

**Authoritarians Go with the Flow: Social Norms Moderate the Link between
Authoritarianism and Outgroup-directed Attitudes**

Paulina Górska

Anna Stefaniak

Katarzyna Lipowska

Katarzyna Malinowska

Magdalena Skrodzka

Marta Marchlewska

Abstract

The purpose of the current research was to provide a more nuanced understanding of the relation between social norms, right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), and outgroup-directed prejudice and hostile behavioral intentions. Three correlational studies, conducted in two countries and three different intergroup contexts ($N_1=997$; $N_2=1,011$; $N_3=1,992$), investigated the moderating role of social norms (both positive and negative) on the relation between RWA and expression of prejudice as well as behavioral intentions towards outgroups. We hypothesized and found that in the presence of positive (i.e., tolerant) social norms the previously well established positive relation between RWA and prejudice is reduced or even reversed, while in the presence of negative (i.e., intolerant) social norms, this relation is strengthened. Additionally, the lower (vs. higher) prejudice of high-RWA individuals in the presence of positive (vs. negative) social norms mediated the link between RWA and behavioral intentions towards outgroups. The present research constitutes the first comprehensive demonstration of authoritarians' potential to be *less* prejudiced in response to prevailing tolerant social norms.

Keywords: Right-wing authoritarianism; Social norms; Prejudice, Collective action

1. Introduction

In the aftermath of World War 2 and its atrocities social scientists and world societies at large wanted to understand the sources of human capacity to hate and inflict pain and death on others. In search for a viable answer Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, and Sanford (1950) proposed that certain individuals are predisposed to blindly follow (evil) leaders and designed an individual difference measure of authoritarian personality, the *F-scale*, to tap into these predispositions. In doing so they initiated a tradition of seeking an explanation for intolerance and discrimination in people's personality and ideological orientations. Subsequent work confirmed the role of right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) as one of the key antecedents of negative intergroup attitudes such as racism (Whitley, 1999) or homophobia (Wilkinson, 2004).

Despite the broad consensus that RWA is positively related to prejudice, recent empirical findings are painting a slightly more nuanced picture of the role that RWA plays in shaping intergroup attitudes. Authoritarianism was shown to relate to more *positive* intergroup attitudes in Singapore where the state authorities actively promote ethnic diversity (Roets, Au, & Van Hiel, 2015). People higher in right-wing authoritarianism were also *more* likely to support a ban on hate speech directed at minority groups in Poland (Bilewicz, Soral, Marchlewska, & Winiewski, 2017). The authors explained these results with authoritarians' strong adherence to social norms: if these norms happen to be tolerant so would authoritarians' attitudes. The main goal of the current work was to investigate the role of social norms in shaping the relation between RWA and intergroup attitudes. Specifically, we aimed to check whether positive social norms mitigate, while negative social norms strengthen the positive relation between RWA and outgroup-directed prejudice. To verify our predictions, different cultural (Poland, Britain) and intergroup (Jews, immigrants, and LGBT people) contexts were utilized.

1.1. Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)

While the initial conceptualization of authoritarianism (Adorno et al., 1950) was decidedly flawed in terms of methodology and its reliance on psychoanalysis, the idea behind it was very potent (e.g., Rokeach, 1956; Wilson & Patterson, 1968). Following a thorough review and criticism of the existing research, Altemeyer (1981)¹ proposed understand authoritarianism as a combination of three clusters of attitudes: *authoritarian submission*, *authoritarian aggression*, and *conventionalism*. Authoritarian submission entails particularly strong submission to established authorities. Authoritarian aggression is directed at persons who are seen as breaching or deviating from social norms or threatening the established authorities. Conventionalism pertains to strong acceptance and adherence to social norms (which are seen as moral), as well as rejection of the idea that people may themselves decide what is good and bad (Altemeyer, 1981; p. 154-155).

Dual process model (DPM; Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010) shifted the understanding of right-wing authoritarianism as a personality dimension to seeing it as an ideological orientation. DPM posits that authoritarianism is a consequence of a socially conformist personality (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008) and being socialized to see the world as inherently dangerous. This personality and world view constellation creates a strong motivation to live in an orderly and predictable society, to protect ingroup's security and cohesion, and to aggress against those perceived to violate social norms and order.

Understood in this way, RWA shows a significant positive relation with prejudice (Altemeyer, 1998; Duckitt & Sibley, 2007). In particular, a meta-analysis summarizing the relations between personality traits, RWA, SDO, and prejudice showed that authoritarianism was

¹ We are aware that there were numerous other conceptualizations of authoritarianism and similar concepts between the original authoritarian personality concept and Altemeyer's theoretical work, however a thorough review of the history of the concept is not the goal of the current manuscript and a comprehensive summary of all the preceding concepts may be found in Altemeyer (1981).

positively and strongly related to prejudice ($r = .49, p < .001$; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008). However, RWA is not only related to prejudice but also to preferences towards treating outgroups unfairly through negative behavioral intentions towards them and supporting harmful policies. For instance, higher levels of RWA were associated with lower intentions to support Maori collective action among European New Zealanders (Osborne, Yogeewaran, & Sibley, 2017) and to lower intentions to donate to charity that wants to improve race relations (Choma, Hodson, Jagayat, & Hoffarth, 2019). In terms of policy support, Craig and Richeson (2014) showed a positive relation between RWA and support for anti-immigrant policies. Similarly, in a large sample of American students support for anti-LGBT policies was positively predicted by their level of RWA. Importantly for the current research, this effect was fully mediated by prejudice towards LGBT individuals (Poteat & Mereish, 2012) which shows that the positive relation between RWA and prejudice may translate to behavioral intentions towards outgroups.

1.2. Social Norms and Prejudice

Despite the prevailing focus on personality as a cause of prejudice in the 1950s, psychologists also acknowledged the significant role of social norms in shaping intergroup relations. Allport (1954) argued that conformity constitutes one of the key mechanisms of prejudice. Group Norm Theory (GNT, Sherif & Sherif, 1953) posited that people internalize the norms of groups that they identify with and these norms become the basis of their own attitudes. This process is particularly relevant for outgroup-directed attitudes because people have less contact with outgroup members and less experience on which to build their own attitudes (Crandall, Eshleman, & O'Brien, 2002; Sherif & Sherif, 1953)

Intolerant (vs. tolerant) social norms should therefore result in greater (or decreased) expressions of prejudice. To the point, Pettigrew (1959) showed that people in Southern and Northern United States as well as White South African Students and their American counterparts

differed significantly in the levels of anti-Black prejudice, but not in authoritarianism. In the absence of differences in personality, Pettigrew explained these discrepancies as a result of locally prevailing social norms. Even brief communications of social norms may influence people's attitudes. For instance, overhearing a racial slur resulted in more negative evaluations of a minority target by White participants (Greenberg & Pyszczynski, 1985), while hearing a confederate condemn racism before answering a set of questions about university anti-racism policy led research participants to express stronger anti-racist attitudes (Blanchard, Crandall, Brigham, & Vaughn, 1994). Overall, social norms are a powerful predictor of prejudice: Crandall and colleagues (2002, Study 1) showed that perceptions of social acceptance of prejudice correlated almost perfectly ($r = .96$) with people's actual expression of prejudice.

People's sensitivity to social norms is also demonstrated by experimental research on perceived consensus. When research participants were told that social attitudes towards Black Americans were positive (vs. negative), they expressed more positive (or negative) attitudes towards that group themselves. Perceptions that one's racial attitudes are in line with the social norm (vs. not) led to their greater resistance to change (Stangor, Sechrist, Jost, 2001). Research that used behavioral measures (i.e., sitting distance) also showed that there was greater behavior-attitude consistency when people were led to believe that their attitudes (positive or negative) were socially shared (Sechrist & Stangor, 2001).

1.3. Social Norms as a Moderator of the Link between RWA and Outgroup-directed Prejudice and Behavioral Intentions

It is well established that people high in RWA tend to score higher on various measures of intergroup prejudice (Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), however, under certain circumstances RWA may relate to *lower* rather than higher prejudice. A study conducted in Singapore, where in the last 50 years a policy of promoting multiculturalism has been endorsed and implemented by the elected

authorities (i.e., where strong and enduring norms of ethnic tolerance exist) showed that authoritarianism was correlated with more *positive* outgroup attitudes (Roets et al., 2015). Two Polish studies, in which participants were exposed to actual hate-speech utterances (often very offensive, e.g., “A Gypsy is a thief, and nothing will change that”) also showed that RWA was strongly and positively correlated with a desire to *ban* hate speech (Bilewicz et al., 2017).

