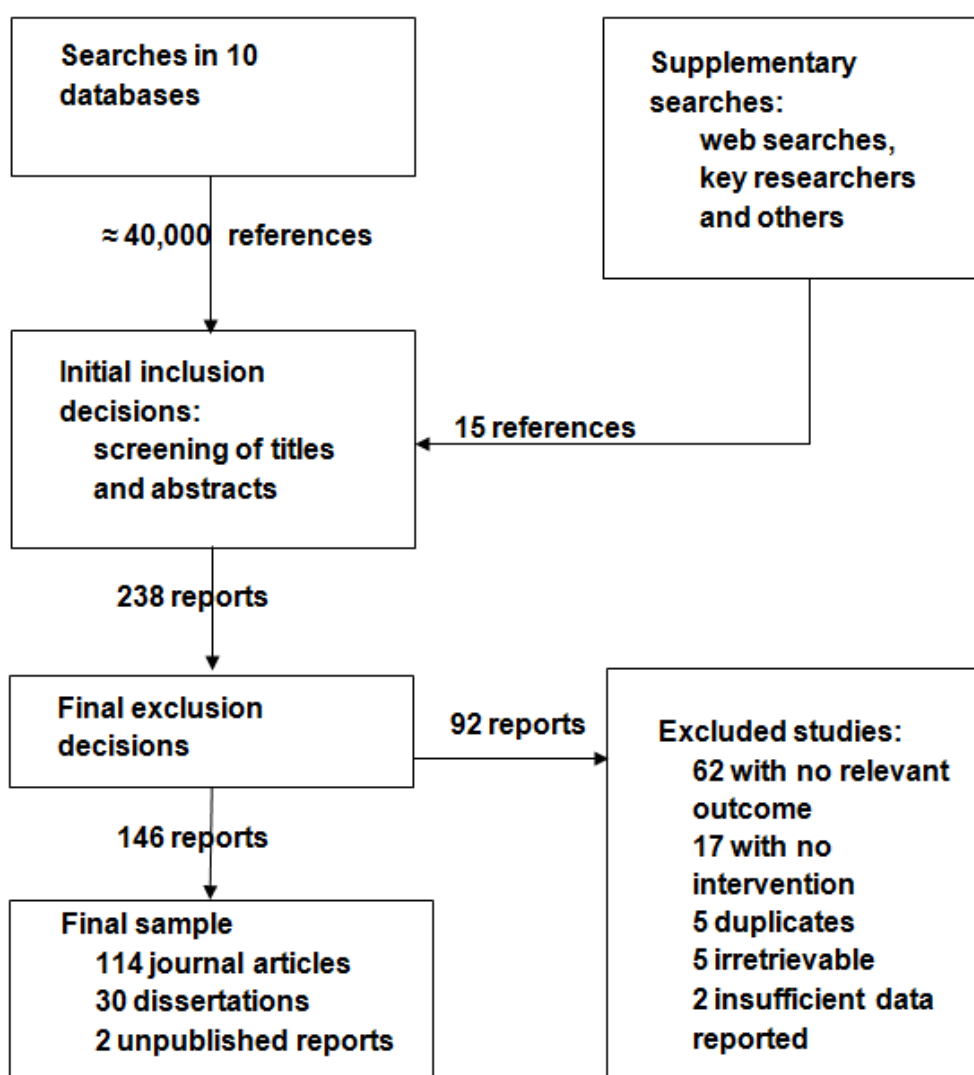
The Study Space Analysis

Analytic Strategy

I performed the study space analysis on 146 published and unpublished reports on a total of 159 studies. The aim of this study space analysis was twofold. First, I aimed to describe the studies by looking at the PICO characteristics: the populations sampled, the interventions tested, the designs employed, and the outcomes examined. I also recorded the publication status of the reports, the year of publication or submission, and whether they received funding.

Second, I explored the associations between study characteristics by cross-tabulating variables to obtain study-space matrices. I then computed Pearson's χ^2s, standardised residuals, and Goodman's γs in order to examine associations between study characteristics. Most tables include cells that are either empty or which have expected values smaller than five. In these instances, χ^2 tests have diminished power, and nonsignificant results should be interpreted with caution (Howell, 1992). I also compared groups of studies on continuous variables such as sample size and mean sample age. None of these continuous variables were normally distributed, all skewness zs > 4.89, ps < .001, and kurtosis zs > 2.94, ps < .01. Therefore, I used nonparametric tests.

Data Coding

I developed a coding scheme in order to systematically extract data about the studies. In addition to information related to the PICO criteria, I also included basic bibliographic data. The variables I constructed in order to extract information from the reports are described in the rest of this section.

I coded the studies alone. Fifteen studies (approximately 10% of the corpus) were independently re-coded by a colleague (Israel Berger) to check the reliability of the procedure. For the reasons explained above (under *Exclusion Decisions*), I opted for Gwet's AC_1 coefficient to quantify intercoder agreement on categorical variables. I computed intraclass correlations continuous variables, and a Goodman's γ for the

Table 2

Classification of Interventions to Reduce Sexual Prejudice

Approach	Description
Education	Information on (homo)sexuality, LGB lives, or prejudice, through either lectures, educational films, scientific readings, or a combination of these in the form of a course or workshop.
Intergroup contact	Contact with lesbians, gay men, or bisexual people in an organized setting, e.g., a panel presentation; it does not imply physical presence: contact may be imagined, vicarious, or otherwise mediated.
Contact-plus-education	Education and intergroup contact used together.
Norms or expertise	Information on how prejudice is viewed by either experts (e.g., evolutionary psychologists) or a significant group (e.g., public opinion, peers).
Inducing emotions	Exercises that directly target participants' emotions towards LGB people, including the facilitation of empathy.
Priming techniques	Participants' identity or values made salient in a certain situation; what is primed may be directly relevant to prejudice (e.g., tolerance) or more general (e.g., self-worth).
Awareness or suppression	Participants instructed (or otherwise prompted) to either recognize or suppress their prejudice.
Accountability	Participants prompted to explain their prejudiced beliefs or behaviours, or are otherwise held responsible for them.
Entertainment	Recreational books, films, or shows with content expected to influence prejudice.
Cooperative learning	Participants and LGB people studying together, esp. in a jigsaw-classroom setting.
Peer debate	Participants discussing their beliefs and feelings with peers.
Cognitive training	Exercises to retrain stereotypes.
Manipulation of categories	Specifically-devised situations that prompt participants to change the way they categorise others (e.g., acknowledge that one persons belongs to multiple categories)
Comparison of approaches	Two or more of the above approaches compared in the same study.

Note. This classification is based on Paluck and Green (2009).

only ordinal measure. Intercoder agreements were good for both categorical and continuous variables (see below, and in Appendix A).

Population. To characterise the sample, I recorded the number of participants, the proportion of women (between 0 and 1), and the country in which the study took place. I recorded both the average age of the sample, as reported by the authors; and the age group to which the participants belong, classified as children (up to 13 years old), teenagers (13-18), young adults (18-30), adults (30-60), and older adults (older than 60). The presence or absence of data on race and ethnicity was recorded, as well as the proportion of white participants, where available (between 0 and 1). Participants' sexuality was coded either as *all heterosexual*, when heterosexuality was a selection criterion for the study; as *mixed*, when both heterosexual and LGB people participated; or as *unreported*, when this was the case. The intercoder agreement was very good for both continuous (intraclass correlations ranging from .98 to 1, all ps < .001) and categorical variables (Gwet's AC_1s ranging from .83 to 1, all ps < .001).

Intervention. I classified interventions into fourteen categories. Paluck and Green (2009) described twelve types of intervention to reduce prejudice, although they did not provide a list or comprehensive definitions. my own operational definitions are given in Table 2. I added a residual category for studies comparing two or more approaches to reducing homophobia, and the cross-over category of contact-plus-education studies. The reliability of classifying the approaches to homophobia reduction was assessed on a sample of 39 reports (approximately one quarter of the corpus). The intercoder agreement was very good, Gwet's AC_1 = .86, p < .001.

Comparison. To assess research designs, I coded the type of comparison used by each study on a four-point scale. Based on Cook and Campbell's (1979) seminal assessment of experimental and quasi-experimental research, I constructed an ordinal measure of a study's internal validity. Specifically, I coded the type of comparison used by each study on a four-point scale (0 – no comparison; 1 – either pretest-posttest or non-randomised control group; 2 – non-randomised control group with pretest and posttest; 3 – randomly assigned control group). The

intercoder agreement was very good, Goodman's $\gamma = .97$, $p < .001$. The presence of any follow-up test (i.e., post-post-test) was recorded as a separate variable.

Outcomes. I labelled as *attitudinal* all homophobia scales, such as the Attitudes Towards Lesbians and Gay Men scale (ATLG; Herek, 1984). These measures all assessed attitudes, i.e., a *general positive or negative orientation* towards a social object (see e.g., Bohner & Dickel, 2011). When a measure specifically explored behavioural, cognitive, or emotional aspects of prejudice, I classified it as such (see below). Measures of attitudes towards specific issues (e.g., same-gender marriage or employment discrimination) were recorded but not used in this study.

Behavioural measures included not only actual behaviour, but also behavioural intentions. Common examples of behavioural measures included professionals' responses to case vignettes, surveys of intended behaviour, and participants' willingness to help gay people in real-life situations. Verbal behaviour was also classified as a behavioural outcome when participants used speech or writing for a specific end (e.g., to prepare a talk supporting gay rights) rather than to report their own thoughts and feelings.

I classified as *cognitive* all outcome measures of stereotypes and other beliefs about gay, lesbian, and bisexual issues. Knowledge about homosexuality and other measures that explicitly targeted cognition were also included in this category.

Emotional measures included all the instruments assessing participant's feelings towards homosexuality or LGB people. These were typically self-report measures that assessed the extent to which participants felt fear, anger, disgust, or other emotions in response to homosexuality.

Implicit measures attempted to assess participants' reactions without relying on self-report, often in order to bypass their need for favourable self-presentation. Typical implicit measures were implicit associations tests (IAT; see Greenwald et al., 2002) and galvanic skin responses (GSRs).

Bibliographic information. Each article was identified by the surname of the first author and the year of publication. For unpublished reports, the year of submission or completion was recorded. I also coded the type of the report (journal article, dissertation, conference paper, book chapter, or unclassified research report) and

whether it was published. Where applicable, the journal title was recorded. I also noted whether the study was funded.

Population

A total of 19,782 people participated in the 159 studies. The median sample size was of 92 people (range: 18 - 862 participants). Where demographics were reported, participants were mostly female (63%), young (*M* age 22.69), and white (77%). In 8% of the cases, no information was given on participants' gender, and only 56% of the studies described the sample's ethnic composition. One hundred and thirty-eight studies were performed in North America (87%); twelve in Western Europe (8%); four in the Middle East and South Asia (3%); three in Australia (2%); and one in Africa (< 1%; Eagle & Brouard, 1995). No studies were performed in South America, Eastern Europe, East Asia, or Oceania. Six studies were conducted with teenagers (4%), 18 with adults (11%), and 134 with young adults (84%). No studies were conducted with children or older adults. While the participants' age group was almost always clear, the mean age was only reported in half of the studies. Sample mean ages ranged from 14 to 44 years. One hundred and thirty-nine studies employed undergraduate students as participants (87%). The researchers assembled a confirmed heterosexual sample in only 29% of the studies; 57% of the studies did not report participants' sexuality, while the remaining 14% acknowledged the inclusion of a (usually small) number of LGB participants.

Interventions

I classified the studies according to 12 different types of prejudice-reducing interventions, following Paluck and Green (2009). Many studies used some form of education as an intervention (*n* = 63, 40 % of *N* = 159). Several studies employed LGB guest speakers, and thus combined education with intergroup contact (*n* = 38, 24 %). Contact with LGB people was also used outside of an educational context in a number of studies (*n* = 15, 9 %). Other studies examined effects of making tolerance a social norm, either through experts' statements or peers' opinions (*n* = 22, 14 %), inducing specific emotions (*n* = 11, 7 %), entertainment media (*n* = 11, 6 %), priming techniques (*n* = 7, 4 %) , awareness and suppression (*n* = 5, 3 %), and accountability

(n = 1, < 1 %). Four approaches identified by Paluck and Green (2009) were not represented: cognitive training for children, peer debates, cooperative learning, and the manipulation of social categorisation. Finally, 15 studies (9 %) compared the effectiveness of two or more approaches.

Next, I asked whether studies that examined different forms of prejudice reduction differed in their samples' characteristics. Groups of studies using the same approach to prejudice reduction did not differ in terms of their sample size, Kruskal-Wallis H(9) = 4.35, p > .05; employment of North American participants, χ^2 (9) = 11.13, p > .05; or the proportion of white participants, Kruskal-Wallis H(7) = 11.22, p > .05. However, different types of interventions had different gender ratios in their samples, Kruskal-Wallis H (9) = 24.07, p < .05.

Comparison

Recall that the robustness of the study design was operationalised as a four-point ordinal variable ranging from *no comparison (0)* to *comparison of randomised groups (3)*. In 70 studies, participants were randomly assigned to two or more groups (44%); 36 studies had both pretests and non-randomised control groups (23%); 50 studies had either pretests on non-randomised control groups (31 %); and in the remaining 3 studies, only post-intervention data were reported without any term of comparison (2%). Twenty-five studies (16%) reported follow-up results.

Outcomes

Recall that dependent measures were classified as attitudinal, behavioural, cognitive, emotional, and implicit. Most studies used some form of attitudinal measure (89 % of N = 159). Behavioural, cognitive, and emotional measures were each used in less than one fifth of the studies (16%, 17%, and 18%, respectively). Less than 3% of the studies employed implicit measures, such as implicit associations tests (IAT) and galvanic skin responses (GSRs).

Outcome measures typically referred either to both lesbians and gay men, or to LGB people more generally. Nine studies exclusively dealt with gay men (6%), two studies focused on lesbians (1%), and eight studies compared homophobia directed

at men and at women (5%). Only four studies specifically addressed prejudice against bisexual people (3%).

Publication and Funding

The majority of the reports (130 out of 146) were retrieved through searches in electronic databases; the rest were identified through previous reviews (10), key researchers (2), Google searches (2), hand searches of relevant journals (1), and a suggestion from an anonymous reviewer (1). These reports were journal articles (114), unpublished dissertations (30), conference presentations (1), and an unpublished research paper (1). The journal articles appeared in 75 different publications, and were clustered in *Journal of Homosexuality* which published 16 of these papers (14%). No other journal published more than four articles. All dissertations had their abstracts published in *Dissertation Abstracts International*. Almost 15% of the published studies (18) received some form of financial support. While some of the authors of the unpublished dissertations might have received scholarships, I did not find acknowledgements of any other funding.

I examined if published and unpublished studies (n = 124 and 35, respectively) differed on characteristics related to study design. All unpublished studies in this corpus were performed in the US. There were no significant differences between published and unpublished studies in the types of interventions used or in participants' age group, sexuality, or student status; all χ^2s were nonsignificant.

The comparison of published and unpublished studies revealed two unexpected differences. Unpublished studies tended to employ more robust designs than published studies, Goodman's γ = .55, p < .001. Furthermore, 29 % of the unpublished studies followed up on the long-term effectiveness of the intervention, as opposed to only 12 % of the published studies, χ^2 (1) = 5.59, p < .05. Jointly, these two findings suggest the surprising conclusion that unpublished studies are more rigorous in some respects than the published ones. It is unlikely that these papers remained unpublished due to the bias against nonsignificant results: 28 of the 35 reports found support for the effectiveness of their intervention, and the other seven often found other significant patterns in the data.

Finally, I examined the differences between funded and unfunded studies (n = 17 and 142, respectively) on PICO characteristics. Funded studies were more likely to be conducted outside the US, χ^2 (1) = 5.50, p < .05; and to recruit male-only samples, χ^2 (2) = 10.46, p < .01, the standardised residual z = 2.85, p < .01. The design of funded studies was not more robust, Goodman's γ = .37, p > .05. Studies employing different approaches were not equally likely to receive funding, χ^2 (9) = 21.86, p < .01; specifically, contact-plus-education studies were never funded, z = -2.06, p < .05. There were no other meaningful differences between funded and unfunded research in terms of sample size, participants' characteristics, design, or outcome measures, all χ^2s < 3, ps > .05 and Mann-Whitney Zs < 1.96, ps > .05.

Meta-Analytic Reviews

Analytic Strategy

In order to appraise the effectiveness of interventions for reducing homophobia, I used meta-analytic tools. Effect sizes were computed for each study that provided sufficient information. I grouped studies based on intervention strategies and outcome measures. I computed a summary effect size for every such group of studies, unless there were further reasons to discuss the studies separately. All meta-analytic procedures followed the guidelines of Borenstein et al. (2009) and Field and Gillet (2010).

I proceeded in four stages. First, Cohen's d was computed as a measure of effect size for each study. I aimed to compute ds using the best available information. When means and standard deviations were not available, I used transformations of the statistical values provided in the report (see Borenstein et al., 2009). If the number of participants in different groups was not provided, the groups were assumed to be equal in size. When a study had more than one type of dependent variable, I computed effect sizes for each outcome. Effect sizes were computed with the online calculator provided by Lipsey and Wilson (http://gunston.gmu.edu/cebcp/EffectSizeCalculator/d/d.html). In situations not covered by this website, I applied Borenstein's et al. (2009) formulae by hand. my computations were always based on post-test scores; follow-up results (post-

posttests) were rare (16 % of the studies) and they were not used in this meta-analysis. In accordance with conventional benchmarks, effect sizes were interpreted as small ($d < 0.30$), medium ($0.30 < d < 0.50$), or large ($d > 0.50$).

Second, I computed the summary effect size[4], relying on a random-effects model. I opted for random effects over fixed effects due to the great variety in my database of studies. While the interventions often relied on similar principles, each team of researchers used a customised set of procedures and interventions. Therefore, I found it more reasonable to assume that the effect sizes reflected a variety of true effects (random effects meta-analysis), rather than all being approximations of a single true effect (fixed effect meta-analysis). All computations were performed using the IBM SPSS Statistics syntax provided by Field and Gillet (2010; http://www.statisticshell.com/meta_analysis/how_to_do_a_meta_analysis.html).

Third, the heterogeneity of the effect sizes was assessed. To achieve this, I computed the weighted sum of squares Q, and the proportion of excess dispersion I^2. The Q statistic reflects the total variance of the effects subsumed by one summary effect size; it is interpreted as a χ^2 with degrees of freedom equal to the number of studies minus one. If Q is statistically significant, the studies are more heterogeneous than expected, and the summary effect size should be interpreted with caution. The I^2 statistic returns the percent on dispersion that exceeds the expected value. Conventionally, values above 25% indicate a noteworthy excess dispersion. If a group of studies is heterogeneous (as indicated by Q and I^2), the sources of this heterogeneity should be identified through moderator analyses. None of the groups of studies I meta-analysed showed significant heterogeneity; therefore, no moderation analyses were performed. In order to visualise the dispersion of the effect sizes and their confidence intervals, I constructed forest plots with GraphPad Prism version 6.00 for Windows (GraphPad Software, La Jolla California USA).

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[4] I used the same symbol (d) both for the effect sizes of individual studies and for summary effect sizes; I appreciated that the context would always be clear enough to avoid confusions.

Figure 2.

Effect of education on attitudes.
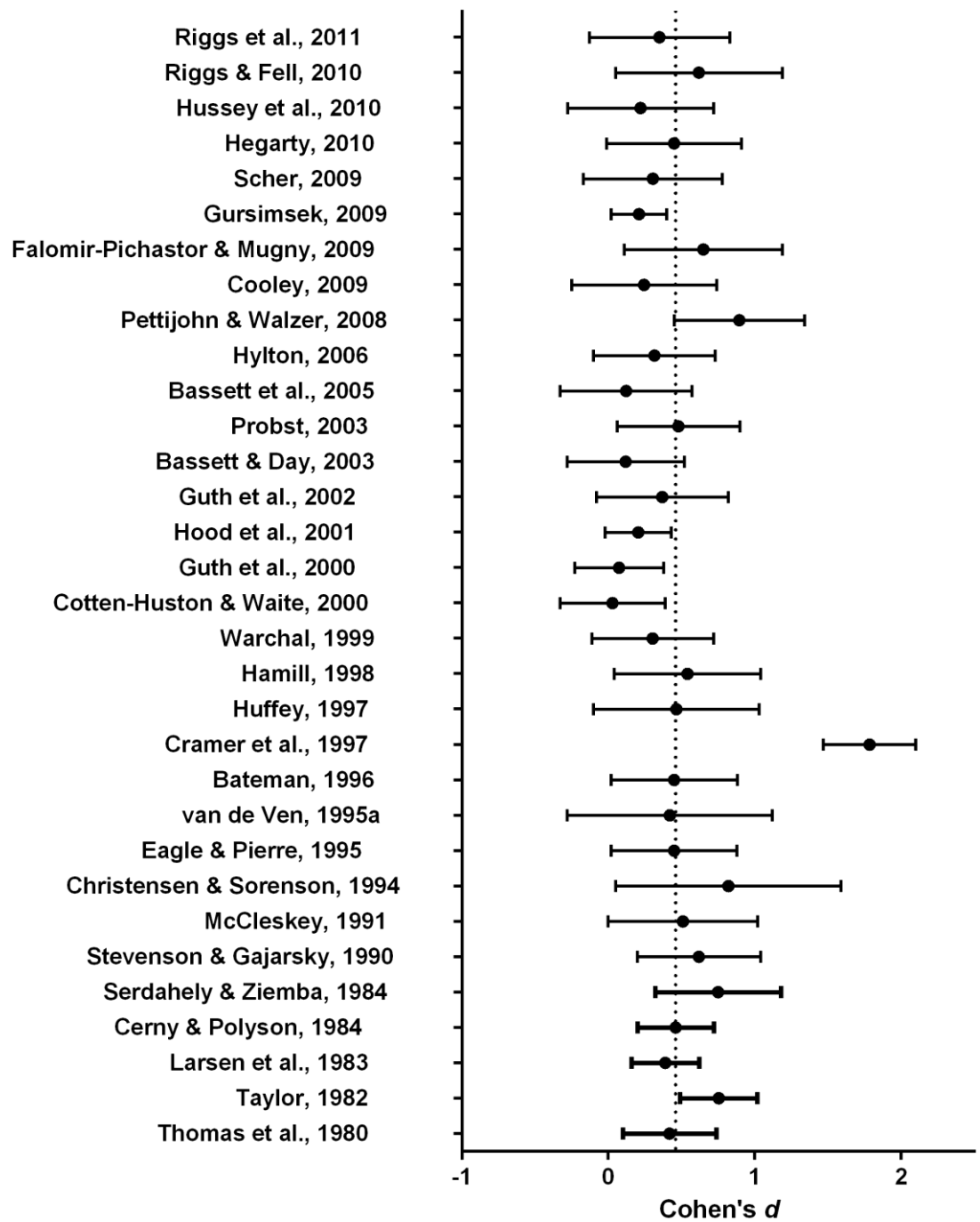
Fourth, I assessed the potential effect of publication bias on my results. Publication bias refers to the tendency of researchers and journal editors to publish only significant results, a tendency that leads to the overestimation of effects in meta-analyses. Following Begg and Mazumdar's (1994) method, I computed the correlation between effect sizes and their respective standard errors; a significant correlation would indicate a potential publication bias (see Field & Gillet, 2010, pp. 684-690, for an explanation). I also computed Rosenthal's fail-safe number, i.e., the number studies with nonsignificant results that would be necessary to reduce a summary effect size to 0.

A summary effect size was not always computed. Within certain classes of interventions, studies were too diverse to allow for a meaningful summary effect size. In these cases, only the direction of the effect was considered, and a sign test was performed (see Borenstein et al., 2009).

In the rest of this section, a heading is dedicated to each type of intervention. Since the handful of studies on implicit measures and on prejudice towards bisexual people were scattered across different types of interventions, I review them under a separate heading (as *Neglected Issues*). The only study on accountability is also discussed in that section.

Education

Ignorance is probably the most often cited cause of prejudice (Brown, 2009). Therefore, it is not surprising that education is the most frequently used technique for reducing homophobia. Almost all of the studies in my corpus were performed in an educational setting, whether in a course or workshop or in a university laboratory. However, I defined an intervention as *educational* only when the transfer of information and skills was the main means for reducing homophobia.

Figure 3. Effect of education on knowledge.
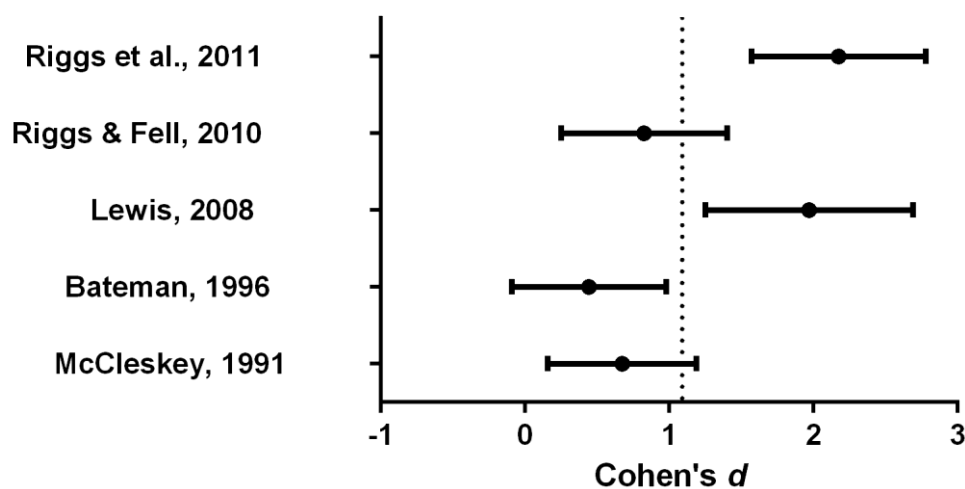
Thirty-two studies examined the effect of education on homophobic attitudes. See Figure 2 for a forest-plot of individual effect sizes. The summary effect size was medium, d = 0.46, SE = 0.07. The heterogeneity of the effect sizes was less than expected for this number of studies, Q = 25.31, $p > .05$, I^2 = 0. There was no evidence of a publication bias, Begg and Mazumdar's τ = .19, $p > .05$. Rosenthal's fail-safe number was 2094. Education was moderately effective in reducing homophobic attitudes.

Three studies examined the impact of education on behaviour. Riggs and Fell's (2010) workshop had an average positive impact on psychology students' intended behaviour, d = 0.55, SE = 0.21; Riggs et al. (2011) obtained a similar result with teacher trainees, d = 0.61, SE = 0.11. Christensen and Sorensen (1994) achieved a more modest change on students' actual behaviour, d = 0.36, SE = 0.36.

Five studies tested the effect of education on knowledge about gay people and issues. See Figure 3 for a forest-plot of individual effect sizes. The mean effect size was very large, d = 1.09, SE = 0.13. The effect sizes of the five studies were not significantly heterogeneous, Q = 4.19, $p > .05$. The variance among the true effect

Figure 4. Effect of education on emotions.
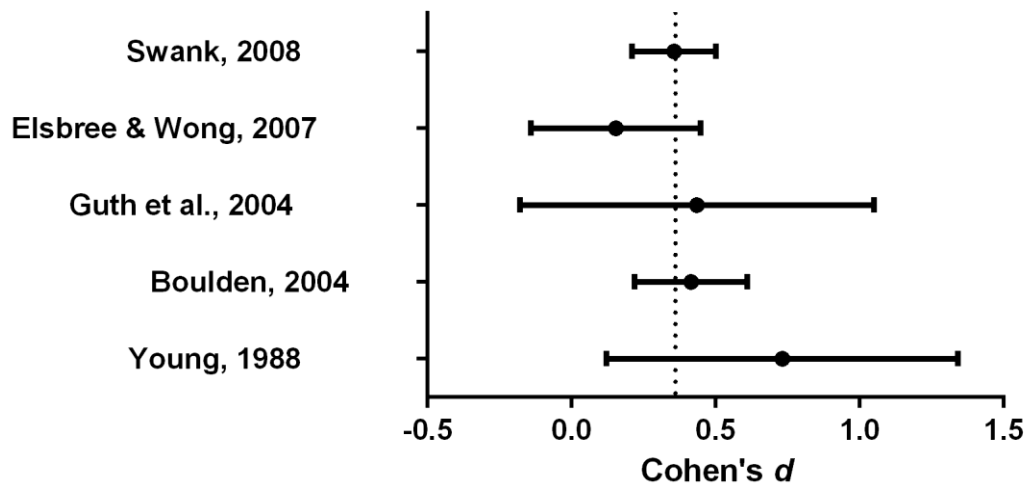
sizes only accounted for small proportion of the observed variability, I^2 = 4.54 %. There was no sign of a publication bias, Begg's and Mazumdar's τ = .60, p > .05. Rosenthal's fail-safe number was 184. Furthermore, Boulden (2004) and Scher (2009) both found that educational programmes strongly increased people's self-perception

Figure 5. Effect of contact on attitudes.
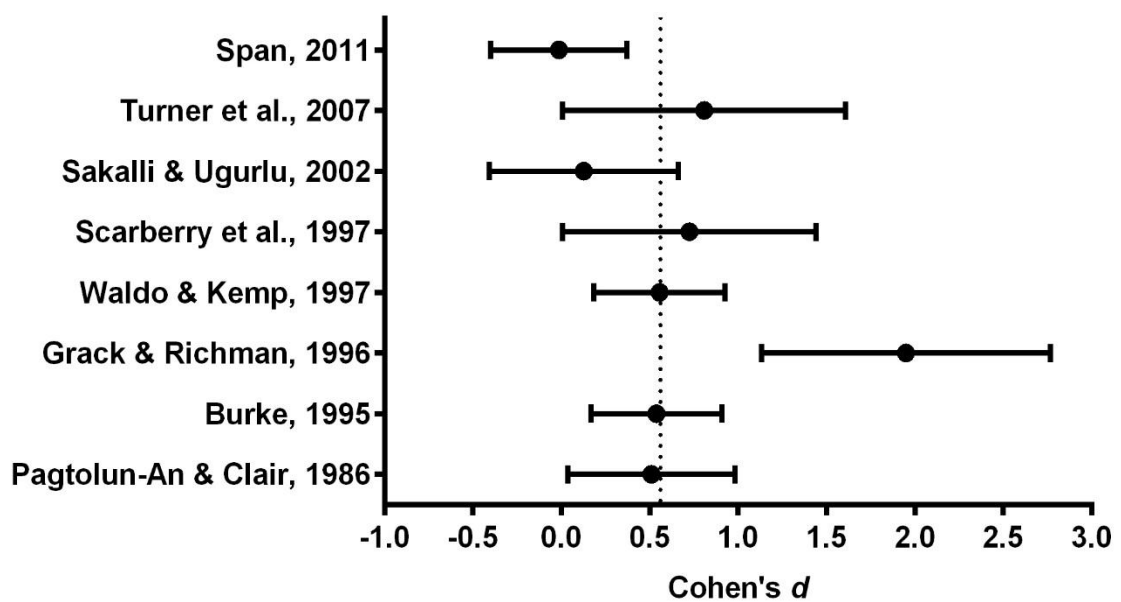
of knowledge, *d* = 1.01, *SE* = 0.09, and *d* = 1.21, *SE* = 0.23, respectively. Unsurprisingly, education was highly effective in increasing knowledge about homosexuality.

Figure 6. Effect of contact-plus-education on attitudes.
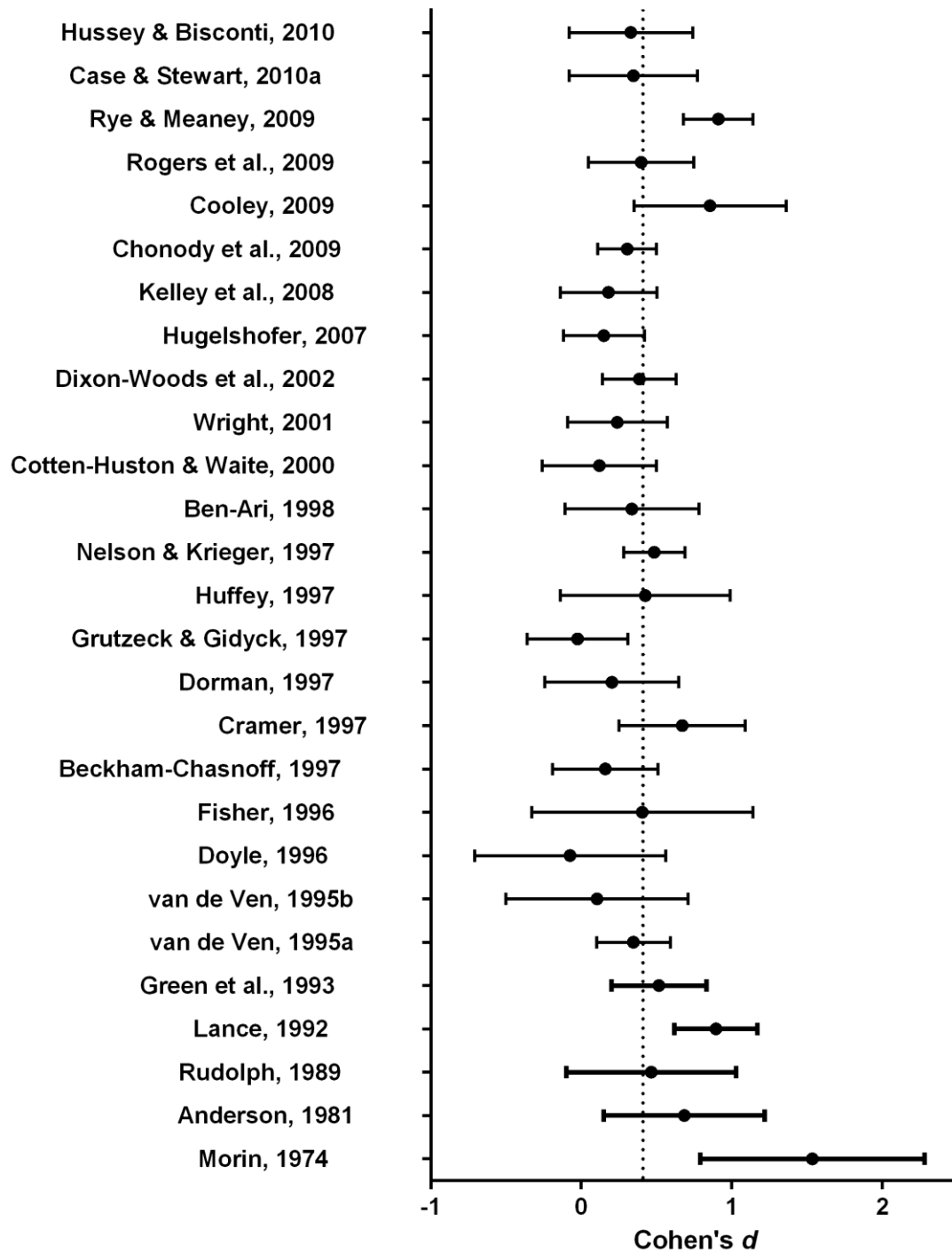
Five studies tested the effect of education on emotions. See Figure 4 for a forest-plot of individual effect sizes. The summary effect size was small-to-medium, $d = 0.36$, $SE = 0.05$. There was no evidence for heterogeneity among the effect sizes, since the weighted sum of squares was less than expected, $Q = 3.72$, $p > .05$, $I^2 = 0$. There was no evidence for publication bias, Begg and Mazumdar's $\tau = .20$, $p > .05$. Rosenthal's fail-safe number was 66. Story (1979) examined the effect of a sexuality course on students' comfort with a series of sexual behaviours; different questions yielded different results, ds ranging -0.46 to 0.66. Overall, education effectively reduced sexually-prejudiced emotions.

Contact

Intergroup contact is arguably the most researched approach to prejudice reduction. Its results are well-documented (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006, for a meta-analysis), and its mechanisms are reasonably well understood (Brown, 2009). Moreover, homophobia may be the prejudice on which intergroup contact has the strongest effect ($r = 0.27$, equivalent of approximately $d = 0.56$; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Heterosexual people's contact with LGB people often occurs through disclosure by friends or family, which is more effective in reducing prejudice than disclosure by new acquaintances (Herek & Capitanio, 1996).

Eight studies examined the effect of contact with lesbians and gay men on homophobic attitudes. See Figure 5 for a forest-plot of individual effect sizes. The mean effect size of these interventions was medium, $d = 0.56$, $SE = 0.16$. There was no evidence of heterogeneity among the studies, $Q = 9.41$, $p > .05$. The proportion of true variance was $I^2 = 25.62\%$. There was no evidence for publication bias, Begg and Mazumdar's $\tau = .50$, $p > .05$. Rosenthal's fail-safe number was 115. Intergroup contact was moderately effective in reducing homophobic attitudes

Three studies investigated the effect of contact with LGB people on emotions. Lance (1987) found that contact greatly reduced students' discomfort with LGB people, $d = 1.07$, $SE = 0.32$. Turner et al. (2007) found that imagining an interaction with a gay man has a similarly large effect on straight men's intergroup anxiety, $d = 1.43$, $SE = 0.43$. However, Burke (1995) obtained a much more modest effect by

exposing participants to a video of a counter-stereotypical gay man, $d = 0.15$, $SE = 0.19$. Although all three studies found positive effects, they were too few to grant a conclusion, $z = 1.15$, $p = .25$.

Only one study explored the effect of contact on homophobic cognitions. In their imagined contact study, Turner et al. (2007) achieved a great reduction of straight men's conviction that gay men are all similar (i.e., outgroup homogeneity), $d = 0.84$, $SE = 0.40$.

Contact-plus-Education

Education and intergroup contact were often used together in such a manner that it was impossible to differentiate their effects. The prototype of contact-plus-education interventions is the panel presentation: a group of LGB people are invited to a class or a workshop in order to provide information on sexuality, answer participants' questions, and provide an experience of positive intergroup contact (see Croteau & Kusek, 1992, for an early review).

Twenty-seven studies assessed the effect of contact-plus-education on homophobic attitudes. See Figure 6 for a forest-plot of individual effect sizes. The mean effect size was medium, $d = 0.41$, $SE = 0.06$. There was no evidence for heterogeneity, $Q = 26.66$, $p > .05$, $I^2 = 2.47$ %. There was also no evidence for a publication bias, Begg and Mazumdar's $\tau = .05$, $p > .05$. Rosenthal's fail-safe number was 1407. Interventions combining contact and education had a medium effect of homophobic attitudes.

Three studies examined the impact of contact-plus-education on knowledge. Cramer (1997) found that a workshop on sexuality in which the facilitator disclosed her lesbian identity strongly improved social-work students' understanding of lesbian identity development, $d = 1.09$, $SE = 0.22$. Kelley, Chou, Dibble, and Robertson (2008) found that a workshop that included contact with LGB physicians was moderately effective in dispelling healthcare students' misrepresentations of lesbian and gay health, $d = 0.36$, $SE = 0.12$. Fisher (1996) obtained a similar result through a course for teachers in which contact was provided through videos, $d = 0.40$, $SE = 0.38$.

Although all three studies found positive effects, they are too few to grant a conclusion, z = 1.15, p = .25.

Six studies examined the effect of contact-plus-education on emotions. See Figure 7 for a forest-plot of individual effect sizes. The summary effect size was medium, d = 0.44, SE = 0.08. There was no evidence for heterogeneity among the effect sizes, since the weighted sum of squares was less than expected, Q = 4.74, p > .05, I^2 = 0. There was no evidence for publication bias, Begg and Mazumdar's τ = .33, p > .05. Rosenthal's fail-safe number was 82. Contact-plus-education was effective in reducing homophobic emotions.

Five studies assessed the effect of contact-plus-education on intended behaviour. See Figure 8 for a forest-plot of individual effect sizes. The summary effect size was small to medium, d = 0.35, SE = 0.09. There was no evidence for heterogeneity among the effect sizes, since the weighted sum of squares was less than expected, Q = 2.27, p > .05, I^2 < 0. There was no obvious risk of publication bias, Begg and Mazumdar's τ = .20, p > .05.[5] Rosenthal's fail-safe number was 21. Two studies that used actual behavioural tasks achieved more modest results. Hugelshoffer (2007) asked students to spend time with allegedly LGB peers; those

Figure 7. Effect of contact-plus-education on emotions.

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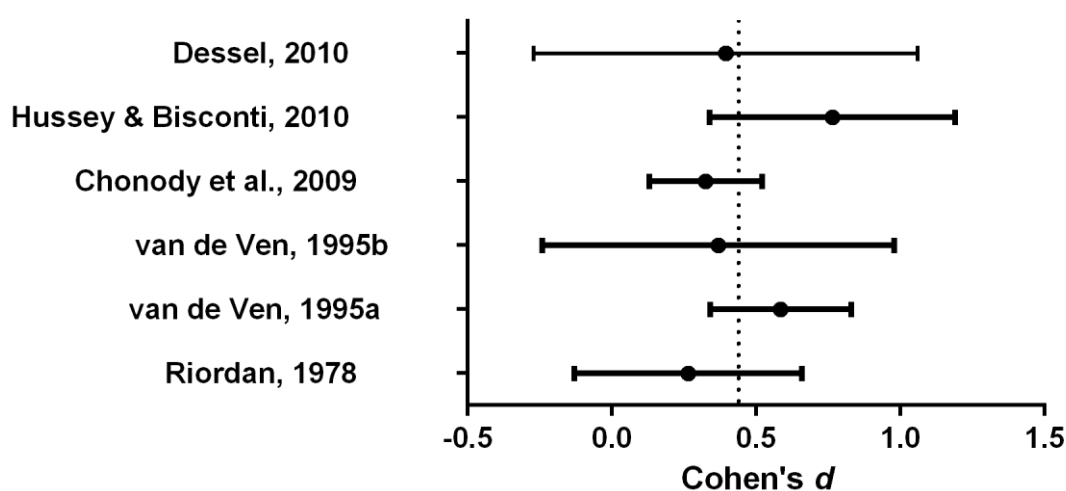
[5]   Begg and Mazumdar's τ should be interpreted with caution when the number of studies is small; see Field and Gillet (2010) for details.

who had attended a panel presentation were slightly more willing to do so, but the effect size differed by the type of activity proposed, average *d* = 0.14, *SE* = 0.02. Grutzeck and Gidycz (1997) used a similar behavioural measure, but students who had attended a panel presentation were actually less willing to interact with LGB peers, *d* = -0.07, *SE* = 0.19.

Figure 8. Effect of contact-plus-education on behavioural intentions.
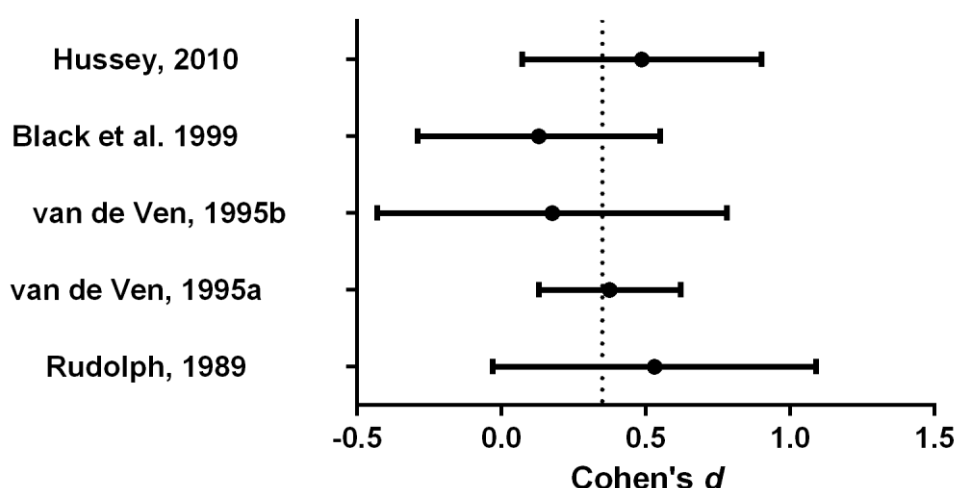
Social Norms and Expertise

Prejudice can be reduced if tolerance is set as a norm, either by a reference group or by experts. The norms-or-expertise interventions I review here adopted one of two strategies. Some studies, particularly those drawing on Moscovici's minority-influence paradigm (Moscovici et al., 1969), manipulated the source of the norm, i.e., the type of group that advocated tolerance. Other studies manipulated the contents of the norm, i.e., whether homophobia was legitimised or condemned.

Five studies examined the effect of the source of normative influence on sexually-prejudiced attitudes. See Figure 9 for a forest-plot of individual effect sizes. The mean effect size was close to nil, *d* = - 0.02, *SE* = 0.01. The effect sizes were not

Figure 9. Effect of norm-and-expertise interventions on attitudes.
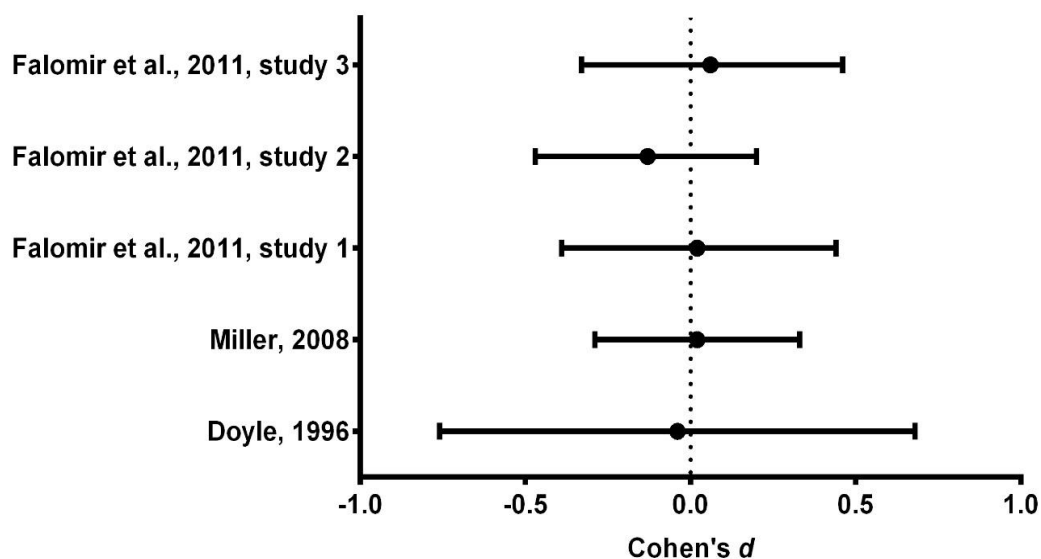
heterogeneous, $Q = 0.71$, $p > .05$, $I^2 = 0$. There was no sign of publication bias[6], Begg and Mazumdar's $\tau = .20$, $p > .05$. However, effect sizes could not be computed for four relevant studies (three in Alvaro & Crano, 1997; and one in Crano & Alvaro, 1998). These results suggest that norms-or-expertise interventions that rely on the prestige of the source are not effective in reducing homophobic attitudes.

