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Exploring LGBT+ campus climate in the UK and Philippines: How prejudice and belonging shape inclusion in higher education

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Abstract

Although recent global developments suggest progress toward LGBT+ equality, institutional structures perpetuating differential treatment based on sexual orientation and gender identity persist. The present research employed a mixed-method campus climate study of LGBT+ and cis-heterosexual students sampled from Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in the Philippines and the United Kingdom. Phase 1 reports a large-scale survey assessing relationships among students' social attitudes toward LGBT+, campus climate perceptions and experiences of harassment, well-being, academic persistence, and social identity belonging within the university (LGBT+ = 877; cis-heterosexual = 2,107). Phase 2 reports focus groups and interviews with 35 LGBT+ students further exploring their campus climate experiences. Triangulated results highlight the role of social identity belonging in creating positive LGBT+ campus climates. Fostering belonging, through visible institutional support for intersectional LGBT+ student organisations and endorsement of LGBT+ inclusive policies and programmes, is recommended for creating safe and inclusive spaces for LGBT+ students.

Keywords: LGBT, Prejudice, Campus Climate, Higher Education, Social identity

Introduction

Although recent global developments and attitudinal survey trends suggest a shift to more favourable attitudes toward LGBT+ persons (e.g. Herek, 2009; Manalastas et al., 2017), institutional structures perpetuating differential treatment based on sexual orientation and gender identity persist (e.g. Blumenfeld et al., 2016; Herek & McLemore, 2013). This dissonance may be explained by the pervasiveness of more subtle 'modern' anti-LGBT+ prejudices (Morrison & Morrison, 2003) as can be seen in negative LGBT+ campus climates (Rankin et al., 2010). Numerous US-based campus climate studies suggest that LGBT+ students remain at a significantly higher risk for harassment and discrimination at Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) than their cis-heterosexual counterparts (Blumenfeld et al., 2016). As spaces of learning and knowledge exchange, universities can serve as structures that either maintain or challenge the 'status quo' of prejudiced attitudes, with the potential to function as harmful or protective environments for the personal and professional development of persons from marginalised groups. Thus, the present research is essential in the plight to create safe and inclusive spaces for LGBT+ students and for advancing LGBT+ equality in society more broadly.

Through a mixed-method comparative study of two national contexts, the present research aimed to produce a nuanced picture of LGBT+ campus climates and provide recommendations for LGBT+ inclusive policy and practice in higher education. We examined LGBT+ campus climates across a range of HEIs in two different settings, the less-researched, traditionally religious context of the Philippines (UNDP-USAID, 2014) and the more widely researched, liberal context of the UK (ILGA-Europe, 2015-2018). Given recent disputes on the implementation of LGBT+ inclusive curriculum in the UK (BBC News, 2019; Parveen, 2019) and the passage of anti-LGBT+ discrimination legislation in the Philippines (Guerra, 2020; Vergara, 2019), this research provides timely insights for promoting LGBT+ equality in higher education.

Traditional and Modern Forms of Anti-LGBT+ Prejudice in Higher Education

Despite the global push for diversity and equality, existing research suggests that students who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans (LGBT+) continue to have more negative university experiences and outcomes than cis-heterosexual students, as a result of their stigmatised sexual orientation/gender identity. Morrison and Morrison (2003) introduced the term *old-fashioned homonegativity*, anti-gay attitudes based on traditional religious and moral beliefs, and myths about homosexuality (Lottes & Grollman, 2010; Morrison et al., 2009). They also proposed the additional concept *modern homonegativity*, anti-gay attitudes based on beliefs that sexual minorities are making unnecessary demands for changes in the status quo, discrimination against sexual minorities no longer exists, and sexual minorities exaggerate the importance of their sexual orientation and perpetuate their own marginalisation (Lottes & Grollman, 2010; Morrison et al., 2009). They argued that old-fashioned homonegativity has transformed into modern homonegativity, which is less blatant and more socially acceptable than old-fashioned homonegativity, but is nonetheless harmful to sexual minorities since it still perpetuates discrimination against minority groups (Lottes & Grollman, 2010; Morrison & Morrison, 2003).

In other words, although conditions and attitudes toward LGBT+ persons have improved in certain respects (e.g. passing of the UK Equality Act 2010), theoretical tolerance does not equate to acceptance in practice. For example, US-based campus climate studies over the past three decades consistently report more negative campus climate experiences and lower well-being outcomes for LGBT+ students compared to cis-heterosexual counterparts (Blumenfeld et al., 2016; Rankin et al., 2010), which may be partly due to modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice (Morrison & Morrison, 2003).

