

Solidarity or Exclusion? Discrimination Involving Sexuality and Attitudes toward Immigrants in Europe

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Two Conflicting Observations

- Sexuality and immigration can be politically linked.
- But this relationship points in different directions.

Observation 1: Exclusion



LGBTQ+ inclusion can be linked to anti-immigrant politics.

Observation 2: Solidarity



Sexual minority activists also mobilize for migrants and refugees.

Competing Expectations

Homonationalism

- LGBTQ+ rights
- National superiority
- Immigrants as intolerant

Solidarity

- Discrimination
- Empathy
- Shared vulnerability

Theoretical expectations conflict.

Research Gap

- Existing studies often focus on sexual minority identity.
- But identity alone may miss important variation among citizens.
- Reported group discrimination may explain additional variation.

Research Question

How is reported discrimination involving sexuality associated with attitudes toward immigrants?

Data

- European Social Survey Round 10
- 31 European countries
- Native-born respondents only
- Final analytical sample: **22,553 respondents**

Key Variables

Dependent Variables

Three 0–10 ordinal measures of attitudes toward immigrants

- Good for the economy
- Enrich cultural life
- Make the country a better place to live

Independent Variables

- $\text{dscrgrp}(\beta_1)$: reported membership in a discriminated group
- $\text{sex_disc}(\beta_2)$: sexuality is one reported ground
- Main quantity of interest: $\beta_1 + \beta_2$

Observed group	$\text{dscrgrp}(\beta_1)$	$\text{sex_disc}(\beta_2)$	N
No reported group discrimination	0	0	20,906
Discrimination not involving sexuality	1	0	1,479
Discrimination involving sexuality	1	1	168

Measurement note: not a direct measure of sexual orientation; sexuality may be one of several grounds.

Models

Pooled model

$$\text{logit Pr}(Y_i \leq k) = \tau_k - (\beta_1 \text{dscrgrp}_i + \beta_2 \text{sex_disc}_i + X_i \gamma)$$

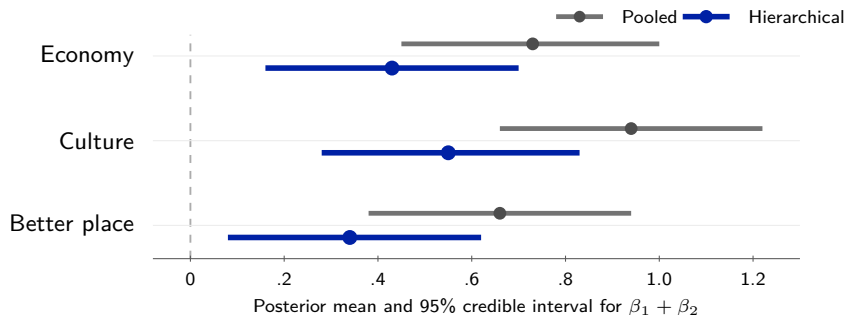
Hierarchical model

$$\text{logit Pr}(Y_{ij} \leq k) = \tau_k - (\beta_1 \text{dscrgrp}_{ij} + \beta_2 \text{sex_disc}_{ij} + X_{ij} \gamma + \alpha_j)$$

α_j : country-specific random intercept

- Ideology, religiosity, age, gender, residence, education, income, egalitarianism
- Weakly informative priors and standard controls

Bayesian Results



- Main contrast: $(\beta_1 + \beta_2) - 0$
- Discrimination involving sexuality vs. No reported group discrimination
- Pooled and hierarchical models point in the same direction
- Reported discrimination involving sexuality is associated with more favorable attitudes toward immigrants.

Bayesian Results

Outcome	Pooled	Hierarchical
Economy	0.73 [0.45, 1.00]	0.43 [0.16, 0.70]
Culture	0.94 [0.66, 1.22]	0.55 [0.28, 0.83]
Better place	0.66 [0.38, 0.94]	0.34 [0.08, 0.62]

Interpretation

- Reported group discrimination
- Sensitivity to exclusion
- Recognition of others' vulnerability
- Cross-group solidarity

The observed pattern is more consistent with solidarity than exclusion.

Limitations

- The European Social Survey does not directly measure sexual orientation.
- The measure does not capture the frequency or severity of personal events.
- Immigrants are measured as a broad category.
- Cross-sectional data limits causal inference.
- Future work should examine the mechanism more directly.

Conclusion

- Shift from identity to reported group discrimination.
- Discrimination involving sexuality is consistently positive.
- Findings are more consistent with cross-group solidarity.
- The mechanism remains to be tested.

Thank you! I welcome your questions and feedback.

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