Four studies tested the effect of manipulating norm contents on sexually-prejudiced behaviour. See Figure 10 for a forest-plot of individual effect sizes. The mean effect size was medium, $d = 0.46$, $SE = 0.13$. The effect sizes of the four studies were not significantly heterogeneous, $Q = 3.20$, $p > .05$. The variance among the true effect sizes only accounted for a small proportion of the observed variability, $I^2 = 6.18$ %. There was no sign of a publication bias, Begg and Mazumdar's $\tau = -.67$, $p > .05$. Rosenthal's fail-safe number was 37. Tolerant social norms had a medium effect on participants' behaviour.

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[6] Rosenthal's fail-safe number is meaningless in this case: since the mean effect size is naught, there is no need to consider the possibility of unpublished studies with nonsignificant results.

Two studies explored the effect of norms on emotions. Banse et al. (2001) found that expert messages did not affect German male students' homophobic emotions, d = 0.02, SE = 0.32. Pereira et al. (2009) compared Portuguese students' responses in a situation with an anti-discrimination norm and in a control situation; participants exposed to the anti-discrimination norm expressed fewer positive emotions (d = -0.65, SE = 0.21) and a similar level of negative emotions (d = 0.07, SE = 0.21) compared to control participants. While little information is available on the issue, norms-or-expertise interventions do not seem to reduce affective homophobia.

Figure 10. Effect of norms-and-expertise interventions on behaviour.
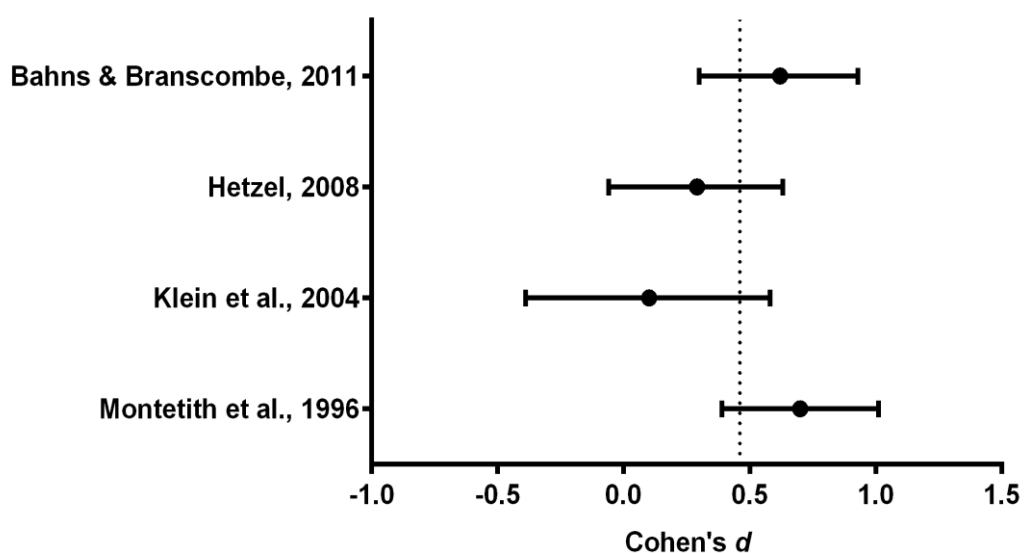
Inducing Emotions

Researchers have successfully reduced prejudice by inducing empathy towards a discriminated group or by otherwise manipulating participants' emotions (Paluck & Green, 2009). Certain interventions in my corpus employed empathy-inducing exercises (esp. role playing). Other studies investigated the effect of disgust on homophobia.

Five studies explored the effectiveness of empathy-inducing exercises in reducing homophobia. Both MacLaury (1983) and Israel and Hackett (2004) have obtained some reduction of students' sexually-prejudiced attitudes through such

exercises, $d = 0.29$, $SE = 0.23$, and $d = 0.30$, $SE = 0.19$, respectively. Unsurprisingly, the same exercise employed by Israel and Hackett (2004) had a very modest effect on knowledge, $d = 0.05$, $SE = 0.22$. Hillman and Martin (2002) created an exercise named *Alien Nation*, in which students had to imagine living on a planet where all forms of sexuality are forbidden; they obtained a larger reduction of sexually-prejudiced attitudes with this task than with a lecture, $d = 0.17$, $SE = 0.30$. Hodson et al. (2007) also found that *Alien Nation* was more effective than a lecture in reducing negative emotions, $d = 0.45$, $SE = 0.18$. Nevertheless, these results are insufficient to indicate a positive trend, sign test $z = 0.89$, $p = .375$.

The manipulation of disgust was pursued in three studies, with interesting results. Participants in whom disgust was induced had more prejudiced responses both on the IAT ($d = -0.43$, $SE = 0.19$; Dasgupta et al., 2009) and on an emotional thermometer ($d = -0.43$, $SE = 0.19$; Inbar et al., 2012). In contrast, disgust was associated with a slight decrease of homophobic attitudes ($d = 0.18$, $SE = 0.20$; Terrizzi et al., 2010).

Entertainment Media

Entertainment media have long been assumed to have an impact on prejudice (see Allport, 1954). Novels, television shows, films, and other forms of entertainment have often been used by activists and policy makers aiming to contain prejudice and counter stereotypes. Empirical evidence on the effectiveness of this approach is mixed, but generally promising (Paluck & Green, 2009).

All 11 studies in this category employed some form of audio-visual entertainment. Books were almost never used, with the notable exception of a qualitative study I excluded from my sample (Smith, 1994). Musical and theatrical performances, such as *The Laramie Project*, were used in a handful of studies, but only to facilitate a broader educational curriculum (see *Education*). The entertainment studies used a wide range of genres, including documentary films, talk-shows, and pornography.

Effect sizes could be computed for 11 studies. The effect sizes ranged from $d = 0.26$ to 0.61, with one study (Duncan, 1988) having an exceptionally large effect of

1.35. The contents of the videos used, as well as the research designs were too heterogeneous to compute a summary effect size. The sample was also too small to explore what differentiates effective and ineffective interventions (i.e., moderators). However, a sign test indicated a tendency for entertainment to have a positive effect, *z* = 3.00, *p* = .004.

Priming Techniques

Priming people on tolerant values has been reported to reduce prejudice both in the laboratory and in more natural settings (Paluck & Green, 2009). The mechanism behind this effect seems to be people's need to maintain consistency among their attitudes and a sense of positive self-worth (see e.g., Greenwald et al., 2002). Most studies value priming investigated how priming participants on socially conservative values prompted more homophobic responses.

Five studies tested the effect of value priming on homophobic attitudes. Lehmiller et al. (2010) performed three studies in which they affirmed participants on the importance of family and on other values. Priming family values induced a small increase in homophobic attitudes compared to no priming, *d* = -0.09, *SE* = 0.20, and *d* = -0.13, *SE* = 0.18; and a moderate increase compared to priming participants on humour, *d* = -0.54, *SE* = 0.18, and *d* = -0.53, *SE* = 0.24. Humour also proved moderately effective in reducing homophobia compared to no priming, *d* = 0.44, *SE* = 0.18. Webster and Saucier (2011) performed two studies to test whether thinking about one's mortality increases homophobic attitudes. The overall effect was close to nil, *d* < 0.01, *SE* = 0.06; but there was a complex pattern of interactions. Bonds-Raacke et al. (2007) found that instructing participants to remember positive gay characters on television moderately improved attitudes towards gay men, *d* = 0.44, *SE* = 0.19. (An effect size for attitudes towards lesbians could not be computed.)

Three studies investigated the impact of priming values on affective homophobia. Two studies by Webster and Saucier (2011) found a complex pattern of gender differences, but the overall effect of mortality salience was close to nil, *d* < 0.01, *SE* = 0.11. Johnson (2011) found that a lexical priming task with religious content

leads to more affective homophobia than the same task with neutral content, $d = -0.51$, $SE = 0.23$.

Awareness and Suppression

Becoming aware of one's prejudice and attempting to consciously control it has been a controversial topic in the history of social psychology. While Allport (1954) was optimistic about this strategy, subsequent experiments have shown paradoxical effects. Attempts to suppress prejudiced thoughts have been shown to induce more prejudiced thoughts and behaviour in some contexts (i.e., a *rebound effect*; Macrae et al., 1994; see Wenzlaff & Wegner, 2000, for a review).

Five studies have examined the effect of awareness and suppression on homophobia. Kennedy (1995) used a self-confrontation technique with a large number of American students. This technique achieved a medium reduction of participants' scores on the ATLG, $d = 0.43$, $SE = 0.03$. Monteith et al. (1998) performed two studies examining the rebound effect described above. In both studies, they achieved an average reduction of the number of prejudicial statements by simply instructing participants to avoid them, $d = 0.49$ and 0.50, $SE = 0.05$ and 0.04, respectively. Moreover, neither of the studies found a rebound effect. Banse et al. (2001) similarly found that the conscious suppression of homophobia was very effective for both attitudes, $d = 0.77$, $SE = 0.33$; and emotions, $d = 1.35$, $SE = 0.33$. In an interesting experiment, Gailliot et al. (2008) offered participants sucrose drinks before writing an essay about a gay character. Although participants did not receive any instructions to suppress prejudice, those who drank the sucrose drink used fewer stereotypes, $d = 0.64$, $SE = 0.08$. The authors interpreted these findings as indicative of the role of the brain's glucose supply in consciously controlling behaviour.

All five studies relying on awareness and suppression achieved an average reduction of homophobic responses. As these studies were different in their methods and scope, I decided not to compute a summary effect size. A sign test indicated that the probability of five out of five studies having positive results is fairly low; it does not, however, achieve conventional statistical significance, $z = 1.86$, $p = .063$.

Neglected Issues: Accountability Interventions, Implicit Measures, and Prejudice against Bisexual People

Certain interventions and outcomes have received very little attention from researchers. Both prejudice against bisexual people and implicit prejudice have been neglected by the psychological literature at large (see the *General Discussion*). Accountability interventions (addressed by only one study), cooperative learning, and peer debates (not addressed in any report) are also underexplored in general (Paluck & Green, 2009); social categorisation was explored in certain studies as a mechanism of change (e.g., Turner et al., 2007), but no study was dedicated to the effect of manipulating categories on homophobia.

Only one study explored the effect of accountability on homophobia. Pereira et al. (2009) told Portuguese students they would later have to explain their responses to a set of questionnaires[7]. Participants in this condition expressed less homophobic attitudes than those in a control group, $d = 0.53$, $SE = 0.21$. They also expressed the same level of positive emotion, $d = -0.08$, $SE = 0.21$; and less negative emotion, $d = 0.38$, $SE = 0.21$.

Four studies have explored the impact of psychological interventions on implicit homophobia. Read (1978) used GSRs to assess the effect of anti-prejudice education. Participants who had listened to a lecture on sexuality had a much lower skin response when an openly gay experimenter touched them (with the pretext of attaching electrodes), $d = 0.80$, $SE = 0.28$. Banse et al. (2001) employed the IAT to compare the effect of the intentional suppression of prejudice and that of a pro-gay message by experts; the data was not reported in sufficient detail due to the lack of any significant differences. Dasgupta and Rivera (2008) found that contact with gay people through biographical vignettes had a medium positive impact on homophobia as measured with the IAT, $d = 0.30$, $SE = 0.18$. Dasgupta et al. (2009) also found that homophobia IAT scores were increased when disgust was activated, as opposed to anger or no emotion, $d = -0.43$, $SE = 0.19$.

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[7] One might question whether accountability induces a change in people's attitudes or merely a socially desirable behaviour. See Crandall et al. (2002) for a more sophisticated view on the matter.

Morin (1974), in what was seemingly the first attempt to reduce homophobia through a psychological intervention, also addressed attitudes towards bisexual people. He combined contact and education to induce a large reduction in social distance to bisexual people, $d = 0.62$, $SE = 0.07$. Hugelshoffer (2006) also performed a contact-plus-education intervention and achieved a small reduction in biphobia, $d = 0.16$, $SE = 0.10$. Dessel (2010) used a similar approach and achieved a medium effect, $d = 0.42$, $SE = 0.33$. Finally, Bronson (2006) employed empathetic stories to induce tolerance towards bisexual people, but observed the opposite effect, $d = -0.18$, $SE = 0.16$.

General Discussion

The present review examined patterns in the methodology, participant characteristics, and theoretical approaches of interventions to reduce homophobia. Education, contact, contact-plus-education, and norms-or-expertise interventions effectively reduced participants' scores on at least some measures of homophobia. Entertainment with anti-prejudice content produced promising results, but the studies were too diverse to support an overall conclusion. The outcomes of the interventions were typically assessed by the use of self-report sexual-prejudice scales, sometimes accompanied by emotional, cognitive, or behavioural measures, and the use of implicit measures was rare. Participants in these studies were typically young, American women enrolled in education. However, the reports often failed to offer detailed information on participants' characteristics, including participants' sexuality. Most approaches to prejudice reduction were explored in the case of homophobia, but no study in my corpus carried out social-categorisation experiments, cognitive training, or peer debate. Prejudice towards bisexual people was largely neglected. Finally, unpublished postgraduate research showed a number of advantages over published research. Below, I discuss these findings in more detail, looking at both the conclusions I can draw and the issue that are yet to be researched.

The Effectiveness of the Interventions

Table 3

Results of the Meta-Analytic Reviews by Type of Intervention and Outcome Measure

Intervention	Outcome	k	d	95% CI for d	
Education	Attitude	32	0.46	0.33	0.59
	Knowledge	5	1.09	0.52	1.88
	Emotions	5	0.36	0.26	0.47
Contact	Attitudes	8	0.56	0.25	0.89
Contact-plus-	Attitudes	27	0.41	0.28	0.52
education	Emotions	6	0.44	0.28	0.62
	Intentions	5	0.35	0.18	0.52
Norms and expertise	Attitudes	5	- 0.02	-0.16	0.19
	Behaviour	4	0.46	0.21	0.72

k = the number of studies on which d is based.

The meta-analytic review showed that the effectiveness of at least four types of interventions to reduce homophobia is supported by the literature. Educational interventions are highly effective in increasing knowledge about LGB people; their effectiveness in improving attitudes and emotions is more modest, but solid. Contact with LGB people has a moderate positive effect on attitudes. Interventions that integrate contact and education are moderately effective in improving attitudes, emotions, and behavioural intentions in relation to gay people. Finally, inducing tolerant social norms can moderately improve behaviour, but not attitudes. See Table 3 for details.

Overall, the change induced by these four interventions was of about one third to one half of a standard deviation in size, and there was little variation across interventions and outcomes. This is not to say that the characteristics of the interventions do not matter. The effect sizes of individual studies ranged from nil to very large, and it is therefore intuitively likely that there are meaningful differences

among the studies. However, the effect sizes were too homogeneous to reveal particular moderators of effectiveness. Future research on more diverse samples may reveal important differences between cultures and between age groups.

Two outcomes, however, do not fit the overall pattern of medium effects. First, educational interventions had an particularly large impact on knowledge about (homo)sexuality. Second, norms-or-expertise interventions had a medium effect on behaviour but had no effect on attitudes. The second of these patterns is difficult to interpret, since researchers who manipulated the source of the message (e.g., a minority versus a majority organisation) typically used attitudinal measures, while researchers who manipulated the contents of the message (i.e., whether tolerance or prejudice was promoted) employed behavioural measures. Future research should explore if behaviour is more susceptible to normative influences, or the contents of a norm is more relevant than its source.

Sampling and Design Issues

This review revealed that scientific knowledge about reducing homophobia has drawn on a very narrow research base. In psychological research, studies are generally conducted with young North American students (Arnett, 2009). Eighty-nine percent of the studies in my review employed North American samples. Arnett (2009) found no APA journal with more than 81% American content between 2003 and 2007; although I searched for studies from all over the world, 83.3% of the samples in my corpus were drawn from the US for the same period (*n* = 18). The oversampling of American participants is problematic because psychological studies often have substantially different results when conducted with American or non-American populations (Henrich et al., 2010).

Focusing on young, educated Americans is especially problematic in prejudice research. The US is among the less homophobic nations. According to the World Value Survey (Inglehart, 2008), 31.3 % of Americans stated that 'homosexuality is never justifiable', as opposed to 90% of Georgians and 99.2% of Jordanians (while only 4.1% of Swedes agreed with this statement). Predominantly researching young people is also problematic: North American youths tend to be more accepting of

homosexuality than their elder (see e.g., Andersen & Fetner, 2008). The oversampling of women (approximately 76% of the participants) and the failure to report the sample's gender composition (in 16% of the studies) further troubles the generalisation of findings from these studies. Men have been shown to be more homophobic than women in multiple studies, and this difference is especially large among college students (Kite & Whitley, 1996). Students who volunteer to participate in sexuality related research also have more sexual experiences and less restrictive values than their peers (Wiederman, 1999). In conclusion, the extant literature has studied homophobia on a population that is comparatively unlikely to hold such prejudice. Consequently, research has addressed intervention strategies that may not be easily transferable to other populations where such interventions are needed the most. I strongly urge the diversification of this field of research in order to guide prejudice-reduction efforts in other populations.

Promising approaches to prejudice reduction were also left unexplored by the studies in my corpus. Social categorisation, cognitive training, and peer debate have had promising results in reducing prejudice based on race and ethnicity (Paluck & Greene, 2009). However, no study seems to have explored the utility of any of these approaches in combating homophobia. Intergroup contact has a particularly large effect on homophobia (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), and there is a possibility that other approaches to prejudice reduction would also be very effective. Future studies will need to investigate whether this is the case.

Like other reviews (e.g., Kite & Whitley, 1996), I found that researchers in this area did not always record their participants' sexualities. While LGB people may foster negative thoughts and feelings about their sexuality (Szymanski et al. 2008), they are still, on average, vastly more positive about homosexuality than their heterosexual peers (see e.g., Herek et al., 2009). Researchers often rely on the assumption that LGB people are few in number, and therefore unlikely to participate in their studies or to affect their statistical conclusions (see Bonds-Raacke et al., 2007). However, there are both theoretical and empirical reasons to insist on accounting for participants' sexuality in such research. Lesbians, gay men, and bisexual people can be surprisingly common among volunteers for sexuality research

(e.g., 16% in Hylton's, 2006, sample). Assuming by default that people are heterosexual is central to heterosexism and sexual stigma (Herek et al., 1991; Herek, 2007; Warner, 1993): ironically, this assumption is frequently made in conducting the very studies that aim to reduce homophobia.

Homophobia has most often been operationalised in terms of specific homophobia scales, while implicit measures such as the IAT have been used very rarely. The use of standardised scales has obvious advantages, but it can have unintended effects on the way homophobia is understood. Self-report scales rely on the assumption that people can and will express their prejudice, which is not always the case (Steffens, 2005). While homophobia scales largely overlap (Rye & Meaney, 2010), they tend to obscure specific aspects of prejudice such as fear of outgroups (Stephan & Stephan, 1985) or the rejection of bisexual people (see my subsection on *Neglected Issues*). The neglect of biphobia is particularly concerning, since bisexual people are subject to more stress than their lesbian and gay peers (Meyer, 2007).

The Value of Unpublished Studies

One of the most surprising findings from my study-space analysis is that methodologically strong studies often go unpublished. There is approximately one dissertation for every seven journal articles archived on PsycINFO in general. However, in my corpus, there is one dissertation for every three articles. These unpublished reports often present significant differences, and a 'publication bias' in favour of positive results (Rosenthal, 1979; Ferguson & Brannick, 2012) does not seem to explain this pattern. A general bias against postgraduate research is a second possibility. Of course, postgraduate students do not all publish their work, but this explanation cannot account for the prevalence of the methodologically *stronger* studies in the unpublished literature. A third possibility is that scholars in this particular field are affected by *courtesy stigma*; psychologists doing research on sexuality often face 'stigma by association', and they may be automatically labelled as LGB themselves (Minton, 2002; Coyle, 2004). Younger researchers may be particularly affected by courtesy stigma, such that good quality dissertations on homophobia are not developed for publication. This explanation is consistent with

observations that postgraduate researchers in LGB psychology are concerned about the effect of courtesy stigma on their future career (Biaggio et al., 2003). Such young researchers find experiences of mentorship in LGB psychology to be surprising and transformative, but such mentorship may be difficult to access (Curtin et al., 2012). Whatever the explanation, much good research on homophobia seems to remain unpublished, and this is particularly concerning in a field that remains small (Lee & Crawford, 2007; 2012) and which carries ethical obligations from psychology's past.

Finally, a larger proportion of non-U.S. studies than U.S.-based studies were funded. Studies performed outside the US were comparatively rare (about 10% of my corpus), and this finding may be a statistical artefact. Alternatively, funding bodies in other countries may be more willing to fund research on reducing homophobia than their U.S. counterparts. Conversely, there may be so little support for this topic outside the US that research is hardly ever completed or published, apart from the handful of projects that manage to secure funding.

Limitations and Future Research

No review can be complete, but I took several precautions to assure that I included as many of the relevant studies as possible. I sampled dissertations, performed Google searches, and translated my keywords to several widely-spoken languages. However, several interesting interventions might have escaped my attention. Most countries lack-grey literature databases, and none of the dissertations I retrieved were from outside the US. Yet numerous interventions are performed without research in mind, and therefore no data are collected in these contexts. For example, several large-scale campaigns against homophobia took place in South America in the early 2000s, but none of them yielded data on their psychological impact (Pan American Health Organization, 2008). Those who perform such interventions in the future should seek to rejoin practice and research, especially outside the US.

The study-space analysis pointed out several directions for future research. The outcomes of these interventions were overwhelmingly assessed with attitudes scales. There was comparatively little information available on cognitions, emotions,

and behaviours, and almost none on implicit prejudice. Most importantly, almost 90% of these studies were performed in the US. The question as to whether these interventions are similarly effective in other cultures remains open.

In addition to data collection, more research integration is also necessary. For the sake of coherence, I limited my review to exclude follow-up studies and qualitative research, but my searches suggested that both bodies of work could be reviewed in the future. Homophobia itself has many intertwined aspects that are beyond the scope of my review, although I recognise their importance. Specifically, our knowledge of how to reduce homophobia would be more complete if we better understood how to reduce LGB people's prejudice towards themselves (i.e., internalised heterosexism; Szymanski et al., 2008), as well as the strategies they use to cope with prejudice and discrimination (Moradi et al., 2009). It is equally important to understand prejudice directed towards heterosexual people who combat homophobia; as we have seen above, courtesy stigma may actually be hindering research in this field. I hope that well-synthesised research on all these issues will emerge in the near future.

Lastly but importantly, my review remained silent on the theoretical underpinnings of interventions to reduce homophobia. As this review reveals, the development of practical anti-prejudice strategies has often had a loose relationship with theory and research. Educational interventions, for example, are often informed by my society's view of prejudice as rooted in ignorance rather than a more sophisticated theory of how prejudice works (Chapter 1). However, it is not uncommon for intervention studies to proceed with theoretical research following years later. Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis gained prominence during the 1960s struggle for African-American civil rights (Brown, 2008), three decades before its underlying mechanisms were clarified by Gaertner et al. (1990). Nevertheless, understanding the psychological mechanisms behind each of these strategies is of both scientific and practical importance, since increasing the effectiveness of a practical technique requires theoretical understanding (Michie, 2008). Intervention mapping provides tools for synthesising research and integrating it with theory, with excellent results in health psychology interventions (Bartholomew et al., 1998).

Therefore, I feel that intervention mapping performed on different practical strategies could bring major advances in my understanding of reducing homophobia; I intended my review as a first step toward such deeper inquiries.

Conclusion

The first 40 years of psychological research on reducing homophobia has produced reliable knowledge, but it has also neglected several promising approaches and many relevant demographic groups. Future research should explore cultural and age differences systematically, in order to design anti-homophobia interventions for populations that are more in need of them than are typical American college students. Filling in the gaps of this literature is obviously intertwined with issues of funding and dissemination. Limited resources are the typical reason for performing research on convenience samples (Dasgupta & Hunsinger, 2008). The neglect of certain approaches and certain outcome measures may have similar underpinnings: cognitive training and implicit prejudice are comparatively resource-intensive to research. Moreover, postgraduate researchers seem to face particular difficulties in completing and publishing their work on this topic. I therefore conjecture that the current weaknesses in my knowledge about homophobia may be due to a lack of systematic support for research in this area, which may be partially due to homophobia itself.

While I agree with other reviewers that the literature on reducing homophobia has serious limitations, I have reason to see this field in a brighter light. While Tucker and Potocki-Tripodi (2006) found a handful of studies, many of which had questionable designs, I managed to identify over one hundred and fifty studies, almost half of which were randomised experiments. Most of these studies were successful, to some extent, in reducing homophobia, and meta-analyses show that effect sizes were typically in the medium range. Much research was conducted by postgraduate students, often without the recognition that comes with publication. While the limitations discussed above commend caution and future investigations, the literature I have reviewed also evidences psychology's ethical commitment to understand and reduce homophobia.

CHAPTER 3. Opening Eyes and Rocking Boats: A Qualitative Systematic Review of Participant Feedback on Interventions to Reduce Homophobia

After obtaining a master's degree in Clinical psychology, I was thinking of doing a PhD. My dissertation was on *Discrimination and distress in Romanian gay men*, (Bartos, 2010) and my thesis was due to expand this topic. I had been advised to frame my thesis as 'men's health', as this sounded more acceptable in Romanian academia than 'gay' or 'homophobia.' At the time, I was already committed to research on sexualities, and I was not looking forward to dissimulating this interest

The unease around sexuality inspired me, and I decided to make a career out of it. All through my undergraduate degree I had been asking questions about sexuality, and I was told that the topic is 'sensitive', 'contentious', 'difficult' etc. I put together a couple of pages of ideas, and I started looking for the proper supervisor. I needed someone who would understand my drive for politically relevant research. I also needed someone with a broad outlook on methods: I was trained in quantitative methods, but I had spent a couple of summers reading through feminist and queer anthologies in the libraries of the British Council and the Open Society Foundation (as well as the folder full of gender-studies papers my dissertation supervisor had photocopied in London). In reading the qualitative section and discussions of the studies reviewed in Chapter 2, I understood that others before me faced similar and even larger difficulties in pursuing sexuality research.

In Chapter 2, I conducted a systematic review of interventions attempting to reduce homophobia; I concluded that educating people and providing contact with LGB individuals can significantly decrease prejudice. Many of the studies I have included in the review also had a qualitative component, whereby participants provided feedback on the intervention. Upon a brief inspection, such feedback promised insights into reducing homophobia that went beyond the notion of prejudice (see Chapter 1, 'Prejudice' is not the only way to understand homophobia'). Participant feedback could also indicate what made some interventions more successful than others – a question left largely unanswered by the meta-analyses.

Therefore, in this chapter *I review qualitative research on the feedback participants give after taking part in anti-homophobia courses and workshops*. If experimental research and meta-analyses have *measured* the success of psychological interventions in reducing homophobia, I now endeavour to understand how a sense of success or failure is *construed* in this context.

Defining success in anti-homophobia interventions seems particularly problematic in light of the finding that high-quality research is often underfunded and remains unpublished (see Chapter 2). In a recent study, Irvine (2014) has argued that sexuality research is dirty work[8], i.e., 'an occupation that is simultaneously socially necessary and stigmatised' (p. 632). Based on biographies of sexologists, a survey of present day sexuality researchers and content analysis of sociological journals, Irvine has identified a paradoxical attitude towards sexuality research. On the one hand, sex is the object of extensive social, political and clinical interest, as sexuality is 'the core essence of the modern self' (p. 650). On the other hand, researchers who focus on sex struggle to find funding, have their work published in less prestigious journals, and often face hostility from academic administrators, colleagues, students, and research participants. In this chapter, I discuss how participant feedback supports the idea that reducing homophobia is also dirty work.

Homophobia Beyond the Prejudice Framework

In Chapter 1, I have explained that understanding homophobia as a form of prejudice has been contested. Homophobia research within a prejudice framework has been challenged from various theoretical standpoints, such as queer theory (Warner, 1993), radical feminism (Kitzinger, 1987), and social psychology itself (Hegarty & Massey, 2006; see also Dixon et al., 2012). In spite of the philosophical tensions between these approaches (for a discussion, see Hegarty & Massey, 2006;

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[8] The phrase was first defined by Chicago School work sociologist Everett C. Hughes: 'There is a feeling among prison guards and mental hospital attendants that society at large and their superiors hypocritically put upon them dirty work which they, society and the superiors in prison and hospital know is necessary but which they pretend is not necessary.' (Hughes, 1958/1981, p. 52)

see also Chapter 1), their critique of homophobia research converges in a few essential points. First, homophobia scales delineate a narrow set of beliefs that are acceptable, i.e., not homophobic. One must believe 'that homosexuals are no different from heterosexuals… that homosexuality is as natural, normal, and healthy as heterosexuality; and, finally, that homosexuals can be integrated into and contribute to society as a whole.' (Kitzinger, 1987, p. 59) These propositions *normalise* homosexuality, and thus fail to challenge the very notion of *normality*. For example, same-gender couples are now allowed to marry or otherwise legalise their relationship in many Western countries; such policies offer LGB people some legal protection, but preclude a more substantial questioning of traditional matrimonial and familial institutions (Clarke, 2002).

Second, quantitative research tends to *essentialise* both the targets and the beholders of homophobia: 'gays' and 'homophobes' are treated as two well-defined, relatively coherent categories of people. In Foucault's (1976) often-cited words, 'the homosexual is now a species' (p. 59). In the past, essentialism has both fuelled homophobia and helped crystallise LGB identities (Butler, 1991; Bourdieu, 2000). However, the opportunities and dangers of essentialism today are highly disputed. Some argue that a *strategic* essentialism (Spivak, 1985/1988) can be a rallying point for LGB rights movements (Herek, 2004; see also Bourdieu, 2000); while others fear that a well-circumscribed identity turns LGB people into a small and potentially ignorable minority (Hegarty & Massey, 2006; Sedgwick, 1990).

Finally, quantitative research offers 'an individuocentric explanation of a sociopolitical phenomenon' (Kitzinger, 1987, p. 61). Thus, the social and institutional dimensions of homophobia are ignored; the problem is entirely attributed to the 'sick homophobe' (Kitzinger, 1987, p. 57), who, ironically, becomes as much of a 'species' as the homosexual (Plummer, 1981). Since homophobia is thus construed as the problem of an exceptional minority, the majority can afford to take little action (Sedgwick, 1991/1994). Dixon et al. (2012) indeed found that attempts to address prejudice as a psychological problem may inhibit collective action for broader social change.

The critique of normalisation, essentialism and individuocentric interventions does not simply serve as my methodological tool, but it is part of the very constructions I analyse. Many participants and researchers were aware of such concepts and normalisation and essentialism, and of the philosophical and political tensions that surround them (e.g., DePalma & Atkinson, 2009). Indeed, discussing these concepts and these debates was sometimes part of the interventions' curriculum (e.g., Peel, 2010). I am aware (just like many researchers and participants in the studies I analyse), that 'there is no unthreatened, un- threatening theoretical home' (Sedgwick, 1991, p. 26) for LGB rights. Conversely, one might say that there is no completely unsafe theoretical space for gay people. Indeed, most identities have traditionally been incompatible with homosexuality, but today there is a place, for example, for LGBT persons in many religious communities (see, e.g., Taylor & Snowdon, 2014). Kulpa (2011) is also hopeful that a national and sexual identities could be rejoined in more than just a 'fleeting sanctioning of a national homosexual subject' (Puar, 2007, p. 2; see Chapters 5 and 6). In this chapter, I do not wish to take a position in any of these debates, but rather to understand how accepting, critiquing or defending certain philosophical and political positions shapes the course of anti-homophobia workshops.

Data and Analysis

Finding and Selecting Studies

The literature search followed the lines of my systematic review of quantitative research on reducing homophobia (see Chapter 2). Keywords referring to homophobia and to psychological interventions were used in ten bibliographical databases: PsycINFO, Medline, Psychology and Behavioural Sciences Collection, International Bibliography of Social Sciences, Applied Social Sciences Index and Abstracts, Sociological Abstracts, ScienceDirect, Scopus, ERIC, and ISI Web of Knowledge. Qualitative and mixed-methods studies published before July 2014 were retrieved. In line with the accepted standards of qualitative research, I aimed to achieve saturation, i.e., 'the point in data collection when no new or relevant information emerges' (Saumure & Given, 2008, p. 196).

Studies were included in the analysis if they described an intervention aiming to counter homophobia and qualitative feedback from participants was collected and analysed. This paper aims to synthesise the literature on participants' feedback *after* anti-homophobic interventions, not their reactions during these interventions. Responses during interventions typically reflect participants' pre-intervention attitudes and their (initial) inertia; this topic is plentifully covered in the work of Elizabeth Peel (2001b; 2005; 2009). In this paper, I am interested in participants' post factum reflections on the intervention and in researchers' accounts of these reflections, as a way of understanding both participants' and researchers' sense of whether the intervention was effective.

Table 1.

Characteristics of the Studies Included in the Analysis

Reference	Participants	Design	Assessment
Anderson, 1981	64 female nursing students, volunteers, US	Human sexuality workshop with gay and lesbian speakers and explicit film; experimental and control groups	Anonymous written feedback (also quantitative measures)
Boulden, 2005	223 high-school students (18% not heterosexual), US	'Anytown Leadership Institute': 7-day residential educational programme	Anonymous written feedback (also quantitative measures)
Bateman, 1996*	82 teacher trainees, US	Educational video, scientific paper, and reason analysis (i.e., explaining the reasons for one's opinions in writing)	Anonymous questionnaire (also quantitative measures)
Cain, 1996	71 social work students in optional sexuality course (4 lesbians, 1 bisexual man), Canada	Lecturer comes out to class as gay (1990 and 1991 classes)	Anonymous questionnaire (qualitative only)
Curran et al., 2009	Pre-service primary teachers, Australia	As a response to students' negative reaction to a sexuality-related reading, the lecturer invited the author and the protagonist of the chapter to class	Anonymous written feedback (qualitative only)

Reference	Participants	Design	Assessment
Deeb-Sossa & Kane, 2007	Undergraduate students, US	Various gender and sexuality courses	Classroom discussions, online forums (qualitative only)
De Welde & Hubbard, 2003	45 straight students in a gender and sexuality course, US	Straight students write an (imaginary) coming out letter and analyse it (optional assignment)	Written assignments and limited classroom discussion (qualitative only)
DePalma & Atkinson, 2009	15 primary-school teachers (diverse sexualities), UK	Participatory action research ('No Outsiders' project) challenging heteronormativity in schools	Online forum, plus interviews with 72 extra teachers (qualitative only)
Dessel, 2010	36 public school teachers, US	Complex training programme including educational readings and films, and discussions with LGB people	Interviews (also quantitative measures)
Dugmore & Cocker, 2008	Social workers employed by a local authority, US	One-day training, diverse methods	Anonymous written feedback (qualitative only)
Edwards, 2010	19 sociology students, US	'Nail-polish exercise': straight male students had to wear nail polish for 24 hours (2006 to 2009 classes)	Anonymous written feedback (also quantitative measures)
Elsbree & Wong, 2007	89 pre-service teachers, US	Watching *The Laramie Project* (Kaufman, 2001), plus reading, video, and classroom discussion	Pre-and post-class surveys (also quantitative measures)
Eyre, 1993	Pre-service health education teachers, Canada	Various classroom discussions and presentations, esp. a speaker panel	Anonymous written feedback (qualitative only)
Foreman & Quinlan, 2008	Social work students, Ireland	Workshops with various activities	Anonymous written feedback (qualitative only)
Geasler et al., 1995	260 students in five sexuality and family courses (2% other than heterosexual), US	Regular speaker panels of LGB students and alumni	Anonymous written feedback (qualitative only)

Reference	Participants	Design	Assessment
Getz & Kirkley, 2006	20 people from a religiously-affiliated university, US	'Rainbow Educator' programme, consisting of presentations for students and staff	Interviews; conclusions reviewed by 5 participants (qualitative only)
Goldberg, 1982	131 undergraduate students, US	Watching anti-homophobic and sexually-explicit videos	Anonymous written feedback (also quantitative measures)
Hegarty, 2010	37 psychology and sociology students in an optional course on LGBT psychology (4 bisexual, 1lesbian/gay, 2 no label), UK	Course on varied topics, specifically avoiding biological/essentialist arguments (2008 and 2009 classes)	Anonymous written feedback (also quantitative measures)
Hillman & Martin, 2002	68 students in developmental psychology course (1 gay man), US	'Spaceship exercise'	Anonymous written feedback (also quantitative measures)
Huffey, 1997*	96 undergraduate students, US	Educational videotape and speaker panel	Anonymous written feedback (also quantitative measures)
Knotts & Gregorio, 2011	101 high school students, US	Class on stigmatised composers (including gay ones) taught by the GMCLA	Pre-and post-class surveys (qualitative only)
Liddle & Stowe, 2002	Undergraduate students in various health-related fields, US	Lesbian guest speaker in class	Classroom discussion (qualitative only)
Nelson & Krieger, 1997	190 psychology students, US	Lesbian and gay guest speakers in class	Anonymous written feedback (also quantitative measures)
Payne & Smith, 2011	322 educators, US	'The Reduction of Stigma in Schools', complex professional development programme	Field notes, interviews, questionnaires, phone logs (qualitative only)

Reference	Participants	Design	Assessment
Peel, 2010	Psychology students in an optional sexuality course, UK	Sexuality course informed by feminism, critical theory and diversity training; straight students were asked to focus on their own privilege (several successive cohorts)	Weekly entries in a reflective diary, based on guideline questions from the instructor (qualitative only)
Reinhardt, 1995*	320 undergraduate students in a sexuality course, US	Gay and lesbian speaker panel in class	Anonymous written feedback (also quantitative measures)
Romeo, 2007*	5 health-care professionals, US	Complex 8-session workshop	Discussions, interviews, journals and essays (qualitative only)
Smith, 1994*	11 undergraduate students (3 lesbians, 2 gay men), US	Reading and discussing LGB-themed young-adult novels	Entry and exist surveys, diaries, classroom discussions (qualitative only)
Taylor, 1982	25 undergraduate students in a sexuality course, US	Human sexuality course offered by a health department	Pre- and post-test questionnaires, exam essay, and interview (also quantitative measures)
Young, 2009*	High-school students in a Contemporary Issues class, US	Education, esp. critical literacy and multicultural issues; Gay-Straight Alliance, Day of Solidarity etc.	Discussions, interviews, field notes (qualitative only)

Note. References followed by an asterisk (*) are unpublished.

Studies Included in the Review

Thirty relevant references were identified: 24 peer-reviewed papers, 5 unpublished dissertations and 1 unpublished report. Table 1 offers an overview of participants, designs and data-collection methods of these studies. Although keywords were translated into French, German, and Spanish, only English-language reports were retrieved by this search. Each report described only one study.

As in the studies reviewed in Chapter 2, participants were almost always university students, most commonly studying subjects such as psychology, education,

sociology, social work and health care. Some of them (in 6 out of 30 studies) were taking optional human sexuality courses. In a few cases, participants were high-school students (e.g., Boulden, 2005) or professionals such as social workers (Dugmore & Cocker, 2008). Most studies engaged only a few dozen participants. Written feedback on lectures and panel presentations was sometimes collected from a few hundred participants (e.g., Geasler et al., 1995), while some resource-intensive methods were applied to much smaller samples (such as participatory action research; DePalma & Atkinson, 2009). Only one third of the studies (10 out of 30) employed volunteers; the rest of the studies (20) were performed on students and professionals who were required to participate as part of their mandatory training.

The reduction of these participants' homophobia was typically pursued through a variety of techniques within a course or a workshop. Two methods were particularly common. On the one hand, scientific information on human sexuality, stigma, oppression etc. was commonly provided. On the other hand, contact with LGB people was provided either through guest lectures and panel presentations (e.g., Eyre, 1993), or through LGB course convenors coming out to their classes (e.g., Cain, 1996)[9]. The duration of the interventions ranged from a few hours to one semester. Most studies assessed the impact of the course as a whole (e.g., Hegarty, 2010). Some researchers, however, assessed the impact of specific activities. For example, Edwards (2010) asked her Sociology 101 students to paint each other's nails and sport the resulting manicure for 24 hours, an exercise that allowed the men in her class to briefly experience homophobia. Hillman and Martin (2002) designed a classroom activity whereby students imagined arriving to an alien world where all romantic and sexual manifestations were illegal; after the students had expressed their feelings about such oppression, the facilitator[10] pointed out the similarity to homophobia. Other researchers focused on specific media, such as theatre (*The Laramie Project*,

[9] These techniques have been reviewed in Chapter 2 under the headings 'Education', 'Contact', and 'Contact-plus-Education', and found to be effective.

[10] I use the term 'facilitator' to refer to the person or people who have conducted an intervention, and 'researcher' for the author(s) of the report. The two roles were sometimes, but not always, fulfilled by the same people.

Kaufman, 2001, in Elsbree & Wong, 2007), music (a performance of the Gay Men's Chorus of Los Angeles, in Knotts & Gregorio, 2011), or film (*Vir amat*, Sutton, 1971, in Goldberg, 1982).

Feedback on the course was most often collected anonymously in writing. Some participants filled in pre- and post-intervention surveys (e.g., Smith, 1994), while others provided brief comments at the end of quantitative questionnaires (e.g., Edwards, 2010). Classroom discussions (e.g., Deeb-Sossa & Kane, 2007), exam papers (e.g., Taylor, 1982) and diaries (e.g., Peel, 2010) were occasionally used as sources of qualitative data. Authors' own success criteria were divergent; e.g., Bateman's (1995) goal was to enhance students' essentialist views, while Hegarty (2010) aimed to question them.

The Analytic Process

In order to achieve a synthesis of the literature, I performed thematic analysis on the results sections of the 30 papers described above. As opposed to quantitative systematic reviews and meta-analyses, qualitative reviews tend not to follow a widely accepted procedure: reviewers develop their own protocol based on extant guidelines and the specific requirements of the project (Hannes & Lockwood, 2011). Following Thomas and Harden's (2008) recommendations, I chose to treat results sections in their entirety as data, thus drawing both on quotes from participants and on the researchers' analyses of them. (Such an inclusive definition of data avoided missing important information due to differences in reporting style.) Given the diversity of qualitative approaches in my corpus (see Table 1), I opted for an analytic strategy with few theoretical constraints of its own: thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

I performed the thematic analysis in six stages (Braun & Clarke, 2006). First, I read the results sections of the 30 papers. I also created record cards with bullet-pointed summaries and initial observations. Second, I generated initial codes, by identifying and labelling sentences across different documents that seemed to convey similar ideas. For example, I noted that the phrase 'eye opening' was used in several papers. At this stages, I also started collating data, by copying related pieces of text into a

dedicated document. Third, I started searching for themes. For instance, I grouped all the crassly-phrased feedback (using words such as 'stupid', 'offensive', and 'disgusting') under the same rubric (now titled "The presentation turned my stomach"). Forth, I revised the themes, by re-reading the data and readjusting the groupings and connections between the quotes. I thus identified the six themes presented in the rest of this chapter. Fifth, I named the themes. Since some of the participant feedback was very expressive, I chose to use quotes to theme labels: for example, feedback stating that an intervention was boring or irrelevant was grouped under "Nothing really blew my mind" (uttered by a student in Huffey's, 1997, class). At this stage, I also realised that praising and scathing feedback respectively formed two separate lines of argument, and I therefore grouped them as super-themes. Sixth, I produced a draft report of my first set of themes. Finally, all of these stages were iterated several times, based on my own re-reading of the data and on my supervisors' and colleagues' feedback. Most importantly, the present version grants more attention to patterns that cut across themes, such as 'dirty work', than the early drafts did.

As explained above, I grouped participants' responses into positive and critical feedback. In short, positive feedback typically revolved around the transformative, 'eye-opening' value of the intervention, and the favourable impressions made by facilitators and (LGB) guests. In their critical feedback, participants usually described a mismatch between the intervention and the context in which it was performed, arguing that the intervention was either too moderate or too radical for the particular organisation or community. Specific critical themes encompassed statements that the intervention was not challenging enough ("Nothing really blew my mind"); conversely, that it was too daring ("We don't need to move beyond gay penguins"); that it set unachievably optimistic standards and it was detached from the participants' everyday life ("There's a huge gap…"); and that is was inappropriate, or outright harmful ("The presentation turned my stomach"). These themes are discussed in detail in the next two sections. Positive feedback, which was more homogeneous and lent itself to a briefer analysis, is discussed first.

Positive Feedback and Its Discontents

All thirty studies reported some positive feedback from the participants. Most participants quoted by researchers gave positive, largely uncritical comments, which is unsurprising given the overall success of the interventions (see Chapter 2). Some researchers merely described these constructions rather than interpreting them, and assigned an overall positive meaning to the intervention without further qualification.

A few researchers, however, challenged their participants' positive feedback. Curran et al. (2009) noted their dual role as facilitators and researchers: 'As three activists, we celebrated the profound and immediate shifts in [students'] discourse the event created…. However, as academics/critical deconstructionists and educators, we reflected upon the process and problematized some issues.'[11] (p. 163) Cain (1996) similarly scrutinised his students' positive responses to his coming out. He conjectured that students were socialised to withhold both criticism of their lecturers and prejudiced views of any groups: positive feedback was likely due, at least in part, to social desirability. Conversely, Liddle and Stowe (2002) interpreted their participants' initial negative reaction as a sign of honesty and openness. Cain's (1996) apprehension may be relevant to all studies in this review: power relations between facilitators, participants and the institutions involved (schools, charities, local government etc.) likely prompted participants to give feedback they thought others were expecting from them.

"Eye opener"

A number of researchers have classified positive (as well as negative) responses (Geasler et al., 1995; Huffey, 1997; Boulden, 2005). The themes were remarkably consistent across studies. Participants in virtually all studies acknowledged some learning. This is in line with meta-analytic findings that interventions have a particularly strong effect on participants' factual knowledge (see Chapter 2). Newly

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[11] For example, Curran et al. (2009) discuss the possibility that participants reacted positively to a likeable facilitator rather than the intervention itself. See below the section titled "Not just weirdos".

acquired knowledge was often contrasted with previous ignorance: interventions "dispel[led] some myths and stereotypes" (Geasler et al., 1995, p. 485), they were an "eye opener" (Edwards, 2010, p. 368). The metaphor of *opening one's eyes* was particularly common; it was present in participant quotes from about one quarter of the studies (Edwards, 2010; Eyre, 1993; Foreman & Quinlan, 2008; Geasler et al., 1995; Getz & Kirkley, 2006; Goldberg, 1982; Knotts & Gregorio, 2011; Payne & Smith, 2011).