LGBT+ Campus Climate Studies

Campus climate comprises the “cumulative attitudes, behaviors, and standards of employees and students concerning access for, inclusion of, and level of respect for individual and group needs, abilities, and potential” (Rankin, 2005, p. 17). While research on

LGBT+ students has grown exponentially in the past three decades, most of the empirical work on LGBT+ campus climates has been conducted almost exclusively in the United States (Ellis, 2009). Early campus climate assessments focused on (1) LGBT+ individuals' perceptions and experiences of discrimination, (2) cis-heterosexual individuals' perceptions about LGBT+ individuals and their experiences within campus, or (3) the status of university policies and programmes designed to support LGBT+ individuals (see Renn, 2010 for a critical overview of LGBT HE research). Subsequent studies investigated the impact of negative campus climates on various outcomes; for instance – academic persistence (Blumenfeld et al., 2016), academic success (Garvey et al., 2018), career and identity development (Tomlinson & Fassinger, 2003), mental and physical health (Woodford & Kulick, 2015), while more recent studies have given particular attention to the campus climate for trans individuals (e.g. Dugan et al., 2012; Pryor, 2015). Overall, results of these studies suggest more negative campus climates and outcomes for LGBT+ students than their cis-heterosexual counterparts (Brown et al., 2004; Rankin et al., 2010).

The growth of campus climate assessments stems from the increased importance being given to diversity and inclusion in higher education institutions (HEIs) and the efficacy of such studies in providing empirical baseline data for institutional recommendations and actions toward widening access and better equality (Garvey et al., 2017; Taylor, 2015). Climate studies are emerging as particularly useful in raising institutional awareness of underrepresented groups and helping stakeholders gain a better understanding of the overall institutional environment, which is the first step in improving support for minority groups. For this reason, we argue that LGBT+ campus climate research using internationally standardised measures, beyond the US higher education context, and considered within the national contexts in which HEIs are situated, is desperately needed for more inclusive HEI practice worldwide.

LGBT+ Context in UK and Philippine Higher Education

The United Kingdom consistently ranks as one of the more progressive European countries for LGBT+ equality legislation (ILGA-Europe, 2015-2018). Despite this, modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice and discrimination remain prevalent in UK society and has been a persistent concern in UK higher education (Equality Challenge Unit, 2009; National Union of Students, 2014). In line with the UK government's agenda of widening participation and equality in higher education, Ellis (2009) conducted a nationwide campus climate study involving 291 LGBT students from 42 UK universities and found that, despite the equality agenda, LGBT students continue to experience discrimination and marginalisation in UK HEIs. To date, Ellis' (2009) research is the only published empirical study on the campus climate for LGBT+ students in UK higher education. Since its publication, issues around transphobia and structural racism have become more salient across UK HEIs (Mckendry & Lawrence, 2017; Universities UK, 2020).

As a highly religious country where doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church pervade (Evangelista et al., 2016; Pew Research Center, 2013), the lives and experiences of LGBT+ persons in the Philippines remains a neglected area of research. Extant literature has consistently associated religiosity with higher levels of anti-LGBT+ prejudice (Allport & Ross, 1967; Barnes & Meyer, 2012). The high levels of religiosity and conservatism in Filipino culture create a cis-heterosexist environment that has historically impeded the progress of LGBT+ inclusive legislation (Pew Research Center, 2013; UNDP-USAID, 2014). Although the Philippine Constitution ensures Church and State separation, "immorality which offends religious beliefs" is a common argument used to deny accreditation of LGBT+ political parties and the passing of LGBT+ equality legislation (UNDP-USAID, 2014, p. 27). To date, same-sex marriage and trans identities are not legally recognised (Library of Congress, 2020; Stonewall, 2018) and the debate regarding the passage of a national anti-LGBT+ discrimination law (SOGIE Equality Bill; "Senate Bill No. 689," 2019), which has failed to pass Philippine Congress since 2000, is still ongoing (Aurelio, 2020). Anti-discrimination

policies that specifically protect LGBT+ students are also non-existent across Philippine HEIs (Maguddayao, 2019).

While it is plausible that negative campus climates is a global phenomenon for LGBT+ students in higher education in most countries, such as the USA (Blumenfeld et al., 2016), UK (Ellis, 2009), South Africa (Nduna et al., 2017); few international studies, utilising a mixed-method approach, comparing campus climate attitudes, perceptions, experiences *and* outcomes, across sexual/gender identity groups, institution-types, and national contexts exist. Moreover, campus climate studies that specifically focus on LGBT+ university students outside of the US higher education context is scarce.

Therefore, the present empirical investigation is warranted because LGBT+ campus climates differ by national context at the 'macro' level of analysis but can also differ both across and within HEI-types at the institutional level. This complexity is further compounded when incorporating the diversity of social identities at the 'micro' individual level (e.g. sexual/gender identity, ethnicity). Given that the majority of LGBT+ campus climate studies have been conducted in the US context, usually exclusively within a single university-setting, a comparison across two national contexts and institution-types within these contexts, provides a more nuanced understanding of how socio-political contexts shape campus climate experiences for individuals identifying as LGBT+.

Social Identity Theory and Minority Stress Frameworks

Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) refers largely to our belonging-ness to social and demographic groups, and the way in which these group memberships comprise our sense(s) of self, as an individual – and as an individual within specific group contexts. Although an in-depth exploration of more modern approaches to SIT is beyond the scope of this piece, Self-Categorisation Theory (Turner, 1982; Turner et al., 1987) indicates that context may play a part in whether we act from a more individualised personal identity or group-based superordinate social identity and more modern approaches such as Motivated Identity Construction Theory (MICT; Vignoles, 2011) critically considers

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motivations to group belonging and are themes addressed in our discussion. Individuals with (multiple) minority identities may have even more complex needs, motivations, and processes of identification. These identities, if integrated harmoniously, may be beneficial for the individual. However, if they are incompatible – for instance via religious or strictly gendered cultural norms, they may negatively impact on mental health and isolation (see Cowen et al., 2009; Mitha et al., 2021). Alternatively, superordinate identities, such as being a global citizen, may address such identity conflict between cultural norms, social, and personal identities (see Koc & Vignoles, 2016). Thus, intersectionality and identity integration may be of particular importance when considering multiple minority social identities in a campus climate context.

