

# The Road to Negative Behavior: Discriminatory Intentions in the German Population

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# The Road to Negative Behavior: Discriminatory Intentions in the German Population

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This study analyzes discriminatory intentions shared by members of the German majority against several outgroups in Germany. Patterns of discriminatory intentions against various minority groups were investigated for several indicators, including gender, age, and political orientation, by means of a representative survey (N = 1,778). The relationship between prejudices and discriminatory intentions against different target groups was also analyzed. Prejudice and discriminatory intentions show moderate but consistently positive correlations in relation to one and the same target group. Moreover, it was found that discriminatory intentions against one outgroup are related to hostile attitudes towards other outgroups, too. The results support the hypothesis of a syndrome of group-focused enmity.

## The Road to Negative Behavior: Discriminatory Intentions in the German Population

Discriminatory behavior against different minority groups in Germany is visible in everyday life. Official reports show that members of ethnic minorities in Germany experience discrimination in housing, education, and in the workplace (European Monitoring Centre 2005). The latest annual report of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution indicates that right-wing violence increased in 2005. This violence is directed against various groups, in particular foreigners, homeless people, homosexuals, and left-wing activists (Bundesministerium des Inneren 2006). It has been shown that victims of xenophobic violence or verbal attacks tend to lose confidence in the German legal system (Salentin and Wilkening 2003) since they sometimes experience additional discriminatory treatment by legal instances after having been attacked for xenophobic reasons (Strobl, Lobermeier, and Böttger 2003). Blatant anti-Semitism is manifested in desecration of Jewish memorials (Bundesministerium des Inneren 2006). Even though women today have more rights than ever before, they still experience discrimination (Schwarzer 2002). For example they earn less money than men do (Statistisches Bundesamt 2006). Pressure groups for homosexuals and disabled people docu-

ment discriminatory acts against members of their groups and call attention to their specific problems. Soccer fans in Germany convey racist, anti-Semitic, and sexist messages by banners and songs to denigrate and offend the opposing team (Dembowski and Scheidle 2002). Most discriminatory acts are not recognized as such by the general public because they are not blatant: A Turkish-looking couple had to resign from a fitness center because they refused to speak German (Heiser and Wiesmann 2006). This case would not have aroused public interest if it had not been embedded in a recent public discussion and debate on integration and assimilation of immigrants in Germany. The owner of the studio called this compulsion an act of integration. More evidence for rejection and distancing behavior as a kind of discrimination is given by Klink and Wagner (1999). In a series of fourteen field experiments they showed that distancing behavior was found more frequently against foreigners than against Germans. There was a significant overall effect for ethnic group membership in contact situations like helping (explaining the way, giving money for a phone call) and renting apartments.

It could be said that the most striking evidence that discrimination is a major societal problem is that political ac-

tion is taken against it. In 2000 the European Community enacted two directives to prevent people in the European Union from being discriminated against on grounds of race, gender, ethnic origin, religion or faith, disability, age, or sexual orientation. In seventeen out of twenty-five European Union member states an anti-discrimination law is already in place (Cormack and Bell 2005). The German government recently published a draft anti-discrimination law just in time to avoid a penalty from the European Community (Bundesministerium der Justiz 2006). However, there still is an extensive political and public discussion on the necessity of such a law for the groups named in the directive (Preuß 2006).

#### Research on Discrimination

Discriminatory behavior manifests itself on at least two levels: individual and institutional discrimination (Dovidio and Hebl 2005; Feagin and Feagin 1986; Sidanius and Pratto 1999). Individual discrimination can be defined as to “deny to individuals or groups of people equality of treatment which they may wish” (Allport 1954/1979, 51). It is expressed between individuals on the basis of their salient group identities – a person discriminates against another on the grounds of his or her group membership. Allport also suggested five gradations of negative outgroup behavior: antilocution (verbal discrimination), avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and extermination. Graumann and Wintermantel (1989) extended Allport’s definition by the phrase “on a categorical basis” to emphasize the category or group as the main focus of discrimination. Taking Allport’s definition further, his entire list of behavioral expressions of inequality can be seen as discriminatory acts (Fiske 2004a). Even the more subtle acts of discrimination, like antilocution or avoidance, can be an expression of discomfort, rejection, or even hostility towards minority groups (Crosby, Bromley, and Saxe 1980; Klink and Wagner 1999; Mackie, Devos, and Smith 2000).

Institutional discrimination describes manifested forms of unfair treatment of minority groups in society’s institutions, which can be largely independent of individual attitudes (Antonovsky 1960; Levin and Levin 1982). This kind of discrimination is rooted in rules, procedures, and actions of social institutions (Sidanius and Pratto 1999). The more the discrimination is embedded in institutional structures,

the less freedom of action an individual has to choose if he or she is willing to discriminate (Feagin and Feagin 1986). Therefore institutional discrimination is not totally independent of individual discrimination. The rules of an institution – for example unequal wages for men and women or racial discrimination in selection of personnel – are implemented and enforced by individual members of the institution who have a certain degree of room for maneuver.

Pincus (1998) distinguishes structural discrimination as another form of negative outgroup behavior. This describes those forms of discrimination that are embedded not only in institutional but also in societal structures. An example is unfair educational opportunities for white and black people in the United States, which keep black people out of certain jobs.