A corollary of this sense of enlightenment is an increased awareness of both one's own and others' prejudice. One of Boulden's (2005) participants put this very simply: "I learned how ignorant I was on the subject." (p. 32); another participant in the same study "learned that people that are homosexual have it harder than others" (p. 34). Moreover, participants also acquired an 'increased sense of their capacity to make a difference' (Boulden, 2005, p. 33), and many of them spoke of their determination to support LGB rights in the future. Getz and Kirkley's (2006) participants reported actual incidents where students were challenged by their peers for making homophobic jokes or comments. These findings stand in stark contrast with experimental results which suggest that reducing individual level prejudice also reduces people's perception of inequality and their willingness to act against it (for an example and a review, see Dovidio et al., 2012).

As discussed in the previous section, many participants seemed to give feedback along the lines expected by the researchers, and the latter may be more or less willing to address the role of social desirability in these positive responses. It is usually not clear which comments were mere rehearsals of the curriculum and which ones capture the participants' added reflection. For example, when one of Boulden's (2005) participants says "I learned that you can't always tell at first sight someone's sexual orientation,"[12] (p. 33) it is difficult to determine whether this statements reflects a shift in personal opinions or a polite reflection of an idea discussed in the course.

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[12] In order to avoid confusions, I opted to put statements belonging to researchers in between single inverted commas ('') and statements belonging to participants in between double inverted commas (""). The source of block quotations is always clarified in the preceding paragraph..

"Not just weirdos"

When LGB people were involved in the intervention (as was the case in about one-third of the studies), participants almost always commented on their demeanour. Peel (2001b; 2002) found that facilitators were acutely aware of their role in managing participants' LGB stereotypes, to the extent of describing themselves as "walking visual aids" (2001b, p. 51). This suggests participants have strong expectations from LGB facilitators, which the facilitators themselves may experience as burdensome.

Most of participants' comments on LGB facilitators revolved around the theme that 'gays are like other people' (Huffey, 1997, p. 68, Table 12). Participants were 'impressed that the speaker was gay and appeared normal' (Goldberg, 1982, p. 264). While LGB people were often normalised after the intervention, the normal-abnormal binary became very sharp: "I realised that the panel members were real people, with real experiences, not just weirdos" (Reinhardt, 1995, p. 117).

In line with normalisation, the counter-stereotypical appearance of LGB speakers was frequently highlighted. "I could not have 'guessed by looking at them'", said one of Reinhardt's (1995, p. 119) students about gay and lesbian panellists, while one of Boulden's (2005) students "learnt how you can't judge a book by its cover" (p. 33). After watching a performance of the Gay Men's Chorus of Los Angeles, one of Knotts and Gregorio's (2011) students said it was "cool to see gay guys who can sing but look like dudes" (p. 76). In a similar vein, one of Geasler et al.'s (1995) students was surprised that "even very attractive women are lesbians" (p. 486). As with normalisation, challenging stereotypes can be seen as a positive accomplishment, while the implicit condemnation of gender nonconformity speaks of participants' continuing misogyny (as pointed out by Knotts & Gregorio, 2011) and cisgenderism. However, not all stereotypes were so strongly related to traditional gender roles. A gay lecturer's coming out convinced one student that "not all gay men are flaky artists or interior decorators" (Cain, 1996, Discussion, para. 4). Another student was surprised that LGB panellists "are not totally concentrated on sex… They have normal relationships." (Geasler et al., 1995, p. 485)

As opposed to participants, facilitators saw their appearance as performative, and often made conscious decisions about either embodying or disconfirming a stereotype (Peel, 2001b; 2002). Their choices did not always revolve around the normalisation of sexuality. Specifically, they appreciated that a 'camp' self-presentations may feel authentic and make a stance against LGB invisibility, while a 'normal' outfit may suggest professionalism. The facilitators' problematisation of their relation to LGB stereotypes is reminiscent of 'stereotype threat' (Steele, 1997), as they are often concerned about confirming such stereotypes through their behaviour[13].

LGB speakers sometimes received praise not just for their counter-stereotypical appearance, but also for avoiding political controversy. Reinhardt's (1995) students listed "middle-of-the-ground" (p. 121) as a key characteristic of likeable panellists. Curran et al. (2009) also remarked that students moved from considering gay issues 'controversial' to considering them 'normal' (p. 162). Cain (1996) expressed concern that his coming out to his students may have been too reserved and non-confrontational; at the same time, some of the students stated that they only engaged with his presentation because they found its tone more moderate than mainstream gay-rights discourse (see also the section titled "We don't need to move beyond…" below).

As explained above, many researchers take issue with normalisation: they argue that LGB people are normal reinforces narrow and oppressive ideas of normality (Warner, 2004). If many participants made normalising statements, others said that the interventions had taught them otherwise. For example, one straight man in Hegarty's (2010) class was prompted to "think of sex, gender and sexual orientation as much more fluid concepts" (p. 14). Similarly, one of Peel's (2010) students wrote in her diary:

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[13] However, their overall negotiation of this issue was closer to W.E.B. DuBois's 'double consciousness', whereby a positive balance between two identities is difficult but possible (see Gaines, 2012, for a comparative discussion of stereotype threat and double consciousness).

It seems that as a society we are in a constant battle to normalise everything to make it fit with our taken for granted knowledge. The whole concept of this taken for granted knowledge is something that I will definitely take away with me from this module. (p. 227)

"Less of a minority"

Homophobia has historically been understood in psychology as a form of prejudice, closely related to sexism, racism, cisgenderism etc. (see Chapter 1, "Homophobia is a form of prejudice"). Unsurprisingly, facilitators and participants alike drew analogies between different forms of oppression. A straight man of colour in Cain's (1993) class said he "felt less of a minority" (Shaping, para. 9) when the lecturer came out as gay. Conversely, a gay man in Young's (2009) study started reflecting on his privilege as a man apart from his disadvantage as a gay person. The discussion of one form of prejudice has occasioned reflection on other forms of privilege and oppression.

While most LGB students had, unsurprisingly, a positive reaction to efforts to reduce homophobia, others might experience emotional discomfort. On the one hand, a gay man in Smith's (1994) literature class said that he "became more proud and empowered by the novels" (p. 5) that foregrounded sexuality. On the other hand, one lesbian student in Cain's (1996) class felt disturbed by the lecturer's coming out. She described this as "having issues". Her discomfort seemed to be due to the sense that the coming out of some gay people set a standard of openness unachievable for others: 'her first inclination after [the lecturer's] disclosure was to leave the room because she felt some pressure to come out to the class as well' (Student reactions, para. 6).

Relatively little was said about the prejudices more closely associated with homophobia, such as biphobia and cisgenderism. These two issues were usually clustered with the concerns of gay men and lesbians under such acronyms as "LGBT". Dessel (2010), for example, explicitly addressed biphobia, while Romeo (2007) addressed cisgenderism. Most reports, however, are unclear on the extent to which bisexual and trans issues were covered in the interventions. This constitutes another significant silence.

Finally, it is worth noting that the relationship between prejudices is often more complicated than the mere co-occurrence of homophobia with racism and sexism. Members of some minorities may see their interests as competing with the rights of others. For example, one Black man in Deeb-Sossa and Kane's (2007) class sees tensions between Black masculinities and gay identities:

> It is hard enough for black men to be seen as "real men" by the usual white middle class standards of good jobs and good pay. So why would you act in a way that threatens masculinity even more? (p. 153)

Such arguments question the viability of treating prejudice as a monolithic phenomenon, and undermine the possibility of challenging it en masse. The complexities of the relationship between homophobia and racism will be addressed in more detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

Dealing with Critical Feedback

Critiques of interventions were reported less often than positive feedback; nevertheless, almost three quarters of the studies (22 out of 30) report some critical comments from participants. Researchers committed greater effort to interpreting participants' negative constructions, suggesting that such responses were not expected or preferred. Three broad strategies were visible in researchers' accounts of critical feedback (besides not reporting any). First, criticism was challenged as an expression of participants' (unreformed) prejudice. For example, Deeb-Sossa and Kane (2007) dedicated their whole paper to challenging religious counterarguments to anti-homophobic education. Second, negative feedback may be read against itself and deconstructed. Geasler et al. (1995) observed a 'crack' (p. 488) in their participants' negative feedback. While these participants asserted their previous openness and knowledgeability, they often acknowledge some degree of learning and surprise: 'A female student who reported "no change" ... went on to speak of being surprised that gay men were "intelligent and comfortable with themselves" [...]' (p. 488). Third, criticism may be rerouted. When participants described a mismatch between researchers' ambitions for change and the reluctance of their

own workplaces and communities, such remarks was often read by researchers as a critique directed at society and at decision makers rather than at the workshop itself. As with positive feedback, certain researchers explored competing accounts of negative feedback, placing it within broader theoretical and political debates (see DePalma & Atkinson's, 2009, 'gay penguin' discussion below). In the following sections, I discuss the four main themes identified in critical feedback.

"Nothing really blew my mind"

Some participants characterised the intervention as irrelevant or unconvincing. They often voiced agreement with the message of the facilitators, but thought they already had the knowledge or attitudes the intervention aimed to give them. One of Bateman's (1995) participants said: "I was already diverse"; and one of Geasler et al.'s (1995) students stated: "I have always been open minded and have not changed." (p. 488) One fifth of the studies (6 out of 30) reported some participant feedback along these lines.

Some participants distanced themselves from the intervention, by saying there was "nothing impactful" (Huffey, 1997, p. 68), or by simply refusing to comment. A student in Smith's (1994) literature class described lessons on LGB novels as "talking about a lot of very general … things." (p. 5) In a similar vein, one teacher trainee appreciated that *The Laramie Project* (a play about the real-life murder of a gay student; Kaufman, 2001) was not particularly relevant for the maths curriculum (Elsbree & Wong, 2007). Another teacher trainee postponed forming an opinion on LGB people "until more evidence is verified" (Bateman, 1995, p. 67), and a high school student commented on an encounter with gay men by writing down a single question mark (Knotts & Gregorio, 2011, p. 75). As one of Huffey's (1997) participants put it, "nothing really blew my mind". (p. 68)

Certain participants described their (often deeply positive) reactions and simultaneously denied the effect of the intervention. Geasler et al. (1995) labelled this type of response 'unacknowledged student change' (p. 487). For example, some of Bateman's (1995) participants admitted that the intervention made them question their previous opinions, without actually admitting to any change. Several students

cited by Geasler et al. made such specific disclaimers as "It hasn't changed my attitude" or "I left class thinking the same thing", only to continue with such acknowledgements as "I found out many things I had some misconceptions about." (p. 488) LGB participants may also find the content of anti-homophobia education interesting, even though not novel. A bisexual man in Hegarty's (2010) class appreciated that his personal experience had already taught him everything that was on the course, but admitted that it "has given [him] tools to argue back [against homophobia]." (p. 14)

Researchers and facilitators seem particularly keen to deconstruct this type of feedback. Geasler et al.'s (1995) notion of 'unacknowledged student change' (p. 487) is possibly the most sophisticated (and most psychologising) interpretive tool used in the corpus examined here. Facilitators interviewed by Peel (2002) expressed frustration with their participants' "liberal defences" (p. 265), which they saw as attempts to silence discussions of homophobia.

"We don't need to move beyond gay penguins"

Some participants accepted the intervention overall, but called into question the aspects they found "too strong" or "radical." Some people felt uncomfortable discussing homosexuality (Elsbree & Wong, 2007), while others were somewhat overwhelmed by the issue of stigma. After Hillman and Martin's (2002) spaceship exercise, one student commented: "Just keep it light. This topic can get a little depressing" (p. 310). This theme could be identified in one sixth (5 out of 30) of the studies.

The political tensions that underlie this theme are sometimes very explicit. One of Deeb-Sossa and Kane's (2007) students stated that "things are equal now" (p. 153). A more crystallised call to tone down the intervention emerged from DePalma and Atkinson's (2009) participatory action research. One primary school teacher in this project insisted that, for the time being, mere visibility was radical enough; there was no need to do more than expose children to such stories as *And Tango Makes Three*[14]. 'The debate over whether or not we need to "move beyond gay penguins" is one

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[14] A (children's) picture book about two male penguins raising a chick (Parnell & Richardson, 2005).

manifestation of the tensions between strategic essentialist and queer approaches'
(p. 851) Similar debates have taken place in other classes: Young's (2009) students
discussed the difference between tolerance and support for LGB people, while
teacher's in Dessel's (2010) training programme discussed 'stopping anti-gay
harassment versus teaching or voicing affirmation' (p. 575).

"There's a huge gap between training and the workplace"

Some straight participants rejected the intervention invoking negative
experiences or the fear thereof. This is not surprising, since LGB allies can become
victims of homophobia (Peel & Coyle, 2004). Teachers interviewed by Dessel (2010)
feared parents' and administrators' reactions to any pro-gay action in school,
referring to something Dessel described as 'regionally based resistance' (p. 575). Such
issues were brought up in about one fifth of the reports (6 out of 30).

Both teachers (Payne & Smith, 2011) and students (Young, 2009) have referred
to pro-gay initiatives in schools as "rocking the boat" -- suggesting it is something
fundamentally hazardous. Young (2009) further analysed this metaphor, and found
that the "rocking" could be performed by two agents: the school, whom the students
saw as incompetent in this matter; and by "we", the students themselves. The school
governance was also seen as an obstacle; backlash from them was the risk that made
gay rights activism seem hazardous.

Since change is seen as desirable but risky, teachers and other professionals
tread carefully. One teacher trainee specified that "the actual curricular
implementation [of anti-homophobia education] would absolutely depend upon the
community and [school] district" (Elsbree & Wong, 2007, p. 105). To navigate
tensions with local communities and governance, some teachers were looking at
national policies for a more generous (though still rigid) framework: 'most teachers
have felt themselves to be in no position to go very far beyond what they could justify
in terms of government policy' (DePalma & Atkinson, 2009, p. 846).

Participants' worries about challenging the status quo were illustrated with rich
anecdotes. Edwards (2010) asked male students to experiment with nail polish as a
course assignment on the sociology of gender; the students' experiences with

harassment (as well as news stories about a homophobic murder) prompted her to turn this compulsory exercise into an optional one. One educator in Payne and Smith's (2011) professional development programme recalled an incident in which a school principal made a teacher apologise to a student's parents for challenging the student's homophobic language. Young (2009) also offered a detailed account of the tensions between a school official and the local Gay-Straight Alliance[15]. In Eyre's (1993) class, some students preferred to remain silent while their peers voiced homophobic views: "I felt intimidate to speak up against the strong opinions raised by some… our silence did not mean we agreed with the negative responses" (p. 280).

Unsurprisingly, some participants reject their anti-homophobia training as unrealistic and leading to disappointment. One social worker in Dugmore and Cocker's (2008) study was positive about the contents of the training, but sceptical about the possibility of implementing it: "You get excited about the prospect of change and then it doesn't go anywhere…. There's a huge gap between training and the workplace" (p. 164). One of Eyre's (1993) pre-service health teachers voiced similar concerns:

> I do not think that students should be taught about homosexuality in schools because I do not feel that society is ready to accept it…. Can teachers honestly teach that homosexuality is acceptable when many people … assault them [homosexuals] for this reason only? (p. 280)

Consequently, Eyre (1993) doubts 'the possibility of liberatory pedagogy … when prospective teachers … are concerned about job security.' (p. 273) The perceived idealism of training programmes sometimes came across as unacceptably patronising: "it's seen as a slap in the face if we're told what to do … by someone that has not walked in our shoes"[16] (Payne & Smith, 2011, p. 187).

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[15] It is remarkable that none of these examples of resistance involve school authorities.

[16] The participant, a teacher, was favourably comparing Payne and Smith's (2011) programme to other, less agreeable training workshops.

"The presentation turned my stomach"

Reactions to anti-homophobia education often amount to complete rejection. About two fifth of the interventions reviewed here (12 out of 30) received some feedback of this type. One student who participated in Hillman and Martin's (2002) spaceship exercise simply qualified it as "stupid", with no further explanation. Such paramount rejections are sometimes phrased less bluntly: for example, "I am not ready to accept this" (Huffey, 1997, p. 68). Liddle and Stowe (2009) also faced strongly emotional rejection from some of their students:

> Many said that they believed the [lesbian] presenter was trying to "shove her opinion down their throats" and trying to "force them to believe what she believed." One student said she was so upset that after class she went home and called her mother and cried for an hour because she couldn't believe that she "had to listen to that in a class." Another said "I wasn't even going to participate in the exercise. I didn't want to get out of my seat. I couldn't believe she was having us think about such things. I don't agree with it and I didn't want to participate in it." (p. 103)

Some participants argue that change is impossible. Such statements are present, for example, in Huffey (1997) and Hillman and Martin (1997). One of Edwards's (2010) students is particularly articulate in making this point: "I cannot empathise as I am not one of them…. I do not feel that putting on nail polish in any way brings me close to feeling the way they do…. One cannot be taught to understand another's thought process" (p. 367). In a similar vein, one of Eyre's (1993) students defended her own ambivalence by stating that "it is difficult to change the way one has been socialized" (p. 279).

It is worth noting here that many participants insisted on asserting their own heterosexuality, and thus the difference between gay people and themselves. One of Nelson and Krieger's (1997) psychology undergraduates said: "Let them do what they want, I say, let them express themselves as they choose, but it is not for me" (p. 78). DeWelde and Hubbard's (2003) students anonymised their imaginary coming-out letters, hid them from others, and covered them in disclaimers: "NOTE: THIS IS AN ASSIGNMENT FOR A CLASS AND DOES NOT REFLECT MY PERSONAL SITUATION. THE

LETTER THAT FOLLOWS IS FICTION" (p. 79, capitals in the original). Also, 'one student asked if she could "come out" to her dogs as liking cats better' (p. 78). Participants thus distance themselves from the exercise and trivialise it, likely in order to make it less threatening to their own heterosexual identities (Falomir-Pichastor & Mugny, 2009; Hegarty & Massey, 2006). Contrary to the researchers' aims, some participants refused to challenge oppression even when they were targeted by it; moreover, they sometimes empathised with their oppressors: "I would have acted the same way," said one of Edwards's (2010, p. 365) students about those who had bashed him for wearing nail polish.

Some participants restated and defended their homophobic views. Two of Knotts and Gregorio's (2010) students were "offended" by their encounter with the Gay Men's Chorus of Los Angeles, and another one invoked the Bible to argue that "this presentation is wrong" (p. 75). Deeb-Sossa and Kane (2007) provided an in-depth analysis of US sociology students' religious arguments; the key themes they identified were 'biblical literalism', 'sinful behaviour', and 'love the sinner, hate the sin'. As one student put it, "the promotion of homosexualism [sic]… is against everything I have ever known and believed in Christianity" (p. 155). Participants draw knowledge and social norms from sources other than their school or workplace; anti-homophobia interventions may fail if they do not manage to compete (or constructively engage) with these sources.

Finally, participants might find their homophobia reinforced and even inflated after the training. One of Eyre's (1993) participants stated: "The presentation turned my stomach." (p. 79) Goldberg (1982) showed his students two sexually-explicit videos, presenting a gay and a lesbian couple respectively. While many participants found that the videos normalised same-gender intimacy, others reported their disgust to be augmented: "I only found homosexuality mildly repulsive, now I find it very repulsive" (p. 266). While this type of response is rare in the studies reviewed here, paradoxical effects are a major concern in efforts against prejudice; for example, intergroup contact may increase rather than decrease prejudice if experienced negatively (Barlow et al., 2012).

Discussion and Conclusion

> The intergroup worker, coming home from the good-will meeting which he[17] helped to instigate… cannot help but feel elated by the general atmosphere and the words of praise from his friends all around. Still, a few days later, when the next case of discrimination becomes known he often wonders whether all this was more than a white-wash and whether he is right in accepting the acknowledgment of his friends as a measuring stick for the progress of his work…. Under these circumstances, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with his own achievement becomes mainly a question of temperament. (Lewin, 1946, p. 35)

This chapter can offer a response (if a complex and tentative one) to the concerns raised by Kurt Lewin in the quote above. A systematic review of participants' feedback on anti-homophobia interventions gives reason for qualified optimism. On the one hand, participants in anti-homophobia interventions typically felt they were learning and changing for the better. They reported they were more informed, more aware of their own prejudice, and more ready to challenge the unfair treatment of LGB people. On the other hand, some participants resisted or misinterpreted the facilitators' message. Some participants judged that the goals of the intervention to be inadequate for the social context they lived in, being either too bold in a society unready for change, or too cautious where the context was ripe for more.

Up to this point, my reading of the corpus has been fairly descriptive, focusing on identifying themes. In the rest of the Discussion, I take an interpretive, critical stance. I attempt to uncover the broad assumptions behind participants' comments, and to deconstruct their arguments against the interventions.

Rhetoric and Narrative

What participants (and sometimes researchers) question within their critical feedback is the appropriateness of the goal set for the intervention. Social change is seen as a progressive, somewhat linear pursuit. Interventions to reduce homophobia are expected to make a reasonable portion of this journey: goals may easily be seen

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[17] Note that Lewin wrote long before the use of gender neutral language was a standard practice.

as either too modest or too daring. The themes labelled "We don't need…" and "There's a huge gap…" both point at the interventions being too ambitious, although the latter arguably has a more pessimistic undertone than the former. Some participants found the very idea of combating homophobia farfetched; their feedback is grouped under the theme "The presentation turned my stomach". At the other end of this continuum, the theme "Nothing really…" expresses the sense that interventions are moving more slowly than the organisations and communities where they are implemented (or at least for some people in those contexts). Finally, positive feedback is arguably placed in-between, affirming the timeliness of the intervention. *Participants (as well as researchers) construe the utility and success of the intervention by placing it in a broader, progressivist narrative of social change* (Foucault, 1978; Kulpa, 2011; see also Chapter 1).

By arguing that anti-homophobia workshops are not appropriate for their communities and workplaces, participants effectively invoke context sensitivity to resist change. The practical and political concerns raised by these participants (see esp. "There is a huge gap…" above) may of course be valid, as institutional and societal resistance to anti-homophobia efforts can be very serious (see Chapter 5 for the example of a march against gay rights). Rhetorically, however, it is remarkable that the idea of putting matters in (cultural, historical, institutional etc.) context is hardly ever used to discuss improvements to the interventions, but rather to argue for postponing or cancelling them altogether. Participants argue that society or the workplace is not ready for changing homophobia, or that the topic does not belong in the classroom or in their specific subject area.

As qualitative researchers are generally committed both to understanding local and individual variation in social phenomena and to promoting social change (see, e.g., Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), the use of context to resist change is an uneasy observation. One is reminded of a classical argument against philosophical relativism: putting everything in context amounts to an over-analysis that stops people from taking a moral stance and acting upon it (Parker, 1999). While I do not think that invoking 'context' always amounts to paralysing over-analysis, this seems to be the case in our corpus. This is the argument of the teacher trainee who said that "the

actual curricular implementation [of anti-homophobia education] would *absolutely depend* upon the community and [school] district" (Elsbree & Wong, 2007, p. 105; my emphasis). To use a metaphor from Edwards et al. (1995) metaphor, analysing how a cake is made does not stop one from eating it; however, in the studies discussed here, analysing the cake is, effectively, a way of not eating it.[18]

It must be noted that participants' feedback is not entirely critical, but rather it covers a broad spectrum and it is often contradictory. The dirty work status of sexuality research is epitomised, in Irvine's (2014) view, by the sexologist's mail box. The most visible figures of 20th century sex research, such as Alfred Kinsey, William Masters and Virginia Johnson have all received a large number of both requests for help from people struggling with sexual issue, and abuse and threats from those who disapproved of their work. This ambivalent assessment, which is the very essence of dirty work, appears clearly in the feedback analysed in this chapter: anti-homophobic education is an 'eye opener' to some, it 'rocks the boat' a bit too much for others, and it 'turns the stomach' of yet others.

The 'dirtiness' of sex research, as well as the invocation of 'context' to reject change suggest that the progressive narrative is too simplistic. While (Western) attitudes towards sexuality in general have change substantially in the 20th century, these changes are not as linear as the common narrative of leaving 'repressed' Victorian views behind and becoming 'liberated' (Foucault, 1978; see also Chapter 1). The themes discussed above under 'Critical feedback…' show the complexity of resistance to anti-homophobia efforts. The positive feedback itself is sobering: after more than a century of steady progress towards a 'liberated' society, an introductory course on sexuality can be an 'eye opener'.

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[18] Conversely, the appeal to context can also be read as a realist, anti-relativist argument: Edwards et al. (1995) have remarked that '[r]eality can serve as a rhetoric for inaction (*be realistic… face the facts… come off it… you can't walk through rocks… you can't change reality…*) [italics and ellipses in the original] (p. 34) This may be the line of argument that seems to be taken by the teacher trainee who said that "it is difficult to change the way one has been socialized" (Eyre, 1993, p. 279).

Limitations of the Present Review

Many of the reports reviewed here did not prioritise describing or analysing qualitative data. The 30 results sections that constituted my data were sometimes very thin. Almost half of the studies used mixed methods, and the qualitative analysis was often ancillary to quantitative measures. Moreover, the analysis of participant feedback was often limited to acknowledging positive responses. For example, Anderson (1981) was content to remark that 'the students were overwhelmingly enthusiastic about the workshop' (p. 66), without further details. This may also be due to the struggle of LGB research to gain recognition in predominantly positivistic social-science departments and organisations (Irvine, 2014); Rivers (2001) has pragmatically remarked that 'quantitative analysis quietens the purists' (p. 28), and Coyle (2000) has argued that 'lesbian and gay psychology would not be advised to ally itself exclusively with qualitative methods because to do so would render the achievement of disciplinary legitimacy even more difficult than it already is' (p. 4). Therefore, the relative paucity of qualitative data is likely a consequence of the status of sexuality research as dirty work.

The varied and often meagre reporting of qualitative results in the primary sources prevented us from addressing a series of potentially important questions. First, data collection methods were difficult to compare. However, I noticed that interviews and group discussions tended, unsurprisingly, to produce richer, more voluminous data; anonymous written feedback nevertheless brought more critical points. On the other hand, the question arises whether the published literature presents a faithful picture of the field. In quantitative research, there is a well-known tendency to withhold nonsignificant results from publication, either by the authors' choice or because of editors' reluctance to publish inconclusive studies (Rosenthal, 1979). It is an open question whether the corpus examined here is affected by a similar 'file-drawer problem.'

Second, it was not possible to identify historical trends in the data. It is noteworthy, however, that older interventions, performed when societal homophobia was arguably higher, often received very positive feedback (Anderson, 1981; Taylor, 1982); and recent interventions, performed in the wake of widespread

anti-discrimination policies, were still seen as too daring (Dessel, 2010; Payne & Smith, 2010). I therefore did not find, as one might expect, that anti-homophobia interventions have become an easier pursuit over time.

Finally, conclusions from studies performed in the US may be difficult to transfer to other countries. Ironically, this body of research focusing on the importance of local contexts has been performed mostly in the US. The question therefore remains open whether the interventions would have a similar impact in places with stronger pro-gay policies (like the UK), or with higher levels of societal homophobia (like Eastern Europe; see Chapter 2).

Conclusion

The participant feedback analysed in this paper holds three related lessons for those who wish to challenge homophobia. First, participants actively assess the interventions, and are conscious of the broader social and historical context in which attitudes to LGB people are evolving. Consequently, many participants have a sense of how timely an intervention is for their own situation. Second, 'context' is often invoked against efforts to reduce homophobia, effectively defending the status quo. It is thus important to note that context sensitivity, while constructive in general, also has a darker side. Finally, facilitators of anti-homophobia interventions still have much reason to be optimistic: many participants find these interventions to be a revelatory experience that improves their knowledge and their willingness to stand up to homophobia. The substantial critical feedback received by these interventions should not be read as a proof of their futility, but a symptom of systemic bias against sexuality research.

CHAPTER 4. The Big Picture: Modelling the Change of Homophobia Across Cultures

Chapters 2 and 3 have laid out the extent and limits of our knowledge on how to reduce homophobia. Contact with LGB people and education about sexuality and prejudice have been shown to reduce homophobia on standardised measures, and participants in such interventions have generally reported a positive, enlightening experience. Most studies, however, have been conducted with participants who are less likely to hold homophobic beliefs in the first place. Thus, samples were predominantly young, female, and educated (see Chapter 2, 'Study-space analysis'), while levels of homophobia tend to be higher in older, male, and less well educated individuals (see Chapter 1, 'Homophobia is intertwined with other values'). Moreover, almost all studies have been performed in North America or Western Europe, where LGB people are more likely to be socially accepted and protected by the law (see Chapter 1, 'Homophobia varies across space and time'). Participants themselves often criticised the interventions for being inadequate for the contexts where they were performed, aiming at a decrease in homophobia that was perceived to be either too slow or too fast for the respective organisation or community (see Chapter 3). Finally, interventions to reduce homophobia usually occurred on a small scale, with a few dozen people participating and with the results not being monitored on the long term (see Chapter 2, 'Study-space analysis').

As explained in Chapter 1, this thesis focuses on homophobia in the UK and Romania, and on the contrasts between Eastern and Western Europe more generally. Since most research on homophobia and on how to reduce it has been conducted in the US, it would be theoretically and practically useful to extrapolate the results to other regions – especially to Eastern Europe where homophobia is very widespread (see Chapter 1). However, given the different histories of (homo)sexuality in North America and in Western and Eastern Europe, it is far from self-evident whether such an extrapolation is valid.

In the present chapter, I undertake to examine the reduction of homophobia beyond the limits set by the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and 3. I reanalyse data

from the World Values Survey (World Values Survey Association, 2015) and its sister project, the European Values Study (European Values Study, 2015; henceforth WVS/EVS), in order to study homophobia in a large, cross-cultural sample that spans several decades. Such a dataset allows me to examine the role of participant characteristics on which the corpus of Chapter 2 was too homogeneous (such as age and education) and those potential factors which have not been consistently assessed (such as authoritarianism and religiosity). Given the four-decade history of the WVS/EVS also allows an insight into long-term change not afforded by other methods. Most importantly, a reanalysis of the WVS/EVS data enables me to explore a key question opened up by the systematic reviews: *can knowledge about homophobia gained in the West be extrapolated to other societies?*

Homophobia and Its Correlates in the World Values Survey

The WVS/EVS systematically collects data on people's attitudes on dozens of issues, regularly surveying about one thousand participants from the majority of countries in the world. The surveys have been performed in six waves between 1981 and 2014, in a total of 113 countries. The breadth of this research, and the public availability of the data, has allowed both the confirmation of known predictors and the emergence of new explanations for homophobia. Inglehart (1997), the initiator of the WVS/EVS, has argued that '[e]conomic, cultural, and political change go together in a coherent pattern that change the world in predictable ways.' (p. 7). Consequently, he has sought to identify both a small number of overarching value dimensions (via factor analyses of WVS/EVS data), and large-scale patterns of change.

Inglehart (1997) has not only observed, but also theorised change throughout the duration of the WVS/EVS. In Western societies, according to Inglehart, the impact of industrialisation has reached (and passed) its maximum. While many societies worldwide are undergoing *modernisation*, i.e., moving from traditional authority and religious values towards economic growth and rationality, the West is going through *postmodernisation*, i.e., shifting towards an emphasis on personal wellbeing and fairness (Inglehart, 1997). The reduction of homophobia in the West is considered a key aspect of postmodernisation, as it is both illustrative of post-industrialised

societies' focus on diversity and fairness, and one of the most spectacular changes documented by the 30-year history of the WVS.

Widely-recognised predictors[19] of homophobia (such as demographic characteristics, authoritarianism, religiosity, racial prejudice, and economic and historical conditions) have been discussed in Chapter 1 ('Homophobia is intertwined with other values'). *I now proceed to briefly examine WVS/EVS research on these predictors.* First, as far as demographics are concerned, women, as well as people who are younger, more educated, and wealthier tend to be less homophobic (for a review, see Herek & McLemore, 2013; see also Chapter 1, 'Homophobia is intertwined with other values'). These associations have generally been supported by studies based on the WVS/EVS (see, e.g., Andersen & Fetner, 2008a, for North America; Hadler, 2012, for Europe). However, some regional variation has been reported in the relationship between demographics and homophobia: e.g., in Sub-Saharan Africa, women tend to be less tolerant than men, while education and age are not related to homophobia (Bangwayo-Skeete & Zikhali, 2011).

Second, WVS/EVS studies have typically confirmed the link between religiosity and homophobia (e.g., Adamczyk & Pitt, 2009; Andersen & Fetner, 2008) which is broadly supported by other lines of research (for a review, see Herek & McLemore, 2013). However, this link may be moderated by other culture-specific values: for example, religiosity may have a stronger association with sexually restrictive values in egalitarian societies (Vauclair & Fischer, 2011). In Europe, the relation between religiosity and homophobia is stronger in the West than in post-communist countries (Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2011).

Third, *authoritarianism* (Adorno et al. 1950) has been shown to predict prejudice towards various groups, including LGB people (see Chapter 1, 'Homophobia is intertwined with other values'). However, most standardised measures of authoritarianism (such as the F scale by Adorno et al., 1950) claimed to predict

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[19] For convenience, these variables will be collectively referred to as 'the predictors' throughout the paper, even when the term would not be normally used in the context of a particular analysis (e.g., for correlations).

prejudice towards minority groups while they also contained questions about those same groups, making the authoritarianism-prejudice relationship tautological. Stenner (2005) proposed the use of the WVS/EVS items pertaining to childrearing values to measure authoritarianism. The respective questions assess the importance placed by participants on such authority-focused values as obedience, and such independence focused values as creativity. Stenner argued that childrearing values allowed for a measure of authoritarianism that was cross-culturally meaningful. Most importantly, such a scale would not overlap with the constructs that authoritarianism was expected to predict. This WVS/EVS-based measure of authoritarianism has been shown to correlate with homophobia, although the strength of this relationship varied across countries (Stenner, 2005).

Fourth, homophobia is related to other forms of prejudice (such as ethnic prejudice, Whitley & Lee, 2000), and to the political ideologies that promote them (see Chapter 1, 'Homophobia is intertwined with other values'). WVS/EVS data tend to support these associations (e.g., Hadler, 2012), but some regional variation is present: whilst homophobia is typically associated with ethnic prejudice, it is related to tolerance towards other minority groups in Sub-Saharan Africa (Bangwayo-Skeete & Zikhali, 2011).

Apart from the psychosocial predictors of homophobia discussed above, country-level factors also play an important role in shaping and changing attitudes towards LGB people. Cross-cultural datasets, such as the WVS/EVS, are indispensable to the study of such factors. Most notably, poorer countries have been consistently shown to have higher levels of homophobia (Andersen & Fetner, 2008; Hadler, 2012). As discussed in Chapter 1 ('Homophobia varies across time and space'), differences in countries' histories can also be important: post-socialist countries in Eastern Europe have higher levels of homophobia than their Western counterparts (Štulhofer & Rimac, 2009; Kuyper et al., 2013).

The Present Study

The central question of this chapter is whether models of homophobia elaborated in research-intensive Western societies can be transferred to countries

with higher levels of homophobia. Based on the research discussed above, the established predictors of homophobia are broadly confirmed by WVS/EVS analyses, but their cross-cultural relevance is variable. Therefore, it is likely that the extant (mostly Western) knowledge on homophobia offers a broad template which could be extrapolated to other cultures with necessary adjustments. It is the aim of this chapter to explore the extent of these adjustments, and thus the possibilities and limits of such generalizations.

The present chapter aims to explore the relationship between homophobia and its known predictors in large cross-national samples. I will examine these relationships both cross-sectionally and longitudinally, comparing explanatory models of homophobia across countries and across time. Therefore, I will conduct four analyses of WVS/EVS data (see Table 1). On the one hand, I assess the value of known predictors of homophobia in the present, relying on the most recent WVS/EVS data (Analyses 1 and 3), but I also compare these recent results with those from the early 1990s in order to study change (Analyses 2 and 4). On the other hand, I analyse individual-level data to gain insight into individual differences in homophobia (Analyses 1 and 2), but I also explore country-level data in order to understand regional differences in attitudes and the role of economic development (Analyses 3 and 4).

Table 1

Plan of the Chapter, by Time Frame and Level of Analysis

Level of Analysis	Present	Change Across Time
Individual	Analysis 1	Analysis 2
Country	Analysis 3	Analysis 4

First, I ask whether a similar theoretical model can explain homophobia in the countries where most research has been performed (i.e., the US and the UK) and those where the results of the research are most needed (e.g., Romania) (Analysis 1). Second, I ask whether the same variables that explain individual differences in homophobia can also explain change across time (Analysis 2). Third, I explore

whether the variables that can explain individual differences in homophobia can also explain differences between European countries (Analysis 3). Finally, I examine whether changes in the extent of homophobia on a national level is related to changes in the predictors of homophobia (Analysis 4).

General Method

Data Sources

WVS/EVS data are freely available online (www.worldvaluessurvey.us/). For Analyses 1 and 2, individual-level data from Romania, the UK and the US were used. In Analyses 3 and 4, data from 17 Eastern and 20 Western European countries were used, and country-level averages were computed for all variables of interest (see below). The Eastern countries were those that have had socialist regimes before the 1990s: Bosnia and Herzegovina (BH), Bulgaria (BG), Belarus (BY), Croatia (HR), the Czech Republic (CZ), Estonia (EE), Hungary (HU), Latvia (LV), Lithuania (LT), Moldova (MD), Poland (PL), Romania (RO), the Russian Federation (RU), Slovakia (SK), Slovenia (SI), Ukraine (UA) and Macedonia (MK). The Western countries were those that did not have socialist regimes before 1990: Austria (AU), Belgium (BE), Cyprus (CY), Denmark (DK), Finland (FI), France (FR), Germany (DE), Greece (GR), Iceland (IS), Ireland (IE), Italy (IT), Luxemburg (LU), Malta (MT), the Netherlands (NL), Norway (NO), Portugal (PT), Spain (ES), Sweden (SE), Switzerland (SW), and the UK. (Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo were left out because border changes and disputes made comparisons difficult.)

In Analyses 1 and 3, I used the most recent WVS/EVS data for the countries of interest (Wave 6 of data collection). For Analyses 2 and 4, data from Wave 2 (1990-1994) and Wave 6 (2005 onward) were compared. The WVS/EVS does not provide individual-level longitudinal data, but a time-series of cross-sectional surveys. Data collection for Wave 2 occurred immediately after the fall of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe (1989-1993); data were collected by EVS in 1990 for the UK and the US, and in 1993 for Romania. Therefore, a comparison of these two waves allows an exploration of the changes that occurred in the first two post-socialist decades.

Apart from WVS/EVS data, I also used information on countries' economic development in Analyses 3 and 4. In this analysis, gross domestic product per capita (adjusted for purchasing power parity; GDP) is used to measure each country's economic development. Specifically, I retrieved the IMF-reported GDP (International Monetary Fund, 2015) of each of the 37 countries, and I averaged it for the years of Wave 2 (1990-1994) and Wave 6 (2010-2014).

WVS/EVS Measures

Participants' *gender* (x001) [20], age (x003), highest *educational level* (x025) and *income* level (x047) were used as demographic variables. Gender was dichotomised as male (1) versus female (2). Education was quantified on a scale ranging from 1 (*Inadequately completed elementary education*) to 8 (*University with degree*). For assessing income, WVS/EVS researchers in each country determined the deciles; the resulting income brackets were coded from 1 (*lowest step*) to 10 (*highest step*). For the UK, only a similar twelve-step income measure (x047c) was available; this was recoded into ten steps in order to match data from Romania and the US.

Apart from demographic variables, four predictors of homophobia were used. In the WVS, *religiosity* was assessed through a question (f034) allowing people to categorise themselves as either religious, non-religious or atheists, or to give a different answer. I dichotomised this variable into 'religious' (1) versus 'non-religious' (0).

Postmaterialism was conceived by Inglehart (1997) as a measure of the postmodernisation of individual values. It is assessed by asking participants to prioritise two out of four societal goals. Participants receive a high score (3) if they select the two postmaterialistic goals (democratic decision making and freedom of speech), a low score (1) if they select the two materialistic goals (public order and price control), and an intermediary score (2) if they select any combination of the two types of goals. The resulting variable (y002) approximated a normal distribution (skewness and kurtosis values in all three countries < 2).

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[20] Following the conventions of previous WVS-based reports, I use codes to identify variables in the dataset.

National pride was used as a proxy measure of ethnic prejudice. All other measures were deemed culture-specific. For example, attitudes towards immigrants would only be relevant in countries with a high level of immigration, such as the US (where 14.3% of the population is foreign born; United Nations, 2013) and the UK (12.4%). Romania, on the contrary, has low levels of immigration (0.9%), while the marginalisation of Gypsies is a major social issue (INSOMAR, 2009; Marcu et al., 2007; Tileagă, 2005). Pride of one's nationality was assessed on a scale (g006) ranging from 1 (very proud) to 4 (not at all proud). Due to the asymmetry of the distribution, I dichotomised this variable into 'very proud' (1) versus 'not very proud' (0).

Authoritarianism was computed based on the WVS items on childrearing values (a027 – a034; see Stenner, 2005). All of these variables were dichotomous; participants were asked whether they value specific characteristics in a child. In this study, I summed the scores for obedience (a042), tolerance (reverse scored, a035) and independence (reverse scores, a029) to obtain a measure of authoritarianism that ranged from 0 to 3 and approximated a normal distribution (skewness and kurtosis values in all three countries < 2)[21]. As anticipated (Stenner, 2005), the measure of authoritarianism computed from childrearing values had low internal consistency, particularly in Eastern European samples (for Wave 5, Cronbach's α = .231 in the US, .256 in the UK, .142 in Romania).

Two measures of *homophobia* were used. A dichotomous survey item (a124_09) indicated whether participants chose 'homosexuals' from a list of potentially undesirable neighbours (some other options being people who have AIDS, speak another language, or drink heavily). I will call this measure *social distance*. Participants also assessed the morality of homosexuality (f118) on a scale ranging from 'never justifiable' (1) to 'always justifiable' (10). Some other issues raised in the same set of questions were divorce, suicide, and stealing. In many countries (including Romania and the US), (1) is the most frequent answer. Therefore, these variable have often been dichotomised (e.g., Inglehart, 1997) to contrast those for

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[21] Unlike Stenner (2005), I omitted good manners and imagination, which are conceptually less linked to authoritarianism (see also Singh & Dunn, 2013).

whom homosexuality was never justifiable (1) with all other respondents (0). I adopted the same approach in this chapter, and called this measure *moral rejection*.

Analysis 1: Modelling Individual Differences in Homophobia

In this analysis, I ask whether the same model can explain individual differences in homophobia in the three countries of interest (i.e., Romania, the UK and the US). The model contains the predictors discussed above (demographic variables, religiosity, authoritarianism, postmaterialism, and national pride). Most research on this predictors has been performed in the West, and therefore the extent to which such a model can be generalised across cultures needs to be assessed.

Data and Analysis

In order to answer the research question, I performed structural equation modelling (SEM) to test a model of homophobia in the US, the UK, and Romania. For this analysis, individual-level data were used from Wave 6 of the WVS/EVS in Romania, the UK and the US. Descriptive statistics are reported in Table 2.

The hypothesised model is presented in Figure 1. Homophobia was a latent variable with two indicators: moral rejection and social distance. It was hypothesised that homophobia was predicted by gender, age, education, income, authoritarianism, religiosity, postmaterialism, and national pride. This 'multiple indicators and multiple causes' (MIMIC) model was tested using the *lavaan* package (Rosseel, 2012) for R3.2.2 (R Core Team, 2013). The fit of the model was compared across the three countries of interest. Coefficients were initially not constrained to be the same in the three countries, in order to test whether a model with the same predictors fitted the data without assuming the predictors would have the same strength in all three countries. In a second analysis, coefficients were fixed across countries in order to examine whether an identical model could fit the data from Romania, the UK and the US.

Table 2

*Means, Standard Deviations, and Percentages for Measures and Predictors of Homophobia in the WVS/EVS (*N = 3,053)

Variable	Romania	UK	US
	(*n* = 1,264)	(*n* = 864)	(*n* = 2,017)
Female	56.49%	56.02%	52.01%
Age	48.39 (17.08)	51.42 (16.96)	49.51 (16.84)
Education	5.35 (1.79)	4.44 (1.94)	6.85 (1.17)
Income	4.00 (1.79)	6.60 (2.43)	4.33 (1.58)
Religious	84.10%	47.11%	67.77%
Postmaterialism	1.77 (0.59)	2.08 (0.62)	1.95 (0.64)
Authoritarianism	1.74 (0.93)	1.78 (0.98)	1.69 (1.02)
Proud of nationality	46.36%	51.16%	60.78%
Homosexuality never justifiable	71.44%	21.53%	24.99%
No homosexual neighbours	56.65%	9.84%	21.97%

Results and Discussion

The data fitted the model very well: all indices were satisfactory, χ^2 = 35.94, d.f. = 21, *p* = .022, (χ^2 < 2*d.f.); CFI = .990, TLI = .976, RMSEA = .023. The hypothesised model was supported. (See Appendix C for R syntax and output.) Standardised coefficients are given in Table 3. In order to further assess the fit of the model, I re-ran the analysis with all coefficients constrained to be the same in the three countries. The data failed to fit the model, χ^2 = 221.964, d.f. = 41, *p* < .001, χ^2 > 2*d.f.; CFI = .881, TLI = .852, RMSEA = .057. Modification indices (*MI*) of 3.84 or larger were inspected to assess the possibility of improving the model fit by freeing parameters. Based on this criterion, I decided to free the effect of authoritarianism (*MI* = 11.1785) and postmaterialism (*MI* = 9.924) on homophobia in Romania, and the loadings of the indicators on the latent variable in all three countries (*MI*s = 9.550 to 40.312). The model fit improved substantially when freeing these parameters, χ^2 = 104.679, d.f. = 35, *p* <.001, χ^2 > 2*d.f.; CFI = .954, TLI = .933, RMSEA = .038; the improvement in the model fit was significant, $\Delta\chi^2$ = 117.285, d.f. = 6, *p* < .001. As explained above, the

importance of authoritarianism and postmaterialism for homophobia varies across cultures. Overall, the accepted predictors of homophobia constituted a model (see Figure 1) that was consistent with the data from all three countries, provided that the strength of the predictors was allowed to vary.