The minority stress model (MSM - Meyer, 2003; Meyer & Frost, 2013) offers a prima facie explanation for the disparity in campus climate outcomes between LGBT+ students and their cis-heterosexual counterparts. Minority stress refers to the excess stress that individuals from stigmatised groups are exposed to as a result of their minority status (Meyer, 2003). For LGBT+ individuals, minority stress results from anti-LGBT+ prejudice, which is a unique and chronic socially-based stressor that LGBT+ people experience as a result of living in a cis-heteronormative society, as exemplified by the UK context; or in less progressive settings, overt physical and psychological risks arising from the lack of legal protection, as exemplified by the Philippine context. In other words, facing anti-LGBT+ prejudice, discrimination, and harassment in addition to general stressors potentially increases UK and Philippine LGBT+ students' risk for adverse campus climate outcomes.

Linking the minority stress model to Social Identity Theory, it can be argued that the level of social identification with a marginalised identity or identities (e.g. LGBT+ student identity) influences one's exposure and resilience to minority stress (e.g. anti-LGBT+ prejudice in HEIs). Social identification with a minority identity, such as being out and proud of one's LGBT+ identity, can act positively for one's mental health but also potentially negatively as it increases one's visibility, making an individual a greater target of anti-LGBT+

prejudice, harassment, and discrimination (e.g. Fingerhut et al., 2010; Ghavami et al., 2011). Thus, a strong sense of social identification with one's LGBT+ identity can serve as a risk factor by making LGBT+ individuals more sensitive to the adverse impact of anti-LGBT+ prejudice when their social identity is devalued, and/or a protective factor that buffers LGBT+ individuals from the adverse impact of anti-LGBT+ prejudice by providing access to more coping resources and a stronger sense of belonging through their affinity with the LGBT+ community (e.g. Koc & Vignoles, 2016; Riggle et al., 2011; Scales-Rostosky et al., 2010).

Present Research

Higher education provides a unique opportunity for challenging anti-LGBT+ prejudice and shaping the positive identity development of LGBT+ students. Despite the presence of LGBT+ inclusive legislation (ILGA-Europe, 2015-2018), research suggests that anti-LGBT+ prejudice remains a significant problem even in more 'progressive' UK universities with overt initiatives for LGBT+ student inclusion (Ellis, 2009; National Union of Students, 2014). This problem is exacerbated in more conservative national contexts, such as the Philippines, where the influence of religious doctrine tends to adversely impact the progress of LGBT+ inclusive legislation (UNDP-USAID, 2014). We have identified the lack of LGBT+ campus climate research beyond the US higher education context, as well as the lack of mixed-methods comparative research exploring the 'macro' – national, institutional – HEI-type, and 'micro' – individual levels of analysis.

Therefore, we assessed the campus climate for LGBT+ university students in the UK and Philippines by comparing current levels of anti-LGBT+ prejudice, academic and well-being outcomes between LGBT+ and cis-heterosexual students. This research contributes to the growing literature on LGBT+ in higher education by (1) providing empirical baseline LGBT+ campus climate data for the Philippines, (2) updating the LGBT+ campus climate data for the UK, and (3) suggesting recommendations for improving LGBT+ inclusion in higher education.

Using social identity and minority stress frameworks, the overarching research question ‘How do LGBT+ university students perceive and experience the campus climate in their institutions?’ was addressed via the following hypotheses in Phase 1:

H1 LGBT+ students will report more negative indicators across dependent measures (prejudice, campus climate perceptions, harassment, well-being, academic persistence, and belonging) than cis-heterosexual students, regardless of national context.

H2 Students studying at Philippine HEIs will report more negative indicators across dependent measures (prejudice, campus climate perceptions, harassment, well-being, academic persistence, and belonging) than students studying at UK HEIs.

H3 Anti-LGBT+ prejudice, campus climate perceptions, harassment, and belonging will predict academic persistence and well-being for LGBT+ students in the UK and Philippines, with greater variance explained in the Philippines.

Methods

A concurrent triangulation design mixed-method approach was employed to analyse a multi-level picture of LGBT+ campus climates, traditional and modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice, academic and well-being outcomes across various UK and Philippine HEIs. Data was collected in two main phases: (1) quantitative large-scale survey, (2) qualitative focus groups and interviews, allowing for the collection of diverse but complementary data strands, which were analysed separately, then triangulated for developing recommendations toward improving LGBT+ campus climates (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007; Morse, 1991). Ethical approval was obtained from the University of Glasgow’s College of Science and Engineering Ethics Committee.

Phase 1 Method

Participants

Participants were recruited through convenience and snowball sampling. An invitation to participate was e-mailed to university student groups and relevant mailing lists (e.g. UK Universities Equality and Diversity Unit mailing list, Philippine HE groups mailing lists, LGBT+ student group mailing lists). Respondents were encouraged to forward the survey link to other potential participants. A total of 4,116 survey responses was received (UK = 2,026; PH = 2,090). Unfinished surveys were removed resulting in a final pool of 2,984 participants (UK = 1,429; PH = 1,555) across 42 institutions (UK = 24; PH = 18). Of the UK sample, 59% were born in the UK ($N = 842$); 78.72% identified as White, 11.70% Asian, 3.88% mixed ethnic background, 3.24% other ethnic background, 1.62% Black, 0.85% Arab. Of the Philippine sample, 79% were born in the Philippines ($N = 1,227$); 60.32% identified as Filipino, 18.26% other ethnic background, 12.93% Filipino-Chinese, 5.27% Filipino-Spanish, 2.44% Filipino-American. For the total sample, 72% were undergraduate students, 29% self-identified as LGBT+ (LGBT+ = 469 [UK], 408 [PH]); cis-heterosexual = 960 [UK], 1,147 [PH]). Table 1 summarises participants' demographic details.

Measures

The online survey comprised a variety of standardised measures chosen from past LGBT+ studies (e.g. Badgett, 2009; Government Equalities Office, 2018; Herman, 2014) and LGBT+ campus climate assessments (e.g. Ellis, 2009; Rankin et al., 2010; Tetreault et al., 2013). Upon consultation with subject matter experts (i.e. UK and PH LGBT+ psychology researchers/social psychologists and an Equality and Diversity Manager) relevant items and terms were adapted and revised for clarity and appropriateness for the research sample. The survey assessed students' (1) social attitudes toward LGBT+ (i.e. traditional and modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice), (2) perceptions of the campus climate (i.e. campus climate feeling thermometer and perceptions of institutional support for LGBT+), (3) personal (direct) experiences of harassment, (4) well-being (i.e. psychological well-being and social identity

belonging), (5) academic persistence (i.e. intentions of dropping out). A 5-point Likert scale format was used throughout the survey for consistency. Both UK and PH versions of the survey were conducted in English¹.

Prejudiced attitudes toward LGBT+. Six items measuring traditional anti-LGBT+ prejudice were selected from the traditional heterosexism subscale of the Polymorphous Prejudice 7-factor Measure (Massey, 2009). Four out of the six items were based on Herek's (2011) Attitudes Toward Lesbians and Gay Men Scale. Six items measuring modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice were selected from the Modern Homonegativity Scale (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). Instructions asked both LGBT+ and cis-heterosexual participants to describe their own views. Sample items include: traditional prejudice – “Being LGBT+ is a sin”; modern prejudice – “LGBT+ people have become far too confrontational in their demand for equal rights”. The measure had good reliability across samples (Cronbach's alpha = .90 [UK], .88 [PH]). Both subscales also had good reliability (Cronbach's alpha: traditional anti-LGBT+ prejudice = .87 [UK], .85 [PH]; modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice = .90 [UK], .79 [PH]). Given assumptions for regression analysis (e.g. multicollinearity) and based on Morrison and Morrison's (2003) suggestion regarding the prevalence of modern prejudice, modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice acts as the attitudinal predictor in the regression analysis.

Perceptions of campus climate. Six items measuring perceptions of institutional support for LGBT+ were adapted from previous LGBT+ research (e.g. Brown et al., 2004; Ellis, 2009; Rankin, 2003). Sample items include: “The classroom environment at my university is accepting of LGBT+ people”. The measure had good reliability across samples (Cronbach's alpha = .76 [UK], .68 [PH]). To supplement this, a feeling thermometer based

¹ English is the primary medium of instruction across the Philippine education system - see Department of Education. (2009). *Institutionalizing mother tongue-based multilingual education*.

on the American National Election Studies surveys (1964-2019) was used to measure students' overall campus climate feeling: "In general, how would you rate the overall campus feeling at your university? Your rating (i.e. any number from 0° - 100°)". Feeling thermometers are widely used in large-scale surveys because of their simplicity and high reliability in measuring general feelings and attitudes toward social issues (Alwin, 1997; Lupton & Jacoby, 2016; Nelson, 2011).

Experiences of harassment. 11 items for personal (direct) harassment were adapted from previous campus climate surveys (e.g. Herek, 1993; Herek & Berrill, 1990) and from the UK National LGBT Survey (Government Equalities Office, 2018). Sample items include: "Since being at this university, have you experienced the following situations on campus: Verbal insults or other hurtful comments directed at you". The measure had good reliability across samples (Cronbach's alpha = .77 [UK], .82 [PH]).

Psychological well-being. Psychological well-being was assessed using the World Health Organization – Five Well-Being Index (WHO-5; World Health Organization, 1998). WHO-5 was selected for its brevity and cross-cultural validity. Sample items include: "I have felt cheerful and in good spirits"; "My daily life has been filled with things that interest me". The measure had good reliability across samples (Cronbach's alpha = .85 [UK], .86 [PH]).

Social identity belonging. Social identity belonging was assessed using five items adapted from established measures of social identification (i.e. Doosje et al., 1998; Doosje et al., 1995; Postmes et al., 2013). Sample items include: "I feel proud to be a part of my university"; "I would rather be at another university". The measure had good reliability across samples (Cronbach's alpha = .81 [UK], .77 [PH]).

Academic persistence. Academic persistence was assessed by adapting the LGBTQ Needs Assessment (Tetreault et al., 2013) question on drop-out intentions: "In the past year, how often have you thought about leaving your university?".

The online survey was hosted on Qualtrics from November 2018 to July 2019. Survey raw data for each country was exported from Qualtrics as .csv files and imported in R (4.0.2) for data cleaning and analysis (see <https://osf.io/265d8/> for the full R script and SPSS syntax). Cases were excluded on a pairwise basis during analysis.

Phase 1 Quantitative Results

Factorial ANOVAs were used to explore the main effects of sexual orientation/gender identity groupings (SOGI: LGBT+ vs. cis-heterosexual) and national context (UK vs. Philippines) within our sample on measures of anti-LGBT+ prejudice, campus climate perceptions, experiences of harassment, academic and well-being outcomes. Skewness and kurtosis values were within the acceptable range for suggesting normality (George & Mallery, 2010; Kim, 2013). Results of Levene's test of homogeneity of variance suggest unequal variances across country and sexual/gender identity groupings; however, given the large sample size, relative normality and internal reliability of the standardised measures, ANOVA is considered a robust² tool for inferential hypothesis testing (Field, 2013). Hierarchical regression was then used to evaluate the significance of anti-LGBT+ prejudice, campus climate perceptions, experiences of harassment, and social identity belonging for predicting LGBT+ students' academic persistence and well-being.

We first present main effects for sexual/gender identity and national context in our sample, based on computed dependent outcomes (H1-H2); followed by regression models predicting UK and Philippine LGBT+ students' academic and well-being outcomes (H3).

² In general, robust ANOVAs using the WRS2 and walrus packages in R replicated the findings. The only difference was for perceptions of institutional support for LGBT+ where robust ANOVA results showed a non-significant main effect of SOGI ($p = .08$ [robust ANOVA]; versus $p < .001$).

H1 LGBT+ vs. cis-heterosexual SOGI sample differences:

For anti-LGBT+ prejudice, a significant main effect of sexual/gender identity was found on traditional prejudice: $F(1, 2920) = 190.500, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .061$ and on modern prejudice: $F(1, 2931) = 347.410, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .106$, whereby cis-heterosexual students (traditional prejudice: $M = 1.86, SD = .84$; modern prejudice: $M = 2.47, SD = .84$) reported higher levels of traditional and modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice than LGBT+ students (traditional prejudice: $M = 1.42, SD = .55$; modern prejudice: $M = 1.83, SD = .79$).

For campus climate perceptions, a significant main effect of sexual/gender identity was found on perceptions of institutional support for LGBT+: $F(1, 2933) = 12.319, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .004$, whereby cis-heterosexual students ($M = 3.68, SD = .55$) reported more positive campus climate perceptions than LGBT+ students ($M = 3.61, SD = .59$).

For experiences of harassment, a significant main effect of sexual/gender identity was found for personal harassment: $F(1, 2930) = 26.908, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .009$, whereby LGBT+ students ($M = 1.35, SD = .44$) reported higher levels of personal harassment than cis-heterosexual students ($M = 1.27, SD = .41$).

For psychological well-being, the main effect of sexual/gender identity was also significant: $F(1, 2952) = 46.579, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .016$, whereby cis-heterosexual students ($M = 3.60, SD = 1.02$) reported higher levels of psychological well-being than LGBT+ students ($M = 3.29, SD = .01$).

For academic persistence, the main effect of sexual/gender identity was also significant: $F(1, 2962) = 7.534, p = .006, \eta_p^2 = .003$, whereby LGBT+ students ($M = 2.00, SD = 1.36$) reported higher intentions of dropping out than cis-heterosexual students ($M = 1.85, SD = .127$).

For social identity belonging, although cis-heterosexual students ($M = 3.85, SD = .70$) reported higher levels of social identity belonging than LGBT+ students ($M = 3.81, SD = .71$),

the main effect of sexual/gender identity was non-significant: $F(1, 2945) = 1.052, p = .305, \eta_p^2 = .000$.

H2 UK vs. Philippines international contextual sample differences:

For anti-LGBT+ prejudice, a significant main effect of national context was found on traditional prejudice: $F(1, 2920) = 237.759, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .075$ and on modern prejudice: $F(1, 2931) = 164.960, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .053$, whereby Philippine students (traditional prejudice: $M = 1.99, SD = .81$; modern prejudice: $M = 2.50, SD = .82$) reported higher levels of traditional and modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice than UK students (traditional prejudice: $M = 1.46, SD = .67$; modern prejudice: $M = 2.06, SD = .89$).

For campus climate perceptions, a significant main effect of national context was found on perceptions of institutional support for LGBT+: $F(1, 2933) = 47.559, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .016$, whereby UK students ($M = 3.75, SD = .55$) reported more positive campus climate perceptions than Philippine students ($M = 3.58, SD = .55$).

For experiences of harassment, a significant main effect of national context was found for personal harassment: $F(1, 2913) = 74.109, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .025$, whereby Philippine students ($M = 1.36, SD = .46$) reported higher levels of personal harassment than UK students ($M = 1.22, SD = .36$).

For psychological well-being, the main effect of national context was also significant: $F(1, 2952) = 68.822, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .023$, whereby Philippine students ($M = 3.67, SD = 1.04$) reported higher levels of psychological well-being than UK students ($M = 3.33, SD = .98$).

For academic persistence, although UK students ($M = 1.93, SD = 1.32$) reported higher intentions of dropping out than Philippine students ($M = 1.85, SD = 1.28$), the main effect of national context was non-significant: $F(1, 2962) = 1.354, p = .245, \eta_p^2 = .000$.

For social identity belonging, the main effect of national context was significant: $F(1, 2945) = 31.085, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .010$, whereby Philippine students ($M = 3.91, SD = .67$) reported higher levels of social identity belonging than UK students ($M = 3.76, SD = .72$).

Although interaction effects were not hypothesised, it is worth noting that the interaction between sexual/gender identity and national context in our sample was significant for traditional anti-LGBT+ prejudice, $F(1, 2920) = 14.27, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .005$. Philippine cis-heterosexual students and UK LGBT+ students reported the highest and lowest average scores for traditional prejudice. However, Philippine LGBT+ students and UK cis-heterosexual students reported similar levels of traditional prejudice (see online supplement Figure 1 at <https://osf.io/265d8/>). The interaction for perceptions of institutional support for LGBT+ was also significant, $F(1, 2933) = 4.497, p < .05, \eta_p^2 = .002$. UK cis-heterosexual students and Philippine LGBT+ students reported the highest and lowest average scores for perceptions of institutional support for LGBT+, while UK LGBT+ students and Philippine cis-heterosexual students reported similar scores (see online supplement Figure 3 at <https://osf.io/265d8/>). The interactions for modern prejudice, personal harassment, well-being, academic persistence, and social identity belonging were non-significant.

H3 Predictive models of LGBT+ academic persistence and well-being

Hierarchical regressions revealed that anti-LGBT+ prejudice, campus climate perceptions, harassment, and belonging collectively explained 18.38% of the variance in academic persistence for UK LGBT+ students and 23.57% of the variance for Philippine LGBT+ students (see Table 2). The same model explained 10.85% of the variance in well-being for UK LGBT+ students and 10.92% of the variance for Philippine LGBT+ students (see Table 3). In addition to the greater collective effects of these factors in the Philippine context, the effect of the Philippine's national context can also be seen as modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice acted as a significant predictor for both outcomes in the PH model only. As expected, campus climate perceptions was a significant predictor of LGBT+ students' well-being across both samples. Likewise, belonging, harassment, and campus climate perceptions significantly predicted UK and Philippine LGBT+ students' academic persistence. Specifically, UK and Philippine LGBT+ students who experienced higher levels of belonging, lower levels of harassment, and warmer campus climates endorsed lower

drop-out intentions, suggesting that these factors collectively are of urgent consideration for university stakeholders for addressing student well-being and avoiding attrition among marginalised student groups. This seems to be of even greater importance in the Philippine HE context, where attitudinal prejudice plays a significant role.

Phase 1 Quantitative Discussion

Overall, the ANOVA results showed differences in student experiences and outcomes along the lines of sexual/gender identity (H1); with LGBT+ students reporting poorer outcomes than their cis-heterosexual peers on measures of campus climate perceptions, experiences of harassment, well-being and academic outcomes. In line with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) and the minority stress model (Meyer, 2003), cis-heterosexual students reported higher levels of anti-LGBT+ prejudice than their peers, meaning LGBT+ students, regardless of national context, are facing greater levels of prejudice and more negative outcomes on campus. Contrary to expectations, LGBT+ students and cis-heterosexual students reported similar levels of social identity belonging. Initially, we predicted that LGBT+ students would report significantly lower levels of social identity belonging as a result of their minority status (Meyer, 2003). Although there were no overall differences on our belonging at university measures, these findings are consistent with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979) as minority 'out-group' students expressed poorer outcomes related to their student experience and well-being.

Results also revealed a main effect of national context (H2) whereby students in our Philippine sample reported more negative anti-LGBT+ prejudices, chillier campus climate perceptions, and increased experiences of harassment. It is worth noting that Philippine LGBT+ students and UK cis-heterosexual students in our sample reported similar levels of traditional anti-LGBT+ prejudice, suggesting greater salience of traditional prejudice among Philippine students in general, including traditional anti-LGBT+ prejudice persisting among

students who identify as LGBT+. In keeping with the religious-conservative context of the Philippines and Morrison and Morrison's (2003) definition of old-fashioned prejudice, it is possible that our Philippine LGBT+ students have internalised anti-LGBT+ attitudes based on traditional religious and moral beliefs about sexual orientation and gender identity (Evangelista et al., 2016; UNDP-USAID, 2014). Likewise, consistent with Morrison and Morrison's (2003) conceptualisation of modern prejudice whereby the majority group perceives greater support for the minority group than the minority group perceives for themselves, our UK cis-heterosexual students reported the highest scores for perceptions of institutional support for LGBT+. However, highlighting a socio-political gap in national LGBT+ legislation, UK LGBT+ students reported higher levels of institutional support for LGBT+ at their HEIs than the Philippine cis-heterosexual students in our sample, which potentially suggests better support for LGBT+ students in UK HEIs compared to Philippine HEIs perhaps due to the overall national advancement of LGBT+ equality legislation in the UK (ILGA-Europe, 2015-2018).

The main effect of national context on social identity belonging and psychological well-being (H2), was not in the predicted direction as we hypothesised that more negative campus climates (i.e. attitudes, perceptions, experiences) would translate to lower levels of well-being and belonging among Philippine students. However, contrary to expectations, our Philippine students reported higher levels of psychological well-being and social identity belonging than our UK students. While it is possible that acquiescent responding skewed our Philippine students' responses toward higher well-being scores (Smith, 2004), it is also plausible that participants were hesitant about disclosing psychological symptoms as a result of stigma around mental health in the Philippines (Kudva et al., 2020; Tuliao, 2014). Moreover, caution should be used in generalising our between-groups ANOVA findings as we did not account for measurement invariance. However, our study employed only standardised measures of constructs previously employed in identity and campus climate research.

Echoing previous research (Garvey et al., 2018; Rankin et al., 2010), regression models illuminated the impact of campus climate on LGBT+ students' academic and well-being outcomes (H3). Consistent with the minority stress model (Meyer, 2003), negative campus climates were associated with higher intentions of dropping out and lower levels of well-being among UK and Philippine LGBT+ students. Corroborating the suggested salience of anti-LGBT+ prejudice in the Philippines, prejudice was a significant predictor of Philippine LGBT+ students' academic persistence and well-being.

Phase 2 Method

Phase 2 involved a qualitative exploration of the experiences of LGBT+ students in UK and Philippine HEIs to further understand how campus climates impact LGBT+ university students and how campus climates can be improved for them.

Participants

Participants were recruited through convenience and snowball sampling and targeted LGBT+ students in HEIs across the UK and Philippines. An invitation to participate was disseminated to the pool of self-identified LGBT+ survey participants who expressed interest in participating in a follow-up focus group discussion (UK = 167, PH = 180), LGBT+ student groups in UK and Philippine HEIs, and relevant mailing lists (e.g. general student and LGBT+ student group mailing lists). Focus groups were selected as the primary mode of data collection since they facilitate collective sense-making among participants and allow the elicitation of a wide range of perspectives, while providing a supportive and empowering space for discussing sensitive issues such as the shared experiences of discrimination (Braun & Clarke, 2013). However, participants were given the option to take part in one-to-one interviews if they were not comfortable sharing their experiences within a group setting. 35 self-identified LGBT+ students (UK = 17; PH = 18), aged between 18 and 41, from 13 HEIs (UK = 7 [53% post-1992, 47% ancient]; PH = 6 [67% religious, 33% secular]) took part in focus groups and interviews. Each focus group was composed of 2 to 5 participants. Two

participants opted for one-to-one interviews. Tables 4-5 summarise participants' demographic details. Of the UK participants, 65% were undergraduates, 69% White, 6% self-identified as trans. Of the Philippine participants, 89% were undergraduates, 67% Filipino, 11% self-identified as trans.

Procedure

Prior to the focus group, participants were informed about the aims of the study and consented to taking part. All focus groups and interviews took place from December 2018 to May 2019. The same focus group schedule was used in all focus groups and interviews, which were conducted within university premises – except for one which was conducted online via Zoom. The focus group schedule was piloted with three self-identified LGBT+ individuals based in the UK prior to data collection. The focus group schedule comprised three sections: (1) LGBT+ students' campus climate perceptions and experiences, (2) how these experiences impacted LGBT+ students, (3) suggestions for improving LGBT+ campus climates. The first author facilitated and analysed all focus groups and interviews and followed good practice guidelines in their moderation of focus groups (Braun & Clarke, 2013; British Psychological Society, 2021). Each focus group/interview lasted between 60 and 120 minutes.

Analysis

A thematic approach was employed in the data analysis, using the research questions as an analytical framework and following the six stages outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013): (1) transcription, (2) reading and familiarisation, (3) coding, (4) searching for themes, (5) reviewing themes, (6) defining and naming themes. To ensure that the analysis was not confined to one perspective, the research team reviewed themes and subthemes, triangulated themes with quantitative findings, and subsequently refined these into three themes with two to three subthemes each. To check the credibility of the themes (Elliott et al., 1999), a fellow researcher audited a sample of the transcript along with the relevant codes and themes. Both researchers were in broad agreement with the themes.

Phase 2 Qualitative Results

Thematic analysis indicated three main themes summarising the collective perceptions and experiences of UK and Philippine LGBT+ students: (1) Campus as a microcosm of larger society, (2) Campus as a field for growth and regression, (3) Collective social identity belonging.

The narrative below focuses on discussing the linkages between themes and the emergent differences across national contexts (see Phase 2 summary table at <https://osf.io/265d8/> for additional data extracts; Evangelista, 2022 for a detailed discussion of themes and subthemes). The relationships between themes, subthemes, and their linkages, as experienced within each national context, are summarised in the cognitive maps in Figures 1 and 2.

Theme 1: Campus as a Microcosm of Larger Society

As an overarching theme, Theme 1 impacts all subsequent themes (see Figures 1-2). This theme describes how LGBT+ campus climates in Philippine and UK HEIs can reflect the socio-political environment for LGBT+ people in wider Philippine and UK society with better socio-political acceptance of LGBT+ identities in the UK than in the Philippines (e.g. Equality Act 2010; ILGA, 2018; SOGIE Equality Bill; "Senate Bill No. 689," 2019).

1.1 Work-in-progress. Philippine LGBT+ students described campus climates in their HEIs as merely tolerant: *"We are just tolerated, we are not fully accepted...I can say that tolerance is the best word for us"* (Luke, PH; see also Emerson, <https://osf.io/265d8/>). In contrast, given the improved socio-political climate for LGBT+ in UK society, UK LGBT+ students described their campus climates as more *selectively* accepting, particularly toward White LGB undergraduate students under the age of 25: *"The environment is more welcoming for the LGB, than for the T..."* (Michael, UK); *"There are spaces that are LGBT-friendly...But you know I don't really go to those spaces so often because they're so White..."* (Alisha, UK; see also Miko, Alvin, Vin, <https://osf.io/265d8/>).

1.2 Same old current social attitudes. Philippine and UK LGBT+ students typically experienced modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice in the form of judgemental stares and slurs: *“I can enter in full drag...but I receive a lot of stares, I receive a lot of judgmental eyes...especially in Engineering”* (Luke, PH; see also John, Harry, Nadine, Alexandra, <https://osf.io/265d8/>), and this was particularly prevalent in male-dominated subjects. Reflecting the larger socio-political environment their HEIs are situated in, the adverse impact of proscriptive religious beliefs on LGBT+ campus climates was a key issue raised by Philippine LGBT+ students: *“A big factor also that shapes the climate of our university is all the faith-based organizations...it’s just hostile”* (John, PH); *“I have so many friends that transferred in [my university] from [another religious university] ‘cause like they discriminate [against trans] students...they don’t want them to crossdress or to have long hair”* (Alexandra, PH). On the other hand, the lack of trans and LGBT+ POC inclusion across UK HEIs were key issues raised by both White and POC UK LGBT+ students *“All the universities are super binary it’s like ‘men or women’, there’s no trans”* (Vin, UK); *“...the first year I was here I did not know who the hell to approach like I would look for a brown face in a crowd but I get kind of excluded...[because] you’re a mixed raced mongrel...”* (Caitlyn, UK); *“I would have liked the environment to be not have been so White but I can’t really do anything about that...”* (Alisha, UK; see also Miko, Alvin, Vin, Blake, <https://osf.io/265d8/>).

Theme 2: Campus as a Field for Growth and Regression

This theme illustrates how LGBT+ students coped with the more negative aspects of LGBT+ campus climates and how their HEI experiences shaped their individual and social identities.

2.1. Regression. Philippine LGBT+ students were inclined to conceal their LGBT+ identities and avoid social interaction within their HEIs: *“It made me afraid to come out...I became less open after that because I was afraid”* (Bea, PH); *“I really just go home right away so I didn’t have that much interaction with other people...because...I was kinda scared to experience it, being discriminated or being judged”* (Anna, PH). In contrast, UK LGBT+

students commonly retreated by toning down their LGBT+ identities and feigning indifference in social interactions: *“I maybe perform straightness a bit more around them...I would just I kind of quiet down on those experiences when I’m in class”* (Megan, UK; see also Vin, Caitlyn, <https://osf.io/265d8/>).

2.2 Growth. Likewise, personal and social growth manifested differently for Philippine and UK LGBT+ students. UK LGBT+ students generally described developing a sense of comfort and pride in their LGBT+ identities within their HEIs: *“I don’t feel like I’m gonna actively encounter hatred so much here...[so] we’re like proud of our identities and we’re like quite happy to be out”* (Harry, UK; see also Miko, <https://osf.io/265d8/>). On the other hand, Philippine LGBT+ students typically described their identity development experience in terms of being able to safely explore and accept their LGBT+ identities in selected campus spaces (see also subtheme 3.3): *“[LGBT+ student organisation in HEI] has really helped me like accept [myself]...my LGBT struggles...I learned so much in [LGBT+ student organisation]”* (David, PH; see also Bea, <https://osf.io/265d8/>).

Theme 3: Collective Social Identity Belonging

Theme 3 suggests that fostering LGBT+ students’ social identity belonging helps create more positive LGBT+ campus climates. Collectively, Philippine and UK LGBT+ students emphasised the importance of institutional recognition and validation in fostering LGBT+ students’ social identity belonging within their universities.

3.1 LGBT+ policies and programmes. UK LGBT+ students’ suggestions for improving campus climates focused on advancing *existing* LGBT+ inclