# Measuring Tolerance of Homosexuality in the Mass Public Across Countries and Over Time

# July 01, 2023 Appendices

# Contents

Appendix A: Sample of Published Articles on Public Opinion and Homoses uality	κ- Α2
Appendix B: Survey Items Used to Estimate Tolerance of Homosexuality	<b>A</b> 8
Appendix C: The DCPO Model	A14
Appendix References	A16

# Appendix A: Sample of Published Articles on Public Opinion and Homosexuality

To generate a sample of published articles on public opinion and homosexuality, we combined results from two searches, the first on the Web of Science and the second on Google Scholar. Web of Science topic searches return articles in which the search terms appear in the title or abstract. We executed the following search: TS=("public opinion" AND (homosexual\* OR gay OR LGB\*)). The fifty most cited empirical research articles returned were retained for our sample. Google Scholar, according to its about page, "aims to rank documents the way researchers do, weighing the full text of each document, where it was published, who it was written by, as well as how often and how recently it has been cited in other scholarly literature." We searched "public opinion" homosexuality and identified the first fifty research articles returned. To ensure comparability of citation counts, we collected the Web of Science records for this second group of articles (Google Scholar, because it includes citations in books, white papers, working papers, some journals not in the Web of Science collection, and other sources, tends to report higher—and sometimes much higher—numbers of citations for the same article). Then we added the Web of Science records for the Google Scholar results to our original Web of Science sample and dropped all duplicates, yielding a total of 86 different articles. Each of the articles was then consulted to identify its number of countries and mean years observed per country. This information is listed in Table A1 below.

Table A1: Prominent Research Articles on Public Opinion Toward Homosexuality

Article	Countries Observed	Mean Years Observed per Country	Country- Years Observed	WoS Citations	
Loftus 2001	1	21	21	490	
Herek 2002	1	1	1	457	
Nelson and Kinder 1996	1	1	1	407	
Lax and Phillips 2009a	1	9	9	371	
Norton and Herek 2013	1	1	1	330	
Adamczyk and Pitt 2009	40	1	40	318	
Olson et al. 2006	1	1	1	312	
Lax and Phillips 2012	1	12	12	276	
Lewis 2003	1	31	31	274	
Lax and Phillips 2009	1	12	12	256	
Andersen and Fetner 2008a	2	3	6	241	
Andersen and Fetner 2008	35	1.8	63	228	
Haider-Markel and Joslyn 2008	1	2	2	216	
Yang 1997	1	26	26	201	
Baunach 2012	1	14	14	192	
Sherkat et al. 2011	1	13	13	187	
Brewer 2003a	1	3	3	180	
Perez-Brumer et al. 2015	1	1	1	180	
Tankard and Paluck 2017	1	1	1	172	
Herek et al. 2003	1	1	1	172	
Brewer 2003	1	2	2	159	
Hicks and Lee 2006	1	14	14	146	
Gerhards 2010	27	1	27	139	
Sherkat et al. 2010	1	4	4	139	
Brace et al. 2002	1	16	16	136	
Frost et al. 2016	1	1	1	135	
Van Den Akker et al. 2013	20	3.8	75	135	
Oldenburg et al. 2015	1	1	1	122	
Whitehead 2010	1	1	1	103	
Avery et al. 2007	1	15	15	98	
Hooghe and Meeusen 2013	29	4.2	123	93	
Lewis 2011	1	22	22	93	
Brewer 2002	1	1	1	92	
Price et al. 2005	1	1	1	91	
Lindaman, Haider-Markel 2002	1	16	16	88	
Doan et al. 2014	1	1	1	86	
Clements and Field 2014	1	42	42	86	
Lewis and Gossett 2008	1	6	6	86	
Flores 2015	1	1	1	85	
Baiocco et al. 2013	1	1	1	79	
Flores and Barclay 2016	1	2	2	78	
Craig et al. 2005	1	1	1	76	
Hooghe et al. 2010	2	1	2	73	
Lewis et al. 2017	1	1	1	72	
Schwartz 2010	1	1	1	72	
DOMWALL ZUIU	1	1	1	14	

# (continued)

Article	Countries Observed	Mean Years Observed per Country	Country- Years Observed	WoS Citations
Bishin et al. 2016	1	2	2	71
Reynolds 2013	81	1.8	145	71
Kreitzer et al. 2014	1	3	3	69
Price and Hsu 1992	1	2	2	69
Baunach 2011	1	3	3	67
Willnat et al. 2002	1	1	1	67
Barth et al. 2009	1	1	1	66
Schnabel 2016	1	25	25	65
Gearhart and Zhang 2014	1	1	1	65
Herek and Glunt 1991	1	1	1	65
Whitehead and Perry 2015	1	1	1	62
Ayoub and Garretson 2017	72	2.4	173	62
Stipp and Kerr 1989	1	1	1	60
Detember et al. 2007	1	1	1	55
Stoutenborough et al. 2006	1	14	14	54
Jaspers et al. 2007	1	10	10	40
Pollock 1994	1	2	2	38
Brewer 2014	30	1	30	34
Roggemans et al. 2015	1	1	1	33
Alston 1974	2	7	14	25
Kazyak and Stange 2018	1	2	2	23
Redman 2018	70	2.9	203	23
Engel 2013	1	6	6	21
Perry and Whitehead 2016	1	1	1	18
Deboer 1978	8	2.3	18	18
Seltzer 1993	1	2	2	16
Roder and Lubbers 2016	4	2	8	13
Hildebrandt et al. 2017	19	2.9	54	12
Lewis 2001	1	19	19	12
Kleiner 2018	23	3	68	12
Rayside and Bowler 1988	3	3.7	11	11
Burke 2008	1	21	21	10
Hetzel 2011	1	1	1	9
Perry and Snawder 2016	1	1	1	8
Tolkachev and Tolordava 2020	2	3	6	6
Hildebrandt et al. 2019	73	1	73	6
Lau et al. 2017	1	2	2	6
Hayes 1997	1	4	4	5
Kuyper et al. 2018	3	1	3	3
Becker and Todd 2018	1	2	2	2
Northcott and Reutter 1991	1	1	1	2

