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Can Values Moderate the Attitudes of Right-Wing Authoritarians?

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This investigation explored how right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and endorsement of egalitarian beliefs may interact to determine attitudes toward immigrants, homosexuals, and African Americans. Study 1 (N = 239) found that RWA was negatively related to evaluations of immigrants for those who weakly endorsed egalitarian beliefs. In contrast, endorsement of egalitarian beliefs was associated with positive evaluations of immigrants for both low and high RWAs. RWA did not interact with egalitarianism to determine attitudes toward homosexuals or African Americans. Study 2 analyzed data from the 1992 National Election Study and replicated these effects in a young adult (age ≤ 24) sample (n = 102) using moral traditionalism as a proxy for RWA. Partial support for the hypotheses also was found in the adult (age ≥ 25) sample (n = 1,257). It is concluded that when tradition and/or social norms offer unclear positions, endorsement of egalitarian beliefs influences the attitudes of authoritarians.

Keywords: right-wing authoritarianism; values; attitudes; immigrants; homosexuals; African Americans

Much of the work on right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) has focused on the proposition that RWA can be directly linked to social attitudes and opinions. However, recent work has demonstrated the value of taking an interactional approach (Snyder & Ickes, 1985) to the study of RWA by considering conditions that can strengthen or weaken the RWA–attitude relationship (Feldman, 2003; Feldman & Stenner, 1997). The present investigation takes an interactional approach to the RWA–attitude relationship by exploring whether endorsement of particular values can moderate the relationship between RWA and attitudes toward outgroups.¹ In the statistical sense of the term “moderate,” we want to determine if the association between RWA and evaluations of outgroups changes as a function of the kinds of

personal values an individual endorses. In the everyday use of the term, we are also interested in seeing if certain kinds of values attenuate the demonstrable antipathy high RWAs have toward those different from themselves.

One core characteristic of authoritarians is that they are ethnocentric. Authoritarians hold a general predisposition to unfavorably evaluate outgroups and those they regard as “social deviants” (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Altemeyer, 1981, 1988, 1996). Past research has consistently documented that high RWAs hold more negative evaluations than low RWAs toward a broad array of outgroups (e.g., Altemeyer, 1996; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993). Not surprisingly, this general trend applies when immigrants are the target group being evaluated (Esses et al., 1993; Oyamoto, Wyman & Borgida, 1999; Quinton, Cowan, & Watson, 1996).

Another way to assess the link between RWA and attitudes is to examine where on an attitude scale mean scores are located rather than comparing low against high RWAs. In our own studies, we were surprised to find

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that high RWAs' mean evaluation of immigrants was located near the midpoint of a bipolar scale (Oyamot et al., 1999). Examination of other studies using bipolar attitude scales yields similar results (e.g., Esses et al., 1993), which suggests that high RWAs' attitudes toward immigrants in these samples may be characterized as "neutral" rather than negative. In light of our assumptions regarding authoritarian ethnocentrism, this finding was unexpected and led us to speculate about the possible reasons for these neutral evaluations, speculations that form the foundation of the present investigation. In particular, we thought that perhaps personal values and/or societal norms play a role in moderating the direct RWA-attitudes association.

A second core characteristic of authoritarians is that they rigidly adopt conventional moral standards and beliefs (Altemeyer, 1996). This characteristic has been especially evident in cross-cultural comparisons of RWA propensities. In a fascinating series of studies, McFarland, Ageyev, and Abalakina-Paap (1992) demonstrated that the relationship between RWA and endorsement of distributive justice norms varies as a function of the dominant norms and values within a society. In the United States, where societal norms have emphasized individualism, RWA was positively related to endorsement of policies that reflected *laissez-faire* individualism but negatively related to endorsement of policies that emphasized equal distribution of goods and services. In contrast, in the former Soviet Union, where societal norms have emphasized equality, these relationships were reversed. The essential point of their studies was that authoritarians may not be wedded to particular values or beliefs, *per se*, but instead readily endorse and are responsive to the conventional norms, traditions, and value priorities within a given culture or society.

When the prevailing societal norms have clear implications for attitudes toward particular outgroups, we would then expect these attitudes to be held by high RWAs. For example, homosexuality has been traditionally stigmatized (Herek, 2003). Accordingly, high RWAs have displayed extreme disdain for this particular social group (e.g., Altemeyer, 1996; Haddock, Zanna, & Esses, 1993; Whitley & Lee, 2000). Even further, extremely strong sociocultural traditions and norms may lead both low and high RWAs to have negative attitudes toward a group, as demonstrated by Pettigrew's (2001) cross-national comparison of regions (southern United States and in South Africa) where prejudice toward Blacks is an accepted practice and strongly rooted in historical traditions. But what if tradition, societal norms, or public consensus are conflicted about the place a particular subgroup should hold in a given society? In the absence of clear norms, what will guide the attitudes of high RWAs? We suggest that in cases where there is a lack of

overall societal consensus, personal values become particularly important in guiding the attitudes of low and high RWAs.

In the context of the United States, immigrants fit the profile of an outgroup that evokes conflicting responses from the host society. Although a "nation of immigrants," Americans as a society have historically exhibited an ambivalence toward immigrants and immigration. Opinion polls show that Americans are often closely divided in terms of how beneficial or detrimental they think immigrants are to the U.S. economy (Jones, 2000). However, opinions about immigrants and immigration shift considerably depending on the time period of the data collection. For example, the percentage of Americans who thought that immigration rates should be decreased varied from a low of 33% in 1965 to a high of 65% from 1993-1995, and in 2000, prior to the September 11 attacks, this percentage had dropped to 38% (Jones, 2000). Additional evidence for this ambivalence was noted by Simon and Lynch (1999), who characterized Americans' responses to the issue of immigration as "the tendency to look at immigration with rose-colored glasses turned backwards" (p. 457) to describe the fact that those polled strongly endorsed the idea that immigration was a good thing in the past but not in the present. In general then, public consensus regarding the place of immigrants in American society is unclear, or at least unstable.

Expanding on this theme, Pratto and Lemieux (2001) described immigration as an "ambiguous social psychological situation," in that thinking about immigration can evoke the contradictory impulses of group inclusion and egalitarianism, on one hand, and/or group threat and prejudice, on the other. The lack of societal consensus, and the general psychological ambiguity associated with immigrants and immigration, may partially explain why high RWAs' evaluations of immigrants, although more negative than that of low RWAs, are apparently somewhat neutral: no clear consensus is available to guide the feelings of high RWAs. An examination of personal values, however, may reveal a more complex picture of how high and low RWAs regard immigrants. It may be that in the absence of clear traditions or social norms, the values that a high RWA individual personally endorses will come to guide their attitudes.

What values might work in conjunction with authoritarian tendencies? Schwartz's (1992) value theory identified 10 broad values that are common across cultures and specified the structural relationships among these values within a two-dimensional space. One major axis, which he called the openness to change versus conservation axis, is characterized by the values of tradition, conformity, and security on the conservation end of the axis.

The values of self-direction and stimulation characterized the openness end of the axis. Previous research has established that RWA is closely linked to the valuing of tradition and social conformity (Altemeyer, 1996, 1998; Feldman, 2003); therefore, investigations of these values as potential moderators would likely yield little new information about RWA. The second major axis, which Schwarz called the self-enhancement versus self-transcendence axis, is characterized by the values of universalism and benevolence on the self-transcendence end of the axis. Achievement and power values defined the self-enhancement end of the axis. In considering which values might moderate RWA tendencies, we thought universalism, with its emphasis on “understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of *all* people and of nature” (Schwartz, 1992, p. 12), might manifest the most intriguing interaction with authoritarianism. Furthermore, universalism is closely akin to, if not the same as, egalitarian beliefs, which have received attention in the attitudes research literature. Perhaps most important, endorsement of egalitarian beliefs has been associated with reduced levels of prejudice toward a variety of outgroups (Biernat, Vescio, Theno, & Crandall, 1996). Thus, we elected to focus our investigation on egalitarian values.

An additional reason for this selection was that within the American context, egalitarianism is a particularly relevant value priority. Research by Katz, Hass, and their colleagues suggested that American culture is rooted in two dominant value orientations, that of humanitarianism-egalitarianism (HE) and the Protestant Ethic (PE). The HE value system promotes “adherence to the democratic ideals of equality, social justice, and concern for the others’ well-being” (Katz & Hass, 1988, p. 894). The PE value system focuses on the virtues of “devotion to work, individual achievement, and discipline” (Katz & Hass, 1988, p. 894). These two value systems are largely independent; individuals may strongly endorse one or both systems of beliefs. Patterns of HE and PE value endorsement have been found to predict White Americans’ attitudes toward African Americans and other target groups (Biernat, Vescio, & Theno, 1996; Katz & Hass, 1988).

An examination of how value priorities might influence the RWA–outgroup evaluation needs to assess the implications of particular value priorities for evaluating outgroups, the degree to which RWA is related to different value priorities, and how specific value priorities may moderate the RWA–attitude association. As to the first consideration, the relationships among HE, PE, and attitudes toward immigrants in the United States has been relatively neglected in research. However, building on the work of Katz and Hass (1988) and Pratto and Lemieux (2001), it is reasonable to expect that endorse-

ment of egalitarian beliefs and values would be associated with positive attitudes toward immigrants. If an individual holds strong egalitarian beliefs, then thinking about immigrants and immigration should be more likely to evoke an impulse toward group inclusion and egalitarianism, as opposed to group threat and prejudice. The relationship between endorsement of Protestant Ethic beliefs and attitudes toward immigrants is less clear. A devotion to hard work, individualism, and discipline on its own does not relate directly to this type of attitude. Instead, the PE–attitude link may be contingent on whether immigrants are seen as violating or conforming to these values (Biernat, Vescio, Theno, & Crandall, 1996). The next issue to consider is how these values, particularly HE value endorsement, will interact with RWA.

The preceding analysis suggests the following hypotheses. First, some high RWAs may endorse humanitarian-egalitarian beliefs. Both HE and PE are deeply rooted in the American tradition and thus are equally likely to be adhered to by high RWAs who look to tradition to guide their thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. In support of this speculation, Altemeyer (1996, 1998) reports only modest correlations between RWA and measures of egalitarianism and universalism. Second, examining the interaction of RWA and values may uncover more complex relationships between RWA and attitudes toward immigrants than a direct RWA–attitude perspective implies. In particular, we expected that high RWAs who endorse egalitarian beliefs may actually show positive attitudes toward immigrants. In contrast, high RWAs who do not endorse egalitarianism should exhibit greater antipathy toward immigrants than low RWAs.

Given this framework, might egalitarianism have a general attenuating effect on high RWAs’ evaluations of other outgroups? For the present investigation, we also chose to assess attitudes toward homosexuals and African Americans, for two reasons. First, a great deal of research has been conducted on attitudes toward these two groups, and in particular how RWA is related to evaluations of both of these groups. Inclusion of these comparison groups thus allows us to compare the current results with existing research. Second, as elaborated on in the general discussion, there are relatively clear, established societal norms that apply to these two groups. Homosexuality is generally seen by Americans as a morally unacceptable lifestyle (Yang, 1997). In contrast, although the overall picture is complex, one trend in the United States has been the increasing liberalization of Whites’ attitudes regarding equal treatment of African Americans, at least in principle (Schumann, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997). Given these clear societal norms, we did not expect egalitarianism to moderate high RWAs’ attitudes of these outgroups. Instead, we

expected that authoritarians' attitudes would reflect these clear societal norms.

To test these hypotheses, we measured RWA using a 10-item version of Altemeyer's Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale and value endorsement using Katz and Hass's (1988) Humanitarianism Egalitarianism and Protestant Ethic scales. To assess evaluations of immigrants, we used a 9-point bipolar scale measuring overall attitudes toward immigrants, homosexuals, and African Americans.

STUDY 1

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Data collection was done in two waves. The first wave of data collection ($n = 140$) involved a questionnaire focused on assessing attitudes toward immigrants. The second wave ($n = 99$) expanded the target groups evaluated to include homosexuals and African Americans.² The total sample is composed of 239 students (160 women, 79 men; 169 Whites, 32 Asian/Pacific Islanders, 16 African Americans, 9 Hispanics, 2 American Indians, and 9 Others) between the ages of 16 and 46 ($M = 20.8$, $SD = 3.6$) enrolled in courses at the University of Minnesota, who participated in return for extra course credits or \$5.

For the purposes of examining attitudes toward immigrants, data from 45 participants, who indicated either they or their parents were immigrants and/or whose data set was incomplete, were excluded, for a total of 194 participants. When examining evaluations of gays/lesbians, all participants were included. When examining evaluations of African Americans, African American participants ($n = 13$) were excluded from analyses.

MEASURES

Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). Authoritarianism was measured using a 10-item version (Haddock et al., 1993) of Altemeyer's (1988) 30-item scale. Participants rated their agreement with each item (e.g., "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn" and "In these troubled times, laws have to be enforced without mercy, especially when dealing with the agitators and revolutionaries who are stirring things up") on a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 9 (*strongly agree*). Participants' mean score on these 10 items, reverse-scored where appropriate, was calculated to arrive at their RWA score, with higher scores indicating higher levels of RWA ($M = 4.91$, $SD = 1.42$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$).

Values. Endorsement of PE and HE values were assessed using measures devised by Katz and Hass (1988). Sample items from the 10-item HE measure

include, "One should be kind to all people," "A good society is one in which people feel responsible for one another," and "Prosperous nations have a moral obligation to share some of their wealth with poor nations." Sample items from the 11-item PE measure include, "Our society would have fewer problems if people had less leisure time," "Most people who don't succeed in life are just plain lazy," and "A distaste for work usually reflects a weakness of character." Participants indicated their degree of agreement for each item using a 0 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*) 6-point Likert scale. Scores on the two scales were reversed and averaged such that higher scores reflected greater endorsement of HE ($M = 3.34$, $SD = .98$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$) and PE ($M = 2.56$, $SD = .66$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .68$) beliefs.

Bipolar global evaluations. A 9-point Likert scale was used to measure participants' global evaluation of the target groups. Participants were instructed to "circle the number between 1 and 9 that best represents your *overall evaluation* of [target group]." The target groups included "recent immigrants in this country" ($M = 5.45$, $SD = 1.57$), "gays and lesbians" ($M = 5.49$, $SD = 2.12$), and "African Americans" ($M = 6.66$, $SD = 1.49$). The endpoints of this scale, 1 and 9, were labeled *very unfavorable* and *very favorable*, respectively. The midpoint of the scale (5) was labeled *neither favorable nor unfavorable*.

PROCEDURE

The survey was administered in a mass-testing situation, with approximately 10 to 50 participants at each session. Participants were recruited prior to the start of their class or seminar to participate in an investigation of student attitudes and opinions. Students who wished to participate were asked to stay after class to complete the survey. Participants were first told of the general nature and procedure of the study. To reduce demand characteristics, participants were assured that there were no "right or wrong answers," that we were interested in candid responses, and that they could withdraw at anytime if any of the questions made them uncomfortable. In addition, we also emphasized the anonymity of their data. They were then provided with a consent form to read and sign prior to completing the survey. No participants chose to withdraw. Completion of the survey took approximately 30 min and participants were debriefed upon completion.

Results

INTERCORRELATIONS OF RWA, VALUE, AND EVALUATIONS

The intercorrelations among RWA, value endorsement measures, and attitude measures are reported in Table 1. Endorsement of HE and PE values in the present sample was modestly correlated, $r = .21$. This stands

TABLE 1: Intercorrelations of Right Wing Authoritarianism, Values, and Evaluation of Target Groups

Measure	RWA	HE	PE
RWA	—		
HE	-.19**	—	
PE	.25**	.21**	—
Evaluation: Immigrants	-.20**	.42**	-.07
Evaluation: Homosexuals	-.56**	.24*	-.29**
Evaluation: African Americans	-.10	.26*	-.21†

NOTE: RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; PE = Protestant Ethic Scale; HE = humanitarianism-egalitarianism. Correlations among RWA, HE, and PE are based on the full sample ($N=239$). Correlations for immigrant evaluations are based on nonimmigrant sample ($n=194$), homosexual evaluations are based on full subsample ($n=99$), and African American evaluations based on non-African American subsample ($n=85$). Higher scores for RWA, PE, and HE indicate greater endorsement of these constructs. Higher scores for global evaluation indicate more positive evaluation of outgroup (range = 1 to 9).

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

in contrast to previous work that generally found that the two value systems were independent (Katz & Hass, 1988). Of greater interest are the small but significant associations between RWA and both value orientations. As would be expected, RWA was negatively associated with HE endorsement ($r = -.19$) and positively associated with PE endorsement ($r = .25$). However, these correlations were modest enough to suggest that there are only weak systematic associations between RWA and values. For example, some who scored high on RWA also endorsed HE principles.

It was still possible that RWA could be systematically associated with particular combinations of values. To test this possibility, we regressed RWA on PE, HE, and their interaction term. If there is an association between RWA and combinations of value endorsement, we would expect the interaction term to result in a significant change in variance accounted for in the equation, above and beyond that of PE and HE alone. This was not the case, with the interaction term contributing essentially nothing in prediction, $F(1, 229) = .00$, ns .

Several other relationships are also worth noting. RWA was strongly related to evaluations of homosexuals ($r = -.56$), modestly associated with evaluations of immigrants ($r = -.20$), and unrelated to evaluations of African Americans. HE was positively related to evaluations of all three target groups, particularly evaluations of immigrants ($r = .42$). Finally, and curiously, PE's only significant association was with evaluations of homosexuals ($r = -.29$).

ANALYTIC STRATEGY: RWA AND VALUES PREDICTING EVALUATIONS

We proposed that values can moderate the association between RWA and evaluation of immigrants. For

example, it is possible that strong endorsement of humanitarian values could lead even high RWAs to hold positive evaluations of immigrants. To test this proposition, we used multiple regression techniques for assessing the main effects and two-way and three-way interactions among RWA, PE, and HE in the prediction of evaluations of immigrants (see Aiken & West, 1991; Jaccard, Turrisi, & Wan, 1990). Essentially, testing interactions using multiple regression answers two questions: (a) Is there a significant relationship between RWA and evaluations of immigrants, *at certain combinations of value endorsements?* and (b) If so, how do different patterns of value endorsements *change the relationship* between RWA and evaluations?

For the following analyses, we identified RWA as the primary predictor variable and PE and HE as variables possibly moderating RWA–evaluation relationships. To reduce multicollinearity among the predictors, the predictor variables were centered prior to the analysis by subtracting the mean of each predictor variable from the raw predictor variable scores (Jaccard et al., 1990). These discrepancy scores were then used to compute the two-way and three-way interaction terms and also used as terms in the regression equation. The resulting regression equations were in reference to means of 0 among the predictor variables, so interpretations of the results should be made with this in mind.

We first present the omnibus analyses of the predictor variables and their interaction terms regressed on global evaluations of immigrants and simple slope analyses exploring the nature of significant interactions.³ We then present the regression models for attitudes toward homosexuals and African Americans.

OMNIBUS REGRESSION ANALYSES: ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS

To conduct the omnibus analyses, we regressed three blocks of predictor variables on each of the dependent variables. The first block of variables comprised the main effects model (RWA, PE, and HE). The second block of variables included each of the two-way interaction terms (RWA \times PE, RWA \times HE, and PE \times HE). Finally, the third block included the three-way interaction term (RWA \times PE \times HE). Table 2 presents the results of these regressions, including the $R^2\Delta$ associated with each block of variables and the standardized regression weights and standard errors associated with each predictor variable in the final step of the regression.

We expected that different patterns of value endorsement would change the relationship between RWA and evaluations of immigrants. This would be reflected in significant interactions between RWA and values when predicting evaluations. We found this to be the case. In particular, differential endorsement of HE beliefs affected

TABLE 2: Omnibus Regression Analyses of RWA, PE, and HE Predicting Evaluations of Target Groups

Step	Immigrants		Homosexuals		African Americans	
	β (SE)	$R^2\Delta$	β (SE)	$R^2\Delta$	β (SE)	$R^2\Delta$
1. Main effects		.26**		.28**		.13**
RWA	-.15 (.08)*		-.46 (.13)*		-.03 (.11)	
HE	.47 (.12)**		.15 (.23)		.34 (.21)**	
PE	-.15 (.17)*		—		—	
2. Two-way interactions		.03*		.00		.00
RWA \times HE	.18 (.09)**		-.07 (.14)		.02 (.15)	
RWA \times PE	.01 (.13)		—		—	
PE \times HE	.01 (.17)		—		—	
Total R^2		.29**		.28**		.13*

NOTE: RWA = right-wing authoritarianism; PE = Protestant Ethic Scale; HE = humanitarianism-egalitarianism.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

how RWA was related to evaluations of immigrants. The three-way RWA, HE, and PE interaction did not reach significance. Therefore, we focus our presentation of the results on the main effects and two-way interactions.

As shown in Table 2, the main effects block accounted for a significant portion of the variance in prediction, $R^2\Delta = .26$, $F_{\text{change}}(3, 180) = 20.97$, $p < .001$. In examining the final regression weights for the main effects variables, we found that HE ($\beta = .47$, $SE = .12$, $p < .01$) was positively associated, and both PE ($\beta = -.15$, $SE = .17$, $p < .05$) and RWA ($\beta = -.15$, $SE = .08$, $p < .05$) were negatively associated with evaluations of immigrants.

Most pertinent to the present investigation, the results show that these significant main effects were qualified by the two-way interaction block of variables, which also contributed significantly in the regression, $R^2\Delta = .03$, $F_{\text{change}}(3, 177) = 2.60$, $p = .05$. In particular, the interaction between RWA and HE was significant, $\beta = .18$, $SE = .09$, $p < .01$. What this suggests is that the relationship between RWA and evaluations is different for those who accept egalitarian beliefs and principles, relative to those who reject them. The next step was to determine precisely the nature of these differences. For example, is it the case that endorsement of HE values attenuates high RWA propensities? Simple slope analyses were conducted to answer this question.

*SIMPLE SLOPE ANALYSES EXPLORING
THE RWA \times HE INTERACTIONS:
ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS*

First, we defined the particular levels of the moderator variable (HE) at which we would determine the RWA–evaluation relationship, typically defined as the moderator variable’s mean ± 1 *SD*. Recall that the predictor variables have been centered so the means are 0. In this case, “low” and “high” HE endorsement were assigned values of $-.94$ and $+.94$, respectively. PE also was included in these simple slope analyses for complete-

ness. PE was set equal to 0, or the average value of PE endorsement. Next, we calculated new regression equations of RWA predicting each evaluation variable, separately for those low and those high in HE endorsement. The significance tests on the regression weight (i.e., the slope) of RWA tell us if the relationship between RWA and the evaluation was significant at each level of value endorsement.

To return to the question posed earlier, “Is it the case that endorsement of HE values mitigate high RWA propensities?” the answer appears to be “yes.” As shown in Table 6, the simple slope analyses showed two distinct patterns of results. For those participants who had low levels of HE endorsement, RWA functioned exactly as we expected. RWA was negatively related to global evaluations ($\beta = -.37$, $SE = .12$, $p < .01$) of immigrants. In contrast, for those participants who had high levels of HE endorsement, RWA was unrelated to how they feel about immigrants. In other words, the attitudes of high and low RWAs were essentially the same for those who endorse HE.

The nature of the RWA \times HE interactions can be further clarified by examining the estimated regression lines predicted by the simple slope analyses. Using the intercept and unstandardized regression weight from each analysis, we plotted the estimated relationship between RWA and evaluations for those who are low and those who are high in HE endorsement. For this purpose, the low and high endpoints for RWA were set to the mean of RWA $-/+1$ *SD* (-1.43 and $+1.43$, respectively).

Figure 1 depicts the predicted regression lines of RWA and evaluations. For those who weakly endorse HE beliefs, RWA significantly predicted global evaluations: low RWAs had more positive global evaluations of immigrants than did high RWAs. In contrast, for those who strongly endorsed HE beliefs, low and high RWA evaluations were essentially the same. Furthermore, both low

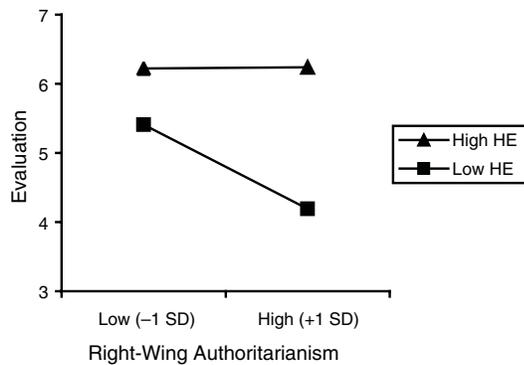


Figure 1 Estimated regression lines between right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and global evaluation of immigrants at low and high levels of humanitarianism-egalitarianism (HE) endorsement.

and high RWAs who endorsed HE beliefs had rather positive evaluations of immigrants.

*OMNIBUS REGRESSION ANALYSES:
EVALUATIONS OF HOMOSEXUALS*

Preliminary analyses showed that the PE and PE-related interaction variables were unrelated to evaluations of homosexuals or African Americans; therefore, we opted to drop these variables from the analysis. As shown in Table 2, RWA was the only significant predictor of evaluations of homosexuals ($\beta = -.46$, $SE = .13$, $p < .01$). Because the $RWA \times HE$ interaction was not significant, no further simple slope analyses were warranted.

*OMNIBUS REGRESSION ANALYSES:
EVALUATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS*

As shown in Table 2, the pattern for African Americans as target group stood in contrast to that of homosexuals as target group. For evaluations of African Americans, it was HE, not RWA, which functioned as the only significant predictor of global evaluations ($\beta = .34$, $SE = .21$, $p < .01$). Again, no simple slope analyses were necessary because the $RWA \times HE$ interaction was not significant.

STUDY 2

Study 1 demonstrated that egalitarian beliefs can have an attenuating effect on high RWAs' ethnocentric tendencies, at least with regard to evaluations of immigrants. For those who did not endorse HE beliefs, RWA was related to evaluations in exactly the way we expected: Low RWAs' attitudes were more favorable than were high RWAs. In contrast, for those who did endorse HE beliefs, RWA was unrelated to evaluations of immigrants.

Furthermore, both low and high RWAs showed positive attitudes toward immigrants. Do the results for immigrants, where endorsement of HE values influenced the RWA-immigrant evaluation relationship, generalize to other types of target groups? The present analyses suggest that the answer to this question is "no." Instead, RWA was the sole predictor of attitudes toward homosexuals, and HE was the sole predictor of attitudes toward African Americans.

Our second study had two goals. The first was to determine whether these effects would replicate in another young adult sample. The second was to determine if these same effects would be found in a more representative population. To accomplish these goals, we conducted a secondary data analysis of the 1992 National Elections Study pre-post election survey (NES; Miller, Kinder, Rosenstone, & National Election Studies, 1992), which consisted of a large, cross-national sample of considerable diversity. In analyzing this data, we partitioned the sample into two subsets: a young adult sample (age ≤ 24) matched approximately in age with the participants in Study 1 and, for comparison purposes, an older adult sample (age ≥ 25).

Secondary analyses carry some drawbacks but we felt in this case that the advantages would outweigh the disadvantages. The limitations of basing research on young student samples are well known (Sears, 1986), so an opportunity to study our phenomenon of interest in a more diverse population proved an attractive option. One challenge in this type of study is the selection of appropriate measures from a data set that was not designed to test our specific hypotheses. However, the 1992 NES data set proved ideal because the data collected included measures of egalitarianism, moral traditionalism, and evaluations of the three target groups of interest (Miller et al., 1992). Given the strong association between RWA and traditionalism (Altemeyer, 1996, 1998; Feldman, 2003), we felt the moral traditionalism measure in the 1992 NES data would serve as a reasonable proxy for RWA. Last, an older adult population will differ considerably than a student population in terms of socioeconomic status, education, and perceived economic competition, to name just a few variables that may influence the respondents' evaluations of immigrants above and beyond that of RWA and personal values. We see this as an advantage in that the use of this data set constitutes a strong test of our hypotheses.

Method

PARTICIPANTS

Most of the variables of interest appeared in the postelection questionnaire of the 1992 NES data collection (Miller et al., 1992). Therefore, from the original sample ($N = 2,487$) we only included data from the 1,359

respondents who completed the postelection questionnaire. This sample included 728 women, 631 men—1,124 Whites, 19 Asian/Pacific Islanders, 175 African Americans, 16 American Indians (25 Other), between the ages of 19 and 91 ($M = 46.7$, $SD = 17.8$), who completed an average of 12.6 ($SD = 2.9$) years of education. Of this sample, 1,123 respondents indicated that both their parents were born in the United States.

For the sake of comparison with Study 1, we divided the respondents into two groups based on age. The young adult group (age ≤ 24), approximately matched in age with the participants in Study 1, consisted of 102 respondents (53 women, 49 men; 84 Whites, 2 Asian/Pacific Islanders, 14 African Americans, 1 American Indian, 1 Other), between the ages of 19 and 24 ($M = 21.8$, $SD = 1.5$), who completed an average of 12.6 ($SD = 1.7$) years of education. Of this group, 84 respondents indicated that both their parents were born in the United States.

The adult group (age ≥ 25) consisted of 1,257 respondents (675 women, 582 men; 1,040 Whites, 17 Asian/Pacific Islanders, 161 African Americans, 15 American Indians, 24 Other), between the ages of 25 and 91 ($M = 48.7$, $SD = 16.9$), who completed an average of 12.6 ($SD = 3.0$) years of education. Of this group, 1,034 respondents indicated that both their parents were born in the United States.

When examining attitudes toward immigrants in the regression analyses, data from respondents who indicated that either of their parents were immigrants were excluded. When examining evaluations of gays/lesbians in the regression analyses, all participants were included. When examining evaluations of African Americans in the regression analyses, African American respondents were excluded from analyses.

MEASURES

Moral traditionalism. As a proxy for RWA, a five-item scale assessing respondents' endorsement of traditional moral values was used. Respondents rated their agreement with each of five items (e.g., "This country would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family ties," "The newer lifestyles are contributing to the breakdown of our society," and "The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to those changes") on a scale of 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). Participants' mean score on these five items, reverse-scored where appropriate, was calculated such that higher scores reflected higher levels of Traditionalism, Cronbach's $\alpha = .67$.

Egalitarianism. As a proxy for HE beliefs, a six-item Egalitarian scale was used. Respondents rated their agreement with each item (e.g., "Our society should do

whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed," "If people were treated more equally in this country we would have many fewer problems," and "We have gone to far in pushing equal rights in this country") on a scale of 1 (*strongly agree*) to 5 (*strongly disagree*). Participants' mean score on these six items, reverse-scored where appropriate, was calculated such that higher scores reflected higher levels of Egalitarianism, Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$.

Feeling thermometer. The 1992 NES data collection used the Feeling Thermometer (FT) to assess respondents' global evaluation of various groups (Miller et al., 1992). Respondents were instructed to rate how cold or warm they felt toward a variety of groups on a scale of 0 to 100, with ratings between 50 and 100 indicating favorable and warm feelings, ratings between 0 and 50 indicating that they don't feel favorable and don't care too much for the group, and 50 indicating that they don't particularly feel warm or cold toward the group. For this study, we analyzed the FT data for attitudes toward legal immigrants, African Americans, and homosexuals.

Results and Discussion

COMPARISON OF YOUNG AND ADULT SAMPLES

Compared to the adult sample, the young adults scored significantly lower in traditionalism ($M = 3.61$, $SD = .79$ vs. $M = 3.16$, $SD = .63$), higher in egalitarianism ($M = 3.53$, $SD = .80$ vs. $M = 3.76$, $SD = .69$), and had more positive attitudes toward African Americans ($M = 61.01$, $SD = 17.80$ vs. $M = 66.96$, $SD = 17.28$), $t > 2.54$, $p < .01$, for each independent sample t test. There were no differences for attitudes toward immigrants ($M = 55.48$, $SD = 20.33$ vs. $M = 55.13$, $SD = 18.07$) or homosexuals ($M = 36.48$, $SD = 26.77$ vs. $M = 36.20$, $SD = 24.38$).

INTERCORRELATIONS OF TRADITIONALISM, EGALITARIANISM, AND FEELING THERMOMETER VARIABLES

The intercorrelations among Traditionalism, Egalitarianism, and Feeling Thermometer measures are reported in Table 3 (young adults below the diagonal and adults above the diagonal). As might be expected, Traditionalism was negatively associated with Egalitarianism in both the young adult and adult samples ($r = -.23$ and $-.30$, respectively).

Several other correlations are also worth noting. For both the young adult and adult sample, correlations between Traditionalism and attitudes toward homosexuals were significant ($r = -.33$ and $-.38$, respectively). The nonsignificant relationship between Traditionalism and attitudes toward immigrants and African Americans also was consistent with our previous findings. Finally, Egali-

TABLE 3: Intercorrelations of Traditionalism, Egalitarianism, and Evaluation of Target Groups

Measure	1	2	3	4	5
1. Traditionalism	—	-.30**	.01	-.01	-.38**
2. Egalitarianism	-.23*	—	.14**	.16**	.30**
3. FT: Immigrants	-.01	.17	—	.47**	.36**
4. FT: Blacks	-.01	.28*	.62**	—	.27**
5. FT: Homosexuals	-.33*	.25*	.29**	.10	—

NOTE: FT = Feeling Thermometer. Correlations for young adult sample are below the diagonal. Correlations for adult sample are above the diagonal. Correlations among Traditionalism, Egalitarianism, and attitudes toward homosexuals are based on the full sample sizes (young adult $n = 87$; adult $n = 1,079$). Correlations for immigrant evaluations are based on the nonimmigrant sample ($n = 76$ and 897), and African American evaluations are based on the non-African American subsample ($n = 73$ and 933). Higher scores for Traditionalism and Egalitarianism indicate greater endorsement of these scales. Higher scores for FT indicate more positive evaluations of the target group (range = 0–100).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

arianism was significantly correlated with attitudes toward all three target groups in both samples, except for young adults' attitudes toward immigrants.

OMNIBUS REGRESSION ANALYSES

To conduct the omnibus analyses, we regressed two blocks of predictor variables on each of the dependent variables. The first block of variables comprised the main effects model (Traditionalism and Egalitarianism). The second block of variables included the two-way interaction term (Traditionalism \times Egalitarianism). Tables 4 (young adult sample) and 5 (adult sample) present the results of these regressions.

OMNIBUS REGRESSION ANALYSES: EVALUATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS

For the young adult sample, the main effects block did not account for a significant portion of the variance in the prediction of attitudes toward immigrants, but the interaction term did, $R^2\Delta = .05$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 67) = 4.05$, $p = .05$ (see Table 4). In examining the final regression weights, we found that only the interaction between Traditionalism and Egalitarianism was significant, $\beta = .23$, $SE = 5.27$, $p = .05$.

For the adult sample, the main effects block accounted for a significant change in variance accounted for, $R^2\Delta = .04$, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 883) = 16.33$, $p < .01$ (see Table 5). In examining the final regression weights, we found that both Egalitarianism ($\beta = .20$, $SE = .83$, $p < .01$) and Traditionalism ($\beta = .13$, $SE = .84$, $p < .01$) were positively associated with attitudes toward immigrants. These significant main effects were qualified by the interaction term ($\beta = -.11$,

$SE = .94$, $p < .01$), which contributed a small but significant change in the regression equation, $R^2\Delta = .01$, $F_{\text{change}}(1, 882) = 10.74$, $p < .01$.

SIMPLE SLOPE ANALYSES EXPLORING THE TRADITIONALISM \times EGALITARIANISM INTERACTIONS

First, we defined levels of “low” and “high” Egalitarianism for the young adult ($\pm .68$) and adult ($\pm .80$) samples. Next, for each sample, we calculated new regression equations of Traditionalism, predicting attitudes toward immigrants for those low and those high in Egalitarianism. These analyses yielded support for our hypotheses for the young adult sample and partial support for the adult sample, as shown in Table 6.

The young adult sample exhibited the same tendencies as the young adult participants in Study 1. For those young adults who did not endorse egalitarian beliefs, Traditionalism was negatively ($\beta = -.32$, $SE = 5.17$, $p = .06$) related to attitudes toward immigrants. Furthermore, for those young adults who endorsed egalitarian beliefs, Traditionalism was unrelated ($\beta = .14$, $SE = 5.25$, ns) to how they felt about immigrants. Figure 2a depicts the estimated regression lines between Traditionalism and evaluation, using the unstandardized regression weights. It is interesting to note that in this case, those high in both Traditionalism and Egalitarianism are predicted to have the most positive attitudes toward immigrants.

The adult sample yielded mixed results. For those adults who did not endorse egalitarian beliefs, Traditionalism was positively ($\beta = .23$, $SE = 1.20$, $p < .01$) related to attitudes toward immigrants. This finding was contrary to our hypotheses and findings thus far. However, consistent with our expectations and Study 1's findings, for those adults who strongly endorsed egalitarian beliefs, Traditionalism was unrelated ($\beta = .02$, $SE = 1.06$, ns) to attitudes toward immigrants. Furthermore, as depicted in Figure 2b, the estimated regression lines for this group show that endorsement of egalitarian beliefs minimized the differences between low and high Traditionalists and also was associated with fairly high acceptance of immigrants.

SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSES OF ADULT SAMPLE

Because of the large sample size and considerable diversity of the adult sample, we took the opportunity to supplement our primary analyses by including additional variables of potential relevance in the regression models examining attitudes toward immigrants. These analyses showed that the Traditionalism \times Egalitarianism interaction effect was robust. We included major demographic variables, especially those that differentiated the

TABLE 4: Omnibus Regression Analyses of Traditionalism and Egalitarianism Predicting Evaluations of Target Groups for the Young Adult (Age ≤ 24) Sample

Step	Immigrants		Homosexuals		African Americans	
	β (SE)	R ² Δ	β (SE)	R ² Δ	β (SE)	R ² Δ
1. Main effects		.04		.11†		.09†
Traditionalism	-.09 (3.78)†		-.30 (4.32)*		.30 (3.71)*	
Egalitarianism	.15 (3.10)		.10 (3.83)		.17 (3.25)	
2. Two-way interaction		.05*		.00		.02
T × E	.23 (5.27)*		.02 (5.53)		.15 (5.68)	
Total R ²		.09†		.11*		.11

NOTE: T = Traditionalism; E = Egalitarianism.
 †*p* < .10. **p* ≤ .05.

TABLE 5: Omnibus Regression Analyses of Traditionalism and Egalitarianism Predicting Evaluations of Target Groups for the Adult (Age ≥ 25) Sample

Step	Immigrants		Homosexuals		African Americans	
	β (SE)	R ² Δ	β (SE)	R ² Δ	β (SE)	R ² Δ
1. Main effects		.04**		.21**		.03**
Traditionalism	.13 (.84)**		-.34 (.96)**		.08 (.72)*	
Egalitarianism	.20 (.83)**		.22 (.95)**		.18 (.76)**	
2. Two-way interaction		.01**		.00		.00
T × E	-.11 (.94)**		.02 (1.06)		-.01 (.84)	
Total R ²		.05**		.21**		.03**

NOTE: T = Traditionalism; E = Egalitarianism.
 p* ≤ .05. *p* ≤ .01.

TABLE 6: RWA (or Traditionalism) Predicting Attitudes Toward Immigrants at Specific Value Combinations

Value Endorsement	β (SE)
Study 1	
Low HE	-.37 (.12)**
High HE	.01 (.10)
Study 2	
Young adult sample (age ≤ 24)	
Low Egalitarianism	-.32 (5.17)†
High Egalitarianism	.14 (5.25)
Adult sample (age ≥ 25)	
Low Egalitarianism	.23 (1.20)**
High Egalitarianism	.02 (1.06)

NOTE: HE = humanitarianism-egalitarianism.
 †*p* = .06. ***p* < .01.

adults from younger adults (e.g., family income, years of education, work status, liberalism/conservatism), in the omnibus regression and found that the Traditionalism × Egalitarianism effect was virtually unaffected (β = -.09, *p* < .05 vs. previously reported β = -.11, *p* < .01). We also examined the possibility that level of education (on its own a strong predictor of attitudes toward immigrants) might further moderate the Traditionalism × Egalitarianism effect. However, in testing the Traditionalism ×

Egalitarianism × Education regression model, the only significant interaction was, again, the Traditionalism × Egalitarianism effect (β = -.09, *p* < .05). A similar outcome was found when family income was used as a third predictor variable.

OMNIBUS REGRESSION ANALYSES:
 EVALUATIONS OF HOMOSEXUALS

For both young adult and adult samples, the regression analyses predicting attitudes toward homosexuals showed that only the main effects block accounted for a significant portion of the variance in prediction, R²Δ = .11, *F*_{change}(2, 71) = 4.47, *p* < .05, and R²Δ = .21, *F*_{change}(2, 1088) = 146.81, *p* < .01, respectively. In examining the final regression weights, we found that Traditionalism was negatively associated with attitudes toward homosexuals for both young adults (β = -.30, SE = 4.32, *p* < .01) and adults (β = -.34, SE = .96, *p* < .01). For the adult sample, Egalitarianism (β = .22, SE = .95, *p* < .01) was positively associated with attitudes toward homosexuals.

OMNIBUS REGRESSION ANALYSES:
 EVALUATIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS

The regression analyses predicting attitudes toward African Americans again showed that only the main effects block accounted for a significant portion of the

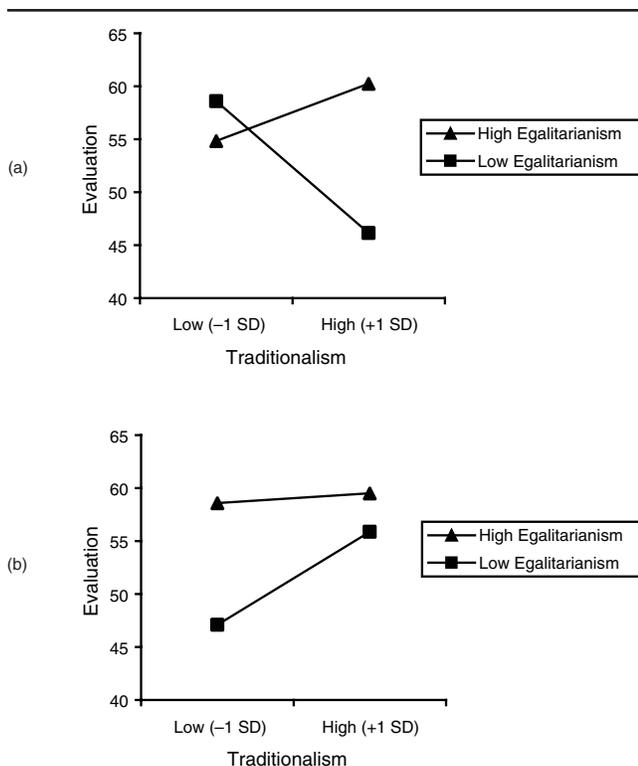


Figure 2 Estimated regression lines between Traditionalism and evaluations of immigrants at low and high levels of egalitarianism for the (a) young adult and (b) adult samples.

variance in prediction for the adult sample, $R^2\Delta = .03$, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 915) = 13.78$, $p < .01$. The young adult sample showed a similar trend, $R^2\Delta = .09$, $F_{\text{change}}(2, 55) = 2.67$, $p = .08$. In examining the final regression weights, we found that Traditionalism was positively associated with attitudes toward African Americans for both young adults ($\beta = .30$, $SE = 3.71$, $p < .05$) and adults ($\beta = .08$, $SE = .72$, $p < .05$). For the adult sample, Egalitarianism ($\beta = .18$, $SE = .76$, $p < .01$) also was positively associated with attitudes toward African Americans.

These omnibus regressions are largely consistent with those presented in Study 1. The strongest predictor of attitudes toward homosexuals in Study 1 was RWA, and in Study 2, Traditionalism (a proxy for RWA) was the strongest predictor for both the young adult and adult samples. Some variations were observed for attitudes toward African Americans. In Study 1, HE was the strongest predictor, whereas for the young adult sample, Traditionalism was the strongest predictor. In the adult sample, both Traditionalism and Egalitarianism were significant predictors, with the latter being the stronger of the two. As in Study 1, the interaction of Traditionalism and Egalitarianism did not predict attitudes toward African Americans or homosexuals.

The critical test was that of attitudes toward immigrants, and here we found evidence consistent with the results of Study 1. For both the young adult and adult samples, the interaction of Traditionalism and Egalitarianism was a significant predictor of attitudes toward immigrants. However, examination of the omnibus regressions and simple slope analyses shows that the interaction functions slightly differently in the young adult and adult samples. For both young adults and adults, endorsement of egalitarian beliefs has the effect of attenuating authoritarian ethnocentrism. In this case, both low and high authoritarians have positive attitudes toward immigrants. The results diverge when considering those who do not endorse egalitarian beliefs. For young adults in this category, traditionalism is negatively related to evaluations of immigrants. In contrast, for adults in this category, traditionalism is positively related to evaluations of immigrants. Outside of this finding, Studies 1 and 2 converge on the same pattern of results.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

The present investigation demonstrates that personal value priorities can moderate the relationship between RWA and evaluations of outgroups, both in the statistical sense and in the sense that high RWAs' ethnocentric propensities can be attenuated. These effects were first demonstrated in Study 1 with a young adult student population. Study 2 replicated these effects in another young adult sample and also found that they generalized to a demographically diverse adult sample. Specifically, for those who endorse egalitarian beliefs, authoritarianism is unrelated to evaluations of immigrants. Furthermore, both low and high authoritarians have positive attitudes toward immigrants when egalitarian beliefs are endorsed. We also found that this interaction effect is limited in its scope. Endorsement of egalitarian beliefs did not moderate the relationship between RWA and attitudes toward homosexuals or African Americans. Instead, as has been found in many other studies, RWA alone was a strong predictor of attitudes toward homosexuals. For attitudes toward African Americans, egalitarianism was positively associated with evaluations, and in Study 2, authoritarian tendencies (as measured by adherence to traditionalism) also were positively related to these attitudes.

One way to understand the divergent patterns for attitudes toward immigrants, homosexuals, and African Americans is to consider the place of these groups within the larger societal and historical context. As suggested earlier, the differences in results among immigrants, homosexuals, and African Americans as outgroups may be partially rooted in the stability, consistency, and strength of public sentiment and norms regarding these groups.

In the United States, as we discussed at the outset, traditions, societal norms and values, and public consensus are contradictory when it comes to immigrants and immigration. Because clear, unambiguous guidelines for how to regard immigrants do not exist, we predicted that personal values would have a strong influence on how high RWAs regard immigrants. The results of the present investigation are consistent with this conceptualization. RWA (and its proxy) in the present investigation does not show a strong, direct relationship with evaluations of immigrants, and this finding is consistent with previous research (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson, & Armstrong, 2001; Esses, Jackson, & Armstrong, 1998; Stephan, Ageyev, Coates-Shrider, Stephan, & Abalakina, 1994). Instead, we found that valuing egalitarianism has an important impact on high RWAs' evaluations of immigrants. We suggest this is the case precisely because the social norms applicable to immigrants are unclear and conflicted. In this context, personal value priorities become important guides for high RWAs. Endorsement of egalitarian beliefs may lead high RWAs to regard immigrants and immigration more in terms of group inclusion and egalitarianism, resulting in more positive attitudes. In contrast, weak endorsement of egalitarian beliefs may lead high RWAs to regard immigrants and immigration more in terms of group threat and exclusion, resulting in less favorable attitudes. Conflicting and unclear social norms provide an opportunity for personal values to influence the relationship between RWA and outgroup evaluation. We next consider cases when social norms provide clear guidelines for how outgroups should be regarded.

With regard to evaluations of homosexuals, although polling data have shown some changes in public sentiment and acceptance of homosexuality, one consistent trend throughout the past few decades is that homosexuality is generally seen as a morally unacceptable lifestyle. Yang (1997) examined public opinion data between 1965 and 1996 and noted a general liberalizing trend (especially during the 1990s) in attitudes toward specific civil rights and liberties protection for gays and lesbians, most notably employment and housing rights. However, general moral acceptance of homosexuality as a lifestyle (e.g., "Are sexual relations between two adults of the same sex always wrong, almost always wrong, wrong only sometimes, or not wrong at all?") and attitudes toward homosexuals (as measured by feeling thermometer) remained consistently negative during this same time period.

These societal trends are reflected in the attitudes of high RWAs toward homosexuals. The strong negative relationship between RWA and attitudes toward homosexuality is well-documented (Altemeyer, 1996; Haddock et al., 1993; Haddock & Zanna, 1998; Whitley, 1999;

Whitley & Lee, 2000) and the present investigation replicates these results. Explanations for this phenomenon generally focus on the importance of perceived value dissimilarity (Haddock et al., 1993; Haddock & Zanna, 1998) and the importance of religious authorities and traditional religious teachings (Altemeyer, 1996; Whitley, 1999) that reject homosexuality as an acceptable lifestyle.

This societal and theoretical context may explain why an interaction between RWA and HE was not found in the present investigation. If high RWAs are looking to norms and values to guide their feelings, the message is clear: public sentiment and societal norms, specifically moral apprehension regarding homosexuality, has remained consistently negative. Because of this stable public sentiment, simply endorsing humanitarian values may not be sufficient to change high RWAs' attitudes. However, positive changes in societal trends, values, and perceived group norms (Altemeyer, 1996) may have some influence on high RWAs' attitudes toward homosexuals.

With regard to African Americans, throughout the past few decades there have been marked changes in public sentiment and societal norms regarding the place of African Americans in American society. The overall picture is mixed, but one trend has been the increasing liberalization of Whites' attitudes regarding, at least in principle, equal treatment of African Americans (Schumann et al., 1997). Current theoretical perspectives, such as that of symbolic racism (Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears & Henry, 2003), raise serious questions about the link between endorsement of egalitarian principles and acceptance of policies that attempt to implement these principles. However, at least superficially, social norms have shifted considerably in the United States to endorse equality for African Americans.

Again, this larger social and historical context may explain why, in the present investigation, RWA is unrelated to evaluations of African Americans. Our results suggest that both low and high RWAs are moderately positive in their evaluations of African Americans, perhaps because the norm of equality is so salient with regard to racial relations. This interpretation also is consistent with the finding that endorsement of egalitarian beliefs, beliefs with direct implications for acceptance or rejection of equality principles, is generally associated with evaluations of African Americans. Further evidence that the link between RWA and evaluations of African Americans may be moderated by prevailing social norms can be found in a recent study by Whitley (1999). In two samples, Whitley (1999) found, as in the present investigation, no relationship between RWA and affective responses to African Americans. Of interest, these findings appear to mirror those of earlier studies, which

found that both low and high authoritarians in the Southern United States and South Africa shared negative attitudes toward Blacks because of the strong prevailing norms (at the time) of intense intolerance toward Blacks (Pettigrew, 2001). Taken together, it seems that strong, clear social norms can weaken or strengthen the relationship between RWA and evaluations of outgroups, underscoring the need to consider both personality and sociocultural factors when investigating intergroup attitudes.

Implications for Research on Values

Although this account fits the pattern of results found in this investigation, it must be kept in mind that we did not collect direct measures of participants' perceptions of the social norms for each of the target groups. However, we have clearly established that the framework developed here is consistent with theory and research in the values literature. Empirically, Bardi and Schwartz (2003) show that certain types of values are strongly to moderately associated with value-congruent behaviors (e.g., traditionalism and observing traditional holiday customs). Of particular interest, they also provide evidence that strong social norms, especially those most important to a group, can weaken the relationship between personal values and behavior. In our case, we expected that personal values would be less important in guiding the attitudes of high RWAs when the norms are clear about how a group should be regarded and treated. Conversely, we expected that the influence of personal values on attitudes toward an outgroup will be strongest, and modify RWA tendencies, when social norms are unclear.

Although the present investigation draws primarily from RWA research, the framework presented also can be construed conceptually as a specific test of a more general model derived from values theory. Rohan (2000) presented a general model in which personal values (an individual's own value priorities), social values (peoples' perceptions of others' value priorities), worldviews (beliefs about the way the world should be; Rohan classifies RWA as a kind of worldview), and ideologies can operate singly or in concert to affect attitudes and behaviors. Our proposed framework essentially parallels the first three constructs of her model but applies it to the specific instances of egalitarianism, authoritarianism, and the social norms regarding specific target groups. By considering specific constructs, we supplement the general Rohan (2000) model by deriving more precise hypotheses about how these constructs interact. Our approach also supplements her model by explicitly stipulating that the clarity, consistency, and strength of social norms is an important characteristic to consider.

Some Caveats and Future Directions

The general findings of Study 1, most importantly that endorsement of egalitarian values led both low and high RWAs to have positive evaluations of immigrants, were replicated for both young adult and adult respondents in Study 2. However, one unexpected age-related difference was found. For young adults who did not endorse egalitarianism, the relationship between authoritarianism and attitudes toward immigrants was exactly what we would expect: Authoritarianism was negatively related to attitudes. However, in the adult sample, this relationship was positive. Although this finding does not disconfirm the idea that egalitarianism can temper authoritarian tendencies, it does raise the question of why, in the absence of egalitarian endorsement, traditionalism seems to function differently for young adults' and adults' attitudes toward immigrants.

We know of no study that examines whether the meaning of traditionalism changes with age, but several different possibilities warrant further investigation. One possibility is that this result reflects a cohort effect, with the older adults growing up at a time when social norms were different than those that prevailed during the formative years of the young adult sample. Another possible cohort effect is that older adults, being generationally closer to their own immigrant roots, may have a greater appreciation for the role immigration plays in building American society. Although these cohort explanations cannot be ruled out, one piece of evidence against them is the fact that the data collection for Study 1 and the 1992 NES survey were conducted approximately a decade apart, that is, the young adults in Studies 1 and 2 belong to different cohorts. Another possibility is that some kind of sociopsychological development occurs that changes construals or meanings of traditionalism. Finally, there may be important unmeasured variables that differentiate the young adult and adult samples and that also have an effect on the meaning of traditionalism and/or attitudes toward immigrants. We tested several possible third variables, including income and education levels, and found that these did not change the nature of the relationship found. However, other variables, such as extent of intergroup contact or perceptions of competition for resources, may further modify the interaction effect found for the adult sample.

The results of the present investigation have implications for understanding the link between RWA and attitudes toward outgroups. The direct association between RWA and attitudes toward outgroups, public policies, and other social opinions is well established. By considering evaluations of a particular outgroup (i.e., immigrants) in which traditions, societal norms, and public consensus are conflicted, we demonstrated that individuals' endorsement of particular values can affect the

nature of the RWA–attitude link. We also found that high RWAs' attitudes toward an outgroup with clear public consensus and norms tend to reflect those norms. Our data fit this model, but the validity of this model needs to be further tested by measuring individuals' perceptions of the prevalent social norms regarding particular outgroups. Is it the case that individuals have internalized a shared cultural sense of how others, in general, regard particular groups? We know that people can reliably report the stereotypes for different groups in society (Devine & Elliot, 1995) regardless of whether they endorse the stereotypes. It remains to be seen if this knowledge also extends to an awareness of prevailing societal norms toward an array of groups.

Another test of this model is to apply it to other target groups. We speculate that this phenomenon will generalize to evaluations of other groups that fit the same profile as immigrants, namely, groups that strongly evoke contradictory impulses, opinions, and regard from society as a whole (e.g., poor people). In addition to evaluations of groups, we suspect that the same phenomenon will apply to controversial public policies or policies in which no general consensus has emerged.

In addition to specific tests of our proposed model, the results of the present investigation suggest several broader future research questions. The focus of our studies has been the endorsement of egalitarianism values because of both conceptual and empirical reasons. Our understanding of the RWA and value interaction could be enriched by considering other pertinent value priorities and beliefs, such as those suggested by Schwartz (1992) or Sears and Henry's (2003) idea of "Black individualism," an important set of values pertinent to attitudes toward African Americans. Another avenue for further research is to consider how perceived threat might interact with values and authoritarianism to influence attitudes. Feldman and Stenner (1997) find that perceptions of threat is a crucial variable for activating authoritarian tendencies. More generally, Feldman (2003) argues that the study of authoritarianism would greatly benefit from an interactional approach. In his reconceptualization of authoritarianism, he suggests social conformity values (which include an adherence to tradition) and perceived threat are critical factors underlying authoritarian tendencies. An extension of his approach, suggested by the present investigation, would lead to testing whether egalitarian values can further moderate the interaction of threat and social conformity values. Finally, the results of the present investigation suggest that studies aimed at prejudice reduction centered on values also may be pursued.

NOTES

1. In the present investigation, we treat right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and values as separate constructs. However, recent work suggests that distinguishing between RWA and values may be theoretically difficult. Altemeyer (1998) demonstrates that RWA is related to certain value priorities but does not explicitly distinguish between the two constructs. Other work explicitly suggests that RWA itself is a function of certain value priorities (Feldman, 2003; Rohan, 2000). That is, some would argue that RWA is a result of certain value priority configurations and therefore there is relatively little difference between the two constructs. The empirical base for these claims is still small, and certainly, our investigation fits somewhere into this puzzle, but as of now we do not feel confident in staking out any particular position in this debate.

2. In the second wave of data collection, we also sampled participants' attitudes toward specific immigrant groups (Asian, Hispanic, and African immigrants). The intercorrelations of attitude variables between responses to "recent immigrants" and responses to the more specific immigrant groups were very high, $r = .62$ to $.88$ (all $ps < .001$), suggesting that participants made little differentiation among the global "recent immigrants" target group and specific immigrant groups. Therefore, we opted to focus our analysis on the more global "recent immigrants" group.

3. For all regressions reported, Cook's D was used to identify participants whose responses had a disproportionate influence on the analysis (McClelland, 2000). Participants who exhibited large D values (values larger than 2 SDs above the mean D value for each analysis) were excluded from the analysis, as were participants with data missing on relevant variables. Inclusion of these participants in the regressions do not appreciably change the pattern of results obtained.

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