There are at least two processes that may be responsible for the negative RWA-prejudice associations and for the attenuation of the positive association. First, authoritarians’ motivation to preserve their group’s cohesion and security by strictly following social norms (e.g., Altemeyer, 1981; Duckitt, 2001) means that when these norms support various aspects of social diversity and tolerance, authoritarians will display lower rather than higher prejudice. Second, people high in RWA seem to be particularly susceptible to more or less subtle contextual cues (e.g., Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Hodson, 2011; Van Assche, Dhont, Van Hiel, & Roets, 2018) and when these cues promote tolerance, right-wing authoritarians would likely follow them.

One of the three key aspects of authoritarianism is a strong adherence to traditional social norms and a sensitivity to what is socially acceptable (Altemeyer, 1981; Duckitt, 2001). While the development of tolerant social norm is regarded as a valid prejudice reduction method for people in general (Allport, 1954; Crandall et al., 2002; Crandall & Stangor, 2005; Pettigrew, 1991), high RWA individuals should be particularly attuned to these changes. The empirical evidence for this contention is rather scarce (with the exception of Roets et al., 2015) but some unexpected results of other studies have been explained by the changing social norms. For instance, Duckitt (2001; Studies 2 and 4) showed a negative relation between conformity and expression of prejudice, which the author interpreted as showing the existence of social norms proscribing prejudice. Likewise, Bilewicz and colleagues (2017) argued that the opposition to

hate speech observed among high-RWA people in their studies was driven by authoritarians' perception of hate speech as a violation of social norms.

The association between authoritarianism and outgroup-directed prejudice and behavior may be highly dependent on social norms also due to their sensitivity to contextual cues. In a nationally representative sample of Dutch people, those high (but not low) in RWA were especially sensitive to the levels of ethnic diversity of the country: when they lived in more diverse areas, they displayed greater political cynicism and less political trust (Van Assche, et al., 2018). Right-wing authoritarians—somewhat contrary to intuitive expectations—also show the strongest intergroup contact effects both in the positive and negative direction (Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Hodson, Harry, & Mitchell, 2009). High-RWA individuals may avoid intergroup contact in the first place (Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009), however, when they happen to experience positive contact with outgroups, they show strong and significant improvement of attitudes, while the attitudes of low-RWA individuals often remain unchanged (Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Hodson et al., 2009). At the same time, experiencing negative intergroup contact leads authoritarians to develop stronger prejudice (as compared to people scoring low on the measure of RWA; Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009).

1.4. Hypotheses and Overview of Current Research

The main purpose of this research program was to investigate *whether* and *how* social norms moderate the association between RWA and prejudice.² We hypothesized that people high in RWA should be particularly susceptible to social norms and that this susceptibility should be evidenced by: (H1a) a decrease (or even reversal) of the positive link between RWA and prejudice in the presence of positive social norms (i.e., positive societal attitudes toward a target

² Throughout this text we refer to “positive norms” as social norms that proscribe prejudice and to “negative norms” as social norms that condone prejudice towards certain social groups.

out-group) and (H1b) an increase of the positive link between RWA and prejudice in the presence of negative social norms. Moreover, we expected that social norms would modify the way in which RWA indirectly affects support for policies or behavioral intentions aimed to harm the out-group. Specifically, following Poteat and Mereish (2012) we hypothesized that, by predicting increased prejudice, RWA would be associated with stronger support for anti-outgroup policies or behavior (H2). At the same time, we expected that this indirect effect would be diminished by positive social norms (H3a) and enhanced by negative social norms (H3b).

To verify our predictions, we conducted three studies that employed a diversified set of national contexts and target groups. To test H1a, Study 1 used a representative sample of Poles and investigated their attitudes toward Jews – a group that still attracts strong prejudice in Polish society (e.g., Bulska & Winiewski, 2018). Study 2, which aimed at verifying H1a, H2, and H3a, was performed using a British sample and concerned attitudes toward immigrants (see Abrams, Swift, & Houston, 2018). Importantly, to increase confidence in its results, Study 2 was pre-registered at Open Science Framework prior to data collection.³ Finally, Poles' attitudes toward gay men and lesbians provided the context in Study 3 that simultaneously verified all our hypotheses.

2. Study 1⁴

2.1. Method

2.1.1. Participants and procedure

Study 1 was administered as part of a larger in-house survey on a nation-wide sample of Poles ($N = 1000$). To obtain a representative sample, random sampling was employed. Data was collected

³ For a pre-registration form, see: osf.io/y6zqm

⁴ For all studies presented in the current manuscript, study materials, data, and SPSS syntax may be accessed online: https://osf.io/xb9cg/?view_only=7fc84d1267954e6c846125caed3d3f1f

using computer-assisted face-to-face interviews. Prior to analyses, data from three participants of non-Polish nationality were excluded. The final sample consisted of 997 individuals (51.7% female, 48.3% male, $M_{age} = 45.37$, $SD = 14.73$).

2.1.2. Measures

For all multi-item measures, composite scores were obtained by averaging all items. Unless otherwise noted, all measures used a response scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly agree*).

2.1.2.1. Right-wing Authoritarianism Scale (RWA; Funke, 2005). To measure participants' level of RWA, we used six positively-worded items from the 12-item RWA scale developed by Funke (2005; sample item: "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important values children should learn"). The response scale ranged from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*), $\alpha = .83$.

2.1.2.2. Positive norms. Two items were used to assess positive norms toward the out-group: "People living in my area of residence have friendly attitudes toward Jews", and "People living in my area of residence often express affection toward Jews", $r = .83$, $p < .001$.

2.1.2.3. Feeling thermometer. General attitude toward Jews was measured with a Feeling Thermometer (Alwin, 1997). Participants indicated their feelings toward Jews on a scale ranging from -50° (*extremely unfavorable feelings*) to $+50^\circ$ (*extremely favorable feelings*).

2.1.2.4. Belief in Jewish Conspiracy (Kofta & Sędek, 2005). Belief in Jewish conspiracy was assessed with a 6-item scale used in the past research (e.g., Bilewicz, Winiewski, Kofta, & Wójcik, 2013; sample item: "Jews often meet in hiding to discuss their plans"), $\alpha = .95$.

2.1.2.5. Conservatism. To measure economic and social conservatism, two items were employed: "What are your views concerning economic issues? (1 = *I support welfare state*, 7 = *I*

support free market economy” and “What are your views concerning social issues? (1 = *Liberal*, 7 = *Conservative*)”, respectively. In line with the past results obtained in Poland (e.g., Cichočka, Bilewicz, Jost, Marrouch, & Witkowska, 2016), these two types of conservatism were practically orthogonal, $r = .02$, $p = .593$.

2.2. Results

Means, standard deviations, and bivariate associations among variables are presented in Table 1.

2.2.1. Predictors of feelings toward Jews. To examine whether positive norms toward Jews moderated the relation between RWA and attitudes toward this group (i.e., feelings toward Jews and Jewish conspiracy beliefs, respectively), a series of linear regression models were tested. In this and the following studies, all predictors were mean-centered prior to analyses. In Model 1 (Table 2), feelings toward Jews were regressed on RWA and positive norms, $F(2, 561) = 76.99$, $p < .001$, $R^2 = .22$. While positive norms served as a positive predictor of the DV ($B = 5.85$, $SE = 0.47$, $p < .001$), the effect of RWA did not reach significance, $B = -0.57$, $SE = 0.98$, $p = .559$. In Model 2 (Table 2), RWA \times positive norms interaction was added into regression equation, $F_{change}(1, 560) = 7.30$, $p = .007$, $\Delta R^2 = .01$. Significant interaction term ($B = 1.47$, $SE = 0.55$, $p = .007$) indicated that the relation between RWA and the DV depended on the level of positive norms (Figure 1). Specifically, while RWA had a negative effect on feelings toward Jews at the low ($-1 SD$) level of positive norms ($B = -2.87$, $SE = 1.29$, $p = .027$), its effect was not significant at the average (M) or high ($1 SD$) level of this moderator ($B = -0.48$, $SE = 0.98$, $p = .625$, and $B = 1.92$, $SE = 1.34$, $p = .154$, respectively). Inspecting Johnson-Neyman (J-N) regions of significance revealed that for individuals reporting the highest values of positive norms ($> 1.72 SD$) RWA served as a positive predictor of feelings toward Jews. This pattern of results was consistent with H1a. Importantly, controlling for social and economic conservatism (Table 2,

Model 3; $F_{change}(2, 558) = 4.67, p = .010, \Delta R^2 = .01$) or excluding outliers⁵ did not change the results in a meaningful way.

2.2.2. Predictors of Jewish conspiracy beliefs. The same steps were taken for Jewish conspiracy beliefs as a DV. Results obtained for Model 1 (Table 2; $F(2, 568) = 27.64, p < .001, R^2 = .09$) revealed that believing in Jewish conspiracy was predicted negatively by positive norms ($B = -0.12, SE = .04, p = .001$) and positively by RWA, $B = 0.52, SE = 0.07, p < .001$. However, a significant interaction term in Model 2 (Table 2; $F_{change}(1, 567) = 9.79, p = .002, \Delta R^2 = .02$) indicated that the effect of RWA was moderated by positive norms, $B = -0.13, SE = .04, p = .002$. In line with H1a, the positive effect of RWA on the DV was the strongest at low ($-1 SD$) values of positive norms ($B = 0.70, SE = .09, p < .001$), and became weaker when positive norms were average (M), or high ($1 SD$), $B = 0.49, SE = 0.07, p < .001$, and $B = 0.29, SE = .10, p = .006$, respectively. The closer look at J-N regions of significance revealed that the positive association between RWA and belief in Jewish conspiracy became nonsignificant when positive norms were particularly high ($> 1.28 SD$). Adding social and economic conservatism as covariates (Table 2, Model 3; $F_{change}(2, 565) = 10.10, p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .03$) or removing outliers did not substantially affect the present results.

2.2.3. Supplementary analyses.⁶ One may ask whether significant RWA \times positive norms interaction was driven by any specific facet of RWA (i.e., authoritarian aggression, authoritarian submission, and conventionalism, see Altemeyer, 1981, 1996), occurred for all components of RWA, or resulted from the blend of RWA sub-factors. To check which of these possibilities was the case, we performed a series of linear regressions where RWA was replaced

⁵ In this and the following studies, outliers were defined as the observations for which Cook's distance exceeded 1 or a standardized residual had an absolute value greater than 3; see Barnett & Lewis, 1994. For analyses with outliers removed, see the Supplementary Material.

⁶ For detailed results, see the Supplementary Material.

with its three facets and RWA \times positive norms interaction was substituted with three new interactions, accordingly. As shown by the results for feeling thermometer and Jewish conspiracy beliefs, none of tested interactions reached significance. Thus, RWA \times positive norms interaction was not driven by any specific component of RWA, but rather originated from the blend of its sub-factors.

2.3. Discussion

Results of Study 1 lend support to H1a. Using two indicators of outgroup-directed attitudes, we showed that the positive link between RWA and prejudice was the strongest among those individuals who perceived positive social norms as weak. At the same time, the association between RWA and prejudice was reduced (for Jewish conspiracy beliefs) or even reversed (for feelings toward Jews) at the high level of positive social norms. In other words, for individuals who perceived societal attitudes toward a target out-group as especially favorable, the association between RWA and hostile outgroup-directed attitudes was either non-significant, or negative. These results demonstrate that the well-documented association between RWA and prejudice depends on individual perception of the social context.

Although Study 1 provided encouraging results, caution is warranted because of several reasons. First, Study 1 examined attitudes toward a single target group in a particular cultural setting. As such, there was no basis to extrapolate its findings to other contexts and target groups. Second, we did not check, whether, besides altering the relation between RWA and prejudice, social norms moderate the association between RWA and support for anti-outgroup policies. Study 2 aimed to account for these limitations.

3. Study 2

Study 2 had three major objectives. First, by assessing attitudes toward immigrants in Britain, we aimed to check whether the results of Study 1 generalized to other target groups and cultural settings. Second, Study 2 was designed to verify H2 and H3a – we expected that the positive effect of RWA on support for anti-immigrant policy would be mediated by increased prejudice, and that this indirect effect would be the weakest at the high level of positive social norms. Finally, by pre-registering Study 2 at OSF, we intended to emphasize the confirmatory character of the current research.

3.1. Method

3.1.1. Participants and procedure. Participants were recruited online via Prolific Academic (Peer, Brandimarte, Samat, & Acquisti, 2017). Based on assumed statistical power (80%) and the effect sizes registered in Study 1 we aimed at collecting data from at least 720 participants. In total, 1,034 individuals completed the questionnaire. After excluding participants who were not UK-born British citizens ($n = 23$), the sample consisted of 1,011 individuals (67.2% female, 32.3% male, 0.4% non-binary, 0.1% did not report their gender, $M_{age} = 37.57$, $SD = 12.76$). Participants were invited to participate in the “Social attitudes survey”. After providing their informed consent, subjects were asked to fill in the questionnaire, which was supposed to take no longer than 5 minutes. In return for participation, all subjects received £0.60.

3.1.2. Measures

3.1.2.1. Authoritarianism, Conventionalism and Traditionalism Scale (ACT, Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010). To assess RWA, we employed a 12-item scale ($\alpha = .88$) that had already been used in the British context (e.g., Cichocka, Dhont, & Makwana, 2017; sample item: “What our country needs most is discipline, with everyone following our leaders in unity”).

3.1.2.2. Positive norms. Positive norms were assessed with two items ($r = .35$, $p < .001$): “Regardless of your own opinion about this group, would you say that it is generally socially

acceptable to have positive feelings about immigrants?” (1 = *It is definitely NOT OK to have positive feelings about this group*, 7 = *It is definitely OK to have positive feelings about this group*) and “Would you say that the people in your neighborhood have predominantly positive attitudes towards immigrants?” (1 = *definitely not*, 7 = *definitely yes*)

3.1.2.3. Subtle Prejudice Scale (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Subtle prejudice toward immigrants was assessed with two items from the Positive Emotions Scale: “How often have you felt sympathy for the immigrants living here?” and “How often have you felt admiration for the immigrants living here?” (all items reverse-scored; $r = .68, p < .001$). Participants provided their responses on a scale ranging from 1 (*Never*) to 7 (*Very often*).

3.1.2.4. Support for spending reduction. To measure participants’ support for spending reduction, a single item was employed: “Would you be willing to support a reduction of social spending that benefits the immigrants in Britain?” (1 = *Definitely not*, 7 = *Definitely yes*).

3.1.2.5. Political conservatism. Conservatism was assessed with a single item: “In politics people sometimes talk of Left and Right. Where would you place yourself on the following scale?” (1 = *Left*, 5 = *Right*; 6 = *Don’t know / Something else*).

3.2. Results

Means, standard deviations and correlations for variables assessed in Study are presented in Table 3.

3.2.1. Predictors of subtle prejudice. To verify H1a, we tested a series of linear regression models with subtle prejudice as a DV. In Model 1, subtle prejudice was regressed on RWA and positive social norms, $F(2, 833) = 154.58, R^2 = .27$. While RWA exerted a positive effect on the DV ($B = 0.53, SE = 0.04, p < .001$), the effect of positive norms was negative, $B = -0.30, SE = 0.03, p < .001$. In Model 2, RWA \times positive norms interaction was added to the

regression equation, $F_{change}(1, 832) = 16.69, p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .01$ (Table 4). As indicated by the significant interaction term ($B = -0.12, SE = 0.03, p < .001$), RWA effect on subtle prejudice was moderated by positive norms. Specifically, the positive effect of RWA on subtle prejudice was the strongest when positive norms were perceived as weak ($-1 SD; B = 0.68, SE = 0.05, p < .001$), and decreased at the average (M) and high ($1 SD$) level of positive norms, $B = 0.52, SE = 0.04, p < .001$, and $B = 0.37, SE = 0.06, p < .001$, respectively. When political conservatism was adjusted for (Model 3; $F_{change}(1, 831) = 39.34, p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .03$), RWA \times positive norms interaction remained significant, $B = -0.11, SE = 0.03, p < .001$. Excluding outliers did not change the conclusions either.⁷

3.2.2. Predictors of support for anti-immigrant policy. To verify H2, support for spending reduction was regressed on RWA (Model 1, $F(1, 834) = 56.02, R^2 = .06$), which served as a positive predictor of the DV, $B = 0.41, SE = 0.05, p < .001$. In Model 2, subtle prejudice was added to the equation, $F_{change}(1, 833) = 18.60, \Delta R^2 = .02$. The effect of RWA decreased but remained significant, $B = 0.29, SE = 0.06, p < .001$. At the same time, subtle prejudice had a positive and significant effect on the DV, $B = 0.20, SE = 0.05, p < .001$. To check whether RWA effect on support for spending reduction was mediated by subtle prejudice, Model 4 PROCESS (Hayes, 2017) was employed.⁸ The significance of the indirect effect was judged based on bias-corrected 95% CIs obtained with bootstrapping (5,000 re-samples).⁹ Results lent support to H2. By predicting increased subtle prejudice, RWA exerted a positive indirect effect on support for spending reduction, $IE = 0.12, SE = 0.04, 95\% CI [0.05, 0.19]$. In order to check, whether this indirect effect depended on the perception of positive social norms, we used Model 8 PROCESS

⁷ See the Supplementary Material.

⁸ Please note that the numbering of consecutive models tested for each DV and the numbering of model templates in PROCESS (Hayes, 2017), are two distinct enumerations.

⁹ The same procedure was employed to test for indirect effects in Study 3.

(Figure 2, Table 4, Model 3). In this model, positive norms and their interaction with RWA were added to regression equation, $F_{change}(2, 831) = 0.52, \Delta R^2 = .001$. As indicated by the significant index of moderated mediation (index = -0.03, $SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [-0.05, -0.01]), the indirect effect of RWA on support for spending reduction was modified by positive norms. Specifically, the indirect effect of RWA on the DV was the strongest when positive norms were perceived as weak (-1 SD ; $IE = 0.14, SE = 0.04$, 95% CI [0.06, 0.23]), and became weaker at the average (M) and high (1 SD) level of positive norms, $IE = 0.11, SE = 0.03$, 95% CI [0.05, 0.18] and $IE = 0.08, SE = 0.03$, 95% CI [0.03, 0.13], respectively. Adjusting for political conservatism (Model 4, $F_{change}(1, 830) = 11.15, \Delta R^2 = .01$) or removing outliers did not change our conclusions – positive norms still moderated the indirect effect of RWA on spending reduction.¹⁰

3.2.3. Supplementary analyses. Following Study 1, we checked whether $RWA \times$ positive norms interaction was driven by any specific dimension of RWA. As shown by these analyses, positive norms moderated the effects of Traditionalism, but not the effects of Conservatism or Authoritarianism.¹¹ Specifically, the positive association between Traditionalism and subtle prejudice was mitigated by strong positive norms. In a similar vein, positive norms diminished the positive effect of RWA on support for spending reduction via subtle prejudice. As such, Study 2 deviated from the results of Study 1, in which it was the blend of all three dimensions, and not any specific facet of RWA, that was moderated by positive norms.

3.3. Discussion

The results of Study 2 replicated and extended the results of Study 1. Perceiving social norms toward the out-group as favorable translated into weaker positive association between RWA and

¹⁰ For details, see the Supplementary Material.

¹¹ Traditionalism, Conservatism, and Authoritarianism – the three dimensions of RWA distinguished by Duckitt et al., (2010) – correspond to Altemeyer's (1981, 1996) conventionalism, authoritarian submission and authoritarian aggression, respectively.

prejudice (H1a). RWA was a positive predictor of anti-outgroup policies (H2), however, presence of positive norms diminished RWA's indirect effect on such support via subtle prejudice (H3a). Importantly, these results were obtained in a different context than those revealed in Study 1 and matched our predictions pre-registered at OSF. Therefore, evidence showing the mitigating role of positive social norms may be considered strong. In Study 3, we intended to check whether, in contrast to positive norms, negative social norms augment the positive association between RWA and anti-outgroup attitudes or behavior.

4. Study 3

The purpose of Study 3 was to examine whether the effects of RWA were moderated not only by positive but also by negative social norms (H1b and H3b). Specifically, we expected that perceiving social norms as particularly negative would enhance the association between RWA and negative outgroup-directed attitudes or behavior. By contrast, viewing negative norms as weak should diminish these relations. Moreover, we aimed to check whether these effects were independent of SDO – a well-documented correlate of RWA (e.g., Wilson & Sibley, 2013). Our hypotheses were verified in the context of sexual minorities. Although recent decades witnessed continuing emancipation of homosexual people, in some places of the world gay men and lesbians still attract immense prejudice. This is the case in Poland, where the rights of homosexual people are strongly limited and the level of homophobia is high (e.g., Takács & Szalma, 2019).

4.1. Method

4.1.1. Participants and procedure. Study 3 was administered as a part of a larger survey conducted via Ariadna – a Polish online research platform that had been employed in academic studies before (e.g., Golec de Zavala et al., 2019). Participants were 1,992 heterosexual/cisgender individuals (47.5% female, 52.5% male, $M_{age} = 43.73$, $SD = 15.30$). The sample reflected the

demographics of Polish society in terms of age, gender, education, and place of residence. Participants filled in a questionnaire in exchange for small material rewards (e.g., cups). Apart from the measures listed below, the questionnaire included scales that assessed other constructs.

4.1.2. Measures.

4.1.2.1. Right-wing authoritarianism (Funke, 2005). RWA was assessed with the six items employed in Study 1 ($\alpha = .87$).

4.1.2.2. Short Social Dominance Orientation (SSDO, Pratto et al., 2013). To measure participants' level of SDO, a short scale consisting of 4-items was used ($\alpha = .68$; sample item: „Superior groups should dominate inferior groups”).

4.1.2.3. Positive norms. Positive norms regarding the out-group were assessed with two items: “Residents of my county support LGBT rights movement,” and “Residents of my county do not hesitate to publicly support LGBT rights movement,” $r = .65, p < .001$.

4.1.2.4. Negative norms. Two items were used to tap on negative social norms: “Residents of my county believe that LGBT people are immoral”, and “Resident of my county do not hesitate to publicly express their disapproval of LGBT people,” $r = .64, p < .001$.

4.1.2.5. Old-fashioned homonegativity (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). To assess participants' old-fashioned prejudice toward gay men and lesbians, we used a 4-item Polish adaptation of Homonegativity Scale (Górska, Bilewicz, Winiewski, & Waszkiewicz, 2017; $\alpha = .80$, sample item: “Homosexuals are immoral”).

4.1.2.6. Collective action against LGBT people. Willingness to engage in collective action against LGBT people was assessed with three items ($\alpha = .92$). Participants were asked how likely they were to sign a petition, join a demonstration, and distribute informational materials in order to limit LGBT rights. The response scale ranged from 1 (*Very unlikely*) to 7 (*Very likely*).

4.1.2.7. Political conservatism. Political views were assessed as in Study 2 – participants were asked to place themselves on a scale ranging from 1 (*Left*) to 10 (*Right*).

4.2. Results

Table 5 presents means, standard deviations, and bivariate associations among the variables assessed in Study 3.

4.2.1. Predictors of old-fashioned homonegativity. To verify H1a and H1b, we performed a series of linear regressions with old-fashioned homonegativity as a DV. In Model 1, old-fashioned homonegativity was regressed on RWA and the two types of social norms, $F(3, 1988) = 108.34, p < .001, R^2 = .14$. While RWA ($B = 0.31, SE = 0.03, p < .001$) and negative norms ($B = 0.19, SE = 0.02, p < .001$) exerted positive effects on the DV, the effect of positive norms was negative, $B = -0.16, SE = 0.02, p < .001$. In Model 2, two interaction terms – RWA \times positive norms and RWA \times negative norms – were added into regression equation, $F_{change}(2, 1986) = 17.60, p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .02$ (see Table 6). As shown by significant interaction terms, RWA's effect on old-fashioned homonegativity was moderated independently by positive ($B = -0.07, SE = 0.02, p < .001$), and negative social norms, $B = 0.06, SE = 0.02, p < .001$. To explore these interactions, a simple slopes analysis was conducted. In accordance with H1a, the positive effect of RWA was the strongest when positive social norms were perceived as weak ($-1 SD; B = 0.38, SE = 0.03, p < .001$), and became lower when positive norms were perceived as average ($M; B = 0.29, SE = 0.02, p < .001$), and strong ($1 SD$), $B = 0.20, SE = 0.03, p < .001$. Importantly, when positive social norms were assessed as particularly strong ($> 2.07 SD$), the positive effect of RWA lost significance. At the same time, the positive association between RWA and old-fashioned homonegativity was the strongest at high ($1 SD$) level of negative social norms ($B = 0.38, SE = 0.03, p < .001$), and became lower when negative norms were average ($M; B = 0.29, SE = 0.02, p < .001$), and weak ($-1 SD$), $B = 0.21, SE = 0.04, p < .001$. This pattern of results

provided support to H1b. The aim of Model 3 was to check whether interaction terms involving RWA were robust to political conservatism and SDO, $F_{change}(4, 1982) = 131.59, p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .18$. Adding four new terms (i.e., political conservatism, SDO, SDO \times positive norms, and SDO \times negative norms) did not change the results in a meaningful way. The positive association between RWA and old-fashioned homonegativity remained moderated by positive ($B = -0.06, SE = 0.02, p < .001$) and negative ($B = 0.03, SE = 0.01, p = .016$) social norms. At the same time, old-fashioned homonegativity was predicted positively by SDO ($B = 0.51, SE = 0.03, p < .001$) and political conservatism, $B = 0.11, SE = 0.01, p < .001$. None of the remaining effects reached significance.¹²

4.2.2. Predictors of collective action against LGBT rights. In the next step, we examined the predictors of collective action against homosexuals' rights. In Model 1, intentions to engage in this type of collective action were regressed on RWA, $F(1, 1990) = 32.27, p < .001, R^2 = .02$. RWA served as a positive predictor of the DV, $B = 0.16, SE = 0.03, p < .001$. This effect lost significance ($B = 0.03, SE = 0.03, p = .272$) after adding old-fashioned homonegativity to the regression equation (Model 2), $F_{change}(1, 1989) = 291.63, p < .001, \Delta R^2 = .12$. At the same time, collective action against homosexuals' rights was predicted positively by old-fashioned homonegativity, $B = 0.39, SE = 0.02, p < .001$. In line with H2, there was a positive indirect effect of RWA on collective action against homosexuals' rights via increased old-fashioned homonegativity, $IE = 0.13, SE = 0.01, 95\% \text{ CI } [0.10, 0.16]$. To check whether this effect was moderated by social norms, we tested Model 3 (Figure 3). In this solution collective action against homosexuals' rights was regressed on RWA, old-fashioned homonegativity, positive norms, negative norms, as well as RWA \times positive norms, and RWA \times negative norms

¹² For details, see the Supplementary Material.

interactions, $F_{change}(4, 1985) = 27.76, \Delta R^2 = .05$ (see Table 6). RWA's indirect effect on the DV proved to depend on positive norms - index of moderated mediation obtained with PROCESS (Model 10; Hayes, 2017), was significant, index = -0.03, $SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [-0.04, -0.01]. In line with H3a, the positive indirect effect of RWA on collective action via old-fashioned homonegativity was the strongest at the low (-1 *SD*) level of positive norms ($IE = 0.15, SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [0.11, 0.18]), and became weaker when positive norms were average (M ; $IE = 0.11, SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [0.09, 0.14]), or high (1 *SD*), $IE = 0.08, SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [0.05, 0.11]. In a similar vein, significant index of moderated mediation (index = 0.02, $SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [0.01, 0.04]) revealed that RWA's indirect effect on the DV depended on negative social norms. In accordance with H3b, the positive indirect effect of RWA on anti-homosexual engagement via old-fashioned homonegativity was the strongest when perceived negative norms were high (1 *SD*; $IE = 0.15, SE = 0.02$, 95% CI [0.11, 0.18]), and decreased at the average (M ; $IE = 0.11, SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [0.09, 0.14]), and low (-1 *SD*) level of negative norms, $IE = 0.08, SE = 0.01$, 95% CI [0.05, 0.11].

To assess the robustness of these results, we performed Model 4, where political conservatism, SDO, as well as $SDO \times$ positive norms and $SDO \times$ negative norms interaction terms were included as covariates, $F_{change}(4, 1981) = 11.72, \Delta R^2 = .02$. Neither controlling for additional variables, nor removing outliers altered the results in a meaningful way.¹³

4.2.3. Supplementary analyses. Similarly to Studies 1 and 2, we repeated all analyses distinguishing between different facets of RWA. When old-fashioned homonegativity served as a DV, $RWA \times$ positive norms interaction effect was not driven by any specific dimension of RWA. At the same time, negative norms moderated the effect of authoritarian aggression, but not the

¹³ For detailed results, see the Supplementary Material.

effects of authoritarian submission or conventionalism. Specifically, while authoritarian aggression served as a positive predictor of old-fashioned homonegativity at high and medium values of negative social norms, its effect lost significance when negative norms were perceived as weak. On the other hand, none of three newly created indirect effects (i.e., from authoritarian aggression / authoritarian submission / conventionalism to collective action via old-fashioned homonegativity) was moderated by positive or negative norms.

4.3. Discussion

Study 3 replicated and extended the results of Studies 1 and 2. Both positive and negative social norms moderated the effects of RWA on old-fashioned homonegativity and collective action aimed to limit homosexuals' rights. Specifically, while positive norms weakened the associations between RWA and these two variables, negative norms increased the positive effects of RWA. Importantly, all these moderation effects proved robust. Even when we controlled for SDO and political conservatism – two correlates of RWA identified in the literature (e.g., Wilson & Sibley, 2013) – they remained statistically significant.

5. General Discussion

The aim of the present research program was to investigate *whether* and *how* social norms moderate the relation between RWA and prejudice. Using pre-registration and three non-student samples collected in two different countries, we obtained consistent evidence that perceiving social norms as highly positive weakens (Studies 1-3) or even reverses (Study 1) the previously established positive relation between RWA and prejudice (H1a). Opposite effect was demonstrated for negative social norms (Study 3). In line with our expectations (H1b), perceiving social norms as strongly negative enhanced the positive relation between RWA and prejudice and this effect occurred over and above the effect of positive norms. Moreover, Studies 2 and 3 showed that, via increased prejudice, RWA exerted positive indirect effects on support for anti-

outgroup policy (Study 2) and intentions to engage in collective action against a target group (Study 3; both effects in line with H2). At the same time, these indirect effects were moderated by positive (Studies 2 and 3) and negative norms (Study 3). While strong positive norms mitigated the indirect effects of RWA on policy support and collective action (H3a), negative norms increased these indirect effects (H3b).

Our findings add to the literature in several ways. Most importantly, they provide a more nuanced understanding of the link between RWA and outgroup-directed prejudice and behavior. While the extant research typically assumed that high levels of RWA are associated with more prejudice (e.g., Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), we hypothesized and found that this relation is moderated by social norms. When social norms are seen as positive (i.e., supportive of diversity), the positive association between RWA and prejudice is reduced or even reversed. This corroborates the results of a previous study that found a negative relation between RWA and prejudice in Singapore (Roets et al., 2015). Extending these findings, we demonstrated that perception of social norms as negative (i.e., supportive of intolerance) is related to strengthening the positive association between RWA and prejudice. This suggests that people who are high in RWA will be prejudiced in prejudiced societies but may be tolerant in tolerant ones. We also showed that the indirect effect of RWA on behavioral intentions towards outgroups (via prejudice) is moderated by social norms. Overall, this pattern of results contributes to the literature on RWA by establishing the particular sensitivity of authoritarians' intergroup sentiments to the normative cues present in the social context. This strengthens our initial claim, expressed in the title of this work, that rather than being rigidly opposed to outgroups as such, authoritarians go with the (social) flow, and reject only those outgroups that the society at large rejects as well.

The present results expand our understanding of the role that perceptions of social norms play in shaping human attitudes and behavior (Tankard & Paluck, 2016; 2017). While perceptions of norms are typically seen as exerting powerful influence on people's thoughts and behavior due to human motivation to be accurate and to avoid social rejection (Cialdini & Goldstein, 2004), the current studies demonstrate an important, and previously unexplored, interaction of social norms perceptions and an individual difference measure (RWA). Interestingly, Study 3 also demonstrated that perceptions of social norms as positive or negative were only weakly negatively correlated and shaped the relation between RWA and prejudice independently. This speaks to the possibility that different (and even opposing) social norms may be simultaneously perceived within the same society.

Finally, our research has important practical implication in confirming the crucial role of social norms in shaping intergroup relations. A recent study by Crandall, Miller, and White (2018) showed that following the election of Donald Trump the perception of social acceptability of prejudice towards groups that Trump targeted in his campaign (e.g., Mexicans, people with disabilities) significantly increased. Even though in the original article the expression of prejudice in the studied sample did not change, in light of our results we would expect that changing norms would likely increase high-RWA individuals' expression of prejudice. Looking on the bright side, our result also show that strengthening positive social norms may be a particularly effective at promoting tolerance among individuals previously thought to be most prone to prejudice. While the idea that modifying social norms may be a viable strategy for reducing prejudice has a long tradition in psychology (Allport, 1954; Crandall et al., 2002; Pettigrew, 1991), our results show that this strategy may be especially effective among right-wing authoritarians.

5.1. Limitations and future directions

The current research is not without limitations. First, in terms of methodology, all three of our studies were correlational in nature which does not allow us to determine causality in the relation between RWA, social norms, and outgroup-directed prejudice and behavior. However, given the previously established links between changes in social norms and changes in attitudes and behavior (Monteith, Deneen, & Tooman, 1996; Tankard & Paluck, 2016) as well as the particular sensitivity of high-RWA to social cues (e.g., Dhont & Van Hiel, 2009; Hodson, 2011), we believe that future experimental studies will be able to establish the causal link between social norms and changes in prejudicial expressions by right-wing authoritarians. Due to length constraints, we decided to use shortened RWA scales, rather than the more established full versions; we also only measured attitudes and behavioral intentions but not actual behavior. While the model of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991) suggest that intentions are a good proxy of actual behavior, future studies should strive to provide evidence for behavioral outcomes and utilize full RWA scales to provide stronger evidence for the presently reported effects.

Second, while the overall pattern of results was in the predicted direction in each of the three studies, we did find some inconsistent results for different aspects RWA.

In Study 1 and Study 3, none of the components of RWA drove the interaction with positive social norms. In Study 2 only the effect of traditionalism¹⁴ was moderated by positive norms, while negative norms moderated the effect of authoritarian aggression in Study 3. It is possible that in Study 3 (the context of attitudes towards LGBT people in Poland), the target group is perceived as particularly deviant (e.g., Górska et al., 2017) and thus attitudes towards them are driven by authoritarian aggression rather than other aspects of RWA. Future studies

¹⁴ As named by Duckitt et al. (2010; see footnote 7).

should further explore the role of different aspects of RWA and their relative susceptibility to normative demands.

The limitations of the present research point to potential future developments. Most importantly, we would like to see the causality issue addressed by employing experimental methodology. Experiments that assess participants' levels of RWA first and then manipulate social norms (for previous attempts to manipulate social norms, see Monteith, et al., 1996) would allow for a reliable test of the causal relation between social norms and the RWA-prejudice link. We expect that the positive association between RWA and prejudice should reach its peak in low positive norms and/or high negative norms condition. Another interesting avenue would be to try to disentangle the effects of perceived and actual social norms and to look at sources of social norms such as peers vs. institutions (for a similar distinction see Tankard & Paluck, 2016). This would make it possible to assess any potential discrepancies between perceived and actual norms and the relative importance of each type in shaping the RWA-prejudice link. It is likely that, due to their sensitivity to the social context, high-RWA individuals' perceptions of social norms might be more accurate (i.e., closer to the actual social norms), additionally, we would expect that RWA individuals might be more susceptible to institutional normative influence as compared to peer behavior as a source of social norms due to their reverence for authority figures.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: Preparation of this manuscript and the research it reports were

supported by the National Science Center (Poland) 2017/25/B/HS6/[removed for blind review],
and 2017/26/M/HS6/[removed for blind review] grants conferred to [removed for blind review]

Acknowledgments

We are grateful to Michał Bilewicz for suggesting the title of this manuscript.

References

- Adorno, T., Frenkel-Brunswik, E., Levinson, D., & Sanford, N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*. New York, NY: Harper.
- Abrams, D., Swift, H. J., & Houston, D. (2018). *Developing a national barometer of prejudice and discrimination in Britain. Research report 119*. Manchester, UK: Equality and Human Rights Commission.
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, *50*, 179-211. doi: 10.1016/0749-5978(91)90020-T
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Alwin, D. F. (1997). Feeling thermometers versus 7-point scales: Which are better?. *Sociological Methods & Research*, *25*, 318-340. Doi: 10.1177/0049124197025003003
- Altemeyer, B. (1981). *Right-wing authoritarianism*. Winnipeg, Canada: University of Manitoba Press.
- Altemeyer, B. (1996). *The authoritarian specter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Altemeyer, B. (1998). The other authoritarian personality. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, *30*, 47-92. doi: 10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60382-2
- Barnett, V., & Lewis, T. (1994). *Outliers in statistical data*. New York, NY: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bilewicz, M., Soral, W., Marchlewska, M., & Winiewski, M. (2017). When authoritarians confront prejudice. Differential effects of SDO and RWA on support for hate-speech prohibition. *Political Psychology*, *38*, 87-99. doi: 10.1111/pops.12313
- Bilewicz, M., Winiewski, M., Kofta, M., & Wójcik, A. (2013). Harmful Ideas, The Structure and Consequences of Anti-Semitic Beliefs in Poland. *Political Psychology*, *34*, 821-839. doi: 10.1111/pops.12024

- Blanchard, F. A., Crandall, C. S., Brigham, J. C., & Vaughn, L. A. (1994). Condemning and condoning racism: A social context approach to interracial settings. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 79*, 993-997. doi: 10.1037/0021-9010.79.6.993
- Bulska, D., & Winiewski, M. (2018). Antisemitism in Poland. Results of Polish Prejudice Survey 3. Retrieved from:
http://cbu.psychologia.pl/uploads/PPS3_raporty/Antisemitism_PPS3_DB_MHW_fin.pdf
- Choma, B., Hodson, G., Jagayat, A., & Hoffarth, M. R. (2019). Right-wing ideology as a predictor of collective action: A test across four political issue domains. *Political Psychology*. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12615>
- Cialdini, R. B., & Goldstein, N. J. (2004). Social influence: Compliance and conformity. *Annual Review of Psychology, 55*, 591-621. doi: 10.1146/annurev.psych.55.090902.142015
- Cichocka, A., Bilewicz, M., Jost, J. T., Marrouch, N., & Witkowska, M. (2016). On the grammar of politics—or why conservatives prefer nouns. *Political Psychology, 37*, 799-815. Doi: 10.1111/pops.12327
- Cichocka, A., Dhont, K., & Makwana, A. P. (2017). On Self-Love and Outgroup Hate: Opposite Effects of Narcissism on Prejudice via Social Dominance Orientation and Right-wing Authoritarianism. *European Journal of Personality, 31*, 366-384. Doi: 10.1002/per.2114
- Craig, M. A., & Richeson, J. A. (2014). Not in my backyard! Authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and support for strict immigration policies at home and abroad. *Political Psychology, 35*, 417-429. doi: 10.1111/pops.12078
- Crandall, C. S., Eshleman, A., & O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression and suppression of prejudice: the struggle for internalization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*, 359-378. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.82.3.359

- Crandall, C. S., Miller, J. M., & White, M. H. (2018). Changing norms following the 2016 US presidential election: The Trump effect on prejudice. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 9, 186-192. doi: 10.1177/1948550617750735
- Crandall, C. C., & Stangor, C. (2005). Conformity and prejudice. In J. F. Dovidio, P. Glick, & L. A. Rudman (Eds.), *On the nature of prejudice: 50 years after Allport* (pp. 295-309). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Dhont, K., & Van Hiel, A. (2009). We must not be enemies: Interracial contact and the reduction of prejudice among authoritarians. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 46, 172-177. doi: 10.1016/j.paid.2008.09.022
- Duckitt, J. (2001). A dual process cognitive-motivational theory of ideology and prejudice. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 33, 41–113. doi: 10.1016/S0065-2601(01)80004-6
- Duckitt, J., Bizumic, B., Krauss, S. W., & Heled, E. (2010). A tripartite approach to right-wing authoritarianism: The authoritarianism-conservatism-traditionalism model. *Political Psychology*, 31, 685-715. Doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2010.00781.x
- Duckitt, J., & Sibley, C. G. (2007). Right wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation and the dimensions of generalized prejudice. *European Journal of Personality: Published for the European Association of Personality Psychology*, 21, 113-130. doi: 10.1002/per.614
- Duckitt, J., & Sibley, C. G. (2010). Personality, ideology, prejudice, and politics: A dual-process motivational model. *Journal of Personality*, 78, 1861-1894. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-6494.2010.00672.x

- Funke, F. (2005). The dimensionality of right-wing authoritarianism: Lessons from the dilemma between theory and measurement. *Political Psychology, 26*, 195-218. Doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2005.00415.x
- Golec de Zavala, A., Federico, C. M., Sedikides, C., Guerra, R., Lantos, D., Mroziński, B., Cypryańska, M., & Baran, T. (2019). Low self-esteem predicts out-group derogation via collective narcissism, but this relationship is obscured by in-group satisfaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. doi: 10.1037/pspp0000260
- Górska, P., Bilewicz, M., Winiewski, M., & Waszkiewicz, A. (2017). On old-fashioned versus modern homonegativity distinction: Evidence from Poland. *Journal of Homosexuality, 64*, 256–272. doi: 10.1080/00918369.2016.1179029.
- Greenberg, J., & Pyszczynski, T. (1985). The effect of an overheard ethnic slur on evaluations of the target: How to spread a social disease. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 21*, 61-72. doi: 10.1016/0022-1031(85)90006-X
- Hayes, A. F. (2017). *Introduction to Mediation, Moderation, and Conditional Process Analysis. A Regression-Based Approach (2nd ed.)*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Hodson, G. (2011). Do ideologically intolerant people benefit from intergroup contact?. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 20*, 154-159. Doi: 10.1177/0963721411409025
- Hodson, G., Harry, H., & Mitchell, A. (2009). Independent benefits of contact and friendship on attitudes toward homosexuals among authoritarians and highly identified heterosexuals. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 39*, 509-525. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.558
- Kofta, M., & Sędek, G. (2005). Conspiracy stereotypes of Jews during systemic transformation in Poland. *International Journal of Sociology, 35*, 40-64. doi: 10.1080/00207659.2005.11043142

- 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*, 267–288. doi: 10.1207/s15324834basp1803_2
- Morrison, M. A., & Morrison, T. G. (2003). Development and validation of a scale measuring modern prejudice toward gay men and lesbian women. *Journal of Homosexuality, 43*(2), 15-37. doi: 10.1300/J082v43n02_02
- Osborne, D., Yogeewaran, K., & Sibley, C. G. (2017). Culture-specific ideologies undermine collective action support: Examining the legitimizing effects of postcolonial belief systems. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 20*, 333-349. doi: 10.1177/1368430216682352
- Peer, E., Brandimarte, L., Samat, S., & Acquisti, A. (2017). Beyond the Turk: Alternative platforms for crowdsourcing behavioral research. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 70*, 153-163. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2017.01.006
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1959). Regional differences in anti-Negro prejudice. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 59*, 28-36. doi: 10.1037/h0047133
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1991). Normative theory in intergroup relations: Explaining both harmony and conflict. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 3*, 3–16. doi: 10.1177/097133369100300102
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Meertens, R. W. (1995). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 25*, 57-75. Doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2420250106
- Poteat, V. P., & Mereish, E. H. (2012). Ideology, prejudice, and attitudes toward sexual minority social policies and organizations. *Political Psychology, 33*, 211-224. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00871.x

- Pratto, F., Cidam, A., Stewart, A. L., Zeineddine, F. B., Aranda, M., Aiello, A., ... & Eicher, V. (2013). Social dominance in context and in individuals: Contextual moderation of robust effects of social dominance orientation in 15 languages and 20 countries. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, *4*, 587–599. doi: 10.1177/1948550612473663
- Roets, A., Au, E. W., & Van Hiel, A. (2015). Can authoritarianism lead to greater liking of out-groups? The intriguing case of Singapore. *Psychological science*, *26*(12), 1972-1974. doi: 10.1177/0956797615605271
- Rokeach, M. (1956). Political and religious dogmatism: An alternative to the authoritarian personality. *Psychological Monographs: General and Applied*, *70*(18), 1-43. doi: 10.1037/h0093727
- Sechrist, G. B., & Stangor, C. (2001). Perceived consensus influences intergroup behavior and stereotype accessibility. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *80*, 645-654. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.80.4.645
- Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. W. (1953). *Groups in harmony and tension*. New York, NY: Harper and Brothers.
- Sibley, C. G., & Duckitt, J. (2008). Personality and prejudice: A meta-analysis and theoretical review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *12*, 248-279. doi: 10.1177/1088868308319226
- Stangor, C., Sechrist, G. B., & Jost, J. T. (2001). Changing racial beliefs by providing consensus information. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *27*, 486-496. doi: 10.1177/0146167201274009
- Takács, J., & Szalma, I. (2019). Democracy deficit and homophobic divergence in 21st century Europe, *Gender, Place & Culture*. Doi: 10.1080/0966369X.2018.1563523

- Tankard, M. E., & Paluck, E. L. (2016). Norm perception as a vehicle for social change. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, *10*, 181-211. doi: 10.1111/sipr.12022
- Tankard, M. E., & Paluck, E. L. (2017). The effect of a Supreme Court decision regarding gay marriage on social norms and personal attitudes. *Psychological Science*, *28*, 1334-1344. doi: 10.1177/0956797617709594
- Van Assche, J., Dhont, K., Van Hiel, A., & Roets, A. (2018). Ethnic Diversity and Support for Populist Parties. *Social Psychology*, *49*, 182-189. doi: 10.1027/1864-9335/a000340
- Whitley Jr, B. E. (1999). Right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, and prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *77*, 126-134. Doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.77.1.126
- Wilkinson, W. W. (2004). Religiosity, authoritarianism, and homophobia: A multidimensional approach. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, *14*, 55-67. doi: 10.1207/s15327582ijpr1401_5
- Wilson, G. D., & Patterson, J. R. (1968). A new measure of conservatism. *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, *7*, 264-269. doi: 10.1111/j.2044-8260.1968.tb00568.x
- Wilson, M. S., & Sibley, C. G. (2013). Social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism: Additive and interactive effects on political conservatism. *Political Psychology*, *34*, 277-284. Doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9221.2012.00929.x

Table 1

Means, standard deviations, and correlations (Study 1)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Feeling thermometer	–					
2. Jewish conspiracy beliefs	-.19***	–				
3. RWA	-.02	.34***	–			
4. Positive norms	.47***	-.03	.15***	–		
5. Economic conservatism	.07*	-.08*	-.002	.11**	–	
6. Social conservatism	-.16***	.31***	.26***	-.08*	.02	–
<i>M</i>	4.42	4.24	3.61	3.37	3.75	3.79
<i>SD</i>	20.14	1.65	0.91	1.66	1.79	1.73

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

Table 2

Regression analysis predicting feelings toward Jews and Jewish conspiracy beliefs from RWA and positive norms (Study 1)

Predictor	Outcome variable			
	Feelings toward Jews		Jewish conspiracy beliefs	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
<i>Model 1</i>				
RWA	-0.57	0.98	0.52***	0.07
Positive norms	5.85***	0.47	-0.12**	0.04
<i>Model 2</i>				
RWA	-0.56	0.98	0.50***	0.07
Positive norms	5.84***	0.47	-0.12**	0.04
Positive norms × RWA	1.47**	0.55	-0.13**	0.04
<i>Model 3</i>				
RWA	0.03	0.99	0.43***	0.08
Positive norms	5.62***	0.48	-0.09*	0.04
Positive norms × RWA	1.41**	0.54	-0.12**	0.04
Economic conservatism	0.31	0.46	-0.06	0.03
Social conservatism	-1.44**	0.48	0.16***	0.04

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

Note. All predictors were centered prior to the analysis.

Table 3

Means, standard deviations, and correlations (Study 2)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5
1. Subtle prejudice	–				
2. Support for the reduction of public spending	.19***	–			
3. RWA	.45***	.24***	–		
4. Positive norms	-.35***	-.03	-.19***	–	
5. Political conservatism	.38***	.24***	.49***	-.09**	–
<i>M</i>	3.32	3.83	3.88	4.81	2.58
<i>SD</i>	1.45	1.76	1.08	1.27	1.11

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

Table 4

Regression analyses testing for moderated mediation (Study 2)

Predictor	Outcome variable			
	Subtle prejudice		Support for the reduction of social spending	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	4.74***	0.17	3.83***	0.06
RWA	0.53***	0.04	0.29***	0.06
Positive norms	-0.31***	0.03	0.03	0.05
Positive norms × RWA	-0.12***	0.03	0.04	0.04
Subtle prejudice			0.21***	0.05
<i>F</i>	$F(3, 832) = 110.55***$		$F(4, 831) = 19.19***$	
<i>R</i> ²	.29		.09	

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

Note. All predictors were centered prior to the analysis.

Table 5

Means, standard deviations, and correlations (Study 3)

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Traditional homonegativity							
2. Collective action against LGBT people	.38***						
3. RWA	.28***	.13***					
4. SDO	.38***	.23***	-.10***				
5. Positive norms	-.19***	.08***	-.09***	-.06**			
6. Negative norms	.21***	.20***	.03	-.01	-.09***		
7. Political conservatism	.35***	.23***	.29***	.20***	-.09***	.15***	
<i>M</i>	2.82	2.05	4.63	2.78	2.96	3.93	5.47
<i>SD</i>	1.50	1.59	1.27	1.06	1.35	1.52	2.21

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

Table 6

Regression analyses testing for moderated mediation (Study 3)

Predictor	Outcome variable			
	Old-fashioned homonegativity		Collective action against homosexuals' rights	
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Constant	2.81***	0.03	2.06***	0.03
RWA	0.29***	0.03	0.04	0.03
Positive norms	-0.17***	0.02	0.18***	0.03
Negative norms	0.19***	0.02	0.13***	0.02
Positive norms × RWA	-0.07***	0.02	0.03	0.02
Negative norms × RWA	0.06***	0.02	0.06***	0.02
Old-fashioned homonegativity			0.38***	0.02
<i>F</i>	$F(5, 1986) = 73.13***$		$F(6, 1985) = 76.22***$	
<i>R</i> ²	.16		.19	

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

Note. All predictors were centered prior to the analysis.

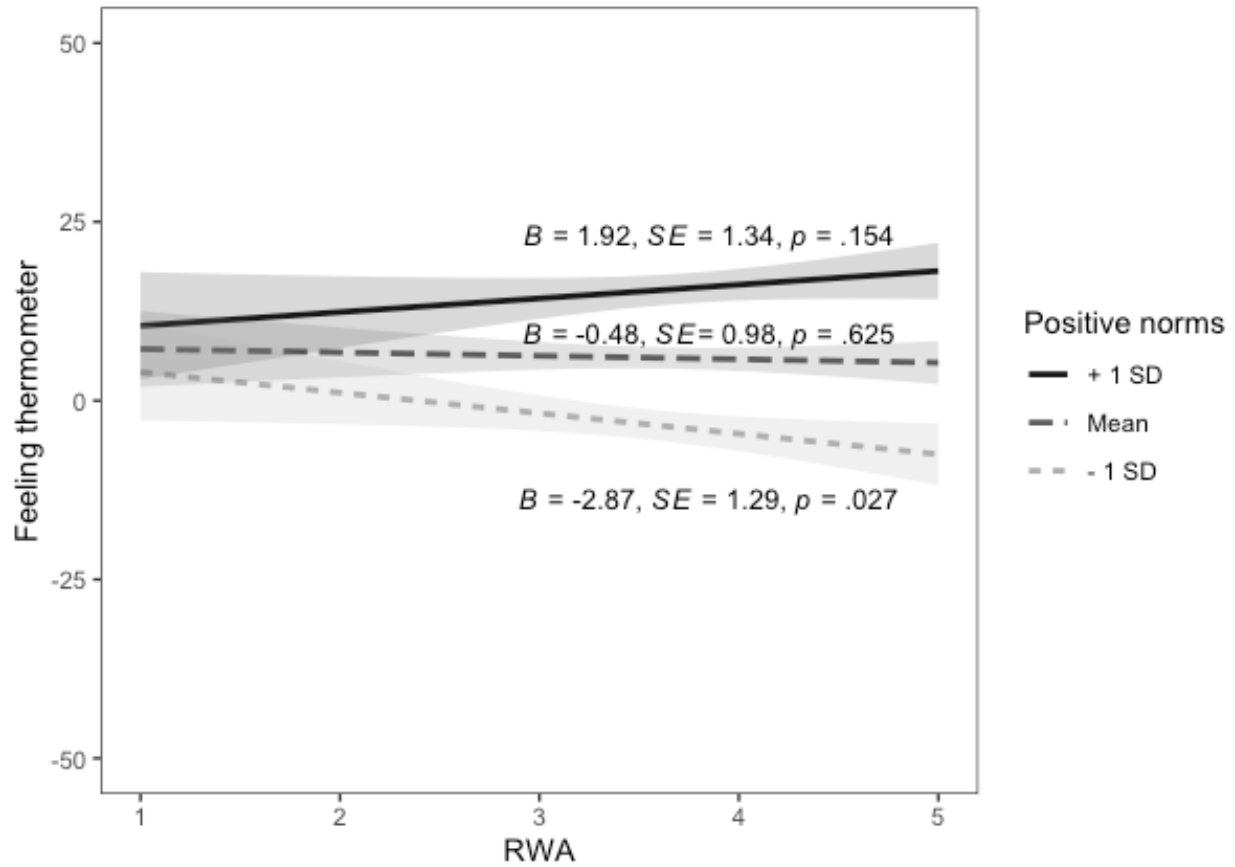


Figure 1. RWA effects on feelings toward Jews at different levels of positive norms (Study 1).

Note. Shaded areas reflect 95% confidence intervals.

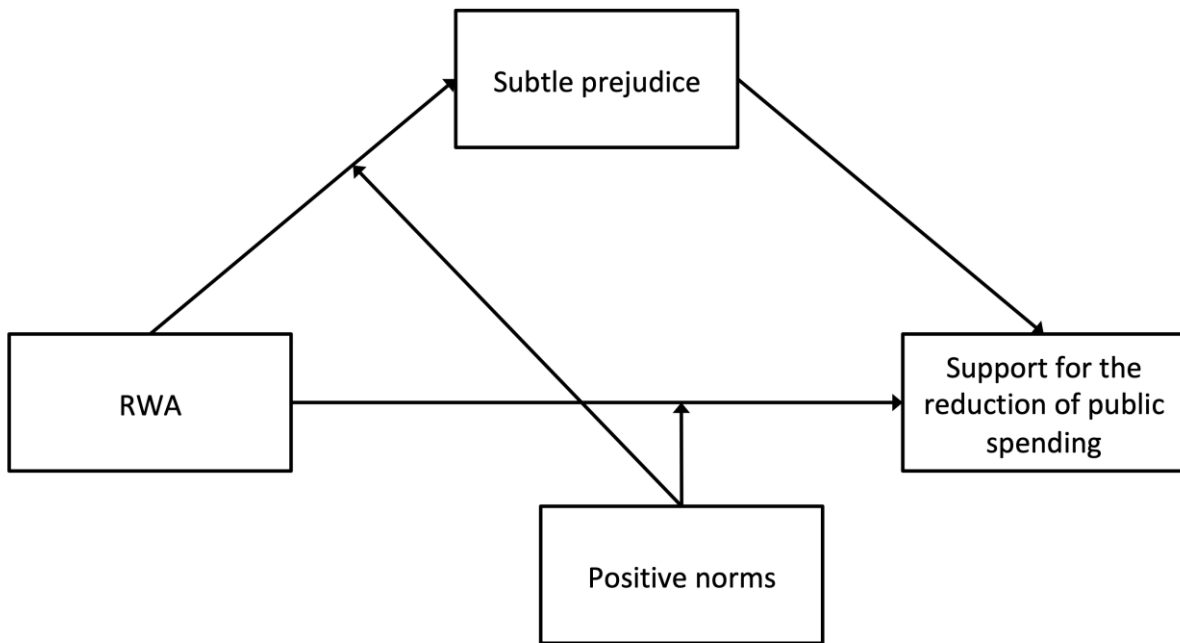


Figure 2. Moderated mediation model tested in Study 2.

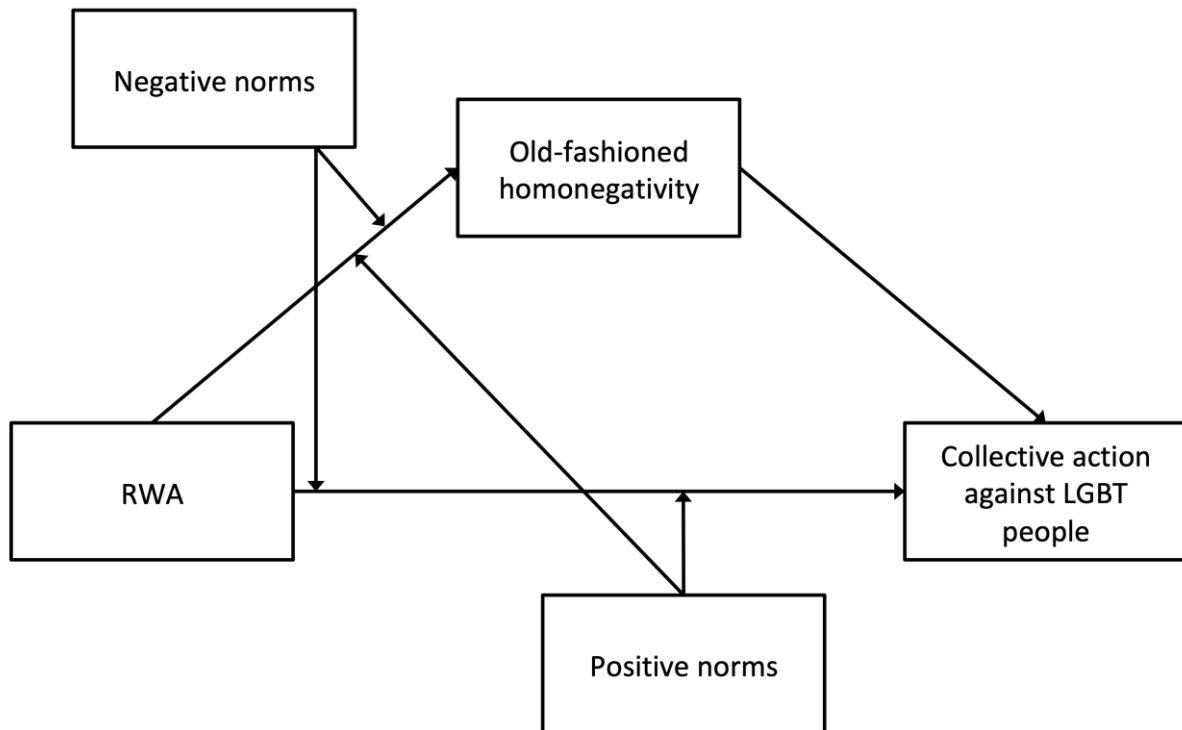


Figure 3. Moderated mediation model tested in Study 3.