#### Prominent Works

- Adamczyk, Amy, and Cassady Pitt. 2009. "Shaping Attitudes about Homosexuality: The Role of Religion and Cultural Context." Social Science Research 38 (2): 338–51.
- Alston, Jon P. 1974. "Attitudes Toward Extramarital and Homosexual Relations." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 13 (4): 479–81.
- andersen, Robert, and Tina Fetner. 2008a. "Cohort Differences in Tolerance of Homosexuality Attitudinal Change in Canada and the United States, 1981-2000." Public Opinion Quarterly 72 (2): 311–30.
- ———. 2008b. "Economic Inequality and Intolerance: Attitudes Toward Homosexuality in 35 Democracies." American Journal of Political Science 52 (4): 942–58.
- Avery, Alison, Justin Chase, Linda Johansson, Samantha Litvak, Darrel Montero, and Michael Wydra. 2007. "America's Changing Attitudes Toward Homosexuality, Civil Unions, and Same-Gender Marriage: 1977-2004." Social Work 52 (1): 71–79.
- Ayoub, Phillip M., and Jeremiah Garretson. 2017. "Getting the Message Out: Media Context and Global Changes in Attitudes Toward Homosexuality." Comparative Political Studies 50 (8): 1055–85.
- Baiocco, Roberto, Nicola Nardelli, Lina Pezzuti, and Vittorio Lingiardi. 2013. "Attitudes of Italian Heterosexual Older Adults Towards Lesbian and Gay Parenting." Sexuality Research and Social Policy 10 (4): 285–92.
- Barth, Jay, and Janine Parry. 2009. "Political Culture, Public Opinion, and Policy (Non)diffusion: The Case of Gay- and Lesbian-Related Issues in Arkansas." Social Science Quarterly 90 (2): 309–25.
- Baunach, Dawn Michelle. 2011. "Decomposing Trends in Attitudes Toward Gay Marriage, 1988-2006." Social Science Quarterly 92 (2): 346–63.
- ———. 2012. "Changing Same-Sex Marriage Attitudes in America from 1988 Through 2010." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76 (2): 364–78.
- Becker, Amy B, and Maureen E Todd. 2018. "Watching the Evolution of the American Family? Amazon's Transparent, Ecological Systems Theory, and the Changing Dynamics of Public Opinion." *Journal of Homosexuality* 65 (9): 1120–37.
- Bishin, Benjamin G., Thomas J. Hayes, Matthew B. Incantalupo, and Charles Anthony Smith. 2016. "Opinion Backlash and Public Attitudes: Are Political Advances in Gay Rights Counterproductive?" *American Journal of Political Science* 60 (3): 625–48.
- Brace, P, K Sims-Butler, K Arceneaux, and M Johnson. 2002. "Public Opinion in the American States: New Perspectives Using National Survey Data." *American Journal of Political Science* 46 (1): 173–89.
- Brewer, Paul R. 2003. "The Shifting Foundations of Public Opinion about Gay Rights." *Journal of Politics* 65 (4): 1208–20.
- ——. 2014. "Public Opinion about Gay Rights and Gay Marriage." International Journal of Public Opinion Research 26 (3): 279–82.
- Brewer, Paul R. 2002. "Framing, Value Words, and Citizens' Explanations of Their Issue Opinions." *Political Communication* 19 (3): 303–16.
- Brewer, Pr. 2003. "Values, Political Knowledge, and Public Opinion about Gay Rights a Framing-Based Account." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67 (2): 173–201.
- Burke, Susan K. 2008. "Removal of Gay-Themed Materials from Public Libraries: Public Opinion Trends, 1973–2006." Public Library Quarterly 27 (3): 247–64.
- Clements, Ben, and Clive D. Field. 2014. "The Polls-Trends Public Opinion Toward Homosexuality and Gay Rights in Great Britain." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 78 (2): 523–47.
- Craig, SC, MD Martinez, JG Kane, and J Gainous. 2005. "Core Values, Value Conflict, and Citizens' Ambivalence about Gay Rights." *Political Research Quarterly* 58 (1): 5–17.
- De Boer, Connie. 1978. "The Polls: Attitudes Toward Homosexuality." Public Opinion Quarterly 42 (2): 265–76.
- Detenber, Benjamin H, Mark Cenite, Moses Ky Ku, Carol Pl Ong, Hazel Y Tong, and Magdalene Lh Yeow. 2007. "Singaporeans' Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men and Their Tolerance of Media Portrayals of Homosexuality." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 19 (3): 367–79.
- Doan, Long, Annalise Loehr, and Lisa R. Miller. 2014. "Formal Rights and Informal Privileges for Same-Sex Couples: Evidence from a National Survey Experiment." American Sociological Review 79 (6): 1172–95.
- Engel, Stephen M. 2013. "Frame Spillover: Media Framing and Public Opinion of a Multifaceted LGBT Rights Agenda." Law & Social Inquiry 38 (2): 403–41.

- Flores, Andrew R. 2015. "Attitudes Toward Transgender Rights: Perceived Knowledge and Secondary Interpersonal Contact." *Politics Groups and Identities* 3 (3): 398–416.
- Flores, Andrew R., and Scott Barclay. 2016. "Backlash, Consensus, Legitimacy, or Polarization: The Effect of Same-Sex Marriage Policy on Mass Attitudes." *Political Research Quarterly* 69 (1): 43–56.
- Frost, David M., Ilan H. Meyer, and Sharon Schwartz. 2016. "Social Support Networks Among Diverse Sexual Minority Populations." *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* 86 (1): 91–102.
- Gearhart, Sherice, and Weiwu Zhang. 2014. "Gay Bullying and Online Opinion Expression: Testing Spiral of Silence in the Social Media Environment." Social Science Computer Review 32 (1): 18–36.
- Gerhards, Juergen. 2010. "Non-Discrimination Towards Homosexuality the European Union's Policy and Citizens' Attitudes Towards Homosexuality in 27 European Countries." *International Sociology* 25 (1): 5–28.
- Haider-Markel, Donald P., and Mark R. Joslyn. 2008. "Beliefs about the Origins of Homosexuality and Support for Gay Rights an Empirical Test of Attribution Theory." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72 (2): 291–310.
- Hayes, Bernadette C. 1997. "The Influence of Gender on Public Attitudes Toward Homosexual Rights in Britain." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 9 (4): 361–85.
- Herek, Gregory M. 2002. "Gender Gaps in Public Opinion about Lesbians and Gay Men." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66 (1): 40–66.
- Herek, Gregory M., JP Capitanio, and KF Widaman. 2003. "Stigma, Social Risk, and Health Policy: Public Attitudes Toward Hiv Surveillance Policies and the Social Construction of Illness." *Health Psychology* 22 (5): 533–40.
- Herek, Gregory M., and EK Glunt. 1991. "AIDS-Related Attitudes in the United-States: A Preliminary Conceptualization." *Journal of Sex Research* 28 (1): 99–123.
- Hetzel, Carole J. 2011. "Exploring the Relationship Between Public Opinion and Personal Attitudes and Behavior Toward Lesbians and Gay Men: Social Conformity Revisited." *Journal of Homosexuality* 58 (10): 1421–41.
- Hicks, Gary R., and Tien-tsung Lee. 2006. "Public Attitudes Toward Gays and Lesbians: Trends and Predictors." *Journal of Homosexuality* 51 (2): 57–77.
- Hildebrandt, Achim, Eva-Maria Trüdinger, and Sebastian Jäckle. 2017. "Sooner or Later: The Influence of Public Opinion and Religiosity on the Enactment of Laws Recognizing Same-Sex Unions." *Journal of European Public Policy* 24 (8): 1191–1210.
- Hildebrandt, Achim, Eva-Maria Truedinger, and Dominik Wyss. 2019. "The Missing Link? Modernization, Tolerance, and Legislation on Homosexuality." *Political Research Quarterly* 72 (3): 539–53.
- Hooghe, Marc, Ellen Claes, Allison Harell, Ellen Quintelier, and Yves Dejaeghere. 2010. "Anti-Gay Sentiment Among Adolescents in Belgium and Canada: A Comparative Investigation into the Role of Gender and Religion." *Journal of Homosexuality* 57 (3): 384–400.
- Hooghe, Marc, and Cecil Meeusen. 2013. "Is Same-Sex Marriage Legislation Related to Attitudes Toward Homosexuality?" Sexuality Research and Social Policy 10 (4): 258–68.
- Jaspers, Eva, Marcel Lubbers, and Nan Dirk De Graaf. 2007. "Horrors of Holland': Explaining Attitude Change Towards Euthanasia and Homosexuals in the Netherlands, 1970–1998." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 19 (4): 451–73.
- Kazyak, Emily, and Mathew Stange. 2018. "Backlash or a Positive Response?: Public Opinion of LGB Issues After Obergefell v. Hodges." *Journal of Homosexuality* 65 (14): 2028–52.
- Kleiner, Tuuli-Marja. 2018. "Public Opinion Polarisation and Protest Behaviour." European Journal of Political Research 57 (4): 941–62.
- Kreitzer, Rebecca J., Allison J. Hamilton, and Caroline J. Tolbert. 2014. "Does Policy Adoption Change Opinions on Minority Rights? The Effects of Legalizing Same-Sex Marriage." *Political Research Quarterly* 67 (4): 795–808.
- Kuyper, Lisette, Elena Sommer, and Sarah Butt. 2018. "Gender Gaps in the Measurement of Public Opinion about Homosexuality in Cross-National Surveys: A Question-Wording Experiment." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 30 (4): 692–704.
- Lau, Holning, Geoffrey Yeung, Rebecca L Stotzer, Charles Q Lau, and Kelley Loper. 2017. "Assessing the Tongzhi Label: Self-Identification and Public Opinion." *Journal of Homosexuality* 64 (4): 509–22.
- Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "Gay Rights in the States: Public Opinion and Policy

- Responsiveness." American Political Science Review 103 (3): 367–86.
- Lax, Jeffrey R., and Justin H. Phillips. 2009. "How Should We Estimate Public Opinion in the States?" *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (1): 107–21.
- ———. 2012. "The Democratic Deficit in the States." American Journal of Political Science 56 (1): 148–66. Lewis, Daniel C., Andrew R. Flores, Donald P. Haider-Markel, Patrick R. Miller, Barry L. Tadlock, and Jami K. Taylor. 2017. "Degrees of Acceptance: Variation in Public Attitudes Toward Segments of the LGBT Community." Political Research Quarterly 70 (4): 861–75.
- Lewis, Gregory B. 2003. "Black-White Differences in Attitudes Toward Homosexuality and Gay Rights." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67 (1): 59–78.
- ——. 2011. "The Friends and Family Plan: Contact with Gays and Support for Gay Rights." *Policy Studies Journal* 39 (2): 217–38.
- Lewis, Gregory B., and Charles W. Gossett. 2008. "Changing Public Opinion on Same-Sex Marriage: The Case of California." *Politics & Policy* 36 (1): 4–30.
- Lewis, Gregory B, and Howard E Taylor. 2001. "Public Opinion Toward Gay and Lesbian Teachers: Insights for All Public Employees." Review of Public Personnel Administration 21 (2): 133–51.
- Lindaman, K, and DP Haider-Markel. 2002. "Issue Evolution, Political Parties, and the Culture Wars." *Political Research Quarterly* 55 (1): 91–110.
- Loftus, J. 2001. "America's Liberalization in Attitudes Toward Homosexuality, 1973 to 1998." American Sociological Review 66 (5): 762–82.
- Nelson, Thomas E, and Donald R Kinder. 1996. "Issue Frames and Group-Centrism in American Public Opinion." *Journal of Politics* 58 (4): 1055–78.
- Northcott, Herbert C, and Linda Reutter. 1991. "Public Opinion Regarding AIDS Policy: Fear of Contagion and Attitude Toward Homosexual Relationships." Canadian Journal of Public Health= Revue Canadianne de Sante Publique 82 (2): 87–91.
- Norton, Aaron T., and Gregory M. Herek. 2013. "Heterosexuals' Attitudes Toward Transgender People: Findings from a National Probability Sample of Us Adults." Sex Roles 68 (11-12, Si): 738–53.
- Oldenburg, Catherine E., Amaya G. Perez-Brumer, Mark L. Hatzenbuehler, Douglas Krakower, David S. Novak, Matthew J. Mimiaga, and Kenneth H. Mayer. 2015. "State-Level Structural Sexual Stigma and Hiv Prevention in a National Online Sample of Hiv-Uninfected Msm in the United States." AIDS 29 (7): 837–45.
- Olson, LR, W Cadge, and JT Harrison. 2006. "Religion and Public Opinion about Same-Sex Marriage." Social Science Quarterly 87 (2): 340–60.
- Perez-Brumer, Amaya, Mark L. Hatzenbuehler, Catherine E. Oldenburg, and Walter Bockting. 2015. "Individual- and Structural-Level Risk Factors for Suicide Attempts Among Transgender Adults." *Behavioral Medicine* 41 (3, Si): 164–71.
- Perry, Samuel L., and Kara J. Snawder. 2016. "Longitudinal Effects of Religious Media on Opposition to Same-Sex Marriage." Sexuality and Culture 20 (4): 785–804.
- Perry, Samuel L, and Andrew L Whitehead. 2016. "Religion and Public Opinion Toward Same-Sex Relations, Marriage, and Adoption: Does the Type of Practice Matter?" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 55 (3): 637–51.
- Pollock, Philip H, III. 1994. "Issues, Values, and Critical Moments: Did" Magic" Johnson Transform Public Opinion on AIDS?" American Journal of Political Science, 426–46.
- Price, Vincent, and Mei-Ling Hsu. 1992. "Public Opinion about Aids Policies the Role of Misinformation and Attitudes Toward Homosexuals." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 56 (1): 29–52.
- Price, Vincent, L Nir, and JN Cappella. 2005. "Framing Public Discussion of Gay Civil Unions." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 69 (2): 179–212.
- Rayside, David, and Scott Bowler. 1988. "Public Opinion and Gay Rights." Canadian Review of Sociology/Revue Canadianne de Sociologie 25 (4): 649–60.
- Redman, Shane M. 2018. "Effects of Same-Sex Legislation on Attitudes Toward Homosexuality." *Political Research Quarterly* 71 (3): 628–41.
- Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. "Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective." American Political Science Review 107 (2): 259–74.
- Röder, Antje, and Marcel Lubbers. 2016. "After Migration: Acculturation of Attitudes Towards Homosexuality Among Polish Immigrants in Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and the UK." Ethnicities 16 (2):

- 261-89.
- Roggemans, Lilith, Bram Spruyt, Filip Van Droogenbroeck, and Gil Keppens. 2015. "Religion and Negative Attitudes Towards Homosexuals: An Analysis of Urban Young People and Their Attitudes Towards Homosexuality." Young 23 (3): 254–76.
- Schnabel, Landon. 2016. "Gender and Homosexuality Attitudes Across Religious Groups from the 1970s to 2014: Similarity, Distinction, and Adaptation." Social Science Research 55 (January): 31–47.
- Schwartz, Joseph. 2010. "Investigating Differences in Public Support for Gay Rights Issues." *Journal of Homosexuality* 57 (6): 748–59.
- Seltzer, Richard. 1993. "AIDS, Homosexuality, Public Opinion, and Changing Correlates over Time." *Journal of Homosexuality* 26 (1): 85–98.
- Sherkat, Darren E., Melissa Powell-Williams, Gregory Maddox, and Kylan Mattias de Vries. 2011. "Religion, Politics, and Support for Same-Sex Marriage in the United States, 1988-2008." Social Science Research 40 (1): 167–80.
- Sherkat, Darren E., Kylan Mattias de Vries, and Stacia Creek. 2010. "Race, Religion, and Opposition to Same-Sex Marriage." Social Science Quarterly 91 (1): 80–98.
- Stipp, Horst, and Dennis Kerr. 1989. "Determinants of Public Opinion about AIDS." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53 (1): 98–106.
- Stoutenborough, James W., Donald P. Haider-Markel, and Mahalley D. Allen. 2006. "Reassessing the Impact of Supreme Court Decisions on Public Opinion: Gay Civil Rights Cases." *Political Research Quarterly* 59 (3): 419–33.
- Tankard, Margaret E., and Elizabeth Levy Paluck. 2017. "The Effect of a Supreme Court Decision Regarding Gay Marriage on Social Norms and Personal Attitudes." *Psychological Science* 28 (9): 1334–44.
- Tolkachev, Dmitrii, and Tamar Tolordava. 2020. "Shared Past, Different Future? Russian and Georgian Authorities' Discourse Concerning Homosexuality." Sexuality & Culture 24 (2): 447–64.
- Van den Akker, Hanneke, Rozemarijn Van der Ploeg, and Peer Scheepers. 2013. "Disapproval of Homosexuality: Comparative Research on Individual and National Determinants of Disapproval of Homosexuality in 20 European Countries." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 25 (1): 64–86.
- Whitehead, Andrew L. 2010. "Sacred Rites and Civil Rights: Religion's Effect on Attitudes Toward Same-Sex Unions and the Perceived Cause of Homosexuality." Social Science Quarterly 91 (1): 63–79.
- Whitehead, Andrew L., and Samuel L. Perry. 2015. "A More Perfect Union? Christian Nationalism and Support for Same-Sex Unions." *Sociological Perspectives* 58 (3): 422–40.
- Willnat, Lars, Waipeng Lee, and Benjamin H Detenber. 2002. "Individual-Level Predictors of Public Outspokenness: A Test of the Spiral of Silence Theory in Singapore." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 14 (4): 391–412.
- Yang, Alan S. 1997. "Trends: Attitudes Toward Homosexuality." Public Opinion Quarterly 61 (3): 477–507.

# Appendix B: Survey Items Used to Estimate Tolerance of Homosexuality

National and cross-national surveys have often included questions tapping attitudes toward homosexuality over the past half century, but the resulting data are both sparse, that is, unavailable for many countries and years, and incomparable, generated by many different survey items. In all, I identified 45 such survey items that were asked in no fewer than five country-years in countries surveyed at least three times; these items were drawn from 405 different survey datasets. These items are listed in the table below, along with the dispersion  $(\alpha)$  and difficulty  $(\beta)$  scores estimated for each from the DCPO model. Lower values of dispersion indicate questions that better identify publics with a higher level of trust from those with lower. Items have one less difficulty score than the number of response categories. Survey dataset codes correspond to those used in the DCPOtools R package (Solt, Hu, and Tai 2019); they appear in decreasing order of country-years contributed.

Together, the survey items in the source data were asked in 119 different countries in at least two time points over 49 years, from 1973 to 2022, yielding a total of 3,467 country-year-item observations. The number of items observed in the source data for each country-year is plotted in Figure A1 below. The estimates of tolerance in country-years with more observed items are more precise. In country-years with fewer observed items, the estimates rely more heavily on the random-walk prior and are therefore more uncertain, and when there are no observed items, the estimates rely entirely on the random-walk prior and so uncertainty increases still further.

Table A2: Indicators Used in the Tolerance of Homosexuality Latent Variable Model

Survey Item Code	Country- Years	Question Text	Response Categories	Dispersion	Difficulties	Survey Dataset Codes
just10	527	Please tell me for each of the following statements whether you think it can always be justified, or something in between, using this card. READ OUT STATESMENTS. COME ONE ANSWEWR FOR EACH[Homosexuality]	[1-10]1 Never Justifiable 10 Always justifiable	0.42	0.01, 0.30, 0.54, 0.75, 1.39, 1.70, 1.98, 2.35, 2.63	evs, wvs, asiab, lb, caucasusb
neigh2	520	Homosexuals. Would you mind having them as neighbors?	0 Do not have a problem with having them as neighbors / 1 Do not want them as neighbors	0.86	-0.33	evs, wvs, lits, cid, lb, fsdreligion, amb
free5	264	Homosexuality is a personal behavior, others should not blame	1 Strongly disagree / 2 disagree / 3 Neither / 4 Agree / 5 Strongly Agree	1.23	-3.08, -1.54, -0.08, 2.69	ess, ress, seessp,
accept2	211	And which one of these comes closer to your opinion?	1 homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society / 2 homosexuality is a way of life that should not be accepted by society	0.62	0.63	uspew, gallup, pew, pewrel
approve4	209	A sexual relationship between two adults of the same sex	1 Very bad 2 Fairly bad 3 Not so bad 4 Definitely not bad	0.21	0.55, 1.00, 1.58	usgss, issp, lat, bsa, allbus, pgss, isshr, chcep, seessp, jgss, nsss, twscs
run10	177	And now, changing the topic and thinking of homosexuals, how strongly do you approve or disapprove of such people being permitted to run for public office?	1 Strongly Disapprove 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Strongly Approve	0.56	-0.67, -0.32, -0.05, 0.21, 0.65, 0.95, 1.27, 1.66, 1.99	amb
hioff10	140	Using a scale from 1 to 10, please tell me how you would feel about having a person from each of the following groups in the highest elected political position in	1 Not at all comfortable / 23456789 / 10 Totally comfortable	0.16	-0.83, -0.53, -0.22, 0.02, 0.50, 0.76, 1.06, 1.44, 1.75	eb
approve3	92	Is homosexual behavior morally acceptable, morally wrong, or is it not a moral issue?	1 morally acceptable / 2 morally wrong / 3 not a moral issue	0.44	0.86, 2.00	uspew, pew, pewrel
marry4a	90	Overall, do you support or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?	1 Support strongly 2 Support somewhat 3 Oppose somewhat 4 Oppose strongly	0.82	-0.59, 1.06, 3.36	nbcwsj, lat, uspew, prri, abcwapo, pewrel, pew, lb, aes
marry4e	85	For each of the following propositions, tell me if you Homosexual marriages should be allowed throughout Europe?	Totally agree 1 totally disagree 4	0.09	-0.01, 0.84, 2.06	eb
marry10	80	How strongly do you approve or disapprove of same-sex couples having the right to marry?	1 Strongly disapprove / 23456789 / 10 Strongly approve	0.24	0.18, 0.48, 0.68, 0.86, 1.17, 1.36, 1.58, 1.82, 2.07	amb

(continued)

Survey Item Code	Country- Years	Question Text	Response Categories	Dispersion	Difficulties	Survey Dataset Codes
adopt5	80	How acceptable or unacceptable do you consider the following issues? That homosexual and lesbian couples have the right to adopt children	1 completely unacceptable 2 unacceptable 3 neither acceptable nor unacceptable 4 acceptable 5 completely acceptable	0.76	-0.61, 0.74, 1.77, 3.37	bsa, ess, belgiumes, dkes, nores, icenes
parent5	79	How much do you agree or disagree with this statement? Homosexual couples are as good parents as other couples	Agree strongly1 strongly disagree 5	0.88	-1.52, 0.30, 1.53, 3.49	wvs, evs
ashamed5	73	If a close family member was a gay man or a lesbian, I would feel ashamed.	Agree strongly 1 Disagree strongly 5	1.01	-2.55, -0.88, 0.39, 2.30	ess
marry3	69	What is your view on same-sex marriage?	1 Favour same-sex marriage / 2 Oppose same-sex marriage, but would accept civil unions / 3 Oppose entirely same-sex marriage	0.97	-0.74, 0.90	ipsos, cgeis
rights4	57	To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? Gay, lesbian and bisexual people should have the same rights as heterosexual people	Totally agree 1 totally disagree 4	0.72	-1.31, -0.12, 1.67	eb, itanes
approve4a	56	To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements? There is nothing wrong in a sexual relationship between two persons of the same sex	Totally agree 1 totally disagree 4	0.71	-0.93, 0.34, 2.00	eb
adopt4a	55	Same-sex couples' right to adopt is a good thing	1 strongly agree / $2$ somewhat agree / $3$ somewhat disagree / $4$ strongly disagree	0.55	0.01, 1.03, 2.31	prri, ipsos, prriatlantic, fsdelection, ptvs
adopt5a	53	How would you feel about the following statement? Do you agree or disagree with them? Homosexual couples should be able to adopt children	Agree strongly1 strongly disagree 5	1.70	-0.90, 1.41, 3.01, 5.61	evs, som, snes, ptvs
adopt2	51	Do you favor or oppose allowing gay or lesbian couples to adopt a child?	1 Favor 2 Oppose 8 DK/No opinion 9 NA/Refused	0.10	1.60	gallup, anes, cnn, psra, abcwapo, bsa, eb, pew, angus
marry4c	47	Same-sex marriage is or could be harmful to society	1 strongly disagree / 2 somewhat disagree / 3 somewhat agree / 4 strongly agree	0.45	-0.77, 0.33, 1.48	ipsos
marry2	39	Do you think homosexuals should or should not have equal rights to marry one another?	1 Should have equal rights to marry 2 Should not have equal rights to marry 8 DK/No opinion 9 NA/Refused	0.88	1.20	cnn, abcwapo, psra, ap, gallup, uspew, cces, eb, angus aes
ff5	39	same sex female couple can bring up a child as well as a male-female couple	1 Strongly agree / 2 Agree / 3 Neither agree nor disagree / 4 Disagree / 5 Strongly disagree	0.74	-0.73, 0.87, 1.62, 3.67	issp
		-				

(continued)

Survey Item Code	Country- Years	Question Text	Response Categories	Dispersion	Difficulties	Survey Dataset Codes
mm5	39	same sex male couple can bring up a child as well as a male-female couple	1 Strongly agree / 2 Agree / 3 Neither agree nor disagree / 4 Disagree / 5 Strongly disagree	0.72	-0.38, 1.17, 1.94, 3.80	issp
marry5a	33	Here are some statements about general social concerns. Please say whether you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each of these statements. Same-sex marriages should be prohibited by law	1 Strongly agree / 2 Agree / 3 Neither agree nor disagree / 4 Disagree / 5 Strongly disagree	0.65	-0.71, 0.39, 1.15, 2.56	ees, ptvs, ines, aes
approve5	30	What about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex?	1 Always wrong 2 Mostly wrong 3 Sometimes wrong 4 Rarely wrong 5 Not wrong at all	0.11	0.46, 0.80, 1.32, 1.65	bsa, cgss
adopt4	29	For each of the following propositions, tell me if you Adoption of children should be authorised for homosexual couples throughout Europe	Totally agree 1 totally disagree 4	0.76	0.67, 1.81, 3.31	eb
marry5	28	Agree: The law should recognise same-sex relationships	1 Strongly agree / 2 Agree / 3 Neither agree nor disagree / 4 Disagree / 5 Strongly disagree	0.56	-0.26, 0.69, 1.51, 2.96	issp, usgss, bsa som, chcep, nsss, aussa, kgss
marry11	28	I would like you to tell me your views on various issues: same-sex marriage	0 fully in favour of same sex marriage $/$ 123456789 $/$ 10 fully opposed to same sex marriage	1.13	-0.41, -0.15, 0.17, 0.46, 0.67, 1.57, 1.82, 2.15, 2.50, 2.91	ees
neigh10	27	Having a homosexual	1 Not at all comfortable / 23456789 / 10 Totally comfortable	0.86	-2.37, -1.94, -1.50, -1.20, -0.55, -0.23, 0.14, 0.68, 1.21	eb
civil2	22	.Allowing homosexual couples to have the same benefits as married heterosexual couples, such as health benefits inheritance rights and Social Security survivor benefits	1 Support 2 Oppose 8 DK/No opinion 9 NA/Refused	0.86	0.61	abcwapo, eb, politbarometer gallup
accept4	20	Homosexuals are people who should be accepted like anybody else	Agree completely 1 Disagree completely 4	0.90	-2.04, -0.92, 0.91	cdcee
pension4	16	Couples of the same sex should be entitled to a widow's/widower's pension as if they had lived with a partner of the opposite sex	1 strongly agree / 2 agree / 3 disagree / 4 strongly disagree	0.82	-0.75, 0.20, 2.04	eb
marry4d	13	Gays and lesbians should be allowed to get married	1 strongly agree / $3$ somewhat agree / $5$ somewhat disagree / $7$ strongly disagree	0.20	0.44, 1.15, 2.42	uspew, fsdelection, cnes, poc, canadianes, twscs
neigh5	13	For each of the following types of people, please tell me whether you would like having people from this group as neighbors, dislike it, or not care: Homosexuals	1 strongly dislike / 2 somewhat dislike / 3 would not care / 4 somewhat like / 5 strongly like	0.45	-0.38, 0.19, 1.54, 2.20	afrob
		not care. Homosexuais				

(continued)

Survey Item Code	Country- Years	Question Text	Response Categories	Dispersion	Difficulties	Survey Dataset Codes
legal2	12	Do you think homosexual relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal	1 should be legal / 2 should not be legal	0.70	-0.21	gallup, abcwapo, cbsnyt, cnn, uswapo, anpas, aes
teacher4	12	School boards ought to have the right to fire teachers who are known homosexuals	1 completely agree / 2 mostly agree / 3 mostly disagree / 4 completely disagree	0.75	-1.56, -0.48, 1.18	uspew
legal2a	9	Do you think gay or lesbian relations between consenting adults should or should not be legal?	$1\ {\rm should}\ {\rm be}\ {\rm legal}\ /\ 2\ {\rm should}\ {\rm not}$ be legal	1.68	-0.03	gallup
accept2a	7	Do you feel that homosexuality should be considered an acceptable alternative lifestyle or not?	1 acceptable / 2 not acceptable	1.40	0.43	gallup, usnwr, cbsnyt
accept5	7	Homosexuals are people just like others	1 Disagree completely / 2 Disagree / 3 Neither agree nor disagree / 4 Agree / 5 Completely agree	0.46	-2.18, -1.25, -0.41, 0.79	eb, fsdimm
marry4b	6	Do you think it should be LEGAL or ILLEGAL for homosexual couples to get married?	1 Legal, STRONGLY 2 Legal, SOMEWHAT 3 Illegal, SOMEWHAT 4 Illegal, STRONGLY 8 DK/No opinion 9 NA/Refused	0.84	0.40, 0.91, 1.95	abcwapo
approve5a	6	Homosexual relations are always wrong	1 strongly agree / 2 agree to some extent / 3 hard to say / 4 disagree to some extent / 5 strongly disagree	0.51	-1.24, -0.36, 1.06, 2.43	bsa, nzes
strength5	6	Strengthen the position of homosexuals, bisexuals and transsexuals in society	1 very good suggestion 2 pretty good suggestion 3 neither good nor bad suggestion 4 pretty bad suggestion 5 very bad suggestion	0.80	-0.35, 0.51, 2.70, 4.16	som
legal5	6	Homosexuals are no better than criminals and should be punished in the extreme	1 agree strongly / 2 agree / 3 neither agree nor disagree / 4 disagree / 5 disagree strongly	0.40	-1.95, -1.04, -0.39, 1.06	seessp
marry3a	5	Do you favour or oppose same-sex marriage, or do you have no opinion on this?	1 favor / 3 oppose / 8 no opinion	0.51	0.72, 2.25	canadianes

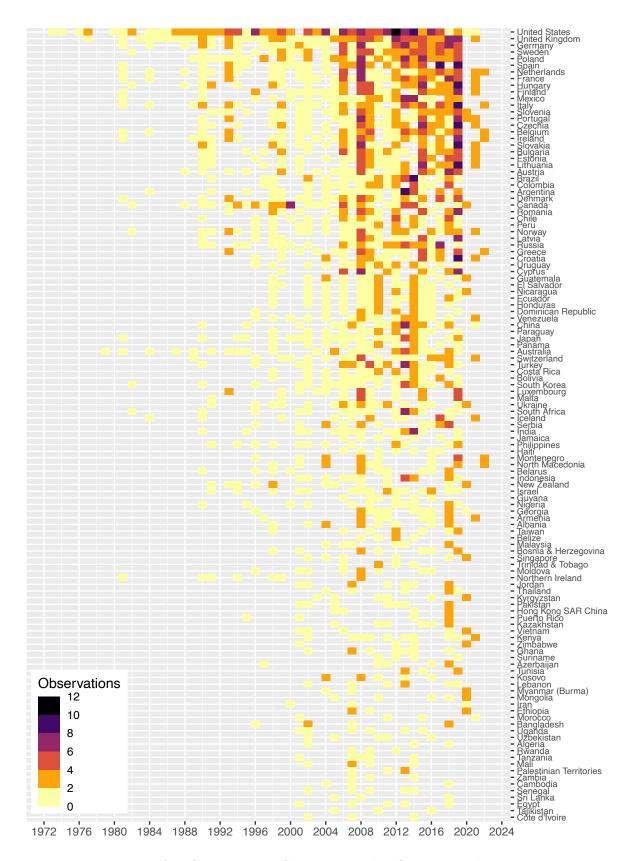


Figure A1: Source Data Observations by Country and Year A13

# Appendix C: The DCPO Model

Research on latent variable models of public opinion based on cross-national survey data has enjoyed explosive growth in recent years (see Claassen 2019; Caughey, O'Grady, and Warshaw 2019; McGann, Dellepiane-Avellaneda, and Bartle 2019; Kolczynska et al. 2020). To estimate tolerance of homosexuality across countries and over time, we draw on the latest of these methods that is appropriate for data that is not only incomparable but also sparse, the Dynamic Comparative Public Opinion (DCPO) model presented in Solt (2020c). The DCPO model is a population-level two-parameter ordinal logistic item response theory (IRT) model with country-specific item-bias terms.

DCPO models the total number of survey responses expressing at least as much tolerance of homosexuality as response category r to each question q in country k at time t,  $y_{ktqr}$ , out of the total number of respondents surveyed,  $n_{ktqr}$ , using the beta-binomial distribution:

$$a_{ktar} = \phi \eta_{ktar} \tag{1}$$

$$b_{ktqr} = \phi(1 - \eta_{ktqr}) \tag{2}$$

$$y_{ktqr} \sim \text{BetaBinomial}(n_{ktqr}, a_{ktqr}, b_{ktqr})$$
 (3)

where  $\phi$  represents an overall dispersion parameter to account for additional sources of survey error beyond sampling error and  $\eta_{ktqr}$  is the expected probability that a random person in country k at time t answers question q with a response at least as positive as response r.<sup>2</sup>

This expected probability,  $\eta_{ktqr}$ , is in turn estimated as follows:

$$\eta_{ktqr} = \text{logit}^{-1} \left( \frac{\bar{\theta'}_{kt} - (\beta_{qr} + \delta_{kq})}{\sqrt{\alpha_q^2 + (1.7 * \sigma_{kt})^2}} \right)$$
(4)

In this equation,  $\beta_{qr}$  represents the difficulty of response r to question q, that is, the degree of tolerance the response expresses. The  $\delta_{kq}$  term represents country-specific item bias: the extent to which all responses to a particular question q may be more (or less) difficult in a given country k due to translation issues, cultural differences in response styles, or other idiosyncrasies that render the same survey item not equivalent across countries.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Solt (2020c) demonstrates that the DCPO model provides a better fit to survey data than the models put forward by Claassen (2019) or Caughey, O'Grady, and Warshaw (2019). The McGann, Dellepiane-Avellaneda, and Bartle (2019) model depends on dense survey data unlike the sparse data on public gender egalitarianism described in the preceding section. Kolczynska et al. (2020) is the very most recent of the five works and builds on each of the others, but the MRP approach developed in that piece is suitable not only when the available survey data are dense but also when ancillary data on population characteristics are available, so it is similarly inappropriate to this application.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The ordinal responses to question q are coded to range from 1 (expressing the least tolerance of homosexuality) to R (expressing the most tolerance of homosexuality), and r takes on all values greater than 1 and less than or equal to R.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Estimating  $\delta_{kq}$  requires repeated administrations of question q in country k, so when responses to question q are observed in country k in only a single year, the DCPO model sets  $\delta_{kq}$  to zero by assumption,

The dispersion of question q, its noisiness in relation to our latent variable, is  $\alpha_q$ . The mean and standard deviation of the unbounded latent trait of tolerance of homosexuality are  $\bar{\theta'}_{kt}$  and  $\sigma_{kt}$ , respectively.

Random-walk priors are used to account for the dynamics in  $\bar{\theta'}_{kt}$  and  $\sigma_{kt}$ , and weakly informative priors are placed on the other parameters.<sup>4</sup> The dispersion parameters  $\alpha_q$  are constrained to be positive and all survey responses are coded with high values indicating more tolerance to fix direction. The difficulty  $\beta$  of "not so bad" (on a four-point scale ranging from "very bad" through "fairly bad" and "not so bad" to "not at all bad") of reactions to "a sexual relationship between two adults of the same sex" is set to 1 to identify location, and for each question q the difficulties for increasing response categories r are constrained to be increasing. The sum of  $\delta_{kq}$  across all countries k is set to zero for each question q:

$$\sum_{k=1}^{K} \delta_{kq} = 0 \tag{5}$$

Finally, the logistic function is used to transform  $\bar{\theta'}_{kt}$  to the unit interval and so give the bounded mean of latent tolerance of homosexuality,  $\bar{\theta}_{kt}$ , which is our parameter of interest here (see Solt 2020c, 3–8).

increasing the error of the model by any country-item bias that is present. Questions that are asked repeatedly over time in only a single country pose no risk of country-specific item bias, so  $\delta_{kq}$  in such cases are also set to zero.

<sup>4</sup>The dispersion parameters  $\alpha_q$  are drawn from standard half-normal prior distributions, that is, the positive half of N(0, 1). The first difficulty parameters for each question,  $\beta_{q1}$ , are drawn from standard normal prior distributions, and the differences between  $\beta$ s for each r for the same question q are drawn from standard half-normal prior distributions. The item-bias parameters  $\delta_{kq}$  receive normally-distributed hierarchical priors with mean 0 and standard deviations drawn from standard half-normal prior distributions. The initial value of the mean unbounded latent trait for each country,  $\theta'_{k1}$ , is assigned a standard normal prior, as are the transition variances  $\sigma^2_{\theta'}$  and  $\sigma^2_{\sigma}$ ; the initial value of the standard deviation of the unbounded latent trait for each country,  $\sigma_{k1}$ , is drawn from a standard lognormal prior distribution. The overall dispersion,  $\phi$ , receives a somewhat more informative prior drawn from a gamma(4, 0.1) distribution that yields values that are well scaled for that parameter.

# **Appendix References**

- Adamczyk, Amy, and Cassady Pitt. 2009. "Shaping Attitudes about Homosexuality: The Role of Religion and Cultural Context." Social Science Research 38 (2): 338–51.
- Andersen, Robert, and Tina Fetner. 2008. "Cohort Differences in Tolerance of Homosexuality: Attitudinal Change in Canada and the United States, 1981–2000." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72 (2): 311–30.
- Caughey, Devin, Tom O'Grady, and Christopher Warshaw. 2019. "Policy Ideology in European Mass Publics, 1981–2016." *American Political Science Review* 113 (3): 674–93.
- Claassen, Christopher. 2019. "Estimating Smooth Country-Year Panels of Public Opinion." *Political Analysis* 27 (1): 1–20.
- Clements, Ben, and Clive D Field. 2014. "Public Opinion Toward Homosexuality and Gay Rights in Great Britain." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 78 (2): 523–47.
- Hildebrandt, Achim, Eva-Maria Truedinger, and Dominik Wyss. 2019. "The Missing Link? Modernization, Tolerance, and Legislation on Homosexuality." *Political Research Quarterly* 72 (3): 539–53.
- Hooghe, Marc, and Cecil Meeusen. 2013. "Is Same-Sex Marriage Legislation Related to Attitudes Toward Homosexuality? Trends in Tolerance of Homosexuality in European Countries Between 2002 and 2010." Sexuality Research and Social Policy 10 (4): 258–68.
- Kolczynska, Marta, Paul-Christian Bürkner, Lauren Kennedy, and Aki Vehtari. 2020. "Trust in State Institutions in Europe, 1989-2019." SocArXiv. https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/3v5g7/.
- McGann, Anthony, Sabastian Dellepiane-Avellaneda, and John Bartle. 2019. "Parallel Lines? Policy Mood in a Plurinational Democracy." *Electoral Studies* 58: 48–57.
- Redman, Shane M. 2018. "Effects of Same-Sex Legislation on Attitudes Toward Homosexuality." *Political Research Quarterly* 71 (3): 628–41.
- Solt, Frederick. 2020a. "DCPO: Dynamic Comparative Public Opinion." Available at the Comprehensive R Archive Network (CRAN). https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=DCPO.
- ——. 2020b. "Modeling Dynamic Comparative Public Opinion." SocArXiv. https://osf.io/preprints/socarxiv/d5n9p.
- Solt, Frederick, Yue Hu, and Yuehong Tai. 2019. "DCPOtools: Tools for Dynamic Comparative Public Opinion." https://github.com/fsolt/DCPOtools.
- Yang, Alan S. 1997. "Trends: Attitudes Toward Homosexuality." The Public Opinion Quarterly 61 (3): 477–507.