Discriminatory behavior has been extensively researched by social psychologists and sociologists. However, there are certain gaps in this field (Mackie and Smith 1998). Sociological research has concentrated on forms of institutional discrimination while, on the other hand, social psychological research has focused on individual behavior and its relationship to stereotypes (Bodenhausen 1998), prejudice (Dovidio et al. 1996, Schütz and Six 1996), and emotions (Cottrell and Neuberg 2005; Mackie, Devos, and Smith 2000). Much research in this area is based on the social identity approach (Tajfel and Turner 1986; Turner et al. 1987) and uses experimental settings like the minimal group paradigm (Mummendey and Otten 2001). This experimental research analyzes fundamental processes of discriminatory behavior. However, some researchers question the extent to which these laboratory experiments are comparable to discrimination or prejudice in the real world (Duckitt et al. 1999). The high internal validity of experimental research is often achieved at the expense of external validity – the generalization of the results to different contexts. Moreover, most experimental studies are conducted with college students as participants (Sears 1986), which makes generalizing the results even more complicated. In order to back up the laboratory data the results must be validated with representative samples. In the present paper we analyze individual discriminatory intentions toward different outgroups using recent representative German survey data.

The phenomenon of discrimination can be observed in connection with various different groups. Almost any characteristic of a person can be used as a basis for differentiating ingroups and outgroups and for discrimination (Schneider 2004), but discrimination based on race and gender receives most attention in the public and scientific spheres. Since most research on prejudice and discrimination has been conducted in the United States there is a strong emphasis on race discrimination. Allport, for example, concentrates on racial discrimination, as indicated by his specification of discrimination: “Here we are interested only in differential treatment that is based on ethnic categorization” (Allport 1954/1979, 52). Schütz and Six (1996) state that forty-six out of sixty studies in their meta-analysis refer to ethnic minorities as the target of prejudice and discrimination. Even though discrimination can be directed against many different groups, there is a lack of research on this diversity of discrimination. Most studies concentrate on one specific group at a time (Lott and Maluso 1995; Schütz and Six 1996). But there is reason to believe that discriminatory behavior against one group is not totally independent from attitudes toward other groups. This assumption is based on the interrelation of prejudices towards different outgroups.

#### **A Syndrome of Group-Focused Enmity**

Prejudice can be described as a mostly negative evaluation of an outgroup and its members (Fiske 2004a). Even though many researchers define prejudice as an overall attitude, including affective, cognitive, and behavioral correlates (e.g. Dovidio et al. 1996), recent research emphasizes affect as the core element of prejudice (Fiske 2004a, Mackie and Smith 2003). The observations of discrimination listed above demonstrate that discrimination and prejudice are not restricted to specific groups. Moreover, there is reason to believe that prejudices against different groups are interrelated. In his seminal work on the nature of prejudice, Allport states that “one of the facts of which we are most certain is that people who reject one out-group will tend to reject other out-groups. If a person is anti-Jewish, he is likely to be anti-Catholic, anti-Negro, anti any out-group” (Allport 1954/1979, 68). Even though subsequent research mostly concentrates on prejudice against one outgroup at a time, several studies show a relation of different prejudices (for an extensive review see

Zick et al., forthcoming). The interconnectedness of different prejudices is the central idea of Group-Focused Enmity (GFE). The degree of GFE and its societal and individual causes and consequences in Germany are being analyzed in a ten-year research project that began in 2002 (Heitmeyer 2006). Empirical analyses convincingly show that prejudices against different societal groups are interrelated. This interrelationship between different prejudices is based on a common core, the syndrome of group-focused enmity (Zick et al., forthcoming). This syndrome includes the hypothesis that people who hold prejudices against one group are likely to be prejudiced against other groups, too. It manifests itself in a rejection of social groups if their personality, appearance, behavior, or lifestyle is seen as deviant. Currently, the syndrome includes homophobia, prejudices against the homeless, prejudices against the disabled, sexism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, Islamophobia, racism, and preferential rights of the established (for detailed definitions see Heitmeyer 2002; Zick et al., forthcoming). However, the syndrome is not restricted to these prejudices. Any feature that differentiates outgroups from the normative consensus of a dominant group can serve to indicate deviance, while also confirming the normality of the ingroup (Heitmeyer 2002; Zick et al., forthcoming). Norms and standards defined by the majority or shared beliefs in a majority can establish such a normality. Hence, any target group marked as “special” in a negative sense seems likely to become a victim of prejudice and discrimination – either because of a particular religion, gender, sexual orientation, physical appearance, or ethnic-cultural background, or simply because they are strangers. However, outgroups are not entirely arbitrary. Members of the groups analyzed here are common victims of prejudice and discrimination in Germany. This reflects the wide range of group-focused enmity. For example, women – unlike the other groups – are not a minority. Sexist discrimination relies on emphasizing inequality and specific role allocations for men and women. This is clearly indicated by discrimination at work (Cleveland, Vescio, and Barnes-Farrell 2005). Sexist beliefs are not only held by men but also by women (Endrikat 2003, Glick and Fiske 1996; Viki and Abrams 2003). Therefore, prejudice and discrimination against women can be analyzed on the same basis as bias against other outgroups in Germany. We should add that the expression of prejudice and discrimination is

not limited to majority group members. Any group (e.g., dominant or subordinate) can do this, even though it is more likely for majority group members. As Jost and Burgess (2000) argue, minority groups often express ambivalent attitudes with both ingroup and outgroup favoritism, due to a psychological conflict between group justification and system justification tendencies (for a review see Jost, Banaji, and Nosek 2004).

Empirical analyses indicate that the degree of prejudice differs substantially between certain demographic groups in Germany. For instance, it has been shown that eastern German respondents show more prejudice against foreigners than western Germans (Brähler and Angermeyer 2002; Heitmeyer 2005). Analyses of gender differences show that men demonstrate a higher degree of (traditional) anti-Semitism (Brähler and Niedermayer 2002; Zick and Küpper 2005) and heterophobia (an indicator for prejudices against homeless people, disabled people, and homosexuals; Küpper and Heitmeyer 2005) than women. On the other hand, results concerning other prejudices are not consistent. North American studies show that men are more racially prejudiced than women (Sidanius and Pratto 1999), while German data indicates that women show greater agreement with indicators of xenophobia, racism, and Islamophobia than men do (Küpper and Heitmeyer 2005). In addition, Rommelspacher (2000) notes that there are only small differences in right-wing extremist attitudes between men and women. Concerning the connection between formal education and prejudice, there is a well-documented negative covariance (Heyder 2003; Wagner and Zick 1995): greater formal education reduces prejudice. And finally, analyses by Zick and Küpper (2006) show a relation between political orientation and prejudice – the further to the political right people categorize themselves, the more they agree with hostile attitudes (cf. Zick 1997).

#### **The Relationship between Prejudice and Discrimination**

The relation between prejudice and discrimination can be seen as subdimension of a general attitude-behavior relationship. The hypothesis that people act as they feel has been analyzed for decades (Eagly and Chaiken 1993), but the disillusioning outcome is that behavior is not always guided by attitudes. Moreover, Wicker (1969) shows that there is only a very weak correlation between attitudes

and behavior. Subsequent research reveals that this view was too pessimistic, and the application of certain specifications made it possible to find substantial and reliable relationships between attitudes and behavior (Eckes and Six 1994; Six 2005). Research on the relationship between prejudice and discrimination reflects this development. Early studies (Kutner, Wilkins, and Yarrow 1952; La Piere 1934; Saenger and Gilbert 1950) indicate that the correlation between prejudice and discrimination is quite weak, but these studies have been criticized for methodological problems, e.g., for comparing general attitudes and situation-specific behavior (Duckitt 1992). In a review of sociological and psychological studies on prejudice and discrimination Duckitt concludes that there is a substantial correlation between prejudice and individual discrimination. Dovidio, Brigham, Johnson, and Gaertner (1996) report a correlation of  $r = .32$ , while Schütz and Six (1996) find a correlation of  $r = .36$  for prejudice and discrimination and  $r = .45$  for prejudice and discriminatory intentions in their meta-analyses. These results are comparable to those for the attitude-behavior relationship in general (Eckes and Six 1994). In addition, the causal hypothesis that prejudice leads to discrimination has been confirmed both by experimental methods (Dovidio et al. 2004) and longitudinal data (Wagner, Christ, and Pettigrew, forthcoming). However, this does not mean that there is no effect at all in the opposite direction. There is evidence that prejudice and stereotyping can be used to justify or legitimize discriminatory behavior (Jost and Banaji 1994; Sidanius and Pratto 1999). The relationship between prejudice and discrimination seems to be quite complex and anything but straightforward.

Certainly, prejudice is not the only possible predictor of discrimination. Behavior is influenced by several other factors, such as emotions, group norms, and opportunities (Mackie, Devos, and Smith 2000; Terry, Hogg, and Blackwood 2001). Taking these factors into account can improve and differentiate the prediction of prejudice, especially for qualitatively different expressions of discriminatory behavior (Christ et al., forthcoming).

In this study we use survey data, which confronts us with a major problem. Since it is not possible to measure actual discriminatory behavior in a survey, we have to use discriminatory intentions instead (Sheeran 2002).

Discriminatory intentions have the structure of “I intend to do X.” As a preliminary cognitive stage they are very close to discrimination (Ajzen and Fishbein 2005; Gollwitzer 1993) and are often used in survey studies as a substitute for actual discriminatory behavior. It has been shown that behavioral intentions and behavior correlate closely (Schütz and Six 1996; Sheeran 2002) and that a reduction in the correlation between intention and behavior is contingent on situational or societal restraints. It is quite obvious that other influencing factors intervene between such intentions and actual behavior. Nevertheless, for the interpretation we have to keep in mind that our results are based on discriminatory intentions.

### The Present Study

The aim of the present study is to analyze discriminatory intentions against those groups in Germany that are actually at the focus of GFE: homosexuals, homeless people, disabled people, women, Jews, foreigners, and Muslims. In the first place we are interested in the question of whether the differences in prejudice between demographic groups can be found for discriminatory intentions, too. Secondly,

if prejudices towards different groups are related due to an underlying syndrome of group-focused enmity (Zick et al., forthcoming) and discrimination at least partly correlates with prejudice (Dovidio et al. 1996; Schütz and Six 1996), it can be expected that there will be a relationship between prejudice against one group and discrimination against other groups. There are some indications of a correlation between prejudice and discrimination across the different outgroups. Wagner, Christ and Kühnel (2002) show that prejudice against a specific outgroup is clearly correlated to discriminatory intentions against the same group. However, their data shows some quite high correlations between prejudice against one group and discriminatory intentions against different groups, too. In addition, qualitative research on right-wing extremists indicates that they show violent discriminatory behavior against several outgroups (Neumann and Frindte 2002). These results are confirmed by the recent report of the Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution (Bundesministerium des Inneren 2006; see above). These theoretical assumptions and empirical examples make it reasonable to assume that prejudices and discrimination against diverse target groups are interrelated.

**Table 1: Frequencies of agreement with items measuring discriminatory intentions (N = 1,778)**

	Do not agree at all	Rather disagree	Rather agree	Fully agree
As landlord I would not rent out an apartment to homosexuals. (Als Wohnungseigentümer würde ich meine Wohnung nicht an Homosexuelle vermieten.)	43.9	35.9	<b>6.8</b>	<b>13.4</b>
If a homeless person sat down next to me on a bench, I would leave. (Wenn sich ein Obdachloser neben mich auf eine Bank setzt, würde ich gehen)	46.4	40.6	<b>9.6</b>	<b>3.4</b>
I try to keep away from disabled. (Ich versuche, mich von Behinderten möglichst fern zu halten.)	63.1	34.8	<b>1.8</b>	<b>0.3</b>
I would never take a job where a woman is my superior. (Ich würde keine Stelle annehmen, in der ich eine Frau als Vorgesetzte hätte.)	70.7	25.6	<b>1.5</b>	<b>2.2</b>
I would advise my son or daughter not to marry into a Jewish family. (Ich würde meiner Tochter oder meinem Sohn davon abraten, in eine jüdische Familie einzuheiraten.)	34.9	40.2	<b>11.5</b>	<b>13.3</b>
I would let myself be treated by a foreign doctor, as well. (Ich würde mich auch von einem ausländischen Arzt behandeln lassen.) (foreigners, reverse coded)	<b>0.8</b>	<b>3.9</b>	20.0	75.2
I would feel uncomfortable moving to an area with a high percentage of Muslims. (Ich hätte Probleme, in eine Gegend zu ziehen, in der viele Muslime leben.) <sup>a</sup>	22.4	30.8	<b>16.4</b>	<b>30.4</b>

Notes: All values are in percent. Sample weighted to represent population proportions. Values in bold indicate discriminatory intentions.

<sup>a</sup> This item was only presented to half of the sample (N = 867).

**Method**

The data originate from a recent probability telephone survey ( $N=1,778$ ) representative for the adult (16 years or older) German population with no migration background (German citizens whose parents and grandparents were born in Germany; for details see Heitmeyer 2006). The field phase of this survey was in the summer of 2005.

For each outgroup one item was developed to measure discriminatory intentions. Each item focuses on a typical situation of discrimination for the respective group. All indicators were rated on a four-point scale from “do not agree at all” to “fully agree”. Table 1 shows the exact verbalization of the items.

The data was analyzed in two stages. First we ran descriptive analyses to give an impression of the degree of discriminatory intentions in Germany. Here we used weighted data to provide a representative analysis. Using multivariate analyses of variance we then compared the unweighted mean differences in discriminatory intentions for different demographic groups. In these analyses higher means indicate more discrimination for all items. In a second step we used unweighted data and replaced missing values by expected maximization estimates to test our hypotheses on the interrelation of prejudice and discrimination across groups (cf. Enders 2001). As indicators for prejudiced attitudes we used short scales of the facets of Group Focused Enmity (Zick et al., forthcoming). Table 2 shows the items and the internal consistency of each scale.

**Table 2: Indicators for prejudiced attitudes (N = 1,778)**

GFE facets and items	Cronbach's alpha
<i>Homophobia</i>	
Marriages between two women or two men should be permitted (reverse coded). It is disgusting when homosexuals kiss in public.	.67
<i>Devaluation of homeless people</i>	
Begging homeless people should be removed from pedestrian areas. I find homeless people in the cities unpleasant.	.68
<i>Devaluation of disabled people</i>	
In Germany, too many efforts are being made for disabled people. In my view many demands of disabled people go too far. Disabled people receive too many benefits.	.78
<i>Sexism</i>	
Women should bethink themselves more of their role as wives and mothers again. It is more important for a wife to support her husband's career than to have a career herself.	.76
<i>Anti-Semitism</i>	
Jews have too much influence in Germany. As a result of their behavior, Jews are not entirely without blame for being persecuted. Many Jews today try to take advantage of the history of the Third Reich. I like it that increasingly more Jews live in Germany (reverse coded).	.78
<i>Xenophobia</i>	
There are too many foreigners living in Germany. When jobs get scarce, foreigners living in Germany should be sent back home.	.76
<i>Islamophobia</i>	
With so many Muslims living here in Germany, I sometimes feel like a stranger in my own country. Immigration to Germany should be prohibited for Muslims.	.66
<i>Racism</i>	
German re-settlers should be better off than foreigners because they are of German origin. The white race is deservedly the leading race in the world.	.53
<i>Preferential rights of the established</i>	
Someone who is new somewhere should be satisfied with less. Someone who has always been living here should have more rights than someone who arrived later.	.53

## Results

### Individual Discriminatory Intentions in Germany

To get an impression of the level of agreement on individual discriminatory intentions in German society we first analyzed the total representative sample. Table 1 shows the rates of agreement with different items measuring discriminatory intentions in the 2005 GFE survey. There is a substantial degree of acceptance of these discriminatory statements within the representative sample. Especially, agreement with items measuring discriminatory intentions against homosexuals (20.2%), Jews (24.8%), and Muslims (46.8%) is quite high. Avoidance of permanent/long-term contact with members of these groups seems to be a very distinctive feature. Agreement with the item measuring discriminatory intentions towards homeless people is also substantial (13%), but the item refers to contact for a short time only. Overall, the results show that there is a substantial willingness to behave in a discriminatory way towards several outgroups in Germany. However, one has to be careful with comparisons of the discriminatory intentions towards different target groups. Since the items refer to distinct situations they cannot be compared to each other in terms of more or less discrimination (i.e. one cannot from this data say that there is more discrimination against Muslims than against women). In this study comparisons can only be made between different subgroups in terms of their attitudes and behavior toward one and the same outgroup.

### Comparison of Demographic Groups in Germany

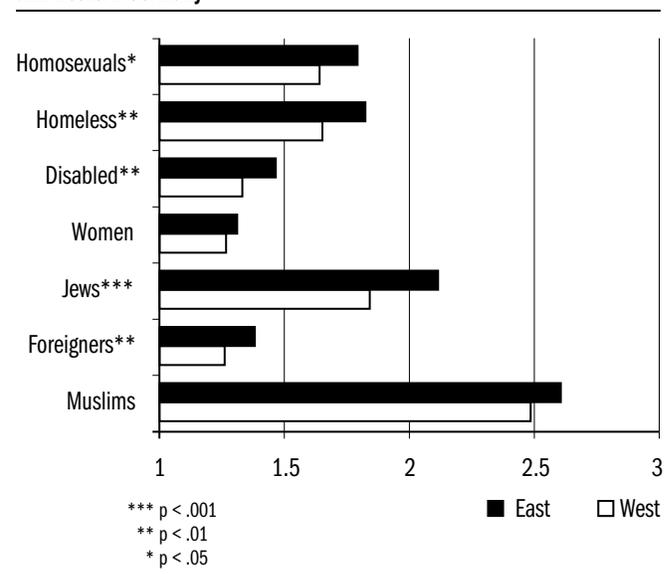
To analyze differences in discriminatory intentions relating to social circumstances we compared different demographic groups. As already indicated, there are substantial differences between these groups with regard to prejudice, so it seems reasonable to test whether these differences could be found for discriminatory behavior, too.

*East-west differences:* Prejudice is higher in eastern Germany than in western Germany for most facets of the GFE syndrome (Heitmeyer 2005). Figure 1 shows the mean differences for discriminatory intentions. In general, discriminatory intentions are higher in eastern Germany, too. There is a significant multivariate east-west effect in discriminatory intentions ( $F(7, 817) = 3.23, p = .002, \eta^2 = .03$ ).  $\eta^2$  indicates the amount of variance explained by the independent variable and is an indicator for effect size.

According to Cohen (1988)  $\eta^2 = .02$  indicates a small effect,  $\eta^2 = .13$  a medium effect, and  $\eta^2 = .20$  a large effect.

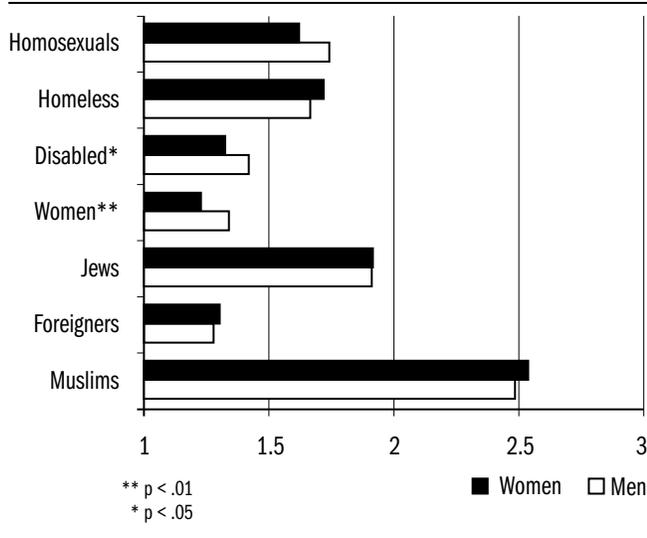
Additional univariate analyses reveal that people from eastern Germany show higher means for discriminatory intentions against homosexuals ( $F(1, 823) = 4.48, p = .04, \eta^2 = .005$ ), homeless people ( $F(1, 823) = 5.00, p = .003, \eta^2 = .011$ ), disabled people ( $F(1, 823) = 2.84, p = .002, \eta^2 = .011$ ), Jews ( $F(1, 823) = 11.79, p < .001, \eta^2 = .016$ ), and foreigners ( $F(1, 823) = 2.28, (p = .007, \eta^2 = .009)$ ). There are no differences for discriminatory intentions against women ( $F(1, 823) = 1.03, ns$ ) and Muslims ( $F(1, 823) = 1.80, ns$ ). Even though these results are not as clear as for prejudice, they are similar.

**Figure 1: Mean differences for discriminatory intentions for eastern and western Germany**



*Gender:* With regard to gender differences, the results show an ambiguous pattern for the GFE syndrome. Women show higher values than men in some facets of the GFE syndrome (Küpper and Heitmeyer 2005). For discriminatory intentions there is a multivariate effect of gender ( $F(7, 817) = 3.02, p = .004, \eta^2 = .03$ ). But, as can be seen in Figure 2, the differences are only very small. Men indicate more agreement with items measuring discriminatory intentions against the disabled ( $F(1, 823) = 5.83, p = .02, \eta^2 = .007$ ) and against women ( $F(1, 823) = 7.81, p = .005, \eta^2 = .009$ ). There are no statistical significant dif-

Figure 2: Mean differences for discriminatory intentions by gender

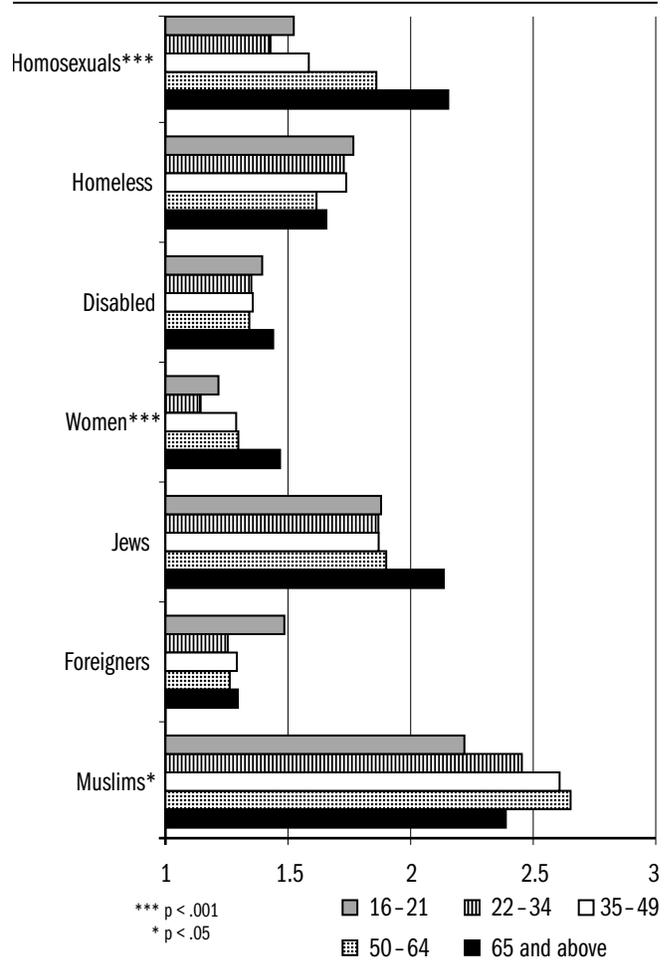


ferences for discriminatory intentions against homosexuals ( $F(1, 823) = 3.62$ , ns), the homeless ( $F(1, 823) = 1.29$ , ns), Jews ( $F < 1$ ), foreigners ( $F < 1$ ), or Muslims ( $F < 1$ ).

Age: Endrikat (2006) shows that young people in Germany are less prejudiced than older people, comparing Germans aged 16 to 25 with those over 25. To analyze and differentiate this result for discriminatory intentions we compared five age groups (see Figure 3) and found a significant multivariate effect of age ( $F(28, 3256) = 4.14$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .03$ ). As can be seen in Figure 3, univariate analyses reveal differences in discriminatory intentions against homosexuals ( $F(4, 817) = 14.94$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .068$ ), women ( $F(4, 817) = 5.99$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .028$ ), and Muslims ( $F(4, 817) = 2.92$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta^2 = .014$ ). Further post-hoc analyses indicate that the agreement with items measuring discriminatory intentions against homosexuals increases significantly with age. Elderly people (65 and above) agree more with items measuring discriminatory intentions against women than people aged 22 to 34. There are no univariate differences for homeless people ( $F(4, 817) = 1.00$ , ns), disabled people ( $F < 1$ ), Jews ( $F(4, 817) = 1.86$ , ns), and foreigners ( $F(4, 817) = 2.24$ , ns).

Formal education: As mentioned above, there is a well-documented negative relation between education and prejudice (Wagner and Zick 1995), so we were interested in the question of whether discriminatory intentions

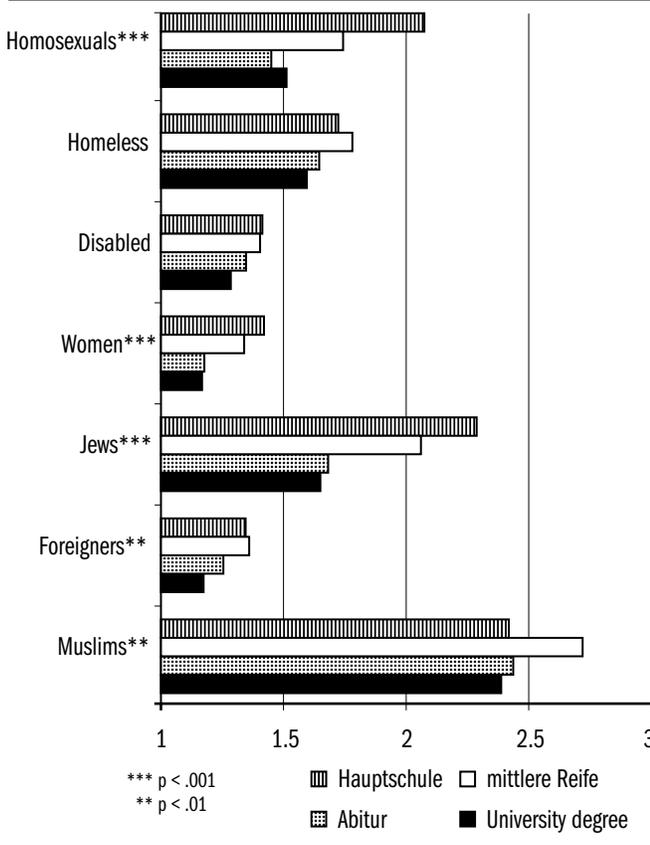
Figure 3: Mean differences for discriminatory intentions for age groups (years of age)



decrease with greater education, too. We compared four levels of formal education in Germany (listed here in order, beginning with the most advanced): university degree, Abitur (university entrance qualification, usually taken at the end of the thirteenth school year), mittlere Reife (the middle-level school-leaving examination, usually taken at the end of the tenth school year), and Hauptschulabschluss (lowest-level school-leaving examination, usually taken at the end of the last of the compulsory nine years of schooling). Our data shows a multivariate effect of educational degree on discriminatory intentions ( $F(28, 3244) = 4.22$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .04$ ). As can be seen in Figure 4, there are statistical significant differences for discriminatory intentions against homosexuals ( $F(4, 814) = 12.80$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .059$ ), women ( $F(4, 814) = 6.81$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .032$ ),

Jews ( $F(4, 814) = 15.40, p < .001, \eta^2 = .070$ ), foreigners ( $F(4, 814) = 4.16, p = .002, \eta^2 = .020$ ), and Muslims ( $F(4, 814) = 4.26, p = .002, \eta^2 = .020$ ). No differences were found for discriminatory intentions against homeless people ( $F(4, 814) = 2.11, ns$ ) and disabled people ( $F(4, 814) = 1.71, ns$ ).

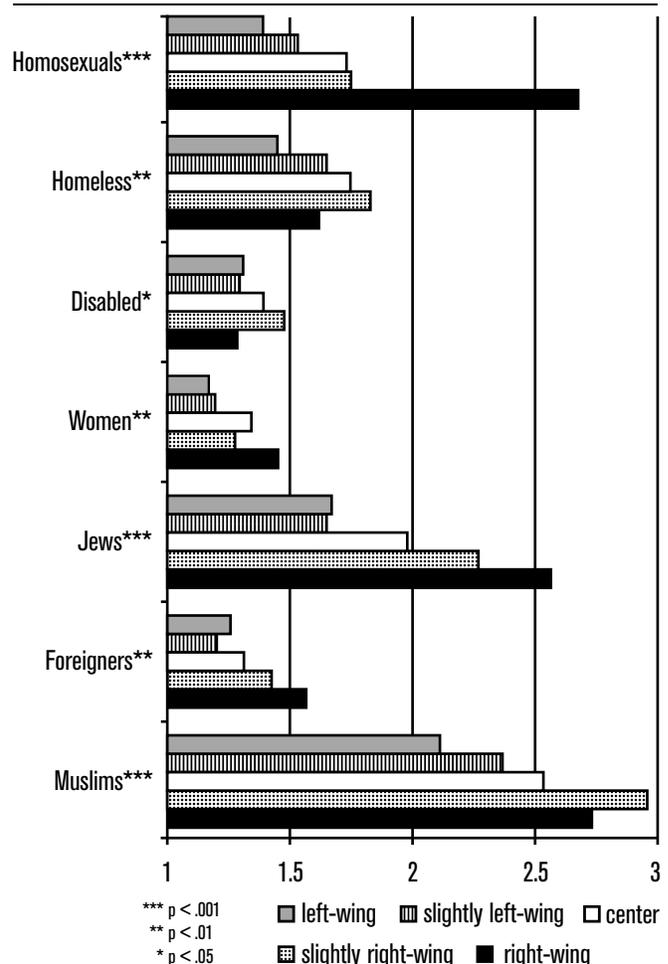
Figure 4: Mean differences for discriminatory intentions by formal education



**Political orientation:** With very few exceptions, it has been consistently shown that the more strongly people categorize themselves as being on the political right, the more likely they are to display hostile attitudes (e.g. Zick and Küpper 2006). As Figure 5 shows, this pattern holds for discriminatory intentions, too, although the effects are quite small. Participants were asked for a self-categorization of their general political opinion on a scale ranging from “left-wing,” “slightly left-wing,” and “just in the center” to “slightly right-wing” and “right-wing.” The results indicate a significant multivariate effect of political orientation ( $F(28, 3160) = 3.93, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$ ). We

detected a clear “more discrimination from left to right” pattern for discriminatory intentions against homosexuals ( $F(4, 793) = 10.03, p < .001, \eta^2 = .048$ ) and Jews ( $F(4, 793) = 12.84, p < .001, \eta^2 = .061$ ). Additionally, there are significant differences for all other outgroups: homeless people ( $F(4, 793) = 3.38, p = .009, \eta^2 = .017$ ), disabled people ( $F(4, 793) = 2.45, p = .05, \eta^2 = .012$ ), women ( $F(4, 793) = 3.65, p = .006, \eta^2 = .018$ ), foreigners ( $F(4, 793) = 3.75, p = .005, \eta^2 = .019$ ), and Muslims ( $F(4, 793) = 8.03, p < .001, \eta^2 = .039$ ). Post-hoc analyses indicate that it is not always the firmest right-wingers who show most discriminatory intentions, but in some cases (toward homeless people, disabled people, and Muslims) those who characterize themselves as slightly right-wing. However, except for homosexuals and Jews, the differences are rather small.

Figure 5: Mean differences for discriminatory intentions by political orientation



### The Relationship between Prejudice and Discriminatory Intentions

As we indicated before, Wagner, Christ, and Kühnel (2002) found substantial correlations between prejudice against a target group and discriminatory intentions against the same target group. Even though they did not concentrate particular attention on these findings, they also found quite strong correlations between prejudice and discrimination for *different* target groups. However, they analyzed only discriminatory intentions against foreigners, Muslims, women, disabled people, and a self-report on past discriminatory behavior against Jews. Here we examined discriminatory intentions against all seven GFE target groups.

To analyze the relationship between prejudice and discrimination we correlated the items for discriminatory intentions and the elements of group-focused enmity. Table 3 shows the results. According to Cohen (1992) correlations of  $r = .10$  indicate small effect sizes,  $r = .30$  medium, and  $r = .50$  strong. As the table shows, all correlations but one are positive and statistical significant. This means that for all target groups, discriminatory intentions increase with increasing prejudice. As expected, the highest correlations can be found for prejudice and discriminatory intentions relating to the same target group. This confirms the findings of Wagner, Christ, and Kühnel (2002). However, our aim was to analyze the relationship between prejudice and discrimination if the target group is not identical. As Table 3 shows, there are high correlations here, too. For example discriminatory intentions against Muslims show substantial correlations not only with Islamophobia

( $r = .37$ ), but also with xenophobia ( $r = .30$ ). Discriminatory intentions against women correlate with sexism ( $r = .25$ ) and nearly as strongly with racism ( $r = .22$ ) and prejudice against disabled people ( $r = .21$ ). Discriminatory intentions against foreigners correlate clearly with xenophobia ( $r = .25$ ), racism ( $r = .24$ ) and even more strongly with Islamophobia ( $r = .29$ ). But the strongest connections across group boundaries can be found for discriminatory intentions against Jews (correlations range from .26 to .45) and homosexuals (from .19 to .53). These items show clear correlations with all elements of GFE, indicating that discriminatory intentions against Jews or homosexuals are strongly related to several facets of prejudice. Overall, the results show that prejudice and discriminatory intentions correlate not only when the target group is the same. There is also a substantial correlation across group boundaries, which can be even stronger than when the two phenomena are examined in relation to a single target group.

### Discussion

The aim of the present study was to analyze discriminatory intentions against different outgroups in Germany. Previous research focused mainly on one or two outgroups. We compared discriminatory intentions against seven outgroups for several demographic indicators and detected specific differences. Further, we analyzed the relationship between prejudice and discriminatory intentions in terms of a syndrome of prejudice. On the basis of the theoretical arguments that prejudice towards different outgroups is correlated due to an underlying syndrome of

**Table 3: Correlations between prejudice and discriminatory intentions**

Discrimination	Prejudice								
	Homophobia	Prejudice against homeless people	Prejudice against disabled people	Sexism	Anti-Semitism	Xenophobia	Islamophobia	Racism	Preferential rights of the established
Homosexuals	.53	.19	.21	.38	.30	.29	.27	.29	.24
Homeless	.13	.37	.15	.08 <sup>b</sup>	.15	.19	.14	.20	.14
Disabled	.17	.23	.36	.17	.22	.21	.20	.24	.19
Women	.18	.16	.21	.25	.18	.15	.17	.22	.18
Jews	.28	.26	.26	.27	.41	.45	.41	.36	.35
Foreigners	.15	.14	.19	.12	.17	.25	.29	.24	.15
Muslims <sup>a</sup>	.18	.21	.11 <sup>b</sup>	.04 <sup>c</sup>	.18	.30	.37	.16	.20

Notes: <sup>a</sup> This item was presented only to half of the sample (N = 867). Pearson correlations,  $p < .001$ , <sup>b</sup>  $p = .002$ , <sup>c</sup> n.s.

group-focused enmity (Zick et al., forthcoming) and that prejudice and discrimination are correlated (Dovidio et al. 1996; Schütz and Six 1996), we assumed that there must be substantial correlations between prejudice against one group and discriminatory intentions towards other target groups.

The group comparisons indicate that the analyzed demographic groups show only small differences in their discriminatory intentions. Even though there are statistically significant differences in discriminatory intentions against many outgroups between eastern and western Germany and between left-wing and right-wing political orientations, the effects are very small and do not allow for unambiguous interpretation. The small differences between age groups indicate that it is not the young, but rather older people who show more discriminatory intentions (at least against homosexuals). This confirms recent findings by Endrikat (2006), showing that young people are less prejudiced than older people. Our results give strong support to the demand that attempts to reduce prejudice and discrimination should not concentrate solely on young people. A possible reason for the rather small differences found within demographic categories might be that behavioral intentions depend more on individual psychological and situational factors than on demographic indicators. General attitudes, like prejudice, seem to be more closely related to sociological indicators than the intention to behave in a particular way toward an outgroup member. The conscious decision to perform a discriminatory act seems to depend on additional factors besides the demographic ones analyzed here. Taken together, these results indicate that discriminatory intentions differ substantially from prejudiced attitudes.

The analysis of the relationship between prejudice and discriminatory intentions confirms our assumptions: prejudice and discriminatory intentions are clearly correlated in terms of a syndrome of group-focused enmity. Prejudice against any specific target group in our analysis correlates with discriminatory intentions against almost all other outgroups. However, there is need for further analyses. Even though we found strong correlations between discriminatory intentions against Jews and homosexuals and prejudices against all other target groups, we do not know the exact reason for this. One reason might

be the context of the discriminatory intentions items. The item focussed on Jews raises the question of marriage to a target group member, while the item focussed on homosexuals is about renting an apartment. So both items involve a long-term, intimate or close relationship with many opportunities for contact. Prejudiced people are not interested in such contacts and so they avoid these situations. Another explanation might be that the discriminatory intentions against Jews and homosexuals are very emotionally charged. Rejection of homosexuals as tenants might be driven by disgust (Cottrell and Neuberg 2005), while rejection of a Jewish person as a family member might be driven by fear or anger. Both emotions are central elements of prejudices against many outgroups (e.g. Cottrell and Neuberg 2005; Dijker 1987; Fiske 2004a; Fiske et al. 2002; Pettigrew and Meertens 1995; Schaller, Park, and Faulkner 2003), so discriminatory intentions against these groups might be expected to show strong correlations with prejudice against other groups. However, in order to understand the underlying processes, more detailed analyses with more discriminatory intention items per target group will be necessary.

It should be remembered that the results presented here are subject to several limitations. First, we used survey data. This limited us to measuring discriminatory intentions, which is often used as a substitute for actual behavior, but which is not the same. Nevertheless, research has shown that there is a substantial correlation between behavioral intention and behavior (Sheeran 2002). Moreover, individual discrimination is mostly intentional (Fiske 2004b). However, we are interested in actual discriminatory behavior. There is a fundamental lack of research on actual discriminatory behavior, especially on hot discrimination, such as approach behavior and attacks (Mackie and Smith 1998). Further research should take this into account. The second limitation lies in the limited number of items. Since there is only one item per outgroup, results may depend on the specific content of the item, i.e., the situation. Having more than just one item per group would provide the opportunity to use latent variables and short scales to test our hypotheses.

Finally, what are the implications of this study? Our results indicate a substantial tendency for people to agree

with items measuring social exclusion directed against different outgroups in everyday situations. This confirms results from North American studies on individual discrimination against women (Lott 1995), black people (Hacker 1995; Maluso 1995), and homosexuals (Fernald 1995). The implementation of an anti-discrimination law in the European Union also suggests that discrimination is a problem in Europe (even though many German politicians and business lobbyists do not seem so agree on this point).

Our data also show that no particular group is singled out as a preferred victim, so intervention programs focusing on a single outgroup might merely displace the problem of discrimination. However, further research is needed to analyze whether programs against prejudice and discrimination should widen their spectrum of target groups.

The relationship between prejudice and discriminatory intentions across group boundaries indicates that prejudice against any outgroup should be regarded as an alarming warning sign. Those who are prejudiced against a specific outgroup are likely to discriminate against other outgroups, too. The ideology of inequality, manifested in the syndrome of group-focused enmity (Zick et al., forthcoming), seems to have a broad influence on discriminatory intentions.

Prejudice does not only result in individual discrimination. Widespread prejudice creates a hostile climate for minority groups and leads to a normalization of minority rejection and separation. Such normality is one basis of institutional forms of discrimination, which operationalize individual prejudices in institutional settings. Institutional discrimination cannot be understood without individual discrimination. Firstly, it is always a single individual or a group of individuals who decide to implement discriminatory treatment at the institutional level. And secondly, institutional discrimination is often actually carried out by individuals, e.g. blocking promotion for women. Although there are forms of institutional discrimination that operate without negative intentions by the institutional members, people often do have a choice, so it would seem that there is a chance of changing institutional procedures (Fiske 2004b). The intention not to discriminate might be a chance to get rid of these forms of discrimination.

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