Table 3 suggests that most predictors are significant in each country, and they collectively explain 20-30% of the variance of homophobia within each country. The model, however, only fitted the data when coefficients were allowed to vary across countries. Authoritarianism was a stronger predictor of homophobia in the US (b = 0.107, 95% CI [0.090, 0.125]) than in the UK (b = 0.045, 95% CI [0.021, 0.069]) and in Romania (b = 0.013, 95% CI [-0.011, 0.036]). Postmaterialism was a stronger predictor

Figure 1.

MIMIC model predicting homophobia.
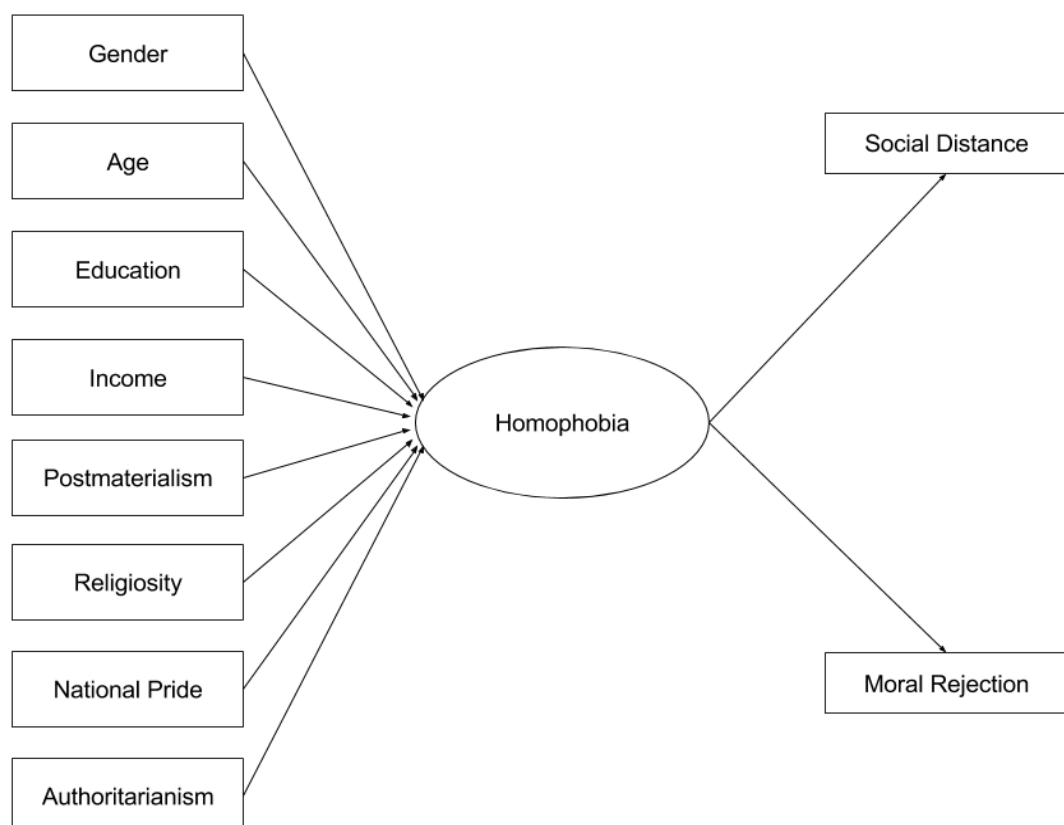
Table 3.

Coefficients and Fit Indices for the MIMIC Model in Romania, the UK, and the US

Variables	Romania (*n* = 1,264) b(95%CI)	β	UK (*n* = 864) b(95%CI)	β	US (*n* = 2,017) b(95%CI)	β
Moral Rejection	1	.735[a]	1	.629[a]	1	.824[a]
Social Distance	0.728(0.580;0.876)	.488***	0.619(0.468;0.769)	.537***	0.662(0.564;0.760)	.579***
Gender	-0.049(-0.093;-0.005)	-.073*	-0.100(-0.147;-0.054)	-.193***	-0.051(-0.085;-0.017)	-.071**
Age	0.002(0.001;0.004)	.125***	0.004(0.002;0.005)	.253***	0.000(-0.001;0.001)	.019
Education	-0.041(-0.055;-0.027)	-.221***	-0.022(-0.035;-0.008)	-.165***	-0.022(-0.037;-0.007)	-.072**
Income	-0.024(-0.037;-0.012)	-.131***	-0.013(-0.023;-0.002)	-.119*	-0.022(-0.034;-0.011)	-.099***
Religiosity	0.106(0.044;0.167)	.116***	0.020(-0.027;0.067)	.039	0.158(0.120;0.197)	.207***
Authoritarianism	0.013(-0.011;0.036)	.035	0.045(0.021;0.069)	.171***	0.107(0.090;0.125)	.305***
Postmaterialism	-0.115(-0.153;-0.077)	-.203***	-0.041(-0.078;-0.005)	-.098*	0.007(-0.020;0.033)	.012
National Pride	0.115(0.070;0.160)	.173***	0.042(-0.004;0.087)	.080†	0.051(0.014;0.087)	.069**
χ²(7)	13.780		11.724		10.435	
R²	.297		.300		.215	

[a] reference parameter *p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 †p < .10

in Romania (b = -0.115, 95% CI [-0.153, -0.077]) than in the US (b = 0.007, 95% CI [-0.020, 0.033]) and the UK (b = -0.041 95% CI [-0.078, -0.005]). Religiosity was a stronger predictor in the US (b = 0.158, 95% CI [0.120, 0.197]) than in the UK (b = 0.020, 95% CI [-0.027, 0.067]).

These differences are not surprising, as previous research on WVS/EVS data has found that values and beliefs become salient under certain historical conditions (Inglehart, 1997). Thus, authoritarianism is more strongly related to prejudice when traditional values are questioned on a societal level: authoritarianism is therefore comparatively more relevant in the US, where the prominent tensions between liberals and conservatives may 'activate' authoritarian tendencies (Stenner, 2005). Similarly, postmaterialism is relevant at a certain stage in the development of a society, when people's concerns shift from material growth to democracy and fairness (Inglehart, 1997). Just as economic growth is relevant to social values only until a certain level of prosperity has been achieved (Inglehart, 1997), we may expect that the importance of postmaterialism also diminishes as societies progress: Eastern Europe, and thus Romania, is likely at the stage where postmaterialism is more relevant (Štulhofer & Rimac, 2009). Finally, religiosity may be less relevant to homophobia in the UK, where non-religious people are in the majority, and LGB people have access to such traditional institutions as marriage and ordination (although, as of late 2015, the Church of England does not support same-sex marriages).

Analysis 2: Explaining the Decline of Homophobia

The predictors examined in Analysis 1 successfully explained individual differences in homophobia across three countries. These countries have also undergone substantial changes over the last few decades, including a sharp decline in homophobia (see Chapter 1, 'Homo-phobia varies across time and space'). In this analysis I therefore ask whether changes in homophobia can be explained through changes in the predictors.

Data and Analysis

In order to examine the decrease of homophobia in Romania, the UK and the US, I used WVS/EVS data from Wave 2 (1990-1994) and Wave 6 (2005 onward). I performed SEM to test a model in which (Demographic data were omitted due to issues with missing data and the inconsistent operationalization of variables.)

Figure 2.

Structural equation model testing the mediation hypothesis.
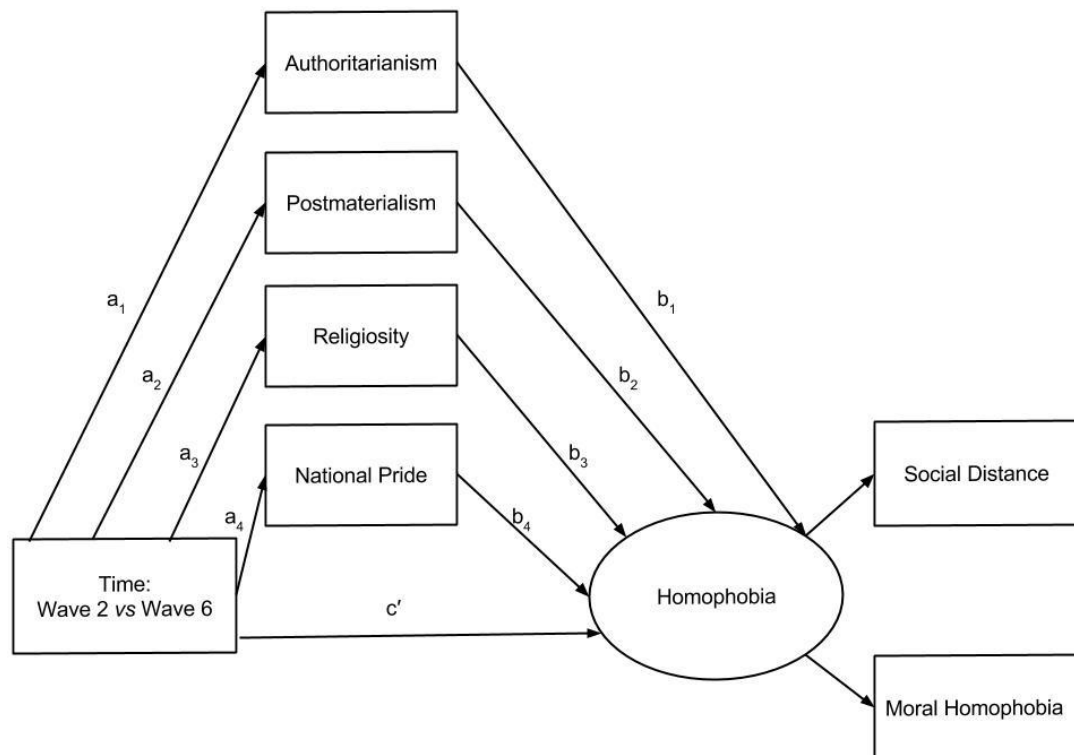
Note. The total effect of Time on Homophobia (c) is equal to the sum of the direct effect (c') and all the mediated effects (a*b): c = c' + a1*b1+a2*b2+a3*b3*a4*b4.

The model is presented in Figure 2. This model is similar to the one in Analysis 1, except that the data collection wave was introduced as an exogenous variable, and its indirect effect on homophobia was assessed. It was hypothesised that the difference between Wave 2 and Wave 6 in homophobia was explained by differences in religiosity, authoritarianism, postmaterialism and national pride. This multiple mediation model was tested using *lavaan* for R 3.2.2. The dataset contained 8,567 complete cases.

Table 4.

Coefficients of the Mediation Analysis for the Romania, the UK and the US

Effects	Romania (n = 2315)		UK (n = 2563)		US (n = 3689)	
	b (95%CI)	β	b (95%CI)	β	b (95%CI)	β
Time on Mediators						
Authoritarianism (a_1)	-0.481[-0.554,-0.409]	-.261***	-0.196[-0.271,-0.120]	-.100***	-0.193[-0.259,-0.127]	-.094***
Postmaterialism (a_2)	0.137[0.088,0.187]	.112***	0.095[0.047,0.143]	.076***	-0.105[-0.147,-0.064]	-.082***
Religiosity (a_3)	0.102[0.070,0.137]	.126***	-0.101[-0.140,-0.063]	-.101***	-0.162[-0.190,-0.135]	-.187***
National pride (a_4)	-0.024[-0.065,0.017]	-.024	0.020[-0.019,0.058]	.020	-0.147[-0.177,-0.117]	-.156***
Mediators on Homophobia						
Authoritarianism (b_1)	0.021[0.005,0.036]	.070*	0.063[0.048,0.079]	.205***	0.107[0.093,0.121]	.278***
Postmaterialism (b_2)	-0.118[-0.142,-0.094]	-.265***	-0.059[-0.082,-0.035]	-.121***	-0.030[-0.051,-0.009]	-.049**
Religiosity (b_3)	0.103[0.068,0.138]	.154***	0.067[0.038,0.096]	.111***	0.170[0.138,0.202]	.187***
National pride (b_4)	0.122[0.093,0.150]	.225***	0.090[0.061,0.12]	.149***	0.084[0.055,0.113]	.100***
Time on Homophobia						
Total (c)	-0.174[-0.204,-0.143]	-.319***	-0.222[-0.734,-0.367]	-.367***	-0.287[-0.316,-0.258]	-.363***
Direct (c')	-0.155[-0.186,-0.125]	-.285***	-0.199[-0.231,-0.167]	-.329***	-0.230[-0.258,-0.201]	-.290***
Indirect (c − c')	-0.018[-0.031,-0.006]	-.034**	-0.023[-0.032,-0.014]	-.038***	-0.057[-0.069,-0.046]	-.073***
Authoritarianism (a_1*b_1)	-0.010[-0.018,-0.002]	-.018*	-0.012[-0.018,-0.007]	-.020***	-0.021[-0.028,-0.013]	-.026***
Postmaterialism (a_2*b_2)	-0.016[-0.023,-0.010]	-.030***	-0.006[-0.009,-0.002]	-.009**	0.003[0.001,0.006]	.004*
Religiosity (a_3*b_3)	0.011[0.006,0.016]	.019**	-0.007[-0.011,-0.003]	-.011**	-0.028[-0.035,-0.021]	-.035***
National pride (a_4*b_4)	-0.003[-0.031,-0.006]	-.005	0.002[-0.032,-0.014]	.003	-0.012[-0.017,-0.007]	-.016***

*p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 †p < .10

Results and Discussion

The data did not fit the model, χ^2 = 650.085, d.f. = 30, p < .001, χ^2 > 2*d.f.; CFI =.859, TLI = .705, RMSEA = .085. (See Appendix C for R syntax and output.) The fit measures were equally unsatisfactory in Romania (χ^2 = 128.399, d.f. = 10, p < .001, CFI =.887, TLI = .764, RMSEA = .072), the UK (χ^2 = 178.836, d.f. = 10, p < .001, CFI =.843, TLI = .670, RMSEA = .081) and the US (χ^2 = 342.850, d.f. = 10, p < .001, CFI =.854, TLI = .693, RMSEA = .095). Since the model was not supported when coefficients were allowed to vary, further constraints were not applied (unlike in Analysis 1).

Direct and indirect effects for the three countries are presented in Table 4. Most indirect effects were significant, which is unsurprising given the large sample size. However, the mediated effect represented a relatively small fraction of the total effect in Romania (5.64%), the UK (10.36%) and the US (19.86%). Change in homophobia across time was not adequately explained by change in the authoritarianism, postmaterialism, religiosity and national pride.

Analysis 3: Differences in Homophobia between Countries

Analysis 1 has shown that a set of predictors can explain individual differences in homophobia within three countries. However, it is not only individuals that differ in levels of homophobia, but the average level of prejudice also varies broadly across countries: the contrast I make in this thesis between Romania and the UK is, to some extent, a case study of a broader contrast between Eastern and Western European sexualities (see Chapter 1, 'Homophobia varies across time and space'; see also Kulpa & Mizielinska, 2011). I now ask whether the predictors examined in Analyses 1 and 2 can explain differences in homophobia among European countries. Performing an analysis on the level of countries also allows us to explore the relationship between economic development and homophobia: wealthier countries are expected to have lower levels of prejudice (Andersen & Fetner, 2008a; Hadler, 2012). Given the substantial difference in levels of homophobia between Eastern and Western Europe (Štulhofer & Rimac, 2009; Kuyper et al., 2013), results will be compared between these two groups of countries.

Data and Analysis

Mean social distance, moral rejection, postmaterialism, nationalism, authoritarianism, and religiosity scores were computed for the 37 countries listed above. Pearson correlations were computed between the measures of homophobia and the predictor variables, separately for Eastern and Western countries. Scatterplots were also created and examined for each of these correlations (see Appendix D). Demographic variables were again omitted: there are no meaningful differences between the gender and age compositions of European countries, while income and education have been measured on scales with nation-specific values. Given the small sample size, more complex analyses were avoided (e.g., regression analysis), and significance testing should be interpreted with particular caution.

Results and Discussion

Correlations between the measures of homophobia and the predictors are reported in Table 5. All correlation coefficients were at least medium in size and almost all were significant. Authoritarianism was a strong positive correlate of homophobia in both Eastern and Western Europe, but comparatively stronger in the West. This is likely to be due to the lesser relevance of authoritarianism for Eastern Europe as discussed above (Stenner, 2005). Religiosity was positively correlated with all the measures of homophobia, and these correlations were once again weaker in the East. This difference is in line with previous research (Jäckle & Wenzelburger, 2011), and it is likely to be due to the particular history of religion in socialist countries (see above, 'Homophobia and Its Correlates…' and 'Analysis 1'). Postmaterialism was an equally strong correlate of homophobia in both regions.

GDP had a much stronger relationship with homophobia in Eastern Europe. Indeed, Eastern European societies have been arguably transformed by their transition from planned to market economies, and some of them have experienced increases in productivity more substantial than in the West. For example, the GDPs of Latvia and Poland have more than doubled over the period of interest (International Monetary Fund, 2015). Moreover, Inglehart (1997) has argued social mores are more dependent on wealth under conditions of scarcity, while in richer

societies more income does not tend to bring about social change. Postmaterialism is a relatively important predictor of homophobia in both East and West.

Surprisingly, however, national pride related to homophobia in opposite ways depending on the region. Thus, Western European countries where more people were proud of their nationality tended to have fewer people who rejected gay neighbours and more people who rejected homosexuality. In Eastern European countries, this trend was reversed. (Note that not all of these relationships reached statistical significance, but the reversal of the direction holds for both measures of homophobia.) It is possible that being proud of one's nationality may have different implications in different cultures, being associated with nationalism and prejudice towards outgroups in the East, but with social cohesion and thus inclusion in the West. This surprising result may also reflect homonationalism (see Chapter 1 for a theoretical overview and Chapter 6 for an empirical study).

Table 5

Correlations between Homophobia Measures and Predictors in Western (n = 20) and Eastern (n = 17) European Countries

Criterion	Region	Auth.	Religiosity	GDP	National	PostMat.
Social Distance	West	.614**	.669**	- .364	- .369	- .445*
	East	.497*	.405	- .798***	.349	- .623**
Moral Rejection	West	.713**	.677**	- .491*	- .544*	- .565*
	East	.382	.484*	- .693**	.407	- .499*

*p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 †p < .10

Analysis 4: Can Change in the Predictors Explain Change in Homophobia on a Country Level?

Up to this point, I have shown that the accepted predictors of homophobia can constitute a model that predicts homophobia in different countries (Analysis 1), and that these predictors are also related to country-level differences in homophobia (Analysis 3). However, I have also found that change in these predictors cannot adequately explain the decline of homophobia in Romania, the UK and the US between the early 1990s and the late 2000s (Analysis 2). I now ask whether change in the predictors can explain change in country-level homophobia over the same time period.

Table 6

Correlations Between the Change Rates of Homophobia Measures and the Change Rates of Predictors in Western (n = 20) and Eastern (n = 17) European Countries

Criterion	Region	Auth.	Religiosity	GDP	National	PostMat.
Social	West	.584*	.363	.228	.040	- .374
Distance	East	.020	.200	.399	- .097	- .525†
Moral	West	.681**	.119	.221	.076	- .541*
Rejection	East	.093	.461	- .392	.263	.006

*p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001 †p < .10

Data and Analysis

The same approach and the same variables were employed as in Analysis 3. Data from Wave 2 and Wave 6 were used to obtain change rates in those variables. Change rates (R) were computed for each variable in each country as:

$$R = \frac{M_6 - M_2}{M_2},$$

where *M* stands for the mean of the respective variable in the data collection wave indicated by the subscript. These change rates were then used to compute correlations and create scatterplots in a way similar to Analysis 3.

Results and Discussion

Correlations between the change rates of homophobia measures and the change rates of predictors are presented in Table 6. Fewer correlations were significant between change rates than between cross-sectional values (cf. Table 2). This is likely to be due to the relatively complex relationships captured through a small number of data points.

Figure 3.

Change rates in social distance and postmaterialism.
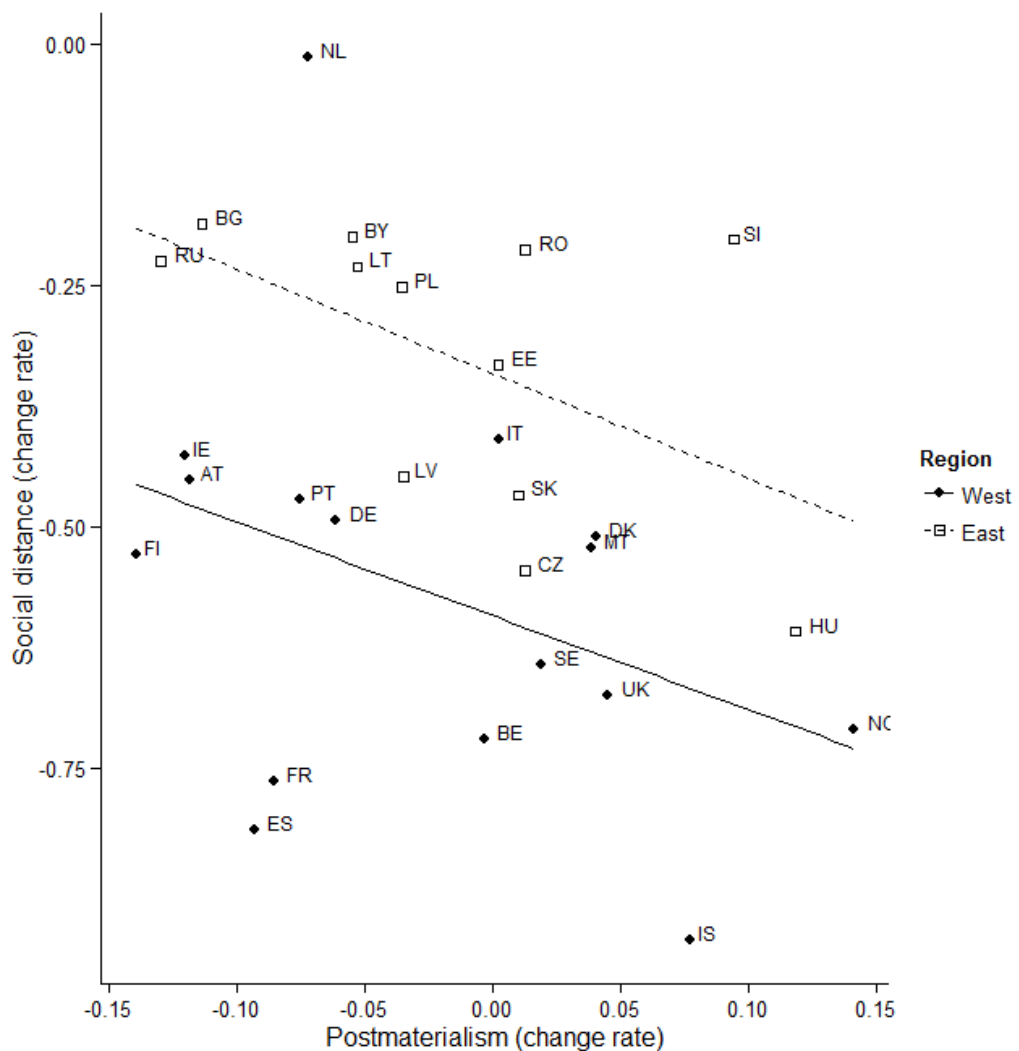
The inspection of the correlation matrix and the scatter plots occasioned three observations. First, there appears to be a link between the change rates of the predictor variables and the change rates of the criterion variables in both Eastern and Western Europe. The point is well illustrated by Figure 3, the scatter plot of change rates in social distance and postmaterialism. The regression lines show similar slopes, with a somewhat better fit in Eastern (R^2 = .275) than in Western Europe (R^2 = .140), z = 2.044, p < .05. Second, patterns can differ greatly between Eastern and Western

Figure 4.

Change rates in moral rejection and authoritarianism.
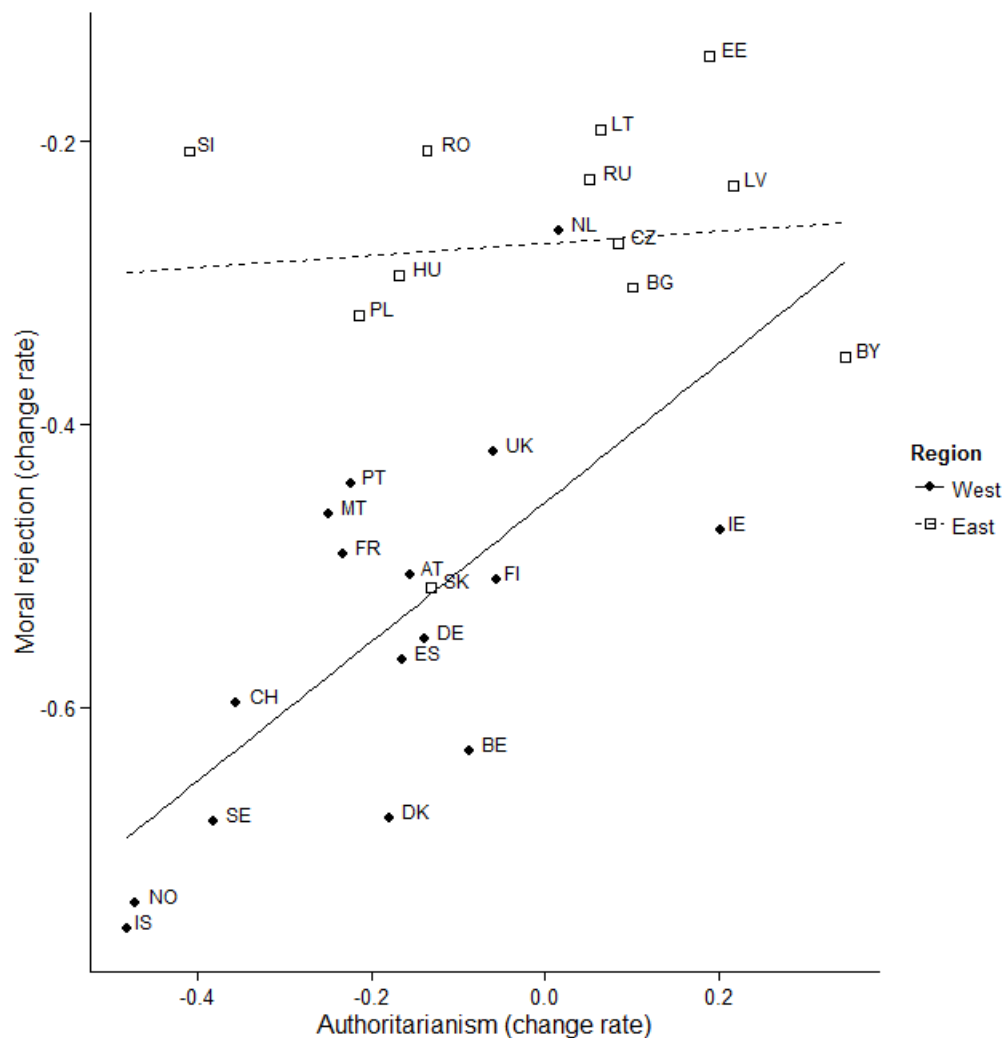
Europe, like in the case of authoritarianism and moral rejection (see Figure 4). The two variables appear to be strongly linked in Western Europe ($R^2 = .464$), but unrelated in Eastern Europe ($R^2 < .001$). Third, and most important, the covariation of predictor and criterion variables does not appear to be causal in nature. Figure 4 shows that authoritarianism has decreased in some countries and increased in others, while moral rejection has decreased substantially in all of the examined countries. The same observation holds for the other predictors (see Appendix D). This finding sheds doubt on the common understanding (Inglehart, 1997) that the decline of major religions and/or a shift towards postmaterialistic values (such as equality) are driving the decline of homophobia.

General Discussion

Authoritarianism, religiosity, nationalism and postmaterialistic values are well-studied predictors of homophobia. However, most research on homophobia has been performed in the West, and on an individual level. The present chapter aimed to assess the value of these predictors (and demographic variables) across countries, across levels of analysis, and across time.

The predictors were related to homophobia both on an individual and on a country level, both in Eastern and Western Europe (Analyses 1 and 3). The same model predicting homophobia performed well in the US, the UK and Romania, as long as coefficients were allowed to vary across countries. The same predictors (plus the countries' GDP) were also related to national-level homophobia in both Eastern and Western European countries, despite some differences in the strength of the relationships. The predictors, however, proved to be less useful in understanding change (Analyses 2 and 4). On an individual level, change in the predictors could not explain the decrease of homophobia in the US, the UK and Romania between the early 1990s and the late 2000s. On a country level, the relationship between change in the predictors and change in homophobia was ambiguous. More importantly, homophobia has declined in all European countries over the two-decade period discussed here, but the level of the predictors has sometimes increased (e.g., many Eastern European countries have become more religious but less homophobic; see

Appendix D); therefore, the relationship between change in the predictors and change in homophobia cannot be assume to be causal.

If the change in the predictors discussed above did not drive the reduction of homophobia over the last couple of decades, one must ask what did cause the change. Cohort replacement is a plausible explanation: older people, with more conservative values, have been replaced by newer, more tolerant generations. Previous research on WVS/EVS data has shown this explanation to be insufficient, since people definitely change their attitudes in their life time (Anderson & Fetner, 2011). Another explanation, that cannot be tested with the current data, is that people have had more contact with LGB people over the last few decades, especially vicarious contact via mass-media (see, e.g., Herek & Capitanio, 1996).

Limitations

Kuppens and Pollet (2014) have identified three broad problems with multilevel cross-cultural analyses. First, data points representing countries are not independent (an issue known as Galton's problem; Naroll, 1961). Social and cultural phenomena may diffuse from one country to the other, and may happen on a regional rather than a national level. Consequently, neighbouring countries are often similar on several measures and appear clustered on scatter plots. Such clusters may bias covariances, and either inflate or deflate correlations. In the present study, Eastern and Western European countries were treated as separate clusters to avoid Galton's problem. Other methods, such as partialling out the autocorrelation of adjacent countries (Naroll, 1961) or controlling for region in a regression model (Ross & Homer, 1976) were deemed impractical due to the small number of data points in Analyses 3 and 4. Kuppens and Pollet also suggested comparing several groupings of the countries. Such alternative groupings were considered but were not found to be meaningful for the present study. For example, the United Nations Statistical Division constructed four European regions for their 'geoscheme'; however, these regions contain no more than ten countries each (if ones excludes such micronations as the Vatican and such dependent territories as the Isle of Man), and cluster countries with very different histories and economic performances (such as the UK and Latvia within 'Northern Europe').

Second, the quality and comparability of national-level data is questionable. The WVS/EVS's aim for a unitary methodology obviously manages this problem to some extent, although, as discussed above, some inconsistencies do occur. However, the quality of data is not the same across countries, possibly because the data were collected by local contractors rather than a centralised task force. Stenner (2005) appreciated that 'WVS data […] collected by less experienced and largely uncoordinated Eastern European survey organizations contain more random measurement error' (p. 116), and others have raised concerns about the authenticity of some data (Blasius & Thiessen, 2012). While these issues prompt caution in interpreting the findings, their most likely impact is to introduce excess random error. This reduces statistical power, but WVS/EVS studies are otherwise well-powered due to large samples.

Third, national-level cross-cultural data may occasion inferences that confuse levels of analysis, a logical error known as the ecological fallacy (Robinson, 1950). Relationship between variables do not necessarily have the same size, or even the same direction, when measured individually and when aggregated for entire communities or countries. The present study produced similar results in individual (Analyses 1 and 2) and country-level (Analyses 3 and 4) analyses. It should be remembered, however, that even such consonant results do not allow extrapolation from one level to the other. When observing, for example, that some Eastern European countries have become more religious and less homophobic over time, this should not be interpreted to mean that the same individuals have grown both more religious and more tolerant. This result is likely to reflect polarisation in the respective societies: after the communist censorship on numerous issues (such as religious observance and sexual freedom) ended, both religious and secular-liberal values have gained more vocal supporters (see, e.g., Dalton, 2006).

To the three limitations pointed out by Kuppens and Pollet (2014), I would add a fourth one. As with any secondary analysis, the datasets I used did not always contain the best type of data to answer my questions. Therefore, I used proxy measures for some constructs. For examples, I constructed an authoritarianism scale out of items related to childrearing values. Following the lead of Stenner (2009), I

compromised on internal consistency in order to obtain a scale with good construct validity. Also, I used national pride as proxy measure of ethnic and national attitudes. Such a measure fails to distinguish between positive (e.g., patriotism and belonging) and negative (e.g., racism and xenophobia) of national pride. Such a distinction may be essential to the discussion of homo- and heteronationalism, and of the moral dimensions thereof (see Kulpa, 2011; Chapter 6).

Measurement Issues

To the three limitations pointed out by Kuppens and Pollet (2014), I would add a fourth one. As with any secondary analysis, the datasets I used did not always contain the best type of data to answer my questions. Some important variables were measured by single items, and I had to use proxy measures for some constructs. In this section, I briefly address the main difficulties with such measures, and the impact they may have on the conclusions of this study. The demographic variables, postmaterialism and economic development were measured in ways that have been standardised and broadly accepted. The rest of this section focuses on the measures that pose issues.

Following the lead of Stenner (2005), I constructed an authoritarianism scale out of items related to childrearing values. The most obvious disadvantage is that these items address authoritarianism indirectly: questions pertaining to the value of independence versus obedience in children are arguably relevant to authoritarianism, but not prototypical of the construct (cf. Adorno et al., 1950). Most importantly, the internal consistency as measured by Cronbach's alpha is very low. Stenner's approach, however, has the distinct advantage that it avoids the tautology of most other authoritarianism measures (e.g., Altemeyer, 1981), which directly explore the prejudices they claim to predict. However, the scale seems to have very good convergent validity, being the strongest predictor of homophobia across cultures (see also Stenner, 2005, for other cultures and other forms of prejudice).

I also used national pride as proxy measure of ethnic and national attitudes. Such a measure fails to distinguish between positive (e.g., patriotism and belonging) and negative (e.g., racism and xenophobia) forms of national pride. While national pride is conceptually different from ethnic prejudice, different forms of patriotism,

nationalism and racism are in effect closely related (Huddy & Khatib, 2007). Parker (2010) tested two models of patriotism: one that distinguished between symbolic (positive) and blind (negative, bigoted) patriotism, and one that made no such distinction. Both models fit the data, suggesting that a distinction between types of patriotism is valid but not imperative. Such a distinction may be essential to the discussion of homo- and heteronationalism, and of the moral dimensions thereof (see Kulpa, 2011; Chapter 6).

I have used a single item referring to the importance of religion in people's lives, and I dichotomised it to deal with a very skewed distribution. Apart from the simplistic nature of this measure, it is problematic in the same way as national pride: being religious is not, in itself, conductive of prejudice. Religious attitudes towards sexuality vary greatly (Taylor & Snowden, 2014): homophobia is predicted by adhering to certain teachings within certain religions (Štulhofer & Rimac, 2009). It has also been argued that homophobia can serve several functions for religious individuals (such as affirming their identity and reinforcing their sense of belonging to a faith community), but tolerance can fulfil the same needs (for a synthesis and discussion, see Herek & McLemore, 2013).

Finally, the measurement of homophobia is also problematic. The two questions asked in the WVS (on the morality of homosexuality and the acceptance of homosexual neighbours) fall short of the complex and highly reliable scales available in the psychological literature (e.g., Herek, 1984). Most importantly, both questions in the WVS explore blatant prejudice, ignoring modern homophobia (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). In the UK and the US, where blatant homophobia is comparatively lower than in Romania (see Table 2), modern homophobia may still be widespread (for a commentary, see Bilewicz, 2012). However, Rye and Meaney's (2010) comparison of homophobia scales found very high correlations among all measures, regardless of the type of prejudice they addressed.

Conclusions

The results in this chapter point out two essential ideas about the proposed explanatory model of homophobia. First, the model is viable and transferable, as it fits the data in the US, the UK and Romania. Therefore, applying the conclusions of

British and American research on homophobia to Eastern Europe can be valid, at least to some extent. It must be noted, however, that the strength of each predictor is not necessarily the same in all countries. Second, the model does not provide an adequate explanation for the decrease in homophobia over the last 20 years, either on an individual or a country level. The mean of the predictor variables has increased in some countries and decreased in others. However, homophobia has decreased in all of the 37 countries analysed here. This result questions the causal nature of the relationship between the predictors and homophobia. In conclusion, *we may not need to worry about transferring theoretical models of homophobia from the West to other countries, but we might need to worry about the limits those models have in explaining change.*

CHAPTER 5. Since Trajan and Decebalus: Online Media Reporting of the 2010 GayFest in Bucharest

In Chapter 1, I explained how sexuality has played an important role in the establishment of modern nation states. Secular governments took over the regulation of life, death and reproduction, of morality and personal life, from the Church (i.e., biopolitics; Foucault, 1979). Today, acceptance of LGB people has become an important part of the way Western nations see themselves in contrast to other countries and cultures. In Puar's (2007) terms, the West has become homonationalistic.

Both nationalism and homophobia have had a different history in Eastern Europe. Nationalism has always had strong anti-imperialist undertones, given the presence of several empires in the region (Czarist Russia, the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Empire). More recently, nationalism has been tied up with emancipation from Soviet control (Veiga, 1997).[22] In Romania, homosexuality has only been clearly criminalised and pathologised in the mid-20th century, and gay rights have been adopted in the 2000s largely in order to align with and join the European Union. Consequently, many have seen gay rights as a result of Western interference, contrary to Romania's identity as a Christian nation and its historical quest for independence (Crețeanu & Coman, 1998) – essentially positioning Romania as a victim of homonationalism.

Although same-gender sexuality in Romania has been discussed since the Middle Ages, little is known about the people involved. Most research on Romanian (homo)sexualities has been pursued within what Foucault (1976) calls 'the repressive hypothesis'. Sexuality is constructed as inimical to a certain type of social order, which in return attempts to repress it. Such censorship is then either defended or criticised, depending on the ideology one professes. Surveys have shown LGB people to be one of Romania's most marginalised minorities (Institute for Public Policies, 2003;

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[22] Note that the nationalism of independence movements tends to represent the interests of local elites against the metropolis and it is not necessarily inclusive (Chatterjee, 1986; Mann, 1999).

INSOMAR, 2009). More than two thirds of the respondents to the World Values Survey in Romania stated that homosexuality is never morally justifiable, as opposed to one quarter in the UK (Inglehart, 2008). An overwhelming majority of Romanians would not accept a lesbian or a gay men as a spouse of kin (90.5 %; INSOMAR, 2009), and 40% would not even allow gay and lesbian people to live in Romania (Institute for Public Policies, 2003). Unsurprisingly, many non-heterosexuals in Romania experience such forms of abuse as insults, battery, or false complaints to the police (ACCEPT, 2005). A series of large scale surveys in Romania have included questions on homosexuality. Respondents to these surveys have largely rejected the possibility of any contact with gay men and lesbians (INSOMAR, 2009). The exclusion of people on grounds of sexuality was related to other types of exclusion and to nationalistic and pro-totalitarian ideologies (Institute for Public Policies, 2003). Such survey results may be a powerful rhetorical tool, as funding for research and activism often depends on impressive statistics, the very existence of such survey questions positions homosexuality as a 'controversial issue'.

Surveys assume that homophobia can be captured by (dis)agreement with a standardised question (Bourdieu, 1973), and the social functions of these opinions are ignored (Potter & Wetherell, 1987; 1988). Monteith et al. (1996) have shown that people who express anti-gay attitudes (but not people with pro-gay attitudes) change their answers to survey items according to whether they overhear a pro-gay or an anti-gay confederate. It is therefore necessary to explore *when* homophobia occurs, *how* it works, and *towards what end* – that is, to examine it from a discursive perspective. '[A] much more powerful explanation can be given if the researcher looks at the organization of discourse in relation to function and context' (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 54).

Discourse analysts emphasise how researchers and laypeople are all actively involved in the construction of things like 'prejudice' through our talk. In a seminal study, Margaret Wetherell and her colleagues (1986, discussed in Wetherell and Potter, 1992) interviewed white New Zealanders on their views of the Maori. In these interviews, people often made prejudiced statements preceded by a disclaimer ('I am not racist, but...'); the same person would offer a mix of both very positive and very

negative opinions. People seemingly selected their arguments in order to appear balanced and unprejudiced. Such disclaimers and contradictory statements were also identified in talking about non-white immigrants in Western Europe (van Dijk, 1992), gay people in the UK (Gough, 2002), and others.

The discourses that circulate about LGB people in the West are well studied, including those linking sexualities and nationalities. In the present chapter, I analyse the reporting of a pride parade in the news media in order to gain insight into the discourses that circulate around the same issue in Romania. In Chapter 1, I have briefly presented the history of pride parades in Romania (see Premise 6): such parades only started in 2005, and were initially met with violent resistance.

Only recently has scholarship of Romanian homosexualities been pursued, most notably as part of HIV/AIDS research (e.g., Longfield et al., 2007) and attitudes/prejudice research (e.g., Moraru, 2010). In contrast to these stereotypical main foci in Romanian homosexuality research, our analysis has examined how gay people and the GayFest are represented in Romanian online news reports and, consequently, how heterosexual power is generated and maintained in Romanian media discourse.

Data and Analysis

'The analysis of prejudiced talk is a difficult challenge, partly because of the way it is interwoven into everyday talk' (McKinlay & McVittie, 2008, p.149). News reports of a major gay pride event, however, are likely to be dense in supportive and/or prejudiced material. We have chosen to analyse Internet news articles that covered the 2010 GayFest in Bucharest in order to better understand how the Romanian media portray gay people and gay issues.

Twenty-three articles were identified and archived by the authors. Table 1 lists the distribution of articles by source. In order to be included in the corpus, articles had to meet three criteria:

(1) to have been published on one of the five most popular news websites in Romania (as ranked by the Romanian Press Audit, http://www.sati.ro);

(2) to contain at least one of five keywords (GayFest, LGBT, gay, homosexual, minorităţi sexuale [sexual minorities]);

(3) to have been posted between 10 and the 30 May 2010 (i.e., the time the The GayFest, plus and minus one week).

Internet news reports are an interesting analytic object for several reasons. First, Internet news articles are some of the most circulated texts in contemporary society. The sites that have been included in the analysis were the most viewed news websites in Romania at the time of the 2010 The GayFest, and each of them had over one million readers. Second, news articles are written for a range of audiences, with different stakes related to each of them. Journalists attempt to entertain readers, to maintain an image of impartiality and professionalism to their peers and to media-monitoring institutions, and to assure their employers of their loyalty and effectiveness. (See Fairclough, 1995, for an extensive discussion; and Reuters, 2012, for an example of professional guidelines for journalists.)

Several different discursive approaches have been effective in understanding prejudiced talk (McKinlay & McVittie, 2008). Nevertheless, the current analysis focuses on the worldview that is implicit in the text rather than on linguistic details. We therefore employ a critical discourse analysis approach that draws on the Foucauldian tradition. The central assumptions of this research are (1) that talk is organised around recurrent patterns, called discourses; (2) that discourses do not speak about pre-existing facts and objects, but they rather create them; and (3) that discourses have a key role in (re)producing the social order (cf. Foucault, 1969). We especially examine the ways in which oppression is manifested and maintained through media discourses.

The most prominent topics in our corpus are the Gay Pride Parade on 22 May, a protest organized by the New Right on the same day, and a series of pro- and anti-gay public statements in response to the GayFest. The news articles create their own (ostensibly objective) account of these events, whilst they also report commentaries from participants, bystanders, organisers, and police. Three major themes emerge from the analysis: the GayFest as exotic, the GayFest as a political event, and the link between sexuality and nationality. The voices that speak in these reports (i.e., the

Figure 1.

Example of word lists and concept map (based on the quote on page 131).
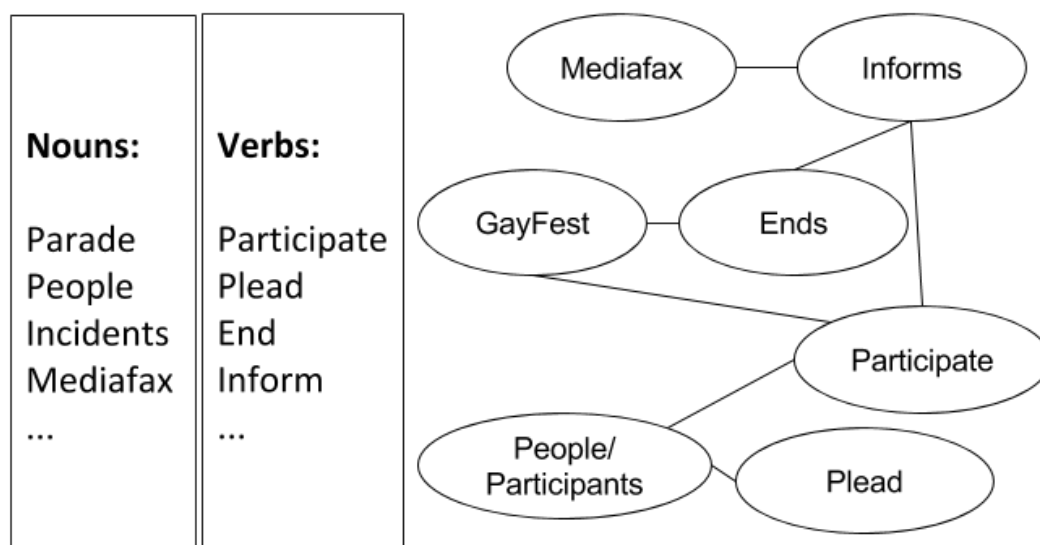
news writers and those on which they report) ostensibly pursue different goals; however, all of these voices converge in construing gay people as a bizarre, foreign political group.

The analytic process was largely informed by Potter and Wetherell's (1987) classic ten steps in discourse analysis (pp. 160-176) and by Parker's (1994) very detailed eighteen-step process, without following either protocol verbatim. Both Potter and Wetherell's and Parker's guidelines largely follow the stages of (1) collecting, transcribing and reading the data; (2) close textual analysis; (3) identifying discourses; (4) re-reading the analysis against the text; (5) reporting and publicising the conclusions. I followed these steps in the present chapter. First, I copied and saved all the relevant articles in electronic format, and I read them several times. Second, following Parker (1994), I itemised all nouns and verbs in these texts with the help of a research assistant (Marius Balş). We then created a conceptual map for each article laying out the relationships between subjects, verbs and objects (for an example, see Figure 1). Third, these lists and maps were used to identify discourses. For example, I grouped the (often much belaboured) details on the time, itinerary and participants of GayFest under 'event discourse.' Fourth, I aimed to reassemble the construction of gay people that emerged from these discourses, and tried to find

counterexamples (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). The disruption of homophobia and nationalistic discourses by the slogan 'Gay since Trajan and Decebalus' was identified at this stage. Finally, in writing up the analysis, I had the analysis to link my conclusions to the theories of the likes of Roland Barthes and Michel Foucault.

The GayFest as Exotic

Despite the parade within the GayFest being named 'the March of Diversity' ['Marşul Diversităţii'], the issue of diversity is actually neglected in media reports. Rather than a celebration of everyday human diversity, the parade and its participants are constructed as especially exotic. Exoticism is probably the most persistent means by which these news reports attain commercial appeal. In his seminal analysis of media imagery, Barthes (1957/1972) lists exoticism among the 'fixed, regulated, insistent figures' (p. 150) employed to legitimise the social order. Exoticism places the 'Other' as outside readers' own society (Ahmed, 2000; cf. orientalism, Said, 1978), and therefore it subtly legitimises an inequitable social order (Philips, 1999).

> The march could not be without the exotic appearance of the transvestites who, apart from rainbow balloons and banners, gave colour to the scene.
>
> [Nelipsite de la marş au fost apariţiile exotice ale travestiţilor care, pe lângă balonaşe şi steaguri în culorile curcubeului, au colorat scena.]
>
> (Hotnews, 22 May 2010)
>
> By tradition, the 'March of Diversity' was a colourful one. Latex costumes, lips painted in loud colours, well-contoured eyes, balloons, and personalised banners.
>
> [Prin tradiţie, 'Marşul Diversităţii' a fost unul plin de culoare. Costume de latex, buze pictate strident, ochi bine conturaţi, baloane şi bannere personalizate.]
>
> (Ştirile ProTV, 22 May 2010).

The two texts have an obviously similar structure: they first label the parade as 'exotic', and then they proceed to support their claim with examples. They both use

drag as an epitome of exoticism, particularly emphasising the vividness of colours and the abundance of accessories. Rather than simply describing the rainbow theme of the parade, they construe the participants as inseparable from the décor, since lips, eyes, and balloons equally contribute to a burlesque experience. 'The Other becomes a pure object, a spectacle, a clown' (Barthes, 1957/1972, p. 152).

The beginnings of the two quotes are particularly interesting for at least two reasons. First, the eccentricity of gay people is not only stated, but it is also presented as habitual. Both texts emphasise from the outset that the parade is 'always' and 'traditionally' 'colourful'. Second, such vague references to the past are the only ones that put the The GayFest into a historical context. Nothing is said about the history of sexualities in Romania; only the violent incidents at past parades are enumerated at the end of a few articles. This is what Barthes (1957/1972) aptly calls 'privation of history' (p. 151). Such a rhetorical device erases history, in spite of acknowledging a long past. Rather than tell the uneasy story of sexual stigma and persecution of gay people in Romania, the news reports suggest that gay people have always been strange. This approach strengthens exoticism: devoid of a wider context, a gay pride parade is even less intelligible.

The GayFest as Political

The semblance of objectivity is pursued by the news reports with varied discursive resources. First, they reproduce what we will call an *event discourse*: both the The GayFest and the far-right protests against it are described in detail, with plentiful information on such issues as place, time, weather, cultural happenings and police interventions. Second, the vocabulary of political activism is employed: to protest, to march, to chant slogans, to display banners, to blame, to tolerate, controversial etc. Third, social scientific discourse is used: results of opinion polls are sometimes reported, and terms like 'homosexuality' and 'minority' are used. In the following subsections, I briefly analyse each of these discourses.

Event Discourse

Here is a typical report of the gay pride parade as a political event:

The GayFest parade, in which approximately 200 people took part on Saturday, ended without any incidents, Mediafax informs. The participants, most of them colourfully clad, waved flags, balloons, T-shirts, and carried banners with different messages, pleading for the freedom of expression. Robin Barnett, the ambassador of Great Britain to Bucharest, was among their supporters.

[Parada GayFest la care au participat, sâmbătă, aproximativ 200 de persoane s-a încheiat fără incidente, informează Mediafax. Participanții, majoritatea îmbrăcați colorat, au fluturat steaguri, baloane, tricouri și au purtat bannere cu diverse mesaje, ei pledând pentru libertatea de exprimare. Printre susținători s-a numărat și ambasadorul Marii Britanii la București, Robin Barnett.]

(Hotnews, 22 May 2010)

Considerable attention is given to contingent details, such as the time and the route of the parade. By citing a well-known media agency (Mediafax) and employing such political-journalism jargon as 'incidents', 'supporter', and 'freedom of expression', the news reports pursue an image of professionalism.

The assumption that GayFest would have incidents is implicit in the reporting of it as having occurred without incident, despite violence only occurring in 2005 and 2006 (Woodcock, 2009). It is *news* that there have been no incidents; the event is now over and the news is that readers can breathe a sigh of relief. Such discursive practices construe gay people as a political pressure group. They march, they chant slogans, they display banners, all in the name of political buzzwords (e.g., 'freedom of expression'). They are 'controversial', and most people dislike them – or at least their gatherings. Moreover, they are a potential threat to public order, as they need substantial attention from the police. As Woodcock (2009) remarks, 'tolerance' is implemented through preventing communication. The theme of incidents being expected is made even more explicit elsewhere:

Romanian civil and military police have been applauded towards the end of the GayFest Parade by the participants, who were grateful that, unlike elsewhere, the event in Bucharest went without incident. 'I want to say that nowhere in the world is the Police more efficient than here in Bucharest. I have attended similar events

worldwide, but nowhere things went better. Let's applaud the police for this', declared Bishop Diane Fisher to those who participated in the march.

[Poliţia Română şi Jandarmeria au fost aplaudate spre finalul Paradei GayFest de participanţi, aceştia fiind recunoscători că, spre deosebire de alte părţi, manifestarea din Bucureşti a decurs fără incidente. 'Vreau să vă spun că nicăieri în lume nu este Poliţia mai eficientă ca aici, în Bucureşti. Am participat la manifestări similare în întreaga lume, dar nicăieri nu au mers lucrurile mai bine. Să aplaudăm Poliţia pentru asta', a declarat în faţa celor care au participat la marş episcopul Diane Fisher.]

(Gândul, 22 May 2010)

In this report, Diane Fisher (a bishop of the Metropolitan Community Churches, a pro-gay religious organisation) says not only that the GayFest is expected to have 'incidents', but also that gay pride events worldwide are less peaceful than the one in Bucharest. The GayFest is positioned as exceptionally peaceful despite a New Right protest and the circulation of homophobic pamphlets. Political events are expected to have such incidents whilst festivals are not; gay visibility itself becomes politicised through the construction of the GayFest as a political event.

Construing gay people as a 'classical middle-class single issue pressure group' (Weeks, 1977, p. 171, cited in Connell, 1995, p. 216) has three important implications. First, it is contiguous with the more blatantly homophobic rhetoric directed against gay visibility. Second, gay organizations often reproduce this view themselves. Third, assimilating sexuality with the political agenda of a well-circumscribed group is quintessential to minoritising (Sedgwick, 1990) gay people.

Political Discourse

The news media often report (fragments of) declarations from those involved in the GayFest. In much of the pro-gay talk in the corpus, gay people are positioned as victims, willing to fight the injustice that has been and is being done to them. They seek the protection of a civilised West against a backward Romania that 'needs more time and more wisdom' (Ştirile Pro TV, 22 May 2010). Such a positioning is disquietingly parallel to that of anti-gay talk, which regards 'fags' as foreign and

inimical to Romanian values (see the next section). They fight for their rights, but whether to tolerate them is still up to the (rather reluctant) majority.

> '... We are here to be able to gain equal rights, and the Embassy of Great Britain will be with you in this difficult fight', Robin Barnett, the ambassador of Great Britain declared.

> [... Ne aflăm aici ca să putem câștiga drepturi egale, iar Ambasada Marii Britanii va fi cu voi în această luptă dificilă', a declarat ambasadorul Marii Britanii, Robin Barnett.] (Realitatea, 23 May 2010)

Gay rights organisations often construe those whom they represent as a 'sexual minority.' This construction has some obvious advantages: contemporary governments often promise 'minorities' peaceful coexistence with the majority. In his classical critique of this approach, Warner (1993) aptly calls it 'Rainbow Theory' (p. ix). One might speculate that Warner's Rainbow Theory is not unlike Barthes' exoticism: the Other is tamed, and its Otherness becomes positive and entertaining rather than a potential threat with equal power.

Liberal political discourse is pivotal in pro-gay talk. The organisers of The GayFest and foreign embassies who support them often refer to human rights, democracy, freedom, and citizenship. Pursuing such values is described as a 'fight', needing courage and pride. A sociological discourse is also employed, as gay people are referred to as 'minority' and 'marginal', and their problems as 'discrimination'. By constructing gay people as marginal, they become minoritised by those in power, the 'majority'. By minoritising setting people apart as a cohesive group, an ubiquitous issue (such as nationality or sexuality) is made invisible by making it a 'minority issue' that by definition only concerns a relatively small group (see also Ansara & Hegarty, 2012, on *cisgenderism*, an ideology in which 'trans' people are constructed as a distinct class of person). The construction of groups of people as marginal may also affect whether formal legislation is put into practice (see, for example, Young, 1990, on formal equality versus actual practice).

Social-Science Discourse

Apart from event-related details and quotes from speeches, news reports also pursue objectivity through social scientific terms and themes. In the following extract, one of the organisers of the GayFest employs the same means to produce pro-gay talk.

> 'One day I was approached by a group of people, in an establishment. Apart from insults, they also asked me, 'How can you be in the mood for parades when the country is going through a crisis?' The question may seem legitimate, but it is during crises that civil rights are threatened most often. And especially the civil rights of marginal minorities', Buhuceanu said.
>
> ['Am fost abordat zilele trecute de un grup de oameni, într-un local. Pe lângă insulte, mi-au adresat şi întrebarea: cum să vă ardă de parade când ţara e în criză? Întrebarea poate părea legitimă, însă tocmai pe timp de criză drepturile civile sunt cel mai adesea ameninţate. Şi mai ales drepturile civile ale minorităţilor marginale', a spus Buhuceanu.]
>
> (Gândul, 22 May 2010)

The extract offers an example of how sociological jargon is used to produce categories of people based on sexuality even by those whom they describe: those whose rights are threatened are 'marginal minorities'. The news reports often write about 'sexual minorities', and they sometimes cite the opinion polls discussed in Chapter 1 ('Homophobia varies by space and time'). However, the goals of the journalists and those of gay rights organisations are obviously different. The former perform objectivity by using scientific jargon and statistics, whilst the latter claim minority rights for gay people. Just as the economic argument proves efficient in both contesting and defending the pride parade, sociological discourse also lends itself to different uses.

What is of particular interest in this quote (and other, similar comments) is the connection made between gay visibility and the current financial crisis. Talk against gay visibility usually relies on normalising analogies: there should be no gay parades because there are no straight parades, and gay people should follow the example of

straight people in making their sexualities a non-issue. (The history of gay rights movements and homosexuality are conveniently ignored.) In this extract, however, the argument is taken one step further: the economic troubles of Romania should receive full attention, leaving no time or energy for gay rights. This is an excellent example of the minoritising perspective that underlies the whole content of our corpus: the troubles of the majority are more important than the needs of the minority. That gay rights get too much attention is a typical theme of modern homophobic talk.

Sexuality, Nationality, and Anti-Gay Talk

> Participants came with national flags and banners with the insignia of the organisation. They chanted 'we want normality, not diversity', 'gays in the street, whores in Parliament', 'Romanians are clean, not filthy homosexuals', 'Romania is not Sodom.' The protesters also chanted 'Bessarabia, Romanian land.'
>
> [Participanţii au venit cu drapele naţionale şi steaguri cu însemnele organizaţiei. Ei au scandat 'vrem normalitate, nu diversitate', 'gay pe stradă, curve în Parlament', românii sunt curaţi, nu homosexuali spurcaţi', 'România nu-i Sodoma'. De asemenea, protestatarii au cântat 'Basarabia, pământ românesc'.
>
> (Realitatea, 22 May 2010)

The three discursive resources on which these slogans draw are obvious: religiosity, nationalism, and morality. Through the image of Sodom, religious scriptures are invoked against gay rights. (This has been a staple of homophobic discourse worldwide, and it will not be further analysed here.) However, religion and nationalism work together. 'Romania is not Sodom'— that is, breaking religious norms positions one outside the nation. Religion has long been a defining aspect of nationality; see Chatterjee's (1986) discussion of Russian nationalism and Orthodoxy and Flora et al.'s (2005) discussion of religion in Romanian national identity. Communist Romania was officially atheist, but the Romanian Orthodox Church gradually regained power in Romanian society. It was often seen as synonymous with anti-communist, anti-Russian, and anti-government activity, and with Romanian

identity (Ediger, 2005). Through religiosity discourses, not only religion, but also heterosexuality, becomes essential for national identity. 'Clean Romanians' are contrasted to 'filthy fags', and the latter are to be deported to Barcelona[23] (according to a chant indirectly reported by the same news article). If gay people are the opposite of 'pure' Romanians, they are quite the same as the political establishment, 'gays in the street, whores in Parliament'. If coexisting identities may be in conflict, nationalist discourse make one step further in suggesting that gay and Romanian identities are mutually exclusive. The discourses of order (religion, nation, moral cleanliness) are inextricably linked to those of violence, produced through anti-establishment messages and coarse language.

Although the New Right's call to deport gay people may seem ludicrous to outsiders, in 2003, 40% of Romanians believed that gay people should not be allowed to live in Romania (Gallup, 2003, cited in Moraru, 2010). Blatant homophobia usually construes same-gender sexuality as a sin, a disease, and a crime. Religious discourse is of course essential to anti-gay slogans, which refer to sinning and Sodom. Mental health is only made an issue in a homophobic political blog post (not included in our corpus of online media reports), where 'homosexuals' are explicitly labelled as 'sick' and paired with such 'perversions' as necrophilia. HIV is not mentioned in the online news corpus, but it was mentioned in a leaflet of unclear origin that circulated around the time of GayFest 2010.

Other nationalistic issues and symbols were also invoked at the anti-gay march, such as Bessarabia (Moldova, which was lost as a territory to Russia), the Romanian national flag, and the image of interwar fascist leader Corneliu Zelea Codreanu. The GayFest is thus constructed as an embarrassment to the nation and part of a larger pattern of decadence and decay brought about by foreign entities and their sympathisers.

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[23]Many Romanians do business in or holiday in Barcelona, as opposed to other 'gay centres' of Europe such as Amsterdam or Paris. Barcelona thus represents gay culture to Romanians as San Francisco does to Americans and Tel Aviv does to Israelis. Barcelona may also represent European influence and EU membership, of which nationalists across Europe are strongly critical.

Beyond Politics: Queering the National Historical Narrative

The discourses analysed above are reproduced with a disquieting consistency. We found virtually no breach in the vicious circle described above: pro-gay voices try to normalise homosexuality, paradoxically (but understandably) reproducing the very discourses that enable the exclusion of gay people by ostensibly neutral media and the far right. There was one sentence in the corpus that nevertheless departed from the general pattern. It is one of the slogans reportedly written on a pride-parade banner:

Gay ever since Trajan and Decebalus.

[Gay de la Traian și Decebal încoace.]

(Realitatea, 23 May 2010)

The banner nods to a popular joke; Romania is allegedly the 'gayest' nation because its founders were two men: Roman emperor Trajan and Dacian king Decebalus. In another version, all nations descend form Adam and Eve, but Romanians from Trajan and Decebalus.

The slogan (as well as the jokes on which it draws) is arguably an act of 'queering', in which ostensibly heteronormative constructs, values, and narratives are examined through a 'queer' lens. Although queering does not necessarily have to involve parody or satire, this is the approach that is taken with this slogan; parody and satire have been major strategies in resisting hegemonic values in a number of areas, including globalism (Miller, 2006), government power (Vieira, 1984), and commercialism (Christensen, 1993). First, the slogan parodies the main discursive resources employed by the homophobic protesters, namely nationalism, heterosexuality and – more indirectly – Christianity. Second, homophobic nationalism is read against itself, revealing possible homoerotic undertones in the historical narrative of founding fathers. Third, the joke relies on transgressing such boundaries as the one between patriarchal and homosexual social relations (see Sedgwick, 1990), and the one between gay politics and national histories. All of these

sound in sympathy with Queer Theory's taste for 'parody and politics' (Butler, 1990, p. 194).

Discussion and Conclusion

Three major themes emerged from the analysis: GayFest as exotic, GayFest as a political event, and the link between sexuality and nationalism. Exoticism is unsurprising in the reporting of a street parade; however, journalists construed as exotic not only the GayFest, but also the people who attended. The exoticisig of gay people feeds into their explicit exclusion as foreign, not 'pure' Romanians. It is also unsurprising that GayFest is positioned as a political event. Although GayFest is a festival, it is a gay *pride* and gay *rights* festival. However, the construction of gay people as a 'sexual minority', despite its advantages in the human rights arena, was used to construct them as having concerns that only affect 'a few tens of people' (Hotnews, 23 May 2010). The third theme, however, reveals an important feature of the discourse around gay people in Romania, that nationalism – and national interests – are at odds with non-heterosexualities.

Anti-gay talk in the corpus mixes blatant and modern (Raja & Stokes, 1996) homophobia, and it relies on a plethora of discursive resources. Blatant homophobia is more characteristic of the banners of the New Right, while modern homophobia is present in other voices. However, the borders are blurred. Modern homophobia argues that non-heterosexual people and their problems receive too much attention, whilst carefully emphasising that the speaker is otherwise 'tolerant'. In the articles that were analysed in this study, modern homophobic talk rarely denies that it is prejudiced, and it mostly converges with blatant homophobia. The staple of Romanian modern homophobic talk is the irrelevance of gay issues: they matter to just 'a few tens' of people, not the majority; The GayFest is a waste of money – which is especially reproachable as Romania is going through an economic recession and Romanians 'struggle with poverty' (Știrile ProTV, 22 May 2012).

Pro-gay talk in our corpus is always normalising, which has both costs and benefits. On one hand, they render gay issues intelligible and potentially acceptable, as they rely on mainstream discourses. On the other hand, such talk is often criticised

for being too conciliatory, merely trying to fit gay people into current heteronormative schemes instead of promoting change (e.g., Clarke, 2002). Certain reporters and bystanders, for example, comment on the GayFest as being part of a progress towards tolerance. The underlying logic of such statements is not much different from the organisers' discourse on fighting for democracy, but it overlooks gay people's agency. 'Tolerance' is treated not the effect of gay rights activism but as the result of some natural evolution in social mores. Real acceptance and equality are not at the end point, but rather tolerable coexistence. From a discursive point of view, 'prejudiced' and 'tolerant' talk have much in common. They are both essentialising; they regard 'minorities' as essentially different from the 'majority' (McKinlay & McVittie, 2008) – and consequently are both minoritising. They construct discrimination as a problem that only affects a very limited number of people rather than as a societal problem.

'Gay ever since Trajan and Decebalus' is the only statement that challenges minoritising views. Through queering the national historical narrative, the slogan transcends current politics and nationalist opponents to stake a claim on Romanian identity. Through this claim, it challenges the notion that gay people should not live in Romania and also one of the fundamental claims of nationalist homophobia, that gay people are somehow foreign and not real Romanians.

Overall, the discursive repertoires on which these news report draw can be subsumed to *heteronationalism* (Gosine, 2009): LGB people are construed outside the nation, and mostly inimical to it. The nation is embodied in public opinion, while GayFest is 'a spectacle, a clown'. The nation is the majority, while the GayFest is a pressure group for a 'marginal minority'. The nation is the embodiment of Christianity, while the GayFest is Sodom. It is remarkable how much the binary logic of Romanian heteronationalism resembles that of American homonationalism. Butler (2009) uses the term 'non-thinking' to describe the exclusionary 'gay versus Muslim' binary in the US media.

Finally, the question arises whether some form of homonationalism exists in Eastern Europe despite the bluntness of heteronationalistic voices. Kulpa (2013) and Woodcock (2011) have answered in the affirmative based on their discourse analyses

of Polish and Romanian media, respectively. However, their definitions of homonationalism are fairly broad: in Woodcock's case, it means little more than observing that gay people can be racist. Moreover, a plethora of recent research (Stella, 2013; Stoilova & Roseneil, 2012) has found evidence for strong heteronationalism in Eastern Europe. Without saying that homonationalism cannot exist in Eastern Europe along with heteronationalism, the latter still seems to be the more prevalent ideology.

CHAPTER 6. Translating Sexualised Nationalism for Psychology: From Deleuze's Assemblages to Cronbach's Alpha

Over the last few years, the media have been rife with reports probing cross-cultural differences in LGB rights. There have been frequent news reports about non-European countries persecuting people on the basis of their sexualities (see Chapter 1, 'Homophobia varies across space and time'). The contrast between countries in their approach to gay rights prompted *The Economist* (www.economist.com) to run a cover story about what they called 'The Gay Divide' (see Figure 1). Seemingly, some of these countries had an increasing interest in identifying closeted LGB people. For example, the [Persian] Gulf Cooperation Council has reportedly looked for technological solutions (i.e., devices that could be described as 'gay detectors'; Szieckowski, 2013). On the contrary, some Western countries have been providing refuge to LGB people from countries with anti-gay laws. In March 2014 the BBC reported that people asking for asylum in the UK based on their sexuality 'faced explicit questions and others were asked to hand over video evidence to prove their sexuality' ('Theresa May orders review…', 2014, par. 2). In response to a series of similar news, #Mashed posted a satirical video about an alleged 'gay detector': according to the video (a facetious advertisement for a machine named Intrusion by OppressiTech) the detector could be similarly useful for countries wanting to allow only gay asylum seekers (a British flag was shown) and to those intending to exclude gay people (a Qatari flag was shown; Mashed, 2013). While the UK and the Gulf countries clearly have opposite stances on sexuality, their preoccupation with the place of LGB people in their respective nations (either within or without) is remarkably parallel. The present chapter uses the tools of quantitative social psychology to disentangle the relationship between sexuality and ethno-cultural norms.

Sexuality and the nation have long been connected: sexual mores have been used historically to argue for the cultural superiority or inferiority of certain ethnic groups, countries or regions. For example, Europeans in the 19th century referred to the perceived promiscuity of other peoples in order to justify colonialism (Pryke, 1998; see Chapter 1 for a review). As seen in the media examples above, certain voices in the West have used the relative acceptance and protection of LGB people in their countries to argue against non-Western people and cultures in the context of migration and of cultural and religious conflicts; this alignment of sexualities and nationalities has been called *homonationalism* (Puar, 2007). Most typically, Muslim

Figure 1.

The cover of *The Economist* (October 2014) contrasted Western and non-Western LGB rights policies. Note the use of contemporary Western visual clichés to represent gay rights (two disembodied, interlocked male-looking hands; the rainbow pattern in the title); also note the use of white to represent the "forward" West and black to represent the "backward" East.

immigrants are seen as bringing in misogyny and homophobia to their (more progressive) host countries (see Caldwell, 2009, for a book-long example of this discourse). Moreover, Western tolerance towards gay people is sometimes used as a rhetorical tool to vilify Middle-Eastern countries and to justify wars against them (Puar, 2007; Butler, 2009). Conversely, many in Eastern Europe and other regions see gay rights campaigns as an unwelcome Western interference in their culture: in Chapter 5, I have shown how a gay pride parade has been construed as foreign by Romanian ultranationalists. Such a sexuality-nationality dynamic has been called *heteronationalism* (Gosine, 2009). As seen in the Discussion of Chapter 5 (and in the gay-detector examples above), homo- and heteronationalism are often similar in the way they enmesh sexuality and nationality. For convenience, I will jointly call the two *sexualised nationalism*.

For psychology, sexualised nationalism is interesting for at least two reasons. First, it places issues of gender and sexuality in the same plane as ethnicity, race and religion. Moreover, it recruits sexuality for national (self-)definition, in addition to the more familiar territorial, linguistic, and religious criteria. (This aspect of sexualised nationalism has been explored in detail in Chapters 1 and 5.)Therefore, such binary pairs become possible as Muslim versus gay (Butler, 2009) and Romanian versus gay (Chapter 5; see also Nachescu, 2005). A classic study by Tajfel et al. (1971) found that categorising people into ingroup and outgroup leads to *ingroup favouritism*, i.e., the tendency to allocate more resources to one's own group. Ingroup favouritism is not, however, limited to maximising the resources of one's own group, but it also involves *maximising the difference* between the ingroup and the outgroup: resources are allocated in such a way that the ingroup shall get more than the outgroup (Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner, 1983). Difference maximisation will go as far as sacrificing some of the ingroup's gains to ensure that the outgroup obtains comparatively less (Sidanius et al., 2007). Puar's (2007) work suggests that Westerners regard LGB people as ingroup members in contrasts with a Muslim outgroup. Difference maximisation has been found when groups were defined by nationality (Sidanius et al., 2007) and by sexuality (Fasoli et al., 2015), but it remains an open question whether it would also occur in the case of sexualised nationalism. It is also an open question whether the

homo- and heteronationalistic discourses in the media can influence how people allocate resources to groups. In this chapter, I will assess whether the resource allocation bias described by Tajfel et al. (1971) is present in the case of the Muslim-versus-gay binary.

Second, sexualised nationalism complicates the relationship between homophobia and ethnic prejudice. Adorno et al. (1950) asserted that all prejudices (racism, sexism, homophobia etc.) were underlain by a personality trait they named authoritarianism. Scores of studies conducted since (including Chapter 4 of this thesis) have confirmed that homophobia and ethnic prejudice are positively related, and that both are predicted by authoritarianism. Such a value configuration is compatible with heteronationalism, whereby the same individuals reject foreigners and LGB people. But in individuals with homonationalistic beliefs, we expect to see low levels of homophobia paired with high levels of ethnic prejudice. This pattern is difficult to understand if we attribute both prejudices to the same root cause (i.e., authoritarianism), and therefore homonationalism might provide an alternative (or at least an important exception) to the authoritarian personality. The present chapter examines the implications of homonationalism for the authoritarian-personality hypothesis, and more broadly to the social psychology of prejudice.

Homonationalism has been the subject of much theoretical and discursive work, but seemingly no quantitative psychological research. Qualitative research suggests that homonationalistic discourses flourish: from Israeli tourist advertisements (Puar, 2014) to Dutch political manifestos (Hekma, 2011), and from American war reports (Butler, 2009) to Romanian online forums (Woodcock, 2011), pro-gay attitudes are used to contrast a 'civilised' nation to 'backward' ethnic groups. This evidence, however, almost invariably comes from the analysis of news reports, political speeches, and other professionally crafted texts. Discourse analysis is useful for understanding societal views and media messages, but the question remains how these messages are reflected in people's thoughts and behaviours.

Puar's (2007) construction of homonationalism may seem at odds with the premises of quantitative psychology. Specifically, Puar approaches homonationalism

as an *assemblage*.[24] The term was introduced by Gilles Deleuze, and it refers to 'emergent unities that nonetheless respect the heterogeneity of their components' ('Gilles Deleuze', 2012, section 2, par. 7). Therefore, 'there is no organic unity or cohesion among homonationalisms' (Puar, 2007, p. 10). Contrary to this constructionist view emphasising variability, psychologists typically assume that their constructs are stable and measureable. A closer look into basics of psychological measurement, however, reveals a more nuanced view: according to Cronbach and Meehl's (1955) classic paper on validity, constructs only have meaning as part of a broader theory. Since no theory is definitive, 'our incomplete knowledge of the laws of nature produces a vagueness in our constructs' (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955, p. 294). Measurement needs to be logically sound and theoretically (and practically) useful: construct validity is not about ultimate proof, but about an argumentative process that makes an integral part of theory development (Cronbach & Meehl, 1955; Messick, 1995). Conversely, Puar (2007) concedes that, despite the volatility of homonationalism, understanding this concept needs 'attempts to still and quell the perpetual motion of assemblages' (p. 213). Indeed, psychologists have often endeavoured to 'still and quell' complex phenomena (see, e.g., Allport, 1940): Danziger (1997) asserts that such projects actually gave birth to the discipline

In this chapter, I aim to explore homonationalism with the tools of quantitative social psychology. Therefore, I investigates (1) whether homonationalism can be measured and (2) whether the predictions of the prejudice literature summarised above apply to homonationalism. The following section lays out the predictions that can be derived from the literature, while the following section details the process of quantifying homophobia. In order to allow for cross-cultural comparisons, I collected data from undergraduate students from Romania and the UK. As explained in Chapter 1, Romania and the UK are the countries of interest for this thesis due to their contrasting histories of sexuality.

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[24] A useful example of an assemblage is an archaeological site: the objects found together are likely to be connected and they form some sort of unity. But one must always remember that the objects were not intentionally arranged for the archaeologists' gaze and their co-occurrence is largely contingent (see Wise, 2011).

Hypotheses

In this section, I lay out the results expected for the present study based on the extant literature and on the conclusions of the previous chapters of this thesis. One central aim of this chapter is to explore whether homonationalism is quantifiable. Therefore, I propose that:

Hypothesis 1.   Homonationalism is a measurable construct.

Research on authoritarianism (Adorno et al., 1950; Altemeyer, 1981) has suggested that all prejudices are positively correlated because they are all underlain by the same personality trait. The results in Chapter 4 have supported the previous conclusion that both authoritarianism and ethnic prejudice are important correlates of homophobia. As explained above, Puar's (2007) theoretical work complicates this relationship by suggesting that homophobia and ethnic prejudice can be negatively related in those who espouse homonationalism. I therefore expect that:

Hypothesis 2.   More homonationalistic individuals hold more ethnic prejudice, but are less homophobic.

Hypothesis 3.   The association between homophobia and ethnic prejudice is moderated by sexualised nationalism. The correlation is expected to be strongly positive for heteronationalistic participants and weaker or even negative for homonationalistic participants.

As shown by previous research, Western European countries are predominantly accepting of LGB people, unlike their Eastern European counterparts (see, e.g., Chapter 4). Consequently, homonationalistic discourse tends to characterise Western European countries, while heteronationalistic discourse seems to be more prevalent in Eastern Europe (Kulpa, 2011, see also Chapter 5). Differences between countries in the level of prejudice has been explained by differences in postmaterialism (Inglehart, 1997), authoritarianism (Stenner, 2005), and religiosity (Štulhofer & Rimac, 2009) (see Chapter 4 for a review and analysis of World Values Survey data). Sexualised nationalism is also obviously linked to prejudice towards ethnic minorities.

I therefore conjecture that these variables will explain the difference in sexualised nationalism between Romania and the UK. Specifically, I predict that:

Hypothesis 4. UK participants are more homonationalistic than their Romanian peers.

Hypothesis 5. The difference in homonationalism between Romania and the UK is explained by the difference in homophobia and ethnic prejudice, which is in turn explained by differences in authoritarianism, religiosity, and postmaterialism.

Homonationalism construes LGB people as ingroup and Muslims as outgroup for Western nations. The proponents of the concept have argued that the mass-media systematically reinforce this binary, thus exacerbating intergroup tensions (Butler, 2009; Puar, 2007). Indeed, an increased perception that two groups are in conflict can enhance ingroup favouritism and difference maximisation when allocating resources (Sidanius et al., 2007). This is especially the case when participants already hold prejudiced views of the outgroup. Therefore, I predict that:

Hypothesis 6. A homonationalistic media message can increase difference maximisation in allocating resources to gay and Muslim people.

Hypothesis 7. The effect of media messages on resource allocation is moderated by participants' scores on a sexualised nationalism measure. The effect of experimental manipulation is stronger in participants with more homonationalistic scores.

Apart from testing these hypotheses, this study also has an exploratory purpose. Given that this is the first quantitative measurement of sexualised nationalism, I ask how this variable is related to the known correlates of homophobia (see Chapters 1 and 4): authoritarianism, religiosity, political orientation, postmaterialism, and contact with LGB people.

Operationalising Sexualised Nationalism

In order to test the hypotheses in the previous section, I concomitantly employed two strategies to quantify sexualised nationalism. First, I designed a questionnaire to assess sexualised nationalism. The questionnaire consisted of 6 items describing Puar's (2007) three facets of homonationalism and contrasting heteronationalistic statements. Puar analysed American discourses on the US's recent defence policies, and she identified three thematic strands in homonationalistic talk: (1) acceptance of

Table 1

Relationship of Questionnaire Items to Puar's (2007) Themes

Puar's label	*Theme*	*Directly coded (homonationalistic) item*	*Reverse-coded (heteronationalistic) item*
Sexual exceptionalism	One's country/culture is seen as deriving (some of) its status and/or moral standing from its sexual practices/policies.	Countries that support gay rights are better than countries that don't.	Traditional heterosexual families are a defining aspect of our culture.
Queer as regulatory	There is a tension between gay rights and ethnocultural rights.	Some ethnic groups in our country present a threat to LGB people's full equality.	Gay rights threaten the traditional way of life in some cultures.
The ascendancy of whiteness	Value judgement on international pressure related to gay rights (positive influence vs. bullying).	Developed countries should influence less developed countries to be more accepting of LGB people.	Rich countries often force poorer countries to accept gay rights.

gay people makes the US better than other countries; (2) (pro-gay) secularism is construed as normal, while Muslims are rejected; and (3) US superiority (gained via gay rights) legitimises war against other countries. Polar opposites of these assertions can be found in heteronationalistic discourse: homophobia is normalised, and the quest for gay rights is construed as (Western) aggression (see Chapter 5). Drawing on Puar's three themes and their heteronationalistic complements, I built a six-item questionnaire to assess sexualised nationalism (see Table 1).

Second, I performed an experiment to test whether priming participants on tensions between sexual and ethnic minorities influenced their behaviour. Specifically, participants were asked to allocate resources to one Muslim and one gay charity based on an allocation scheme akin to Tajfel matrices (Tajfel et al., 1971). The scheme used here was developed by Sidanius et al. (2007): participants could opt either to maximise the gains of both groups, and give more to the Muslim than the gay cause; or to give more to the gay cause, but offer both charities a smaller amount of money. As with the other measures (see the Method section below), I aimed to construct a task that was decontextualized enough to suit both countries. Christian locals in an unnamed Belgian[25] town were the intended ingroup, while Muslim immigrants in the same town were the outgroup. Participants were presented with a situation where they had to allocate money to charities in European nation that was not their current country of residence (i.e., Belgium). The town of the charities was presented through a set of news flashes. The message was identical to all participants, except for one news flash that presented either Muslim immigrants or local Christians as disrupting a gay pride event. Participants then had to allocate resources to a gay and a Muslim charity by choosing between seven allocation schemes. Thus, participants had a choice between offering more to Muslims or

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[25] Belgium was chosen as a country with comparatively few associations in both the UK and Romania. Note that the experiment was conducted a year before Brussels was the scene of extensive anti-terror investigations in November 2015.

penalising both groups. Sidanius et al. have named the latter alternative 'Vladimir's choice.'[26] (See Appendix E for the task.)

Method

Participants

Participants were 125 students aged 18-30 from the UK (University of Surrey, *n* = 66) and Romania (Babes-Bolyai University, *n* = 59). As a reward, UK students were entered into a prize draw, while Romanian students received research credit. Initially, 141 students participated. The 10 participants over the age of 30 were excluded in an attempt to achieve a relatively homogeneous young sample. A further 6 participants were excluded because, being Muslim, their attitudes towards Muslim immigrants to Europe could not be clustered with those of the (Christian and irreligious) majority. The majority of participants in both countries were women; only 29% of UK participants and 22% of Romania participants were men. The gender ratio did not differ between the two countries, $\chi^2 (1) = 0.746$, $p = .388$, *OR* = 0.699, 95% CI [0.310, 1.578]. One-hundred and thirteen participants described their sexuality as straight or heterosexual; five women and one man as bisexual; two women as lesbian; one woman as queer; and three men as gay, pansexual, and 'other', respectively.

Measures

Personal values. Religiosity was assessed by two items, one about self-labelling (e.g., Catholic, atheist etc.), and one on the importance of religion in the participant's life (7-point Likert scale). Political stance was measured with a single item consisting of a 7-point Osgood scale ranging from 'Left, liberal' to 'Right, conservative'. Postmaterialism was assessed with Inglehart's (1997) method. Specifically, participants were asked to prioritise goals for their country, choosing between

[26] The name originates in a Russian folk tale in which the protagonist (Vladimir) sacrificed his own gains in order to be able to punish his foe.

materialistic (e.g., economic growth) and postmaterialistic (e.g., clean environment) goals. (Higher scores indicate more postmaterialistic values.)

Authoritarianism. Authoritarianism was measured with a short version of Altemeyer's Right-Wing Authoritarianism Scale (Zakrisson, 2005). Apart from brevity, this version has the advantage of avoiding direct questions on homosexuality, thus minimising the overlap with other measures. The scale had good internal consistency in the current sample, Cronbach's α = .775.

Contact with LGB people. Previous encounters with LGB people were assessed with a modified version of the questions proposed by Islam and Hewstone (1993). With this approach, both the amount and the quality of contact are evaluated. The instrument has good reliability and content and convergent validity (Islam & Hewstone, 1993). The scores for the quantity (Cronbach's α = .861) and quality (α = .890) were transformed and aggregated to obtain a multiplicative index (see Dhont & Van Hiel, 2011; Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

Homophobia. I assessed participants' attitude to LGB issues with Morrison and Morrison's (2002) Modern Homonegativity Scale (MHS). The instrument was highly reliable (current α = .884), and it was strongly correlated with other measures of homophobia (all rs > .72, Rye & Meaney, 2010).

Ethnic prejudice. Most measures of national, racial and ethnic prejudice are developed in specific contexts and with reference to specific groups (see e.g., Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995, for prejudice against immigrants in the UK). Following Mummendey et al. (2001), I selected those items from a well-known scale (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995) that are applicable to both Romania and the UK. I asked participants to answer the questionnaire with reference to the ethnic group in their country from which they feel the most distant. Participants were not asked to name the ethnic group they were referring to; on the one hand, I wished to reduce the effect of social desirability on participants' answers; on the other hand, the groups themselves were not relevant, since different ethnic minorities live in the two countries of interest. The measure showed very good internal consistency, α = .807.

Sexualised nationalism. I constructed a 6-item Sexualised Nationalism Scale (SNS) to measure sexualised nationalism based on Puar's (2006) work (see above).

Higher scores indicate greater homonationalism. The psychometric qualities of this measure are to be assessed in the present study.

Experimental Task

A resource-allocation task was used to further explore sexualised nationalism. The options were based on the 'Vladimir's choice' matrix (Sidanius et al., 2007). The first three options allocate more money to the Muslim charity, the fourth option allocates equal amounts, while the last three option allocate more to the gay charity. Higher scores on the task indicate this latter preference. Thus, allocating £19,000 to the gay charity and £25,000 to the Muslim charity is scored '1'; allocating £13,000 to each charity is scored '4'; and allocating £7,000 to the gay charity and £1,000 to the Muslim charity is scored '7'. Note that the equal option and the options that favour the gay cause allocate less to both charities; participants can only disfavour the Muslim charity by also cutting funds from the gay one, i.e., by making 'Vladimir's choice'.

Procedure

Participants completed all measures, as well as the experimental task, as a Qualtrics (Qualtrics, 2009) survey. Questions were presented to participants in their country's national language. Romanian translations were performed by myself; back-translations were obtained via Google Translate (http://translate.google.co.uk) and with the assistance of a Romanian native speaker who holds an English-language writing job in the UK. Favourable ethical opinion was obtained from the University of Surrey Ethics Committee. The full instrument and proof of the favourable ethical opinion are provided in Appendix E.

More general measures (e.g., prostmaterialism), were presented first, followed by the more specific ones (e.g., homonationalism). The experimental task was presented before the other measures to a randomly-selected half of the participants, and after the other measures to the rest of the participants.

Results

All continuous variables were normally distributed in both countries, all skew and kurtosis z values < 3.29. The only exception was age, which had a positive skew. No univariate outliers were identified on any of the variables, all |z| < 3.29. Bias-corrected accelerated (BCa) confidence intervals were computed whenever possible; the results of bootstrapping always converged with those of classical significance testing.

The Sexualised Nationalism Scale

To explore the properties of the newly constructed sexualised nationalism scale (SNS), a principal components analysis was conducted. A one-factor solution proved to be adequate after one item was eliminated, see Table 2. The Keiser-Meyer-Olkin test suggested the sampling was acceptable but modest, KMO = .618. The single factor had an eigenvalue of 2.153, and it explained 43.061% of the variance. The absolute values of the loadings of individual items ranged from .544 to .704. The scale thus constructed had an acceptable internal consistency, Cronbach α = .643, 95% CI = [.533, .733]. Hypothesis 1 was thus supported. The internal consistency of the scale was slightly higher in Romania, α = .702, 95% CI = [.562, .807], than in the UK, α = .633, 95% CI = [.472, .756]; but the difference was not significant, $F(58, 65) = 1.232$, $p = .414$. The surprising finding that one item was unrelated to the others (corrected item-total correlation .023) will be further considered in the Discussion.

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics for Items and Summary of Principal Components Analysis for the Sexualised Nationalism Scale (N = 125)

	M	SD	Full scale		Revised scale	
			Loading	IRI	Loading	IRI
Gay rights threaten the traditional way of life in some cultures.	2.87	1.636	.697	.356	.704	.477
Countries that support gay rights are better than countries that don't.	4.17	1.544	-.633	.441	-.625	.384
Some ethnic groups in our country present a threat to LGB people's full equality.	3.50	1.548	-.044	.023	-	-
Developed countries should influence less developed countries to be more accepting of LGB people.	4.29	1.425	-.702	.493	-.698	.471
Traditional heterosexual families are a defining aspect of our culture.	3.40	1.675	.697	.462	.695	.453
Rich countries often force poorer countries to accept gay rights.	2.41	1.192	.535	.224	.544	.314
Eigenvalue			2.154		2.153	
Variance explained			35.900%		43.061%	
Cronbach α			.592		.643	

Note. The full scale comprises all the proposed items, while the revised scale contains only the five items retained for the final version of the instrument. IRI = item reliability index (corrected item-total correlation).

Table 3

Comparison of Sexualised Nationalism and Related Variables in the UK (n = 66) and Romania (n=59)

Variables	UK		Romania		Comparison		
	M	SD	M	SD	t	p	d
Age	23.54	7.55	21.54	2.62	0.216	.830	0.346
Religiosity	2.93	2.09	3.46	2.03	-1.685	.094	-0.257
Politics (right vs left)	3.24	1.44	3.29	1.53	-0.230	.818	-0.034
Ethnic prejudice	2.94	0.92	3.76	0.99	-5.499	< .001	-0.860
Homophobia	2.95	0.94	3.44	1.00	-3.311	.001	-0.506
Authoritarianism	3.38	0.64	3.77	0.73	-3.676	< .001	-0.570
Contact	12.23	70.34	-20.56	94.73	1.837	.069	0.396
Postmaterialism	2.14	0.65	2.20	0.61	-0.591	.556	-0.095
SNS	4.89	0.83	4.57	1.05	2.054	.042	0.340
Resource allocation	4.17	1.47	4.36	1.44	-0.726	.469	-0.131

Cross-National Comparisons

The means of all continuous variables were compared in the UK and Romania (see Table 3). Most significantly, UK participants were more homonationalistic, t (123) = 2.054, p < .05, d = 0.368; Hypothesis 4 was thus supported. Romanian participants had higher scores on homophobia, t (123) = 3.311, p < .001, d = 0.593; ethnic prejudice, t (123) = 5.499, p < .001, d = 0.985; and authoritarianism, t (123) = 3.676, p < .001, d = 0.659. Romanian participants also assigned a marginally higher importance to religion, t (123) = 1.685, p < .10, d = 0.302. UK participants also had marginally more contact with LGB people, t (123) = 1.837, p < .10, d = 0.329. There were no significant differences in age, political orientation and postmaterialism. There were no significant gender differences on any of these variables. This is unsurprising, given that men make up about one quarter of the sample.

Modelling Sexualised Nationalism

In order to further examine the SNS, its correlations with the other variables were computed. (See Table 4.) As expected, a strong negative correlation was found between homophobia and sexualised nationalism, r (124) = .601, $p < .001$. Given that homophobia explained more than one third of the variance of sexualised nationalism, partial correlations controlling for homophobia were also computed. These calculations were then repeated separately for the Romanian and the UK sample. As expected, sexualised nationalism was strongly and negatively related to homophobia, r (123) = -.601, $p < .01$.

Surprisingly, sexualised nationalism was also negatively correlated with ethnic prejudice, r (123) = -.353, $p < .01$. However, this was no longer the case when controlling for homophobia, partial r (122) = -.038, $p = .678$. Hypothesis 2 was not supported. It is also noteworthy that the SNS showed medium-to-strong negative correlations with authoritarianism and religiosity even when controlling for homophobia. A full correlation matrix is given in Appendix F.

Table 4

Zero-Order and Partial (Controlling for Homophobia) Correlations between Sexualised Nationalism and Related Variables

	All (N = 125)		UK (n = 66)		Romania (n = 59)	
Variable	Total	Partial	Total	Partial	Total	Partial
Age	.042	.036	-.029	-.069	.144	.179
Religiosity	-.497***	-.359***	-.477***	-.358**	-.493***	-.365**
Politics (right vs left)	-.265**	-.127	-.235†	-.080	-.293*	-.173
Ethnic prejudice	-.353***	-.038	-.340**	-.129	-.283*	.062
Homophobia	-.601***	–	-.572**	–	-.594***	–
Authoritarianism	-.537***	-.362***	-.389**	-.211†	-.619***	-.501***
Contact with LGB	-.025	-.034	.048	.007	-.131	-.060
Postmaterialism	.245**	.130	.422**	.293*	.097	-.012
Resource allocation	-.075	.083	.019	.209†	-.147	-.045

*$p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$ †$p < .10$

showing that high sexualised nationalism is largely explained by low homophobia and low authoritarianism.

The Experiment

Finally, it was hypothesised that sexualised nationalism would moderate the effect of the experimental manipulation on resource allocation. Specifically, it was predicted that the experimental manipulation would have no effect on resource allocation by participants low on sexualised nationalism; whilst those high on sexualised nationalism, on the contrary, were expected to allocate less to Muslims upon learning that they protested against a gay pride parade.

The experimental manipulation[27] had no main effect on resource allocation; a nonsignificant difference was observed in the direction contrary to the one expected: those exposed to the control message had nonsignificantly stronger tendency towards Vladimir's choice, t (120) = -1.377, p = .171, d = - 0.246. Hypothesis 6 was not

Figure 2.

Model of cross-cultural differences in sexualised nationalism, mediated by authoritarianism and homophobia.

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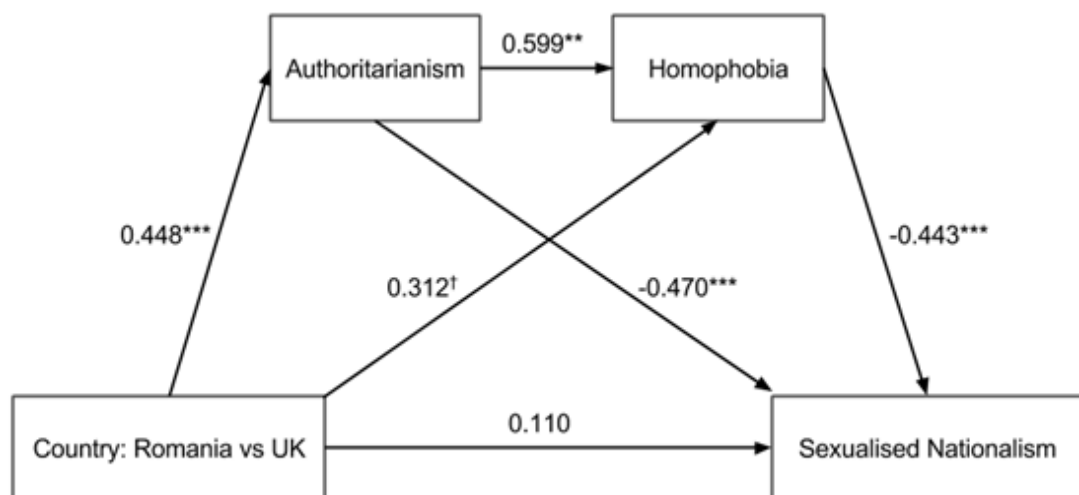
[27] The order of presentation had no effect on any variable (all t tests were nonsignificant), and it did not interact with the experimental manipulation in affecting any variable (all interactions in 2x2 ANOVAs were nonsignificant).

supported. Resource allocation was not correlated with sexualised nationalism, *r* (124) = - .075. The effect of experimental manipulation on resource allocation was not moderated by sexualised nationalism, since the interaction between sexualised nationalism and experimental condition did not have a significant effect on resource allocation. The model explained a very small proportion of the variance of resource allocation, R^2 = .038, *F* (3, 121) = 1.571, *p* = .200. Hypothesis 7 was not supported. See Table 6 for details.

Table 6.

Linear Model of the Predictors of Resource Allocation

	b	*SE*	*t*	*p*
Constant	4.234	0.132	32.145	< .001
SNS	-0.156	0.152	-1.031	.305
Experimental condition	-0.394	0.263	-1.499	.137
SNS X Condition	-0.353	0.303	-1.167	.246

Note: Predictors were centred prior to the analysis.

Discussion

The present study aimed to measure sexualised nationalism, a value configuration previously only explored in qualitative research. First, I created and tested a questionnaire and an experimental task for assessing sexualised nationalism. Next, I integrated the homonationalism hypothesis with two well established theories of prejudice, and I tested their predictions. Specifically, I asked whether homonationalism reverses the positive relationship between homophobia and ethnic prejudice, thus posing an exception to the classic proposition Adorno et al. (1950) that all prejudices are positively related. I also asked whether homonationalism could construe LGB people as ingroup and Muslims as outgroup for Europeans, thus prompting the resource allocation biases identified by Tajfel et al. (1971). I tested these hypotheses on two similar samples of undergraduate students from Romania and the UK, thus allowing for cross-cultural comparisons.

The results supported some of the widely accepted patterns in prejudice research. First, homophobia and ethnic prejudice were positively correlated with each other and with authoritarianism. Homophobia was also positively related to religiosity and to a conservative political orientation. (Surprisingly, however, contact with LGB people was not related to homophobia.) Second, Romanian and British participants differed in their levels of homophobia, ethnic prejudice and homonationalism, but not in the patterns of correlations between these variables and values. (See Table 4).

The results enabled by the SNS and by the resource allocation task did not support the homonationalism hypothesis. SNS scores were expected to have a moderating role in two contexts. First, the positive relationship between homophobia and ethnic prejudice was expected to be weaker or even reversed in participants with high SNS scores, i.e., those high on homonationalism. Second, it was expected that a media message that showed gay and Muslim people in conflict would prompt participants to disfavour Muslims in resource allocation, especially when participants were high on homonationalism. Neither of these hypotheses was supported by the data. UK participants were indeed more homonationalistic than their Romanian peers, but this difference was entirely explained by UK participants being less homophobic and less authoritarian.

The correlations between the SNS and other instruments suggest that this new scale measures a facet of homophobia, rather than sexualised nationalism. The SNS is correlated strongly with homophobia; it also correlated with religiosity and authoritarianism, even when controlling for homophobia. Most importantly, the SNS was not independently related to ethnic prejudice, and the item that made the most explicit reference to ethnic minorities needed to be excluded for the SNS to achieve internal consistency. The questionnaire therefore seems to capture a form of opposition to authoritarian, religiously conservative attitudes towards LGB people that is not entirely covered by the MHS (Morrison & Morrison, 2002). Given that the items refer to current geopolitical issues, it is possible that the SNS captures a stage in the evolution of homophobia that is past the 'modern heterosexism' measured by the MHS.

One should not, however, immediately conclude that such a thing as homonationalism does not exist. Within Cronbach and Meehl's (1955) classical framework, results that do not support the hypotheses cast doubt both on the theory and the method of measurement: more research is needed to decide which one is to be amended. On the one hand, the theory may be (partially) flawed. The juxtaposition of current quantitative findings and previous qualitative research suggests that homonationalism as defined by Puar (2007) is a rhetorical tool rather than a construct reflecting public opinion or private attitudes. People's agreement with 'homonationalistic' statements reflects their acceptance of gay people, but not their attitudes towards ethnic minorities: the SNS was unrelated to ethnic prejudice, and the item that was probably most clearly focused on ethnic minorities was unrelated to the rest of the scale. The use of such statements to create ethnic tensions is likely to be limited to public discourse, without much refection in people's attitudes. It seems that *homonationalism is a discursive repertoire that exploits new developments in sexual politics, but it is not the essence of these developments.* Puar (2007) was probably right in claiming 'no organic unity or cohesion' (p. 10) for homonationalism. It must be emphasised, however, that this study casts doubt on homonationalism as a psychological variable, not as a Deleuzian assemblage.

On the other hand, better ways of measuring homonationalism may be needed. A more reliable version of the SNS may be developed, although Cronbach and Meehl (1995) themselves warn against designing instruments with high internal consistency for constructs that are supposed to be somewhat unsteady. However, a future iterative process of questionnaire development might arrive at a more valid version of the SNS. Interviews or focus groups may be used to develop items that are better received by participants. The resource allocation task is also relatively novel, and may pose some difficulties to participants (Sidanius et al., 2007), although similar matrices have been used successfully since Tajfel et al. (1971) introduced them. Nevertheless, biases in resource allocation are sensitive to several factors (for a synthesis, see Hewstone et al., 2002): the effects are largest when people strongly identify with the ingroup, and when they feel threatened by the outgroup. The manipulation of symbolic threat through newspaper headlines might have been too week to elicit a

measurable effect. More importantly, since the SNS did not work as expected, it did not identify the participants who would strongly identify with pro-gay attitudes as a marker of their own culture in contrast to others. Therefore, a scale that measured homonationalism in its form theorised by Puar (2007) may also improve the results obtained with the resource allocation task.

More importantly, employing students as participants in prejudice research can pose significant problems. Students are easy to recruit within realistic time and financial constraints; they are also ideal participants for cognitively demanding tasks that require complex thinking about social and political issues (Dasgupta & Hunsinger, 2008). In the present study, student participants were employed as a convenient way to obtain comparable samples in different countries. These student samples, however, were more similar in some respects than the societies they were drawn from. Romania and the UK differ vastly in the importance they assign to religion, as well as in the penetration of postmaterialistic values (see Chapter 4 for WVS data). Nevertheless, the samples employed in this study were too similar in their responses to allow for studying the potential role of religiosity and postmaterialism in differences in homonationalism between the two countries. Such similarities are not surprising, as students populations tend to be more attuned to international (Westernised) values (Moghaddam & Lee, 2006). Moreover, Henry (2008) found that American students are less prejudiced than non-students, and their prejudice toward specific groups has a weaker relationship with their general belief in equality. Therefore, theoretical models of prejudice developed from student samples need to be treated with caution.

In conclusion, the present study has found limited use for the concept of homonationalism in the psychology of prejudice. The relationships between homophobia, ethnic prejudice, and related constructs were consistent with the established model: the two types of prejudice were positively related, and linked to conservative social and political attitudes. I did not find a homonationalistic attitudinal configuration either in participants from the West, postmaterialistic participants, or those experimentally exposed to relevant cues. However, a questionnaire containing items on LGB issues framed in a geopolitical terms was

related to religiosity and authoritarianism even when controlling for homophobia. This finding suggests that the construct measured by this questionnaire may indeed represent a new facet of homophobia, which is nevertheless different from homonationalism.

CHAPTER 7. General Conclusions: More Propositions on Homophobia

Since I have started by PhD in 2011, LGBT issues have made the news quite often. On 5 February 2013, the Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act 2013 was voted into law by the House of Commons. I was sitting in front of my computer screen, watching the BBC live transmission ('Gay marriage...', 2013). As I heard the results ('The ayes to the right...'), I was of course relieved, and I could not help wondering for a minute if homophobia in the UK was over. Was homophobia extinguished by political means? Was my research unnecessary? Of course, I knew from the history of African-Americans that racism was not over with the Civil Rights Act (1968). On 29 March 2014, the first same-gender marriages were celebrated in the UK; the BBC cited resentful criticism from conservative Christians, and a survey that one-fifth of Britons would refuse to attend such a wedding ('Same-sex marriage...', 2014). It was clear then that I was writing my thesis in the height, not in the aftermath of events.

I started this thesis with seven premises summarising current knowledge on homophobia. Now, at the end of this project, I hope to add a few more propositions. First, I rehearse the conclusions of the five studies; then, I synthesises these findings into three statements.

Chapter 2 provided a meta-analytic review of psychological interventions to reduce homophobia. Interventions based on education, contact or both were found to be effective. Most studies, however, were conducted with American college samples, and thus the applicability of the results to other contexts is questionable. Many promising approaches also remain unexplored. Surprisingly, unpublished dissertations were found to be particularly interesting and well-designed; therefore, questions were raised about institutional support for research on homophobia.

Complementing the meta-analyses, a systematic review of qualitative research on reducing homophobia was presented in Chapter 3. This approach opened up a series of issues not visible through a quantitative lens. Most importantly, the active meaning-making of those who participate in anti-homophobia interventions became obvious. Participants tended to understand these interventions as being placed in a broader social-historical context; the interventions were reported to be more or less

helpful depending on their match with those contexts. This means that participants may debate the goals and means of the interventions (e.g., in terms of liberal versus queer values), and may actively resist them. Overall, however, the conclusions of this review were optimistic, in line with the meta-analyses: most participants embraced the interventions as 'eye-opening' experiences.

The first two chapters raise, among other important issues, the question of the broader cultural and historical context in which anti-homophobia interventions are performed. On the one hand, most research has been performed in the US (and other high-income countries); on the other hand, attitudes towards LGB people have been changing over the last few decades, and any psychological intervention happens amidst such broad social change. To explore cross-cultural and historical aspects, a reanalysis of WVS data was conducted in Chapter 4. First, a theory-driven model of homophobia was developed and tested on US, UK, and Romanian data. The model included such predictors as demographic data, authoritarian personality, postmaterialistic values, national pride and religiosity. The model fit the data from all three countries, supporting the possibility of transposing models from research-intensive societies (such as the US and the UK) to societies were less research is performed, but homophobia is a more stringent issue (such as Romania). Second, it was tested whether the decrease in homophobia over a 20-year period (early 1990s to late 2000s) could be explained by change in the predictors listed above. Individual-level analyses of Romanian and UK data, as well as country-level analyses of European data were performed. The results suggested a complex pattern of covariances between the decrease of homophobia and change in other values, but did not support a simple causal explanation based on those predictors.

The previous chapters have established that the reduction of homophobia is heavily entangled with other value shifts, that it varies across cultures, that it sometimes faces substantial resistance, and that it may entail costs for those involved in bringing about change. Chapters 5 and 6 explore these issue by means of a new conceptual tool, sexualised nationalism. As with the issues discussed above, the complex link between homophobia and nationalism has been examined in much more detail in the West than in other contexts. Chapter 5 therefore probes into the

sexual-national dynamic in the news reports of a Romanian gay pride parade and the co-occurring right-wing protest. The discourses identified in these texts were heteronationalistic, presenting gay rights as a Western, colonialist intrusion into a Christian heterosexual nation. This is in stark contrast to homonationalistic discourses in the US and the UK, whereby gay rights became part of a national identity that needs to be defended against homophobic immigrants. Both forms of sexualised nationalism, however, share the unusual placement of sexual and national identities in the same plane, creating such new binaries as gay versus Muslim and gay versus Romanian.

Sexualised nationalism has been shown to be an interesting conceptual tool in understanding both resistance to change (as heterosexuality becomes germane to national identity in Romania) and the costs of change (as sexual tolerance becomes a tool for anti-immigrant prejudice in the West). Chapter 6 explores whether sexualised nationalism could be measured, such that cultural-studies work on homonationalism could inform quantitative research on reducing homophobia. Both a questionnaire and an experimental task were developed to in order to assess sexualised nationalism. The quantitative measure proved to be reliable in a sample of UK and Romanian university students. UK participants were more homonationalistic than their Romanian peers, a result explained by differences in authoritarianism and homophobia. Surprisingly, however, sexualised nationalism was not related to ethnic prejudice or to discrimination against Muslim immigrants to Europe. The items of the sexualised nationalism scale clearly express negativity towards other cultures and ethnicities. This rejection, however, seems to be unrelated to older forms of ethnic prejudice. On the one hand, homonationalism may be (as it has been suggested before) less menacing than initially suspected; on the other hand, the implications of sexualised nationalism for ethnic relations may also be a lot more complex than it has been theorised thus far.

Conclusion 1: We *Can* Change Homophobia, But It Is 'Dirty Work'

Above all, the findings of this thesis give reason for optimism. I have shown not only that homophobia changes on a societal level (Chapter 1, Premise 5; Chapter 4),

but also that we (as psychologists and educators) can actively pursue this change, and have been doing so successfully for four decades (Chapter 2). Interventions such as contact, education and their combinations can reduce homophobia by one-third to one-half of a standard deviation; norm-based interventions might also be effective, but more evidence is needed. Although the effectiveness of contact was already known (Smith, 2009; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), the finding that education (with or without contact) can be similarly effective significantly broadens the possibilities for intervention. Moreover, most people who take part in these interventions report a positive experience of them, and describe them as 'eye opening' (Chapter 3). Finally, worries that a decrease in homophobia might be related to an increase in ethnic prejudice were not supported, at least in a small-scale experiment (Chapter 6).

At least two findings qualify this optimism. First, even though homophobia has decreased and we have effective means to bring about this process, positive change is far from universal. As shown in Chapter 1, homophobia is still rampant in many countries. Moreover, prejudice has been taking new guises, such as modern homophobia and sexualised nationalism. As expected from research on modern homophobia (Morrison & Morrison, 2002; see also Gough, 2002), some people will disclaim their prejudice ('I'm not homophobic, but...'), only to voice concerns that the inclusion of LGB people has gone 'too far' (Chapter 3). If UK undergraduates are unlikely to voice blatant prejudice, as suggested by floor effects on older homophobia scales (Hegarty, 2010), an instrument with more subtly phrased questions (Morrison & Morrison, 2002) still shows a broad range of attitudes (Chapter 6; see also Hegarty, 2010). More interestingly, homophobic discourse has evolved to include nationalistic arguments: Eastern European media and political groups construe gay rights as a Western intrusion, meant to compromise local culture (Chapter 5; see also Kulpa, 2011).

Second, those who strive to reduce homophobia face resistance, often in subtle forms. Good research done by students is unsupported (Chapter 2), and interventions encounter organisational resistance (Chapter 3). To make sense of the difficulties faced by researchers and activists in fighting homophobia, I have used Janice Irvine's (2014) concept of 'dirty work': on the one hand, interventions to reduce homophobia

are necessary, since it is "eye-opening" (Chapter 3), supported by evidence (Chapter2) and address an important societal issue (Chapter 1, Premise 2); on the other hand, those who perform such interventions are likely to get little funding and moral support (Chapter 2), and they sometimes face expression of anger and disgust from those they are trying to work with (Chapter 3). The work of previous generations in the field of sexuality was met with similar ambivalence, as the letter archives of likes of Kinsey, Masters and Johnson contain a mix of thanks and threats from the public (Irvine, 2014).

Conclusion 2: **Defining the Opposite of Homophobia Is Difficult, But Manageable**

Since the definition of homophobia is contested (see Chapter 1, Premises 1, 3 and 4), the state of affairs we are hoping to achieve is also disputed. Goals and values are divided both philosophies (Chapter 1, Premises 3 and 4) and by cultures (Chapter 1, Premises 6 and 7). However, based on the results of my five studies presented above, I argue that such dilemmas about the nature and remedies of homophobia do not need to impede on relevant research or effective practical action.

The utility of prejudice as a conceptual framework has been contested (see, e.g., Dixon et al., 2012). Most notably, numerous studies have suggested that intergroup contact may have negative effects. Contact can lead to social harmony at the cost of legitimising inequality (Dovidio et al., 2012): it can reinforce the power differential between the groups (Ridgeway, 2001; Sinclair et al., 2005) and it can enhance expectations (Saguy et al., 2009) and perceptions (Dixon et al., 2010) that the status quo is fair. In the case specific case of homophobia, research into the more subtle implications of contact does not seem to be available; however, it is worth noting the participants in workshops that include some form of contact with LGB people have often stated that the intervention inspired them to take action against homophobia (Chapter 3). The systematic review of interventions in Chapter 2 suggests that education is just as effective as contact in reducing homophobia, hopefully providing an alternative with fewer disadvantages.

In a similar vein, it has been argued that 'the change of society will help more people than an army of psychologists working with them one by one' (Morin, 1991). Small-scale interventions may seem trivial in the face of structural discrimination (Ehrlich, 1973) and compared to the prospect of legal change (King, 2013). However, the opposite can also be argued: large-scale societal change may take years or decades, and it does not reach every community and every individual at the same time (see Chapter 4); therefore, swift help for individuals and small groups is also essential (see, e.g., Martell, 2008). It has also been argued that the psychology of prejudice has developed independently from the social movements of oppressed minorities (Wright & Baray, 2012): this is not the case of homophobia, since activists have always played an essential (if often discreet) role in LGB psychology (for a compelling history, see Minton, 2002). Finally, if in the case of societal-level attitude shift a causal model could not be confirmed, small-scale psychological interventions to reduce homophobia were tested experimentally, and there is reasonable evidence that such interventions can indeed cause an attitude change. At the moment, it is the 'army of psychologists' that can deliver measureable results.

Queer theory (Warner, 1993), discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) and feminism (Kitzinger, 1987) reject the social psychology of prejudice in even stronger terms. Most importantly, they reject the quest of many social psychologists and activists to convince society that LGB people are 'normal', rather than instigating a critique of the idea of normality itself (see, e.g., Clarke, 2002; Peel, 2010). On the one hand, such theoretical and axiological disputes are themselves deserving attention from researchers, since they often occur outside academia and they may have an impact on the success of anti-homophobia education (Chapter 3) and the collaboration between organisation with different value systems (Kulpa, 2011). On the other hand, discussion about the nature of homophobia can continue without preventing action: as Edwards et al. (1995) put it, one can analyse the recipe and still eat the cake.

Conclusion 3: **Context-Sensitivity Is both Necessary and Dangerous**

The national, historical, and organisational context in which homophobia occurs and changes has been a reoccurring theme of this thesis. Some of my findings prompt those interested in reducing homophobia to be aware and adaptable to context, while other findings warn that focusing on contextual differences may hinder research and practice. While the findings of this thesis do not provide a cookbook recipe for handling context, they can outline the pitfalls of both neglect of and fixation on context.

On the one hand, I have argued extensively for the importance of national-historical variations in Chapter 1, and I have criticised the interventions reviewed in Chapter 2 for focusing too much on the American campus environment. I have also pleaded for caution in generalising American and Western European models of homophobia to Eastern Europe. Indeed, the relative importance of predictors differed between the US, the UK and Romania: for example, authoritarianism was a particularly strong predictor in the US, while postmaterialism was most relevant in Romania (Chapter 4). Finally, I have analysed discourses on nationalism and homophobia in Romania, to show that Eastern European heteronationalism (Chapter 5) contrasts with Western homonationalism (Puar, 2007).

On the other hand, I have also emphasised that reference to context can be used as a justification or a call for inaction: some of the voices heard in Chapter 3 dismissed anti-homophobia interventions altogether on the basis that they were not designed for a specific cultural or organisational context. In Chapter 4, albeit highlighting differences between the US, the UK and Romania, I have also shown that a similar model can explain homophobia in all three countries; in Stenner's (2005) words, 'we do not need theories packed with proper nouns to understand general patterns of behaviour' (p. 7). Puar's (2007) critique of homonationalism may also be read as a possibly deleterious appeal to context: proponents of this concept make an argument that the reduction of homophobia may have costs for other minorities, a caution that is (at least for now) uncorroborated by psychological research (Chapter 6).

Directions for Future Research

The findings summarised above open up at least three areas that need further research. First, broader testing is needed for the effectiveness of interventions to reduce homophobia. As most evidence comes from studies on American college students (Chapter 2), research is needed on populations that are more likely to hold prejudice against LGB people. Ideally, such research should go beyond assessing immediate effects of interventions: research is scarce on long-term effectiveness and on the mechanisms of action. It is also essential that biphobia may receive more attention, given the exclusion faced by bisexual people (Eisner, 2013) and the relative silence of the prejudice literature on this issue (Chapter 2).

Second, new models need to be developed to explain long-term societal change. The model tested in Chapter 4 could predict homophobia from religiosity, authoritarianism, national pride and postmaterialism. However, the same model could not explain change over a 20-year period. It is therefore likely that factors not assessed in the World Values Survey account for change. Extended contact (Paluck & Green, 2009) is a likely candidate: as more LGB characters are present in literature, film and television, such virtual encounters are likely to have some of the positive effects of real-life intergroup contact (Schiappa et al., 2005). Individual characteristics other than authoritarianism, religiosity and postmaterialism may also play a role in change: social dominance orientation, 'one's degree of preference for inequality among groups' (Pratto et al., 1994, p. 741) is probably the most widely studied of such value dimensions. It is also likely that social and political action by the LGB movement triggered changes in both public opinion and policy (Amenta et al., 2010). Finally, new models may be developed from qualitative research: since shifts in homophobia have occurred within the lifetimes of those who are middle-aged or elderly today, interviews could be performed and new hypotheses on the process of change could be formulated.

Third, the present thesis raises further questions on sexualised nationalism. In Chapter 6, I proposed an instrument to measure this construct that had acceptable internal consistency but failed to correlate with ethnic prejudice. I also proposed an

experimental task to assess homonationalism through resource allocation; contrary to expectations, performance on this task was not dependant on either scores on the sexualised nationalism scale or exposure to a homonationalistic message. Since both the construct and the measurement techniques were novel, further research needs to ascertain whether it is the theory or the instruments need adjustment (see Cronbach & Meehl, 1955). It is also important to consider that sexualised nationalism is heavily anchored in specific local and historical contexts (Chapter 1, Premise 7): it is possible that today, after such events as the armed attacks in Paris ('The changing face…', 2015) and the mass sexual attacks in Cologne ('Cologne attacks…', 2016), attitudes towards immigrants in Europe are closer to what Puar (2007) describes as homonationalism than they were in early 2014 when I performed the experiment.

Final Thoughts: In Search of a Unifying Metaphor

At the beginning of this thesis, I reflected on Alan Turing's life and posterity, noting how homophobia has changed over the last 50 years. I asked how this change has happened, and I conducted five studies in search of an answer. Three compelling conclusions have emerged: that we have the tools to bring about change, although work in the field of sexuality often encounters resistance; that we can achieve change even while we have deep and challenging debates about what kind of change we want; and that we need to be aware of the different contexts in which homophobia occurs, without getting lost in the details of these differences. Now, aiming to distil the central lesson of this thesis, I would like to reflect on the possibility of a metaphor that would unify all of these findings.

Hegarty (2010) has described biological arguments in anti-homophobia interventions as a 'stone in the soup'. It is often argued (e.g., Haider-Markel & Joslyn, 2008) that presenting biological research (to the effect that homosexuality is determined through genetic or other biological mechanisms) helps reduce homophobia, because it counters arguments that homosexuality is a choice. Hegarty has obtained a typical reduction of students' homophobia through a course that did not contain any biological information. His conclusion was that biological arguments against homophobia are a 'stone in the soup', i.e., a nonessential component. The

metaphor stems from a well-known European folk tale in which a trickster convinces people that a (magic) stone makes their soup tasty, rather than all the meats, spices and vegetables. The stone was of course inert, and only served the purpose of raising interest in way the more mundane ingredients could not. Hegarty argues that biological arguments, just like the stone, are interesting rather than useful.

The systematic review presented in Chapter 2 suggests that anti-homophobic education is a soup entirely made of stones. Although curricula varied greatly, as did participants and measures, the effect sizes of educational interventions were homogeneous. Moreover, the combination of contact and education produced essentially the same results. We may conclude, therefore, that it is not just biological argumentation that is a stone in the soup of anti-homophobic education, but all other contents are stones as well. Chapter 4 also found that several different factors determine homophobia: gender, age, education, income, religiosity, postmaterialism, national pride and authoritarianism all matter, to different extents. In the same chapter, I could not identify a definite factor that drives the decrease of homophobia in Europe and the US.

As for the metaphor, I would like to propose an alternative to this rather fantastic soup of stones: the onion. What is important about the onion here is not its structure of layers, but its lack of a core. Romanian literary critic Nicolae Manolescu (1980/2011) used a plum and an onion to explain the difference between two theories of literary style. Style can be seen as an addition to contents, just as a plumb's flesh is an (soft and separable) addition to the stone. But style can also be understood as the layers of an onion: we can easily separate the layers (the style), but if we peel away all of them, there is no solid core (content) to be found in the middle. Homophobia can be seen as an onion in this sense: contact, essentialist arguments, constructionist arguments, religion, postmaterialism etc. all seem dispensable, and there does not seem to be a quintessential component. This lack of an essence leaves us with both the challenge and the freedom of not having a recipe for fighting homophobia.

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APPENDIX A.   Coding Study Characteristics for the Study Space Analysis in Chapter 2

For the study space analysis in Chapter 2, a series of characteristics were coded for each study; see Table A3 below. Intercoder agreement was assessed in order to establish the reliability this coding. For continuous variables, intraclass correlations were computed, see Table A1. In assessing the intercoder agreement for categorical variables, I opted for Gwet's AC_1. If the frequencies of the categories are heavily unequal, this coefficient is less biased the classic Cohen's κ. For the sake of comparison, I report three measures of intercoder agreement: Cohen's κ, Holley and Guilford's G, and Gwet's AC_1. All three coefficients are computed as $(p_o - p_e)/(1 - p_e)$, where p_o is the proportion of intercoder agreements and p_e is the probability of random agreements. For Cohen's κ, p_e is computed from marginal frequencies in the agreement matrix; for Holley and Guilford's G, it is reciprocal of the number of categories; and for Gwet's AC_1, it is based on binomial probabilities. See Table A2.

Table A1.

Intercoder Agreement for Continuous Variables.

Variable	Intraclass correlation	p
Year	1	.000
Number of participants	.979	.000
Proportion female	.976	.000
Proportion white	.988	.000
Age	.998	.000

Table A2.

Intercoder Agreement for Categorical Variables.

Variable	%	Cohen's κ			Holley-Guilford G			Gwet's AC$_1$		
		Value	SE	p	Value	SE	p	Value	SE	p
Published	100	1	0	.000	1	0	.000	1	0	.000
Report type	100	1	0	.000	1	0	.000	1	0	.000
Approach	87.18	.841	.066	.000	.856	.060	.000	.857	.060	.000
Gender	100	1	0	.000	1	0	.000	1	0	.000
Nationality	92.86	.831	.160	.000	.911	.086	.000	.877	.119	.000
Students	86.67	.423	.380	.265	.733	.176	.000	.827	.114	.000
Age group	92.86	.641	.346	.064	.893	.103	.000	.911	.086	.000
Ethnicity	93.33	.865	.131	.000	.867	.129	.000	.869	.127	.000
Sexuality	93.33	.872	.124	.000	.900	.097	.000	.862	.134	.000
Follow up	100	1	0	.000	1	0	.000	1	0	.000
Attitudinal	100	1	0	.000	1	0	.000	1	0	.000
Behavioural	100	1	0	.000	1	0	.000	1	0	.000
Cognitive	100	1	0	.000	1	0	.000	1	0	.000
Emotional	100	1	0	.000	1	0	.000	1	0	.000
Implicit	93.33	0	.966	1	.867	.129	.000	.929	.069	.000

Table A2.

Characteristics of the Studies Included in the Study-Space Analysis.

Reference	Report type	Country	Funded	Number of Participants	Age group	White (%)	Women (%)	Students	Intervention	Comparison	Attitudinal	Behavioural	Cognitive	Emotional	Implicit
Alvaro, E. M., & Crano, W. D. (1997). Indirect minority influence: Evidence for leniency in source evaluation and counterargumentation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72***(5), 949-964. Study 1**	journal article	US	Y	222	young adults	NR	NR	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Alvaro, E. M., & Crano, W. D. (1997). Indirect minority influence: Evidence for leniency in source evaluation and counterargumentation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72***(5), 949-964. Study 2**	journal article	US	Y	78	young adults	NR	NR	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Alvaro, E. M., & Crano, W. D. (1997). Indirect minority influence: Evidence for leniency in source evaluation and counterargumentation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 72***(5), 949-964. Study 3**	journal article	US	Y	66	young adults	NR	NR	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Reference															
Anderson, C. L. (1981). The effect of a workshop on attitudes of female nursing students toward male homosexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality, 7*(1), 57-69.	journal article	US	N	60	young adults	NR	100	Y	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Bahns, A. J., & Branscombe, N. R. (2011). Effects of legitimizing discrimination against homosexuals on gay bashing. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 41*(3), 388	journal article	US	Y	167	young adults	88	0	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	N	Y	N	Y	N
Banse, R., Seise, J., & Zerbes, N. (2001). Implicit attitudes towards homosexuality: Reliability, validity, and controllability of the IAT. *Zeitschrift Für Experimentelle Psychologie: Organ Der Deutschen Gesellschaft Für Psychologie, 48*(2), 145	journal article	Germany	N	79	young adults	NR	0	Y	compares approaches	random groups	Y	N	N	N	Y
Bassett, J., & Day, K. (2003). A test of the infusion method: Emphatic inclusion of material on gay men in a core course. *Journal of Teaching in Social Work, 23*(3), 29	journal article	US	N	48	adults	79	78	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Bassett, R. L., Van Nikkelen-Kuyper, M., Johnson, D., Miller, A., Carter, A., & Grimm, J. P. (2005). Being a good neighbor: Can students come to value homosexual	journal article	US	N	38	young adults	NR	58	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N

persons? *Journal of Psychology and Theology, 33*(1), 17-26.															
Bateman, J. I. (1996). A treatment strategy for changing preservice teachers' attitudes toward homosexuality. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 56* **(8**	dissertation	US	N	82	young adults	95	60	Y	education	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
Beckham-Chasnoff, S. (1997). Homophobic attitude change. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 57* **(9-)**	dissertation	US	N	128	young adults	82	68	Y	contact-plus-education	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Ben-Ari, A. (1998). An experiential attitude change: Social work students and homosexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality, 36*(2), 59-72.	journal article	Israel	N	86	young adults	NR	86	Y	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Bertholf, S. D. (1999). Understanding changes in students' attitudes: A study of an undergraduate course in human sexuality. (college students, gender). ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts*	dissertation	US	N	174	young adults	NR	56	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 59 (10																
Black, B., Oles, T. P., Cramer, E. P., & Bennett, C. K. (1999). Attitudes and behaviors of social work students toward lesbian and gay male clients: Can panel presentations make a difference? *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services: Issues in Practice, Policy & Research, 9*, 47	journal article	US	N	56	young adults	79	86	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	Y	N	N	N
Bonds-Raacke, J., Cady, E. T., Schlegel, R., Harris, R. J., & Firebaugh, L. (2007). Remembering gay/lesbian media characters: Can Ellen and Will improve attitudes toward homosexuals? *Journal of Homosexuality, 53*(3), 19-34.	journal article	US	N	114	young adults	NR	NR	Y	values	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Boulden, W. T. (2004). Evaluation of the anytown leadership institute programming on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender issues. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Social Services: Issues in Practice, Policy & Research, 17*(4), 17-38.	journal article	US	N	223	teenagers	34	69	N	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Bronson, J. C. (2006). Examining the efficacy of fact-based and personal-story-based information on attitudes towards bisexuality. ProQuest Information &	dissertation	US	N	228	young adults	72	72	Y	compares approaches	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 66* (8-)															
Burke, T. B. (1997). The effect of gay male sex role adherence on others' homosexual stress and attitudes toward gay men. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 57* (10-)	dissertation	US	N	132	young adults	NR	NR	Y	contact	random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N
Byrd, R. (2011). Evaluating the effects of a safe space training on professional school counselors and school counseling trainees. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences, 71* (11-)	dissertation	US	N	74	young adults	64	88	N	education	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
Cameron, K. A. (2001). Resistance to persuasion as a function of attitude importance, attitude structure, and counterattitudinal message type. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 61* (11-)	dissertation	US	N	168	young adults	NR	91	Y	compares approaches	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Citation	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Carnaghi, A., & Yzerbyt, V. (2007). Subtyping and social consensus: The role of the audience in the maintenance of stereotypic beliefs. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 37*(5), 902-922.	journal article	Italy	N	29	young adults	NR	0	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	N	N	Y	N	N
Case, K. A., & Stewart, B. (2010a). Changes in diversity course student prejudice and attitudes toward heterosexual privilege and gay marriage. *Teaching of Psychology, 37*(3), 172-177.	journal article	US	N	87	young adults	74	100	Y	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Case, K., & Stewart, B. (2010b). Heterosexual privilege awareness, prejudice, and support of gay marriage among diversity course students. *College Teaching, 58*(1), 3-7.	journal article	US	N	143	young adults	88	76	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Cason, G. L. (1997). Effects of a psychosocial intervention on mental health service providers' attitudes toward lesbians and gay men. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 57* (10-)	dissertation	US	N	595	adults	66	78	N	contact-plus-education	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Cerny, J. A., & Polyson, J. (1984). Changing homonegative attitudes. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 2*(4), 366	journal article	US	N	862	young adults	NR	60	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Chng, C. L., & Moore, A. (1991). Can attitudes of college students towards AIDS and homosexuality be changed in six weeks? the effects of a gay panel. *Health Values: Health Behavior, Education & Promotion, 15*(2), 41	journal article	US	N	52	young adults	83	61	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Chonody, J. M., Siebert, D. C., & Rutledge, S. E. (2009). College students' attitudes toward gays and lesbians. *Journal of Social Work Education, 45*(3), 499	journal article	US	N	210	young adults	NR	90	Y	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
Christensen, S., & Sorenson, L. M. (1994). Effects of a multi-factor education program on the attitude of child and youth worker students toward gays and lesbians. *Child & Youth Care Forum, 23*(2), 119-133.	journal article	US	N	35	young adults	NR	91	Y	education	random groups	Y	Y	N	N	N
Cooley, J. J. (2009). The use of contact theory to explain attitudes toward gay men and lesbians. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 70* (4	dissertation	US	N	106	young adults	85	59	Y	compares approaches	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Corley, T. J., & Pollack, R. H. (1996). Do changes in the stereotypic depiction of a lesbian couple affect heterosexuals' attitudes toward lesbianism? *Journal of Homosexuality, 32*(2), 1	journal article	US	N	141	young adults	NR	55	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Cotten-Huston, A., & Waite, B. M. (2000). Anti-homosexual attitudes in college students: Predictors and classroom interventions. *Journal of Homosexuality, 38*(3), 117-133.	journal article	US	N	150	young adults	NR	71	Y	compares approaches	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Cramer, E. P. (1997). Effects of an educational unit about lesbian identity development and disclosure in a social work methods course. *Journal of Social Work Education, 33*(3), 461-472.	journal article	US	N	107	young adults	83	82	Y	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Cramer, E. P., Oles, T. P., & Black, B. M. (1997). Reducing social work students' homophobia: An evaluation of teaching strategies. *Arete, 21*, 36-49.	journal article	US	N	109	young adults	85	89	Y	compares approaches	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Crano, W. D., & Alvaro, E. M. (1998). Indirect minority influence: The leniency contract revisited. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 1*(2), 99-115.	journal article	US	N	75	young adults	NR	NR	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Dasgupta, N., & Rivera, L. M. (2008). When social context matters: The influence of long-term contact and short-term exposure to admired outgroup members on implicit attitudes and behavioral intentions. *Social Cognition, 26*(1), 112-123.	journal article	US	Y	127	adults	64	50	N	contact	non-random groups	N	Y	N	N	Y
Dasgupta, N., DeSteno, D., Williams, L. A., & Hunsinger, M. (2009). Fanning the flames of prejudice: The influence of specific incidental emotions on implicit prejudice. *Emotion, 9*(4), 585	journal article	US	Y	130	young adults	NR	63	Y	emotions/empathy	random groups	N	N	N	N	Y
Dessel, A. B. (2010). Effects of intergroup dialogue: Public school teachers and sexual orientation prejudice. *Small Group Research, 41*(5), 556	journal article	US	N	36	adults	94	80	N	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	N	Y	N	Y	N
Dixon-Woods, M., Regan, J., Robertson, N., Young, B., Cordle, C., & Tobin, M. (2002). Teaching and learning about human sexuality in undergraduate medical education. *Medical Education, 36*(5), 432-440.	journal article	UK	N	130	young adults	NR	NR	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Dorman, H. D. (1997). Acomparison of gay and lesbian sensitivity trainings on student counselors' attitudes toward same gender sexual behavior. ProQuest	dissertation	US	N	86	adults	NR	60	Y	contact-plus-education	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Information & Learning). *Dissertation International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences, 57*(12																
Doyle, C. M. (1996). Attitude function and attitude change: A comparison of the effectiveness of educational activities in changing the attitudes of counselors-in-training toward lesbians and gays. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences, 57* (6-)	disserta tion	US	N	57	adults	92	72	Y	compares approaches	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Duncan, D. F. (1988). Effects on homophobia of viewing a gay	journal article	Ger man y	N	24	young adults	NR	0	Y	entertainm ent	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Eagle, G. T. B.,Pierre W. (1995). AIDS education for health professionals. *South African Journal of Psychology, 25*(1), 21	journal article	Sout h Afric a	N	87	adults	NR	93	N	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Citation	Type	Country		N	Age				Topic	Comparison					
Edwards, N. M. (2010). Using nail polish to teach about gender and homophobia. *Teaching Sociology, 38*(4), 362	journal article	US	N	19	young adults	NR	NR	Y	emotions/empathy	no comparison	N	N	Y	Y	N
Elsbree, A. R., & Wong, P. (2007). The laramie project as a homophobic disruption: How the play impacts pre-service teacher's preparation to create anti-homophobic schools. *Journal of Gay and Lesbian Issues in Education, 4*(4), 97-117.	journal article	US	N	89	young adults	NR	NR	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Falomir-Pichastor, J., & Mugny, G. (2009). "I'm not gay…I'm a real man!": Heterosexual men's gender self-esteem and sexual prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 35*(9), 1233-1243.	journal article	Switzerland	Y	85	young adults	NR	0	N	education	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Falomir-Pichastor, J., Mugny, G., Gabarrot, F., & Quiamzade, A. (2011). A regulatory fit perspective in majority versus minority support to attitudes toward homosexuals. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*(1), 45-62, Study 1	journal article	Switzerland	N	89	young adults	NR	14	Y	norms/expertise	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Citation	Type	Country		N	Age				Topic	Comparison					
Falomir-Pichastor, J., Mugny, G., Gabarrot, F., & Quiamzade, A. (2011). A regulatory fit perspective in majority versus minority support to attitudes toward homosexuals. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*(1), 45-62, Study 2	journal article	Switzerland	N	138	young adults	NR	60	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Falomir-Pichastor, J., Mugny, G., Gabarrot, F., & Quiamzade, A. (2011). A regulatory fit perspective in majority versus minority support to attitudes toward homosexuals. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 14*(1), 45-62, Study 3	journal article	Switzerland	N	100	adults	NR	0	N	norms/ expertise	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Finkel, M. J., Storaasli, R. D., Bandele, A., & Schaefer, V. (2003). Diversity training in graduate school: An exploratory evaluation of the safe zone project. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 34*(5), 555	journal article	US	N	68	young adults	78	75	Y	education	no comparison	N	Y	N	Y	N
Finken, L. L. (2002). The impact of a human sexuality course on anti-gay prejudice: The challenge of reaching male students. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality, 14*(1), 37-46.	journal article	US	N	280	young adults	72	74	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Fisher, J. B. (1996). The effect of an educational program on teacher and school counselor knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs regarding homosexuality and gay youth. US: ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences, 57* (4-), 1569.	dissertation	US	N	29	adults	93	83	N	contact-plus-education	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
Gailliot, M. T., Peruche, B. M., Plant, E. A., & Baumeister, R. F. (2009). Stereotypes and prejudice in the blood: Sucrose drinks reduce prejudice and stereotyping. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*(1), 288-290.	journal article	unclear	N	51	young adults	NR	49	Y	awareness	random groups	N	Y	N	N	N
Gallop, R. M., Taerk, G., Lancee, W. J., Coates, R. A., & Fanning, M. (1992). A randomized trial of group interventions for hospital staff caring for persons with AIDS. *AIDS Care, 4*(2), 177-185.	journal article	Canada	N	118	adults	NR	NR	N	compares approaches	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Garman, A. N. (1995). An evaluation of cultural sensitivity training in a student counselor education program. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation*	dissertation	US	N	105	young adults	88	73	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

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Gilliam, A., & Seltzer, R. (1989). The efficacy of educational movies on AIDS knowledge and attitudes among college students. *Journal of American College Health: J of ACH, 37*(6), 261-265.	journal article	US	N	201	young adults	NR	NR	Y	education	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Goertzel, T. G., & Bluebond-Langner, M. (1991). What is the impact of a campus AIDS education course? *Journal of American College Health: J of ACH, 40*(2), 87-92.	journal article	US	N	155	young adults	84	47	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Goldberg, R. (1982). Attitude change among college students toward homosexuality. *Journal of American College Health, 30*(6), 260-268.	journal article	US	N	131	young adults	NR	48	Y	education	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Golom, F. D., & Mohr, J. J. (2011). Turn it off! the effects of exposure to male–male erotic imagery on heterosexuals' attitudes toward gay men. *Journal of Sex Research, 48*(6), 580-589.	journal article	US	N	198	young adults	91	69	Y	entertainm ent	random groups	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Grack, C., & Richman, C. L. (1996). Reducing general and specific heterosexism through cooperative	journal article	US	Y	37	young adults	NR	40	Y	contact	random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N

contact. *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality, 8*(4), 59-68.

Green, S., Dixon, P., & Gold-Neil, V. (1993). The effects of a gay/lesbian panel discussion on college student attitudes toward gay men, lesbians, and persons with AIDS (PWAs). *Journal of Sex Education & Therapy, 19*(1), 47-63.	journal article	US	N	79	young adults	85	65	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Grutzeck, S., & Gidyck, C. A. (1997). The effects of a gay and lesbian speaker panel on college students' attitudes and behaviors: The importance of context effects. *Imagination, Cognition and Personality, 17*(1), 65-81.	journal article	US	N	200	young adults	85	54	Y	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	Y	N	N	N
Gursimsek, I. (2009). Does sexuality education effect teacher candidates' attitudes about sexuality and homosexuality? *World Conference on Educational Sciences - New Trends and Issues in Educational Sciences, 1*(1), 980-983.	journal article	Turkey	N	478	young adults	NR	69	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Citation	Type	Country		N	Age group				Field	Design					
Guth, L. J., Hewitt-Gervais, C., Smith, S., & Fisher, M. S. (2000). Student attitudes toward AIDS and homosexuality: The effects of a speaker with HIV. *Journal of College Student Development, 41*(5), 503-512.	journal article	US	N	83	young adults	72	76	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N
Guth, L. J., Lopez, D. F., Clements, K. D., & Rojas, J. (2001). Student attitudes toward lesbian, gay, and bisexual issues: Analysis of self-talk categories. *Journal of Homosexuality, 41*(1), 137-156.	journal article	US	N	47	young adults	88	78	Y	education	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
Guth, L. J., Lopez, D. F., & Fisher, M. S. (2002). In-person versus internet training: A comparison of student attitudes toward homosexuality. *NASPA Journal, 40*(1)	journal article	US	Y	87	young adults	86	85	Y	education	random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N
Guth, L. J., Lopez, D. F., Rojas, J., Clements, K. D., & Tyler, J. M. (2004). Experiential versus rational training: A comparison of student attitudes toward homosexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality, 48*(2), 83-102.	journal article	US	N	50	young adults	88	80	Y	education	random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age				Topic	Design					
Hamill, S. D. (1998). Assessing the effectiveness of activities designed to modify homophobia among african american undergraduate students. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences, 58*(12-)	dissertation	US	N	86	young adults	00	NR	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Hegarty, P. (2010). A stone in the soup? changes in sexual prejudice and essentialist beliefs among british students in a class on LGBT psychology. *Psychology and Sexuality, 1*(1), 3-20.	journal article	UK	N	37	young adults	83	86	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Hetzel, C. J. (2008). The effects of social influence on personal attitudes and behavior toward lesbians and gay men. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 69* (3-)	dissertation	US	N	194	young adults	73	68	Y	norms/ expertise	non-random groups	Y	Y	N	N	N
Hillman, J.,Renee A. (2002). Lessons about gay and lesbian lives: A spaceship exercise. *Teaching of Psychology, 29*(4), 308-311.	journal article	US	Y	68	young adults	NR	NR	Y	emotions/empathy	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age				Topic	Design					
Hodson, G., Choma, B. L., & Costello, K. (2009). Experiencing alien-nation: Effects of a simulation intervention on attitudes toward homosexuals. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 45*(4), 974-978.	journal article	Canada	N	164	young adults	94	78	Y	emotions/empathy	random groups	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Hood, J. N., Muller, H. J., & Seitz, P. (2001). Attitudes of hispanics and anglos surrounding a workforce diversity intervention. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 23*(4), 444-458.	journal article	US	Y	150	young adults	56	49	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Huffey, B. B. (1997). The effects of two brief intervention strategies on homophobia and negative attitudes toward women. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences, 58* (4-)	dissertation	US	N	96	young adults	64	65	Y	compares approaches	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Hugelshofer, D. S. (2007). The effectiveness of lesbian, gay, and bisexual speaker panels in facilitating attitude and behavior change among heterosexual university students. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 68* (1-)	dissertation	US	N	215	young adults	76	69	Y	contact-plus-education	random groups	Y	Y	N	N	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Hussey, H. D., & Bisconti, T. L. (2010). Interventions to reduce sexual minority stigma in sororities. *Journal of Homosexuality, 57*(4), 566-587.	journal article	US	N	82	young adults	100	100	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Hussey, H. D., Fleck, B. K. B., & Warner, R. M. (2010). Reducing student prejudice in diversity-infused core psychology classes. *College Teaching, 58*(3), 85-92.	journal article	US	N	63	young adults	80	76	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Hyers, L. L. (2000). Interpersonal confrontation as a means to prejudice reduction: When oppressed group members challenge the prejudices of dominant group members. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 61* (2-).	dissertation	US	N	89	young adults	NR	0	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	Y	N	N	N
Hylton, M. E. (2006). Online versus classroom-based instruction: A comparative study of learning outcomes in a diversity course. *The Journal of Baccalaureate Social Work, 11*(2), 102-114.	journal article	US	N	50	young adults	NR	82	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Hyman, R. A. (1980). A comparison of methods for changing homophobic attitudes of mental health professionals: The effects of cognitive vs affective and	dissertation	US	N	27	young adults	NR	74	Y	education	random groups	Y	Y	N	N	N

homosexuality vs homophobia approaches. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 40* **(12-).**

Reference															
Inbar, Y., Pizarro, D. A., & Bloom, P. (2012). Disgusting s mells cause decreased liking of gay men. *Emotion, 12*(1), 23-27.	journal article	US	N	61	young adults	NR	81	Y	emotions/e mpathy	random groups	N	N	N	Y	N
Israel, T., & Hackett, G. (2004). Counselor education on l esbian, gay, and bisexual issues: Comparing informatio n and attitude exploration. *Counselor Education and S upervision, 43*(3), 179-191.	journal article	US	Y	161	adults	75	82	Y	compares approaches	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
Iyriboz, Y., & Carter, J. A. (1986). Attitudes of a southern university human sexuality class toward sexual varianc e, abortion and homosexuality. *College Student Journa l, 20*(1), 89-93.	journal article	US	N	42	young adults	82	60	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Johnson, M. K., Rowatt, W. C., & LaBouff, J. P. (2011). Re ligiosity and prejudice revisited: In-group favoritism, out-	journal article	US	N	73	young adults	51	78	Y	values	random groups	N	N	N	Y	N

group derogation, or both? *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality,*

Citation																
Kelley, L., Chou, C. L., Dibble, S. L., & Robertson, P. A. (2008). A critical intervention in lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender health: Knowledge and attitude outcomes among second-year medical students. *Teaching and Learning in Medicine, 20*(3), 248-253.	journal article	US	N	75	young adults	44	67	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	Y	N	N
Kennedy, S. A. (1996). Changing attitudes toward lesbian women and gay men through self-confrontation. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 57* (3-)	dissertation	US	N	161	young adults	NR	54	Y	awareness	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Klein, O., Livingston, R., & Snyder, M. (2004). Prejudice on the stage: Self-monitoring and the public expression of group attitudes. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 43*(2), 299-299-314.	journal article	US	N	89	young adults	NR	71	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	N	Y	N	N	N

Citation	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Kochavi, O. (1997). The role of identity development in determining diversity tolerance. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 57* (11-)	dissertation	US	N	58	adults	100	52	N	entertainment	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Lance, L. M. (1987). The effects of interaction with gay persons on attitudes toward homosexuality. *Human Relations, 40*(6), 329-336.	journal article	US	N	46	young adults	NR	NR	Y	contact	non-random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N
Lance, L. M. (1992). Changes in homophobic views as related to interaction with gay persons: A study in the reduction of tensions. *International Journal of Group Tensions, 22*(4), 291-299.	journal article	US	N	228	young adults	NR	70	Y	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Lance, L. M. (1994). Do reductions in homophobia from heterosexual interactions with gay persons continue?: A study of social contact theory of intergroup tensions. *International Journal of Group Tensions, 24*, 423-434.	journal article	US	N	140	young adults	NR	71	Y	contact-plus-education	no comparison	Y	N	N	N	N
Larsen, Knud S.Cate,RodneyReed, Michael. (1983). *Journal of Sex Research, 19*(2), 105-118.	journal article	US	N	314	young adults	NR	NR	N	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Citation																
Lehmiller, J. J., Law, A. T., & Tormala, T. T. (2010). The effect of self-affirmation on sexual prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46*(2), 276-285, Study 1	journal article	US	N	102	young adults	100	50	Y	values	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Lehmiller, J. J., Law, A. T., & Tormala, T. T. (2010). The effect of self-affirmation on sexual prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46*(2), 276-285, Study 2	journal article	US	N	188	young adults	100	40	Y	values	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Lehmiller, J. J., Law, A. T., & Tormala, T. T. (2010). The effect of self-affirmation on sexual prejudice. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46*(2), 276-285, Study 3	journal article	US	N	71	young adults	100	54	Y	values	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Lewis, J. D. (2008). The effects of the workshop, sexual orientation 101: A guide for mental health professionals who do not specialize with sexual minorities on the knowledge, skills and competency levels of participants. ProQuest Information & Learning).*Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 69* (5-)	dissertation	US	N	22	adults	73	87	Y	education	pretest-posttest	N	N	Y	N	N

Citation	Type			N	Age				Topic	Design					
Luhrs, T., Crawford, I., & Goldberg, J. (1991). **The presence of the defensive function as a predictor of heterosexual college students' affective responses toward gay men and lesbians.** *Journal of Psychology & Human Sexuality, 4*(4), 71-87.	journal article	US	N	70	young adults	61	58	Y	entertainment	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Maass, A. (1982). **Internalization and compliance: Differential processes underlying minority influence and conformity. ProQuest Information & Learning).** *Dissertation Abstracts International, 43* (3-), Study 1	dissertation	US	N	84	young adults	NR	100	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Maass, A. (1982). **Internalization and compliance: Differential processes underlying minority influence and conformity. ProQuest Information & Learning).** *Dissertation Abstracts International, 43* (3-), Study 2	dissertation	US	N	48	young adults	NR	63	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
MacLaury, S. D. (1984). **A comparison of three methods of teaching about human sexuality to determine their effectiveness in positively-modifying attitudes about homosexuality. ProQuest Information & Learning).** *Dissertation Abstracts International, 45* (3-)	dissertation	US	N	85	young adults	59	86	Y	compares approaches	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Martin, C. V. (1983). Treatment of homophobia: I. *Corrective & Social Psychiatry & Journal of Behavior Technology, Methods & Therapy, 29*(3), 70-73.	journal article	US	N	24	adults	NR	0	N	entertainment	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
McCleskey, K. E. (1991). The effects of a specialized training program about homosexuality on the knowledge and attitudes of counselor trainees. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 52* (4-)	dissertation	US	N	87	adults	88	70	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
McIntyre, R. B., Lord, C. G., Lewis, S. J., & Frye, G. D. J. (2003). False memories of attitude-relevant actions. *Social Cognition, 21*(6), 395-420, Study 1	journal article	US	N	128	young adults	NR	77	Y	contact	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
McIntyre, R. B., Lord, C. G., Lewis, S. J., & Frye, G. D. J. (2003). False memories of attitude-relevant actions. *Social Cognition, 21*(6), 395-420, Study 2	journal article	US	N	276	young adults	NR	64	Y	contact	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Miller, K. P. (2008). Essentialist beliefs about homosexuality, attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, and religiosity: Change within a structure of interconnected belie	dissertation	US	N	85	young adults	NR	57	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age		Age%		Topic	Design					

fs. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 69* **(5-), Study 1**

Miller, K. P. (2008). Essentialist beliefs about homosexuality, attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, and religiosity: Change within a structure of interconnected beliefs. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 69* **(5-), Study 2**	dissertation	US	N	153	young adults	NR	69	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
Miller, K. P. (2008). Essentialist beliefs about homosexuality, attitudes toward gay men and lesbians, and religiosity: Change within a structure of interconnected beliefs. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 69* **(5-), Study 3**	dissertation	US	N	163	young adults	NR	61	Y	norms/ expertise	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
Minett, S. (2008). *Comparing information versus empathy in decreasing homophobic attitudes:An intervention study.* **Unpublished Senior Research Project, Hanover College, Hanover, IN.**	unpublished report	US	N	34	young adults	NR	71	Y	compares approaches	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Monteith, M. J., Deneen, N. E., & Tooman, G. D. (1996). The effect of social norm activation on the expression of opinions concerning gay men and blacks. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 18*(3), 267-288.	journal article	US	N	168	young adults	NR	NR	Y	norms/ expertise	non-random groups	Y	Y	N	N	N
Monteith, M. J., Spicer, C. V., & Tooman, G. D. (1998). Consequences of stereotype suppression: Stereotypes on AND not on the rebound. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 34*(4), 355-377, Study 1	journal article	US	N	97	young adults	NR	NR	Y	awareness	random groups	N	Y	N	N	N
Monteith, M. J., Spicer, C. V., & Tooman, G. D. (1998). Consequences of stereotype suppression: Stereotypes on AND not on the rebound. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 34*(4), 355-377, Study 2	journal article	US	N	104	young adults	NR	NR	Y	awareness	random groups	N	Y	N	N	N
Morin, S. F. (1974). Educational programs as a means of changing attitudes toward gay people. *Homosexual Counseling Journal, 1*(4), 160-165.	journal article	US	N	18	young adults	NR	50	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Munro, G., & Ditto, P. (1997). Biased assimilation, attitude polarization, and affect in reactions to stereotype-relevant scientific information. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*(6), 636-653, Study 1	journal article	US	N	81	young adults	NR	51	Y	norms/ expertise	pretest-posttest	Y	N	Y	N	N

Munro, G., & Ditto, P. (1997). Biased assimilation, attitude polarization, and affect in reactions to stereotype-relevant scientific information. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*(6), 636-653, Study 2	journal article	US	N	174	young adults	NR	57	Y	norms/ expertise	pretest-posttest	Y	N	Y	N	N
Nelson, E. S., & Krieger, S. L. (1997). Changes in attitudes toward homosexuality in college students: Implementation of a gay men and lesbian peer panel. *Journal of Homosexuality, 33*(2), 63-81.	journal article	US	N	190	young adults	NR	72	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Oldham, J. D., & Kasser, T. (1999). Attitude change in response to information that male homosexuality has a biological basis. *Journal of Sex & Marital Therapy, 25*(2), 121-124.	journal article	US	N	28	young adults	NR	57	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Pagtolun-An, I., & Clair, J. M. (1986). An experimental study of attitudes toward homosexuals. *Deviant Behavior, 7*(2), 121-135.	journal article	US	N	71	young adults	NR	38	Y	contact	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Pereira, A., Benedicta Monteiro, M., & Camino, L. (2009). Social norms and prejudice against homosexuals. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology, 12*(2), 576-584.	journal article	Portugal	Y	136	young adults	NR	68	Y	compares approaches	random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N

Reference	Type								Intervention	Design					
Pettijohn,Terry F.,,II, & Walzer, A. S. (2008). Reducing racism, sexism, and homophobia in college students by completing a psychology of prejudice course. *College Student Journal, 42*(2), 459-468.	journal article	US	N	99	young adults	95	64	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Pratarelli, M. E., & Donaldson, J. S. (1997). Immediate effects of written material on attitudes toward homosexuality. *Psychological Reports, 81*(3), 1411-1415.	journal article	US	N	70	young adults	NR	50	Y	education	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Probst, T. M. (2003). Changing attitudes over time: Assessing the effectiveness of a workplace diversity course. *Teaching of Psychology, 30*(3), 236-239.	journal article	US	N	94	young adults	87	66	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Read, D. V. (1980). A touching case of attitude change toward the homosexual experimenter. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 40* (10-)	dissertation	US	N	100	young adults	NR	0	Y	education	random groups	Y	N	N	N	Y
Reinhardt, B. M. (1995). Effects of gay and lesbian speaker panels on self-report measures of individual homophobia. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts Interna*	dissertation	US	N	320	young adults	86	63	Y	contact-plus-education	random groups	Y	Y	N	N	N

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Riggle, E. D. B., Ellis, A. L., & Crawford, A. M. (1996). The impact of 'media contact' on attitudes toward gay men *. Journal of Homosexuality, 31***(3), 55-69.**	journal article	US	N	82	young adults	NR	NR	Y	entertainm ent	non-random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N
Riggs, D. W., & Fell, G. R. (2010). Teaching cultural comp etency for working with lesbian, gay, bisexual and tran s clients. *Psychology Learning & Teaching, 9***(1), 30-38.**	journal article	Aust ralia	Y	25	young adults	NR	100	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Riggs, A. D., Rosenthal, A. R., & Smith-Bonahue, T. (2011). The impact of a combined cognitiv e–affective intervention on pre-service teachers' attitudes, knowledge, and anticipate d professional behaviors regarding homosexuality and gay and lesbian issues.*Teaching and Teacher Education , 27***(1), 201-209.**	journal article	US	N	67	young adults	77	100	Y	education	random groups	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Riordan, C. (1978). Developing tolerance: A comparison of contextual versus program effects. *International Jou rnal of Intercultural Relations, 2***(3), 309-327.**	journal article	US	N	113	teena gers	52	NR	N	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	N	N	N	Y	N

Reference	Type	Country		N	Age group				Intervention	Design					
Rogers, A., McRee, N., & Arntz, D. L. (2009). Using a college human sexuality course to combat homophobia. *Sex Education, 9*(3), 211-225.	journal article	US	N	128	young adults	NR	72	Y	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Rössler, P., & Brosius, H. (2001). Do talk shows cultivate adolescents' views of the world? A prolonged-exposure experiment. *Journal of Communication, 51*(1), 143-163.	journal article	Germany	N	156	teenagers	NR	59	Y	entertainment	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Rudolph, J. (1989). Effects of a workshop on mental health practitioners' attitudes toward homosexuality and counseling effectiveness. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 68*(1), 81-85.	journal article	US	N	51	adults	NR	NR	N	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	Y	N	N	N
Rye, B. J., & Meaney, G. J. (2009). Impact of a homonegativity awareness workshop on attitudes toward homosexuality. *Journal of Homosexuality, 56*(1), 31-55.	journal article	Canada	N	370	young adults	NR	53	Y	contact-plus-education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Saewyc, E., & Marshall, S. (2011). Reducing homophobia in high school: The effects of "the laramie project" play and an integrated curriculum. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 48*(2), S111-S111.	journal article	Canada	Y	544	teenagers	NR	57	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N

Citation	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Sakalli, N., & Uğurlu, O. (2002). The effects of social contact with a lesbian person on the attitude change toward homosexuality in turkey. *Journal of Homosexuality, 44*(1), 111-119.	journal article	Turkey	N	54	young adults	NR	57	Y	contact	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Scarberry, N. C., Ratcliff, C. D., Lord, C. G., Lanicek, D. L., & Desforges, D. M. (1997). Effects of individuating information on the generalization part of allport's contact hypothesis. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*(12), 1291-1299.	journal article	US	N	33	young adults	NR	48	Y	contact	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Scher, L. J. (2009). Beyond acceptance: An evaluation of the safe zone project in a clinical psychology doctoral program. ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 69* (10-)	dissertation	US	N	37	young adults	NR	NR	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	Y	Y	N	N
Schiappa, E., Gregg, P.B., & Hewes, D.E. (2005). The parasocial contact hypothesis. *Communication Monograph, 72* (1), 92-11, Study 1	journal article	US	N	126	young adults	NR	61	Y	entertainment	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N

Citation															
Schiappa, E., Gregg, P.B., & Hewes, D.E. (2005). The parasocial contact hypothesis. *Communication Monograph, 72* (1), 92-11, Study 2	journal article	US	N	160	young adults	NR	55	Y	entertainment	random groups	Y	N	Y	N	N
Serdahely, W. J., & Ziemba, G. J. (1984). Changing homo phobic attitudes through college sexuality education. *J ournal of Homosexuality, 10*(1-2), 109-116.	journal article	US	N	88	young adults	NR	62	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Slusher, M. P., & - Anderson, C. A. (1990). *AIDS educatio n: Does it change attitudes toward gay men?*	conference papers	US	N	144	NR	NR	52	99	education	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Span, S. A. (2011). Addressing university students' anti-gay bias: An extension of the contact hypothesis. *Amer ican Journal of Sexuality Education, 6*(2), 192-205.	journal article	US	N	104	young adults	35	78	Y	contact	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Stevenson, M. R., & Gajarsky, W. M. (1990). Issues of ge nder in promoting tolerance for homosexuality. *Journa l of Psychology & Human Sexuality, 3*(2), 155-163.	journal article	US	N	90	young adults	92	67	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Story, M. D. (1979). A longitudinal study of the effects of a university human sexuality course on sexual attitude s. *Journal of Sex Research, 15*(3), 184-204.	journal article	US	N	241	young adults	NR	59	Y	education	non-random groups	N	N	N	Y	N

Swank, E., Raiz, L., Faulkner, C., Faulkner, S., & Hesterberg, L. (2008). Comfort with gays and lesbians after a class discussion on homophobia. *American Journal of Sexuality Education, 3*(3), 255-276.	journal article	US	N	748	young adults	73	85	Y	education	non-random groups	N	N	N	Y	N
Taylor, M. E. (1982). A discriminant analysis approach to exploring changes in human sexuality attitudes among university students. *Journal of American College Health, 31*(3), 124-129.	journal article	US	N	115	young adults	NR	NR	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Terrizzi, J. A., Jr., Shook, N. J., & Ventis, W. L. (2010). Disgust: A predictor of social conservatism and prejudicial attitudes toward homosexuals. *Personality and Individual Differences, 49*(6), 587-592.	journal article	US	N	102	young adults	NR	66	Y	emotions/empathy	random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Thomas, J. L., Scott, L. K., & Brooks, C. M. (1980). Attitude change in a human sexuality course that de-emphasizes small group activities. *Medical Education, 14*(4), 254-258.	journal article	US	N	76	young adults	NR	NR	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Tucker, P., Candler, C., Hamm, R. M., Smith, E. M., & Hudson, J. C. (2010). Assessing changes in medical student attitudes toward non-	journal article	US	N	96	young adults	77	40	Y	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N

Reference																
traditional human sexual behaviors using a confidential audience response system. *Sex Education, 10*(1), 37-45.																
Turner, R. N., Crisp, R. J., & Lambert, E. (2007). Imagining intergroup contact can improve intergroup attitudes. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 10*(4), 427-441.	journal article	UK	Y	27	young adults	NR	0	Y	contact	random groups	Y	N	Y	Y	N
Van, d. V. (1995). A comparison of two teaching modules for reducing homophobia in young offenders. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 25*(7), 632-649.	journal article	Australia	N	37	teenagers	51	5	N	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Van, d. V. (1995). Effects on high school students of a teaching module for reducing homophobia. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology, 17*(1-2), 153-172.	journal article	Australia	N	130	teenagers	NR	53	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	Y	N	Y	N
Verma, R. K., Pulerwitz, J., Mahendra, V., Khandekar, S., Barker, G., Fulpagare, P., et al. (2006). Challenging and changing gender attitudes among young men in mumbai, india. *Reproductive Health Matters, 14*(28), 135-143.	journal article	India	Y	92	young adults	NR	0	N	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N

Citation	Type	Country		N	Age				Intervention	Design					
Waldo, C. R., & Kemp, J. L. (1997). Should I come out to my students? an empirical investigation. *Journal of Homosexuality, 34*(2), 79-94.	journal article	US	N	156	young adults	NR	37	Y	contact	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Wallick, M. M., Cambre, K. M., & Townsend, M. H. (1995). Influence of a freshman-year panel presentation on medical students' attitudes toward homosexuality. *Academic Medicine, 70*(9), 839-841.	journal article	US	N	114	young adults	77	34	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Walters, A. S. (1994). Using visual media to reduce homophobia: A classroom demonstration. *Journal of Sex Education & Therapy, 20*(2), 92-100.	journal article	US	N	65	young adults	88	52	Y	education	random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N
Warchal, J. R. (1999). An investigation of racial identity attitudes, racism, sexism, and homophobia in students enrolled in undergraduate diversity courses (college students). ProQuest Information & Learning). *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering, 60* (6-)	dissertation	US	N	91	young adults	100	NR	Y	education	non-random groups	Y	N	N	N	N
Webster, R. J., & Saucier, D. A. (2011). The effects of death reminders on sex differences in prejudice toward ga	journal article	US	N	196	young adults	92	67	Y	values	random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N

y men and lesbians. *Journal of Homosexuality, 58*(3), 402-426, Study 1														
Webster, R. J., & Saucier, D. A. (2011). The effects of death reminders on sex differences in prejudice toward gay men and lesbians. *Journal of Homosexuality, 58*(3), 402-426, Study 2	journal article	US	N	73	young adults	92	63	Y	values	random groups	Y	N	N	Y	N
Wells, J. W. (1991). What makes a difference? various teaching strategies to reduce homophobia in university students. *Annals of Sex Research, 4*(3-4), 229-238.	journal article	US	N	141	young adults	NR	66	Y	compares approaches	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Wright Jr., Lester W.Cullen, Jenifer M. (2001). Reducing college students' homophobia, erotophobia, and conservatism levels through a human sexuality course. *Journal of Sex Education & Therapy, 26*(4), 328.	journal article	US	N	97	young adults	83	62	Y	contact-plus-education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N
Young, E. W. (1988). Nurses' attitudes toward homosexuality: Analysis of change in AIDS workshops. *Journal of Continuing Education in Nursing, 19*(1), 9-12.	journal article	US	N	22	adults	NR	NR	N	education	pretest-posttest	N	N	N	Y	N
Young, E. W., Koch, P. B., & Preston, D. B. (1989). AIDS and homosexuality: A longitudinal study of knowledge	journal article	US	N	134	adults	NR	NR	N	education	pretest-posttest	Y	N	N	N	N

and attitude change among rural nurses. *Public Health Nursing (Boston, Mass.), 6*(4), 189-196.

APPENDIX B.   Missing Data in the World Values Survey (Chapter 4)

An initial inspection of missing data revealed serious problems. Frequent changes in questionnaire contents makes diachronic patterns difficult to examine. For example, respondents' education was not examined prior to 1994 in any country of interest. I managed missing data by listwise deletion and by selecting variables with as few missing cases as possible. About 78% of the cases in Analysis 1 (4,145 out of 5,296) and 88% of the cases in Analysis 2 (8,567 out of 9,722) were complete on all variables. See Table B1 for details. The income variable (x047) had a particularly large proportion of missing data in the UK. Moreover, question x047 was not asked in the UK in Wave 6 and data from x047c had to be used instead (see Chapter 4, Analysis 1). I therefore I repeated all the procedures in Chapter 4, Analysis 1 excluding income, in order to assess the bias introduced by the issues in measuring this variable. The results were not meaningfully different from those reported in the chapter (see also Appendix C for a complete R output).

Table B1.

Percent of Missing Data in the Variables of Interest, By Country and By Wave.

Country	Wave	*n*	X001	X003	X025	X047	A124_09	F118	Y002	F034	G006	Auth
Romania	2	1103	full	full	NAIS	0.27	full	2.09	3.17	1.54	1.36	full
	6	1503	full	0.20	2.13	1.66	full	8.12	3.46	2.40	1.33	full
UK	2	1484	full	0.61	NAIS	25.81	full	3.44	3.50	4.25	4.51	full
	6	1561	full	0.70	5.19	30.56	full	3.20	3.72	3.78	7.30	full
US	2	1839	full	0.05	NAIS	7.78	full	3.05	3.59	2.94	2.50	full
	6	2232	full	full	0.36	2.87	full	3.27	2.02	1.48	4.75	full

Note. The variables labelled as in the World Values Survey: Sex (x001), Age (x003), Highest educational level attained (x025), Neighbours: homosexuals (a124_09), Justifiable: homosexuality (f118), Postmaterialism index (y002), Religious (f034), Proud of nationality (g006); Auth = Authoritarianism (ad hoc). N/D = no data was collected in the respective wave for the respective country; NAIS = not asked in survey; full = no missing data

APPENDIX C.   R Syntax and Output for the Structural Equation Models in Chapter 4

R syntax and outputs are provided for Analyses 1 and 2 in Chapter 4. Command lines start with a greater-than symbol (>) or a plus sign (+). Lines starting with a hash (#) contain comments and are not executed by R. Output is contained in lines that start with letters or numbers.

Testing a Cross-Sectional Model of Homophobia in the US, the UK and Romania (Chapter 4, Analysis 1)

```
> library(lavaan)
This is lavaan 0.5-19
lavaan is BETA software! Please report any bugs.
> data<-read.csv("C:/…/WVS6usukro.csv")
> model<-'latent=~f118dic+A124_09
+ latent~X001+X003+X025+x047rec+f034dic+auth+Y002+g006dic'
> fit.groups<-sem(model,data=data,group="S003")
> summary(fit.groups,fit.measures=TRUE,standardized=TRUE,ci=TRUE)
```

```
lavaan (0.5-19) converged normally after  89 iterations

                                             Used       Total
  Number of observations per group
  642                                        1264        1503
  826                                         864        1561
  840                                        2017        2232


  Estimator                                    ML
  Minimum Function Test Statistic          35.939
  Degrees of freedom                           21
  P-value (Chi-square)                      0.022


Chi-square for each group:

  642                                      13.780
  826                                      11.724
  840                                      10.435


Model test baseline model:

  Minimum Function Test Statistic        1567.143
  Degrees of freedom                           51
  P-value                                   0.000
```

```
User model versus baseline model:

  Comparative Fit Index (CFI)                     0.990
  Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI)                        0.976


Loglikelihood and Information Criteria:

  Loglikelihood user model (H0)          -54500.559
  Loglikelihood unrestricted model (H1)  -54482.590

  Number of free parameters                       42
  Akaike (AIC)                            109085.119
  Bayesian (BIC)                          109350.964
  Sample-size adjusted Bayesian (BIC)     109217.506


Root Mean Square Error of Approximation:

  RMSEA                                           0.023
  90 Percent Confidence Interval        0.009  0.035
  P-value RMSEA <= 0.05                            1.000


Standardized Root Mean Square Residual:
```

```
    SRMR                                              0.009


  Parameter Estimates:


    Information                             Expected
    Standard Errors                         Standard



Group 1 [642]:


Latent Variables:
                Estimate  Std.Err  Z-value  P(>|z|) ci.lower ci.upper   Std.lv  Std.all
  latent =~
    f118dic        1.000                                      1.000    1.000    0.332    0.735
    A124_09        0.728    0.076    9.620    0.000    0.580    0.876    0.242    0.488


Regressions:
                Estimate  Std.Err  Z-value  P(>|z|) ci.lower ci.upper   Std.lv  Std.all
  latent ~
    X001         -0.049    0.023   -2.174    0.030   -0.093   -0.005   -0.148   -0.073
    X003          0.002    0.001    3.443    0.001    0.001    0.004    0.007    0.125
    X025         -0.041    0.007   -5.825    0.000   -0.055   -0.027   -0.124   -0.221
    x047rec      -0.024    0.006   -3.790    0.000   -0.037   -0.012   -0.073   -0.131
    f034dic       0.106    0.031    3.373    0.001    0.044    0.167    0.318    0.116
```

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
auth	0.013	0.012	1.061	0.289	-0.011	0.036	0.038	0.035
Y002	-0.115	0.019	-5.922	0.000	-0.153	-0.077	-0.346	-0.203
g006dic	0.115	0.023	4.961	0.000	0.070	0.160	0.346	0.173

Intercepts:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
f118dic	1.029	0.082	12.514	0.000	0.868	1.191	1.029	2.279
A124_09	0.796	0.063	12.544	0.000	0.671	0.920	0.796	1.606
latent	0.000				0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Variances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
f118dic	0.094	0.012	8.142	0.000	0.071	0.116	0.094	0.459
A124_09	0.187	0.009	19.867	0.000	0.169	0.206	0.187	0.762
latent	0.078	0.011	6.853	0.000	0.055	0.100	0.703	0.703

Group 2 [826]:

Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent =~								
f118dic	1.000				1.000	1.000	0.258	0.629
A124_09	0.619	0.077	8.046	0.000	0.468	0.769	0.160	0.537

```
Regressions:
                   Estimate  Std.Err  Z-value  P(>|z|) ci.lower ci.upper   Std.lv  Std.all
  latent ~
    X001             -0.100    0.024   -4.214    0.000   -0.147   -0.054   -0.389   -0.193
    X003              0.004    0.001    5.210    0.000    0.002    0.005    0.014    0.253
    X025             -0.022    0.007   -3.197    0.001   -0.035   -0.008   -0.085   -0.165
    x047rec          -0.013    0.005   -2.367    0.018   -0.023   -0.002   -0.049   -0.119
    f034dic           0.020    0.024    0.847    0.397   -0.027    0.067    0.078    0.039
    auth              0.045    0.012    3.672    0.000    0.021    0.069    0.174    0.171
    Y002             -0.041    0.019   -2.209    0.027   -0.078   -0.005   -0.160   -0.098
    g006dic           0.042    0.023    1.797    0.072   -0.004    0.087    0.161    0.080


Intercepts:
                   Estimate  Std.Err  Z-value  P(>|z|) ci.lower ci.upper   Std.lv  Std.all
    f118dic           0.345    0.087    3.987    0.000    0.175    0.515    0.345    0.839
    A124_09           0.179    0.054    3.307    0.001    0.073    0.285    0.179    0.600
    latent            0.000                               0.000    0.000    0.000    0.000


Variances:
                   Estimate  Std.Err  Z-value  P(>|z|) ci.lower ci.upper   Std.lv  Std.all
    f118dic           0.102    0.010   10.655    0.000    0.083    0.121    0.102    0.605
    A124_09           0.063    0.004   14.426    0.000    0.055    0.072    0.063    0.712
    latent            0.047    0.009    5.481    0.000    0.030    0.064    0.700    0.700
```

Group 3 [840]:

Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent =~								
f118dic	1.000				1.000	1.000	0.357	0.824
A124_09	0.662	0.050	13.279	0.000	0.564	0.760	0.236	0.579

Regressions:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent ~								
X001	-0.051	0.017	-2.917	0.004	-0.085	-0.017	-0.143	-0.071
X003	0.000	0.001	0.751	0.453	-0.001	0.001	0.001	0.019
X025	-0.022	0.008	-2.830	0.005	-0.037	-0.007	-0.062	-0.072
x047rec	-0.022	0.006	-3.934	0.000	-0.034	-0.011	-0.063	-0.099
f034dic	0.158	0.020	8.053	0.000	0.120	0.197	0.443	0.207
auth	0.107	0.009	12.006	0.000	0.090	0.125	0.301	0.305
Y002	0.007	0.014	0.497	0.619	-0.020	0.033	0.019	0.012
g006dic	0.051	0.019	2.718	0.007	0.014	0.087	0.142	0.069

Intercepts:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
f118dic	0.223	0.073	3.060	0.002	0.080	0.366	0.223	0.516
A124_09	0.193	0.049	3.963	0.000	0.098	0.289	0.193	0.473
latent	0.000				0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Variances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
f118dic	0.060	0.009	6.605	0.000	0.042	0.078	0.060	0.321
A124_09	0.111	0.005	21.129	0.000	0.100	0.121	0.111	0.665
latent	0.100	0.009	10.558	0.000	0.081	0.118	0.785	0.785

```
#Constrained model
> fit.const<-sem(model,data=data,group="S003",group.equal=c("intercepts","loadings","regressions"))
> fitMeasures(fit.const,c("chisq","df","pvalue","cfi","tli","rmsea"))
  chisq      df  pvalue      cfi     tli   rmsea
221.964  41.000   0.000    0.881   0.852   0.057
#Modification indices
> MI<-modificationIndices(fit.const)
> subset(MI,mi>3.83)
```

	lhs	op	rhs	group	mi	epc	sepc.lv	sepc.all	sepc.nox
1	latent	=~	f118dic	1	9.550	0.262	0.082	0.186	0.186
61	latent	=~	f118dic	2	40.312	-0.194	-0.049	-0.117	-0.117
121	latent	=~	f118dic	3	26.347	0.154	0.050	0.117	0.117
244	auth	~	latent	1	11.785	-0.359	-0.112	-0.121	-0.121
252	Y002	~	latent	1	9.924	-0.207	-0.065	-0.111	-0.111

```
#Adjusted constrained model
> model.rev<-'latent=~f118dic+A124_09
+latent~c(b2,b2,b2)*X001+c(b3,b3,b3)*X003+c(b4,b4,b4)*X025+c(b5,b5,b5)*x047rec+c(b6,b6,b6)*f034dic+c(b10,b7,b7)*au
th+c(b11,b8,b8)*Y002+c(b9,b9,b9)*g006dic'
> fit.rev<-sem(model.rev,data=data, group="S003")
> fitMeasures(fit.rev,c("chisq","df","pvalue","cfi","tli","rmsea"))
  chisq      df  pvalue     cfi     tli   rmsea
104.679  35.000   0.000   0.954   0.933   0.038


#Comparison of constrained and adjusted model
> anova(fit.const,fit.rev)
Chi Square Difference Test


           Df    AIC    BIC  Chisq Chisq diff Df diff Pr(>Chisq)
fit.rev    35 109126 109303 104.68
fit.const  41 109231 109370 221.96     117.28       6  < 2.2e-16 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
```

Testing a Model for the Change of Homophobia in the US, the UK and Romania (Chapter 4, Analysis 2)

```
> library(lavaan)
This is lavaan 0.5-19
lavaan is BETA software! Please report any bugs.
```

```
> data<-read.csv("C:/…/change.csv")

> change<-'#measurement

+ latent=~f118dic+A124_09

+ #outcome model

+ latent~b1*auth+b2*Y002+b3*f034dic+b4*g006dic+c*wave

+ #mediator models

+ auth~a1*wave

+ Y002~a2*wave

+ f034dic~a3*wave

+ g006dic~a4*wave

+ #indirect effects

+ medauth:=a1*b1

+ medY002:=a2*b2

+ medf0034dic:=a3*b3

+ medg006dic:=a4*b4

+ sumind:=(a1*b1)+(a2*b2)+(a3*b3)+(a4*b4)

+ #total effect

+ total:=c+(a1*b1)+(a2*b2)+(a3*b3)+(a4*b4)'

> fit.change<-sem(change,data=data,group="S003")

> fitMeasures(fit.change,c("chisq","df","pvalue","cfi","tli","rmsea"))

  chisq      df  pvalue     cfi     tli   rmsea
650.085  30.000   0.000   0.859   0.705   0.085

>  summary(fit.change,fit.measures=TRUE,standardized=TRUE,ci=TRUE)

lavaan (0.5-19) converged normally after  77 iterations
```

```
                                            Used        Total
   Number of observations per group
   642                                       2315         2606
   826                                       2563         3045
   840                                       3689         4071


   Estimator                                   ML
   Minimum Function Test Statistic        650.085
   Degrees of freedom                          30
   P-value (Chi-square)                     0.000


Chi-square for each group:


   642                                    128.399
   826                                    178.836
   840                                    342.850


Model test baseline model:


   Minimum Function Test Statistic       4470.513
   Degrees of freedom                          63
   P-value                                  0.000
```

```
User model versus baseline model:

  Comparative Fit Index (CFI)                      0.859
  Tucker-Lewis Index (TLI)                         0.705


Loglikelihood and Information Criteria:

  Loglikelihood user model (H0)         -46293.310
  Loglikelihood unrestricted model (H1) -45968.267


  Number of free parameters                   69
  Akaike (AIC)                          92724.620
  Bayesian (BIC)                        93211.462
  Sample-size adjusted Bayesian (BIC)   92992.192


Root Mean Square Error of Approximation:

  RMSEA                                            0.085
  90 Percent Confidence Interval      0.079  0.091
  P-value RMSEA <= 0.05                            0.000


Standardized Root Mean Square Residual:

  SRMR                                             0.049
```

Parameter Estimates:

Information   Expected
Standard Errors   Standard

Group 1 [642]:

Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent =~								
f118dic	1.000				1.000	1.000	0.270	0.662
A124_09	0.948	0.076	12.519	0.000	0.799	1.096	0.256	0.542

Regressions:

		Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent ~									
auth	(b1)	0.021	0.008	2.588	0.010	0.005	0.036	0.077	0.070
Y002	(b2)	-0.118	0.012	-9.686	0.000	-0.142	-0.094	-0.437	-0.265
f034dic	(b3)	0.103	0.018	5.760	0.000	0.068	0.138	0.382	0.154
g006dic	(b4)	0.122	0.015	8.352	0.000	0.093	0.150	0.450	0.225
wave	(c)	-0.155	0.016	-9.979	0.000	-0.186	-0.125	-0.575	-0.285
auth ~									

		Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
wave	(a1)	-0.481	0.037	-12.993	0.000	-0.554	-0.409	-0.481	-0.261
Y002 ~									
wave	(a2)	0.137	0.025	5.443	0.000	0.088	0.187	0.137	0.112
f034dic ~									
wave	(a3)	0.102	0.017	6.130	0.000	0.070	0.135	0.102	0.126
g006dic ~									
wave	(a4)	-0.024	0.021	-1.138	0.255	-0.065	0.017	-0.024	-0.024

Intercepts:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
f118dic	0.892	0.032	27.695	0.000	0.829	0.955	0.892	2.187
A124_09	0.757	0.031	24.138	0.000	0.696	0.819	0.757	1.602
auth	2.226	0.028	80.360	0.000	2.172	2.281	2.226	2.429
Y002	1.629	0.019	86.314	0.000	1.592	1.666	1.629	2.685
f034dic	0.739	0.013	59.119	0.000	0.715	0.764	0.739	1.836
g006dic	0.490	0.016	31.353	0.000	0.460	0.521	0.490	0.981
latent	0.000				0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Variances:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
f118dic	0.093	0.006	14.743	0.000	0.081	0.106	0.093	0.561
A124_09	0.158	0.007	22.830	0.000	0.144	0.172	0.158	0.707
auth	0.783	0.023	34.022	0.000	0.738	0.828	0.783	0.932
Y002	0.363	0.011	34.022	0.000	0.343	0.384	0.363	0.987

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
f034dic	0.159	0.005	34.022	0.000	0.150	0.169	0.159	0.984
g006dic	0.249	0.007	34.022	0.000	0.235	0.264	0.249	0.999
latent	0.055	0.006	9.232	0.000	0.043	0.066	0.750	0.750

Group 2 [826]:

Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent =~								
f118dic	1.000				1.000	1.000	0.302	0.645
A124_09	0.851	0.061	13.915	0.000	0.731	0.971	0.257	0.622

Regressions:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent ~								
auth	0.063	0.008	8.060	0.000	0.048	0.079	0.209	0.205
Y002	-0.059	0.012	-4.884	0.000	-0.082	-0.035	-0.194	-0.121
f034dic	0.067	0.015	4.474	0.000	0.038	0.096	0.222	0.111
g006dic	0.090	0.015	6.004	0.000	0.061	0.120	0.299	0.149
wave	-0.199	0.016	-12.174	0.000	-0.231	-0.167	-0.658	-0.329
auth ~								
wave	-0.196	0.038	-5.081	0.000	-0.271	-0.120	-0.196	-0.100
Y002 ~								

```
    wave            0.095    0.025    3.867    0.000    0.047    0.143    0.095    0.076
  f034dic ~
    wave           -0.101    0.020   -5.157    0.000   -0.140   -0.063   -0.101   -0.101
  g006dic ~
    wave            0.020    0.020    1.000    0.317   -0.019    0.058    0.020    0.020


Intercepts:
                  Estimate  Std.Err  Z-value  P(>|z|)  ci.lower  ci.upper   Std.lv   Std.all
    f118dic         0.344    0.032   10.620    0.000    0.280    0.407    0.344    0.733
    A124_09         0.232    0.028    8.402    0.000    0.178    0.286    0.232    0.561
    auth            2.032    0.027   74.586    0.000    1.979    2.085    2.032    2.076
    Y002            1.977    0.017  113.535    0.000    1.942    2.011    1.977    3.167
    f034dic         0.577    0.014   41.501    0.000    0.549    0.604    0.577    1.155
    g006dic         0.524    0.014   37.578    0.000    0.497    0.552    0.524    1.051
    latent          0.000                               0.000    0.000    0.000    0.000


Variances:
                  Estimate  Std.Err  Z-value  P(>|z|)  ci.lower  ci.upper   Std.lv   Std.all
    f118dic         0.128    0.007   17.512    0.000    0.114    0.142    0.128    0.583
    A124_09         0.105    0.005   19.150    0.000    0.094    0.116    0.105    0.613
    auth            0.949    0.026   35.798    0.000    0.897    1.001    0.949    0.990
    Y002            0.387    0.011   35.798    0.000    0.366    0.409    0.387    0.994
    f034dic         0.247    0.007   35.798    0.000    0.233    0.260    0.247    0.990
    g006dic         0.249    0.007   35.798    0.000    0.235    0.262    0.249    1.000
```

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent	0.071	0.007	10.608	0.000	0.058	0.084	0.775	0.775

Group 3 [840]:

Latent Variables:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent =~								
f118dic	1.000				1.000	1.000	0.393	0.820
A124_09	0.623	0.034	18.080	0.000	0.556	0.691	0.245	0.544

Regressions:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
latent ~								
auth	0.107	0.007	15.516	0.000	0.093	0.121	0.272	0.278
Y002	-0.030	0.011	-2.756	0.006	-0.051	-0.009	-0.076	-0.049
f034dic	0.170	0.016	10.360	0.000	0.138	0.202	0.432	0.187
g006dic	0.084	0.015	5.599	0.000	0.055	0.113	0.214	0.100
wave	-0.230	0.015	-15.677	0.000	-0.258	-0.201	-0.584	-0.290
auth ~								
wave	-0.193	0.034	-5.719	0.000	-0.259	-0.127	-0.193	-0.094
Y002 ~								
wave	-0.105	0.021	-4.993	0.000	-0.147	-0.064	-0.105	-0.082
f034dic ~								

```
    wave            -0.162   0.014  -11.541   0.000   -0.190   -0.135   -0.162   -0.187
  g006dic ~
    wave            -0.147   0.015   -9.586   0.000   -0.177   -0.117   -0.147   -0.156


Intercepts:
                   Estimate  Std.Err  Z-value  P(>|z|) ci.lower ci.upper   Std.lv  Std.all
    f118dic           0.191    0.033    5.771    0.000    0.126    0.256    0.191    0.399
    A124_09           0.172    0.022    7.811    0.000    0.129    0.215    0.172    0.382
    auth              1.883    0.025   75.107    0.000    1.834    1.933    1.883    1.843
    Y002              2.055    0.016  131.078    0.000    2.025    2.086    2.055    3.220
    f034dic           0.841    0.010   80.285    0.000    0.820    0.861    0.841    1.944
    g006dic           0.755    0.011   66.069    0.000    0.732    0.777    0.755    1.609
    latent            0.000                               0.000    0.000    0.000    0.000


Variances:
                   Estimate  Std.Err  Z-value  P(>|z|) ci.lower ci.upper   Std.lv  Std.all
    f118dic           0.075    0.008    9.313    0.000    0.059    0.091    0.075    0.327
    A124_09           0.143    0.005   31.637    0.000    0.134    0.152    0.143    0.704
    auth              1.035    0.024   42.948    0.000    0.988    1.082    1.035    0.991
    Y002              0.405    0.009   42.948    0.000    0.386    0.423    0.405    0.993
    f034dic           0.181    0.004   42.948    0.000    0.172    0.189    0.181    0.965
    g006dic           0.215    0.005   42.948    0.000    0.205    0.224    0.215    0.976
    latent            0.115    0.008   13.856    0.000    0.099    0.132    0.746    0.746
```

Defined Parameters:

	Estimate	Std.Err	Z-value	P(>|z|)	ci.lower	ci.upper	Std.lv	Std.all
medauth	-0.010	0.004	-2.538	0.011	-0.018	-0.002	-0.037	-0.018
medY002	-0.016	0.003	-4.745	0.000	-0.023	-0.010	-0.060	-0.030
medf0034dic	0.011	0.003	4.198	0.000	0.006	0.016	0.039	0.019
medg006dic	-0.003	0.003	-1.128	0.260	-0.008	0.002	-0.011	-0.005
sumind	-0.018	0.006	-2.924	0.003	-0.031	-0.006	-0.068	-0.034
total	-0.174	0.016	-11.104	0.000	-0.204	-0.143	-0.643	-0.319

APPENDIX D.   Scatterplots for the Change Rates of Homophobia and Its Predictors

(Chapter 4, Analysis 4)

Scatterplots have been constructed for all the two-way relationships between (1) the change rates of two measures of homophobia (social distance and moral rejection); and (2) the change rates of five predictors of homophobia (postmaterialism, religiosity, authoritarianism, national pride and gross domestic product) in 37 European countries. The full list of the countries and their two-letter abbreviations are given in Chapter 4, Analysis 3. Scatterplots (Figures D1-D8) are given below, with the exception of those for social distance and postmaterialism, and respectively moral rejection and authoritarianism; these two scatterplots have been provided in Chapter 4 (Figures 3 and 4).

The syntax for producing Figure D1 is provided here as an example:

```
#R library and data activation
> data<-read.csv("C:/Users/sb00366/Dropbox/wvs/countries.csv")
> library(ggplot2)
#define regions
> Region<-factor(data$postsoc,levels=c(0,1),labels=c("West","East"))
#scatterplots
> scatter<-ggplot(data, aes(x=authrate, y=a124rate, shape=Region, label=name))
+geom_smooth(method=lm,se=FALSE,fullrange=TRUE,aes(linetype=Region),
color="black",size=0.65)+geom_point()+theme(legend.position="right")
>
scatter+scale_shape_manual(values=c(19,0))+scale_linetype_manual(val
ues= c(1,2))+xlab("Authoritarianism (change rate)")+ylab("Social
distance                (change                rate)")+geom_text(hjust=-
0.5,vjust=0,size=3)+theme_classic()
```

Figure D1.

Scatterplot of the change rates of social distance and authoritarianism in Eastern and Western European countries.
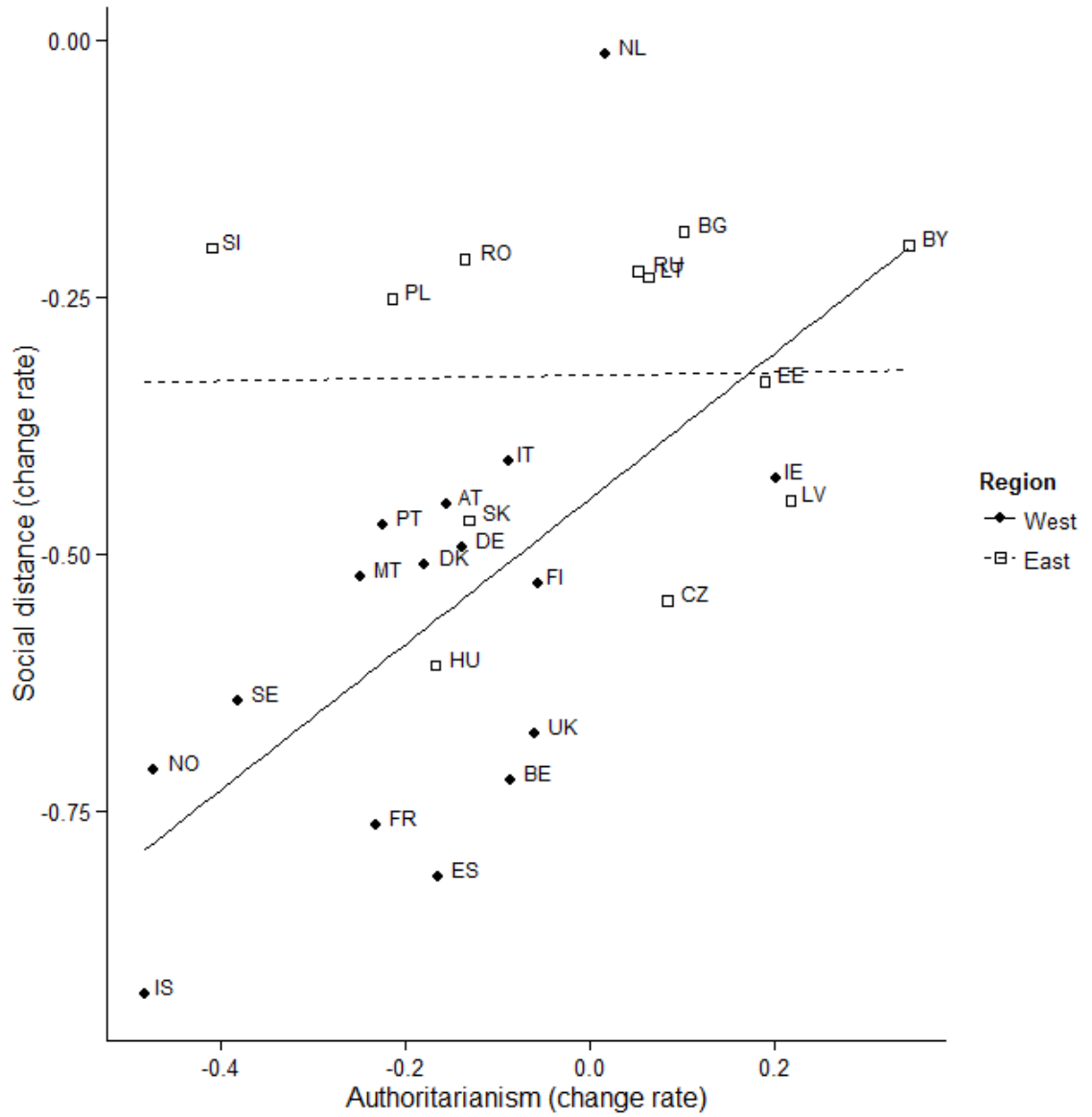
Figure D2.

Scatterplot of the change rates of social distance and religiosity in Eastern and Western European countries.
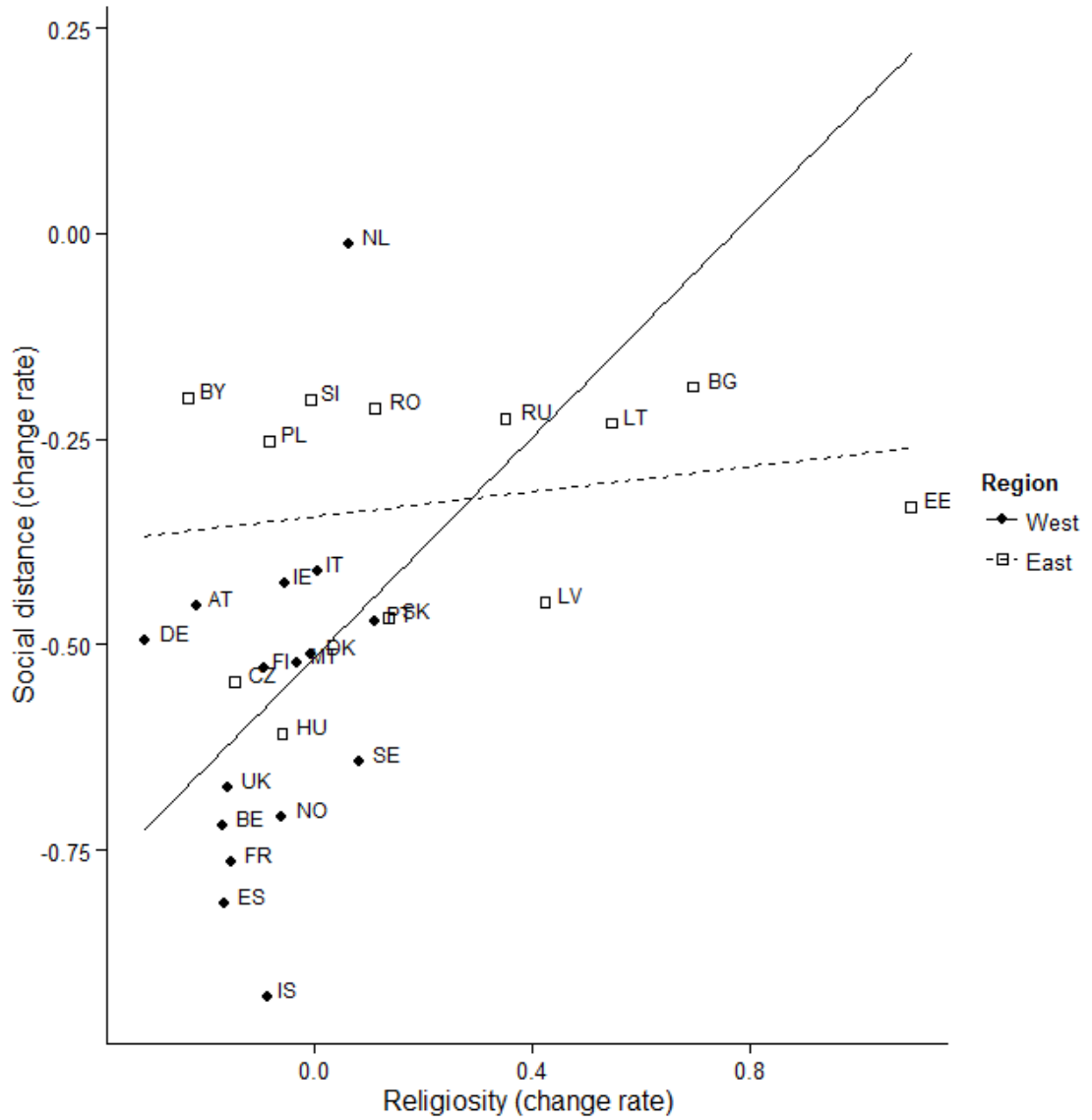
Figure D3.

Scatterplot of the change rates of social distance and national pride in Eastern and Western European countries.
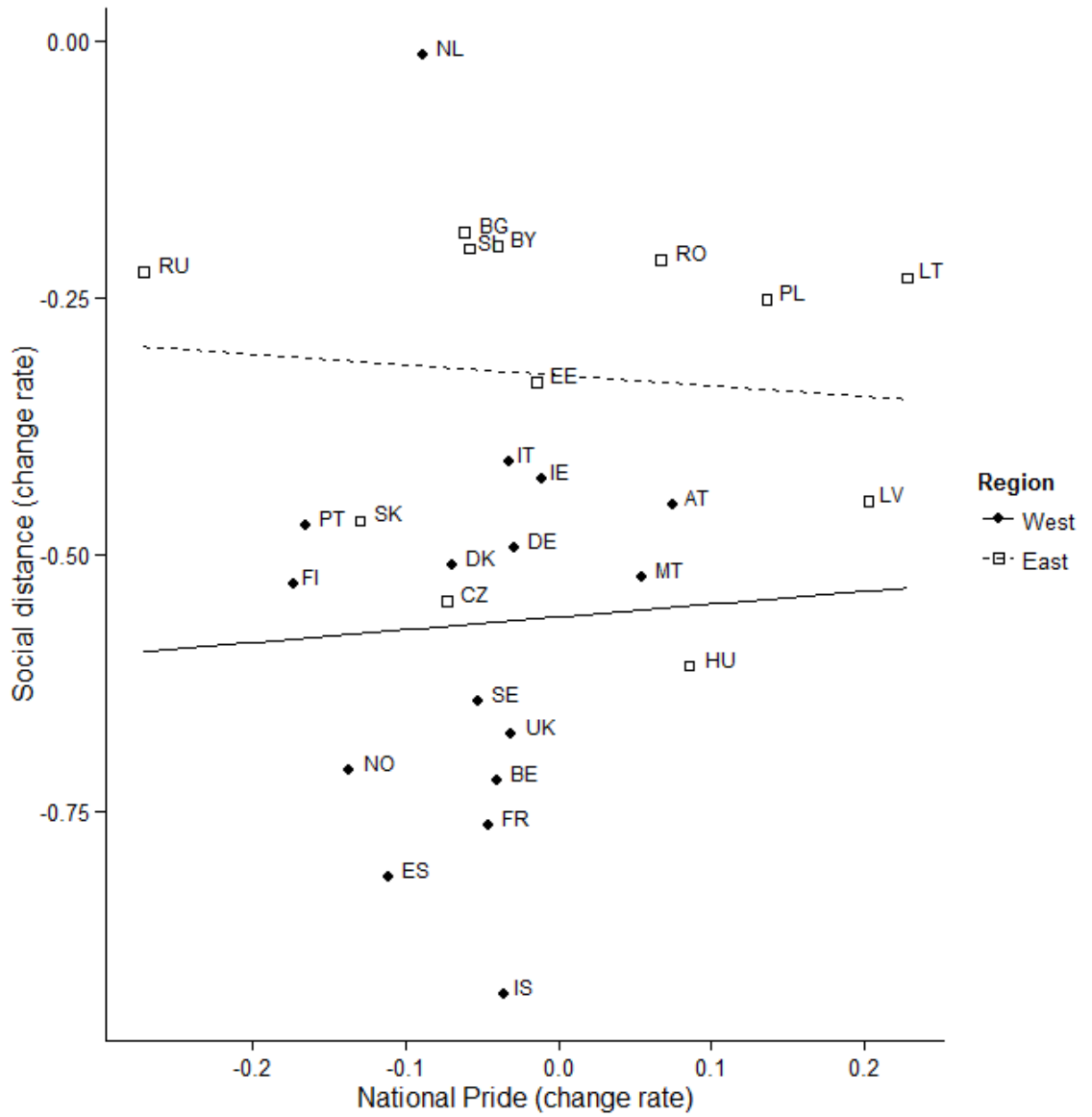
Figure D4.

Scatterplot of the change rates of social distance and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in Eastern and Western European countries.
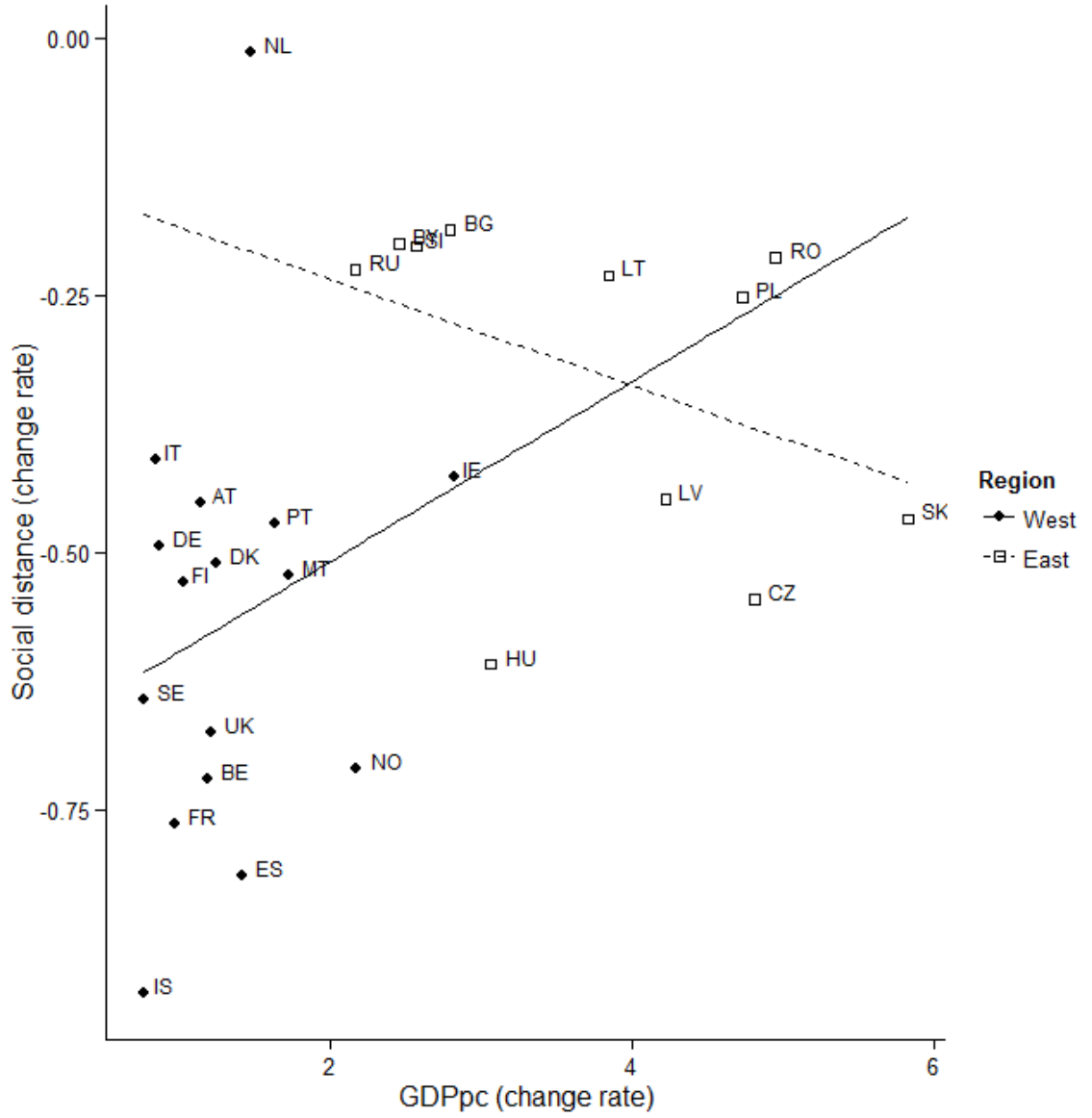
Figure D5.

Scatterplot of the change rates of moral rejection and postmaterialism in Eastern and Western European countries.
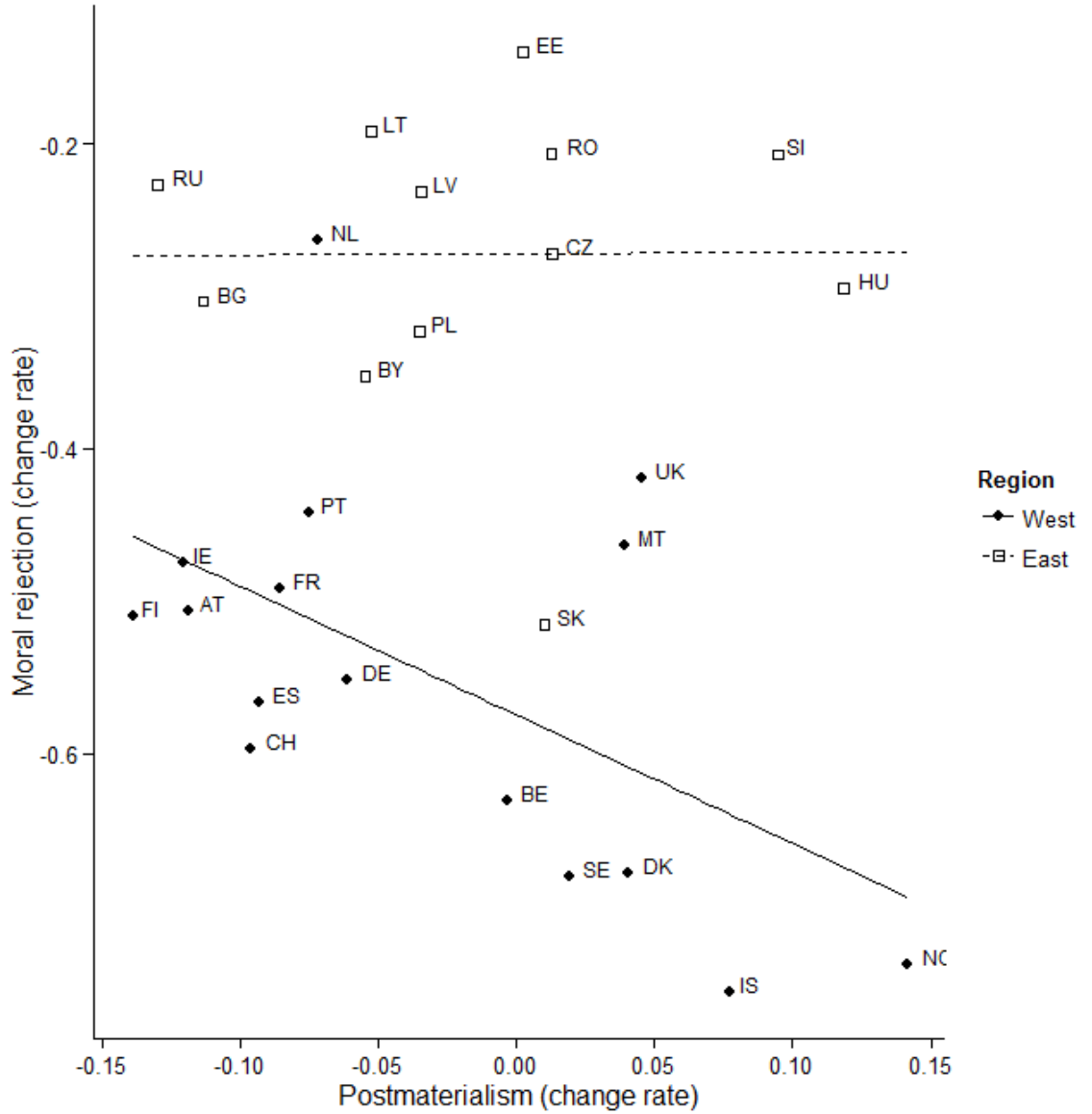
Figure D6.

Scatterplot of the change rates of moral rejection and religiosity in Eastern and Western European countries.
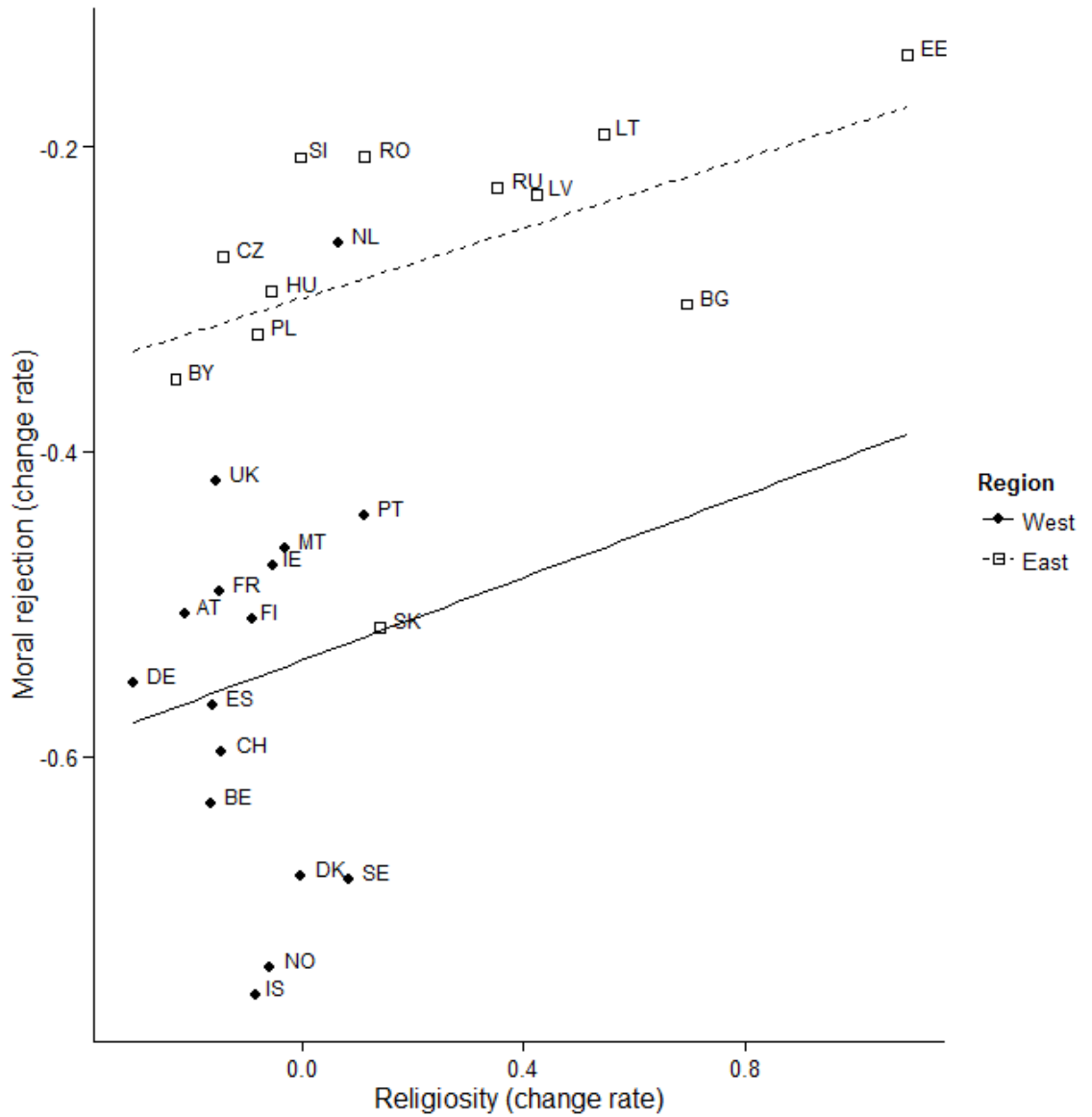
Figure D7.

Scatterplot of the change rates of moral rejection and national pride in Eastern and Western European countries.
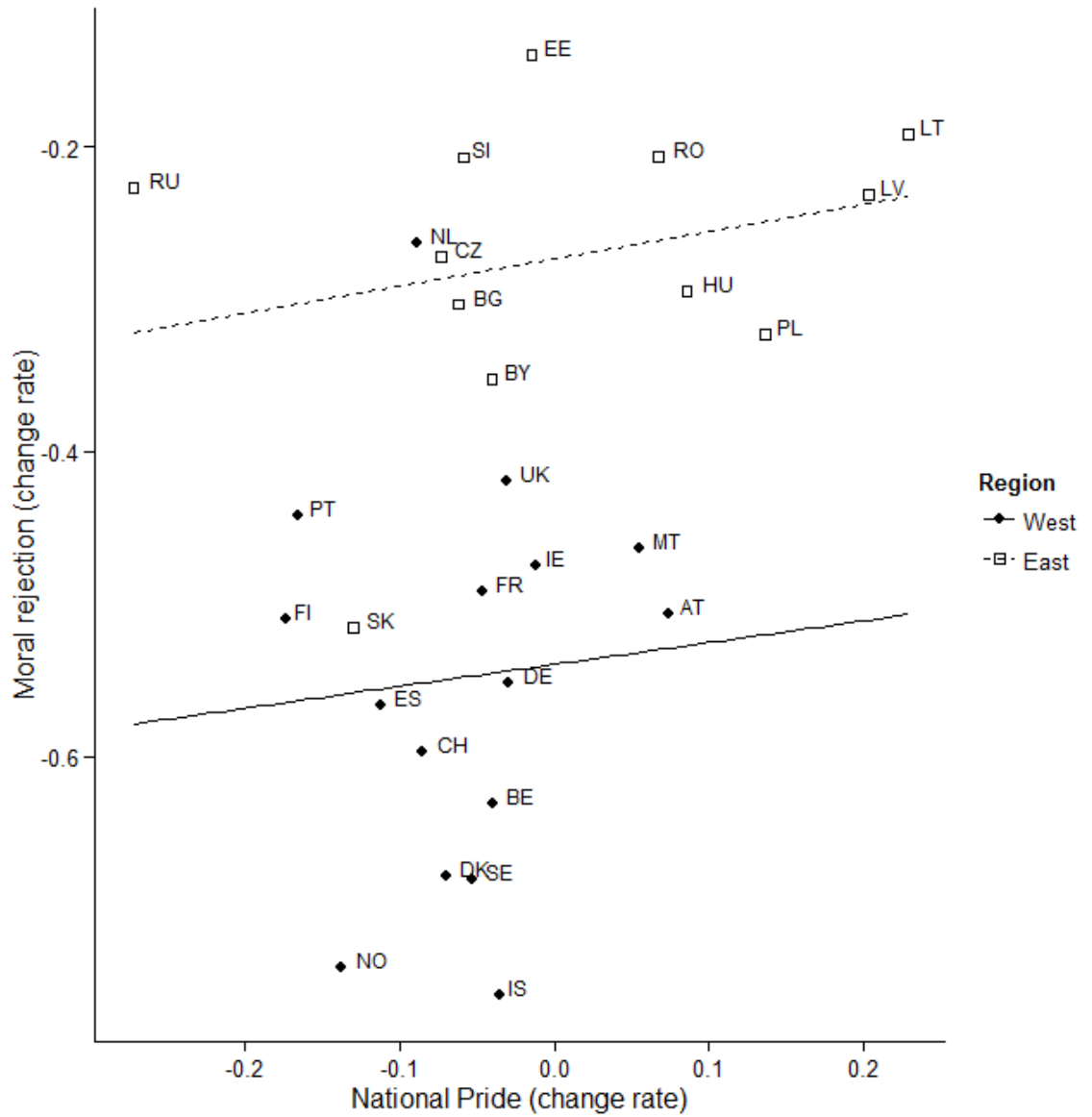
Figure D8.

Scatterplot of the change rates of moral rejection and gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in Eastern and Western European countries.
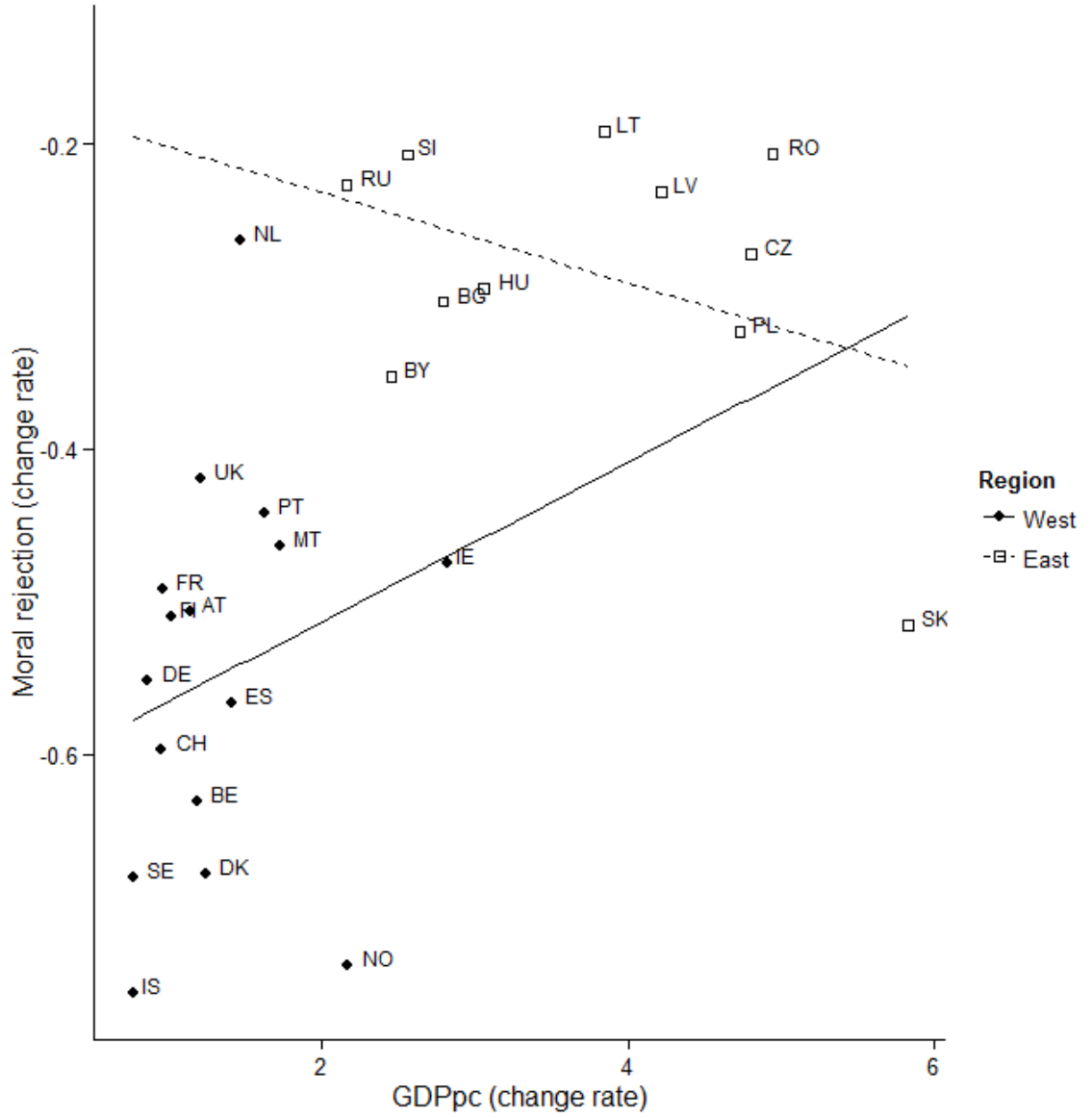
APPENDIX E.   Protocol and Ethical Opinion for the Experiment in Chapter 6

English Language Protocol

Info and consent

Personal Values in Romania and the UK

Participant Information Sheet

Introduction

I am a PhD student at the University of Surrey, and I would like to invite you to take part in a research project. Before you decide you need to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve for you. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Talk to others about the study if you wish.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study seeks to understand people's values and opinions about a series of current social issues.

Why have I been invited to take part in the study?

You have been invited to participate because we are looking for young people in the UK.

Do I have to take part?

No, you do not have to participate. There will be no adverse consequences in terms of your education, that is, there will be no impact on your assessment or class of degree. You can withdraw at any time without giving a reason.

What will my involvement require?

You will be asked to fill out an online survey asking for your opinions on various topics. This should take no more than 30 minutes.

What will I have to do?

If you would like to take part please click 'Next' below and follow the instructions.

What are the possible disadvantages or risks of taking part?
It is unlikely that participating in this research will cause you any trouble. However, some of the questions in the survey may ask about current social issues such as ethnicity, sexuality or religion. These may be sensitive topics for some people. However, we don't expect that any of the questions will be particularly upsetting.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?
It is unlikely that you will benefit directly but it is hoped that you may enjoy sharing your opinions on various current topics. After completing this study, your email address will be entered into a prize draw for one of three £50 Amazon vouchers.

What happens when the research study stops?
You may withdraw at any time without giving any explanation and without any
consequences. However, we cannot give enter you into the prize draw unless you complete the study. If you complete the survey, you will be entered into a prize draw for one of three £50 Amazon vouchers.

What if there is a problem?
Any complaint or concern about any aspect of the way you have been dealt with during the course of the study will be addressed; please contact Sebastian Bartos on 01483 683971, s.bartos@surrey.ac.uk . You may also contact Dr Peter Hegarty, Head of School and supervisor of this study, on 01483 686898, p.hegarty@surrey.ac.uk .

If you experienced any distress related to this study, you may wish to contact the
University's Centre for Wellbeing, in Building 23, University Court, University of Surrey; you can call them on 01483 68 9498 or email centreforwellbeing@surrey.ac.uk. Alternatively, you may want to call the Samaritans on 08457 909090.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?
Yes. All of the information you give will be anonymised so that those reading reports from the research will not know who has contributed to it. Data will be stored securely in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

Contact details of the researcher and supervisor:

Sebastian Bartos
University of Surrey, room 18AC04
Tel. 01483 683971
Emal: s.bartos@surrey.ac.uk

Dr Peter Hegarty
University of Surrey, room 22AD02
Tel. 01483 686898
Emal: p.hegarty@surrey.ac.uk

Who is organising and funding the research?
This study is pursued by Sebastian Bartos in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a doctoral degree. The project is not funded.

Who has reviewed the project?
The study has been reviewed and received a Favourable Ethical Opinion (FEO) from the University of Surrey Ethics Committee.

Thank you for taking the time to read this Information Sheet.

Consent Form

• I the undersigned voluntarily agree to take part in the study on values and opinions on current social issues.
• I have read and understood the Information Sheet provided.   I have been given a full explanation by the investigators of the nature, purpose, location and likely duration of the study, and of what I will be expected to do.   I have been advised about any discomfort and possible ill-effects on my health and well-being which may result.   I have been given the opportunity to ask questions on all aspects of the study and have understood the advice and information given as a result.
• I understand that all personal data relating to volunteers is held and processed in the strictest confidence, and in accordance with the Data Protection Act (1998).
• I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without needing to justify my decision and without prejudice. I also understand that, if I choose to withdraw, the researchers will delete all the information I provided.

• I acknowledge that in consideration for completing the study I will be entered into a prize draw for one of three £50 Amazon vouchers. I recognise that I shall not receive this reward if I withdraw before completion of the study.

• I confirm that I have read and understood the above and freely consent to participating in this study. I have been given adequate time to consider my participation and agree to comply with the instructions and restrictions of the study.

I agree

I do not agree

Bulk block

People sometimes talk about what the aims of this country should be for the next ten years. Below are listed some of the goals which different people would give top priority.

Would you please say which one of these you, yourself, consider the most important, and which would be the next most important?

	First	Second
A high level of economic growth	○	○
Making sure this country has strong defence forces	○	○
Seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities	○	○
Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful	○	○

If you had to choose, which one of the things on this list would you say is most important, and which would be the next most important

	First	Second
Maintaining order in the nation	○	○
Giving people more say in important government decisions	○	○
Fighting rising prices	○	○
Protecting freedom of speech	○	○

Here is another list. In your opinion, which one of these is most important, and what would be the next most important?

	First	Second

A stable economy	○	○
Progress toward a less impersonal and more humane society	○	○
Progress toward a society in which ideas count more than money	○	○
The fight against crime	○	○

How important is religion in your life?

Not at all important
Important

Extremely

○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○

How would you describe your political orientation?

Left, liberal

Right, conservative

○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○

The following statements refer to ethnic minorities. We left the name of the ethnic minority blank. Please answer all the items thinking of the ethnic minority in your country that you find most different from the majority.
You do not have to tell us which minority you are thinking of.

Most _____ who receive support from welfare could get along without it if they tried.

Totally disagree
agree

Totally

○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○

British people and _____ can never be really comfortable with each other even if they are close friends.

Totally disagree
agree

Totally

○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○　　　　○

Most politicians in Britain care too much about _____ and not enough about the average British person.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

I wouldn't mind if a _____ joined my close family by marriage.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

_____ should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Many other groups have overcome prejudice and worked their way up. _____ should do the same without special favour.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

It is just a matter of some people not trying hard enough. If _____ would only try harder they could be as well off as British people.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the immoral currents prevailing in society today.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Our country needs free thinkers, who will have the courage to stand up against traditional ways

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Old-fashioned values still show the best way to live.

Totally disagree   Totally
                                                                                    agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Our society would be better off if we showed tolerance and understanding for untraditional values and opinions.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

God's laws about abortion, pornography and marriage must be followed before it is too late.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Society needs openness towards people thinking differently, rather than a strong leader.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

It would be best if the media were censored so that people would not see destructive and disgusting material.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Many good people challenge the state, criticize the church and ignore the "normal" way of living.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Our forefathers ought to be honoured more for the way they have built our society, and we ought to put an end to those forces destroying it.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

People ought to pay less attention to the Bible and religion, instead they ought to develop their own moral standards.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

There are many immoral people trying to ruin things; society ought to stop them.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

It is better to accept bad literature than to censor it.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

We have to be harder against crime and immorality, in order to uphold law and order.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

The situation in today's society would improve if troublemakers were treated with reason and humanity.

Totally disagree agree   Totally

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

It is the duty of every citizen to help eliminate the evil that poisons our country from within.

Totally disagree agree   Totally

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

The next few pages contain questions about lesbians, gay men, and bisexual people -- for short, LGB people.

	Never						Very often
In school/college/university	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
As neighbours	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
As close friends	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
In informal talks	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
Visiting to their home	○	○	○	○	○	○	○

How often have you encountered LGB people... ?
Your contact with LGB people has been...

	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	
Not perceived as equal								Perceived as equal
Definitely involuntary	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Definitely voluntary
Very superficial	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Very close
Not at all pleasant	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Very pleasant
Competitive	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	Cooperative
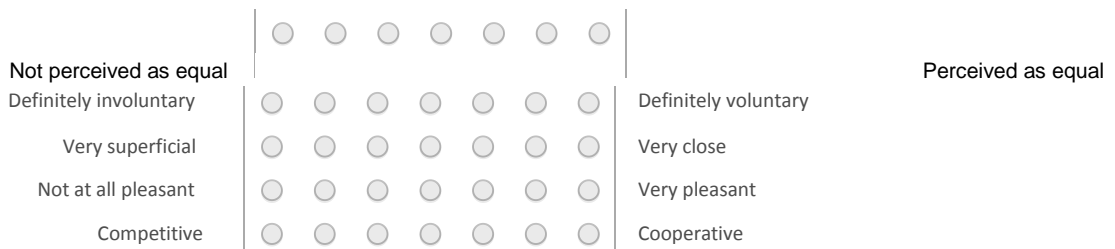
Many LGB people use their sexual orientation so that they can obtain special privileges.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

LGB people seem to focus on the ways in which they differ from heterosexuals, and ignore the ways in which they are the same.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

LGB people do not have all the rights they need.

                                                                                    Totally
Totally disagree   agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

The notion of universities providing students with undergraduate degrees in LGB Studies is ridiculous.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Celebrations such as "Gay Pride Day" are ridiculous because they assume that an individual's sexual orientation should constitute a source of pride.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

LGB people still need to protest for equal rights.

                                                                                    Totally
Totally disagree   agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

LGB people should stop shoving their lifestyle down other people's throats.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

If LGB people want to be treated like everyone else, then they need to stop making such a fuss about their sexuality/culture.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

LGB people who are "out of the closet" should be admired for their courage.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

LGB people should stop complaining about the way they are treated in society, and simply get on with their lives.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

In today's tough economic times, our tax money shouldn't be used to support LGB people's organisations.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

LGB people have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights.

Totally disagree   Totally agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Gay rights threaten the traditional way of life in some cultures.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Countries that support gay rights are better than countries that don't.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Some ethnic groups in our country present a threat to LGB people's full equality.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree   agree
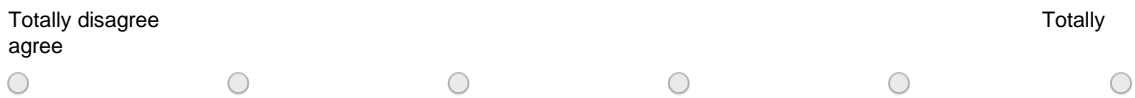
○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Developed countries should influence less developed countries to be more accepting of LGB people.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree   agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Traditional heterosexual families are a defining aspect of our culture.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree   agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Rich countries often force poorer countries to accept gay rights.

Totally disagree   Totally
agree   agree

○   ○   ○   ○   ○   ○

Experimental Block

You work for a charitable fund in Belgium and you have to divide a pot of money between local charities in a town. You don't know much about the area, but here are a couple of recent headlines form the local newspaper:

Muslim Immigrants' Protest Disrupts Gay Pride Parade

Church Roof Needs Repair

Mayor Inaugurates New Primary School

Record Number of Visitors to Castle

Resource Allocation Block

Your organisation is concerned with equality issues, and have to decide how much money to give to the LGBT (Lesbian, Gay Bisexual, Transgender) Equality Group and to the Muslim Charitable Fund. There are 7 proposals on how much to allocate to each charity. Please choose the option that seems the best to you.

○ €19,000 to the LGBT Equality Group, €25,000 to the Muslim Charitable Fund

○ €17,000 to the LGBT Equality Group, €21,000 to the Muslim Charitable Fund

○ €15,000 to the LGBT Equality Group, €17,000 to the Muslim Charitable Fund

○ €13,000 to the LGBT Equality Group, €13,000 to the Muslim Charitable Fund

○ €11,000 to the LGBT Equality Group, €9,000 to the Muslim Charitable Fund

○ €9,000 to the LGBT Equality Group, €5,000 to the Muslim Charitable Fund

○ €7,000 to the LGBT Equality Group, €1,000 to the Muslim Charitable Fund

Control Block

You work for a charitable fund in Belgium and you have to divide a pot of money between local charities in a town. You don't know much about the area, but here are a couple of recent headlines form the local newspaper:

Local Christians' Protest Disrupts Gay Pride

Church Roof Needs

Mayor Inaugurates New Primary

Record Number of Visitors to

Demographics Block

Finally, please give us some information about yourself.

Gender	
Age	
Religion	
Sexual orientation	

Reward

Thank you for filling in this survey!

This research is conducted by Sebastian Bartos. The ethics clearance code is EC/2014/55/FAHS

In order to will be entered into a prize draw for one of three £50 Amazon vouchers, fill in your email address:

Favourable Ethical Opinion

UNIVERSITY OF
SURREY

Ethics Committee

Dr Peter Hegarty
School of Psychology
FAHS

02 June 2014

Dear Dr Hegarty

Sexualised Nationalism in Romania and the UK EC/2014/55/FAHS

On behalf of the Ethics Committee, I am pleased to confirm a favourable ethical opinion for the above research on the basis described in the submitted protocol and supporting documentation.

Date of confirmation of ethical opinion: 02 June 2014.

The final list of documents reviewed by the Committee is as follows:

Document	Version	Date
Email from Co-Investigator responding to Committee's queries in letter of 12 May 14		13 May 14
Email from Co-Investigator with list of Study Documentation		10 Apr 14
Protocol Cover Sheet	Filename: revised	Submitted: 13 May 14
Summary		Sub. 10 Apr 14
Protocol	File. revised	Sub. 13 May 14
Screenshot of Participant Information Sheet in English with University of Surrey logo		Sub. 13 May 14
Online Participant Information Sheet in English	File. revised	Sub. 13 May 14
Online Participant Information Sheet in Romanian	File. revised	Sub. 13 May 14
Online Consent Form in English	File. revised	Sub. 13 May 14
Online Consent Form in Romanian	File. revised	Sub. 13 May 14
Online Questionnaire in English		08 Apr 14
Online Questionnaire in Romanian		Sub. 10 Apr 14
Risk Assessment		Sub. 10 Apr 14
Email from Co-Investigator with confirmation of having read Public Liability Insurance Certificate		01 May 14
Appendix 3: Protocol Submission Proforma: Research Insurance		Sub. 01 May 14

This opinion is given on the understanding that you will comply with the University's Ethical Principles & Procedures for Teaching and Research.

If the project includes distribution of a survey or questionnaire to members of the University community, researchers are asked to include a statement advising that the project has been reviewed by the University's Ethics Committee.

If you wish to make any amendments to your protocol please address your request to the Secretary of the Ethics Committee and attach any revised documentation.

The Committee will need to be notified of adverse reactions suffered by research participants, and if the study is terminated earlier than expected with reasons. Please be advised that the Ethics Committee is able to audit research to ensure that researchers are abiding by the University requirements and guidelines.

You are asked to note that a further submission to the Ethics Committee will be required in the event that the study is not completed within five years of the above date.

Please inform me when the research has been completed.

Yours sincerely

Mrs Gill Fairbairn
Interim Research Liaison Manager, Research & Enterprise Support

APPENDIX F.   Correlations Among Sexualised Nationalism, Homophobia and Related Variables ($N = 125$)

	SNS	Age	Religiosity	Politics	Ethnic	Homophobia	Authoritarianism	Contact	Postmaterialism
SNS	-	-.029	-.477***	-.235†	-.340**	-.572***	-.389***	.048	.422***
Age	.114	-	.048	-.017	.062	-.048	-.163	.097	.022
Religiosity	- .493***	-.129	-	.373**	.115	.354**	.551***	.072	-.398***
Politics	- .293*	-.297*	.129	-	.342**	.301*	.544***	-.144	-.117
Ethnic	-.238*	.022	.202	.171	-	.427***	.278*	-.252*	-.217†
Homophobia	-.594***	<.001	.371**	.269*	.546***	-	.402***	-.074	-.343**
Authoritarianism	-.619***	-.123	.537***	.204	.341**	.431**	-	.057	-.359**
Contact	-.131	-.144	.311*	.023	-.073	.141	.129	-	-.149
Postmaterialism	.097	.016	-.049	-.101	-.090	-.179	-.126	.048	-

*$p < .05$ **$p < .01$ ***$p < .001$ †$p < .10$.

Note: Coefficients computed on UK participants ($n = 66$) are above the diagonal; coefficients for Romanian participants ($n = 59$) are below the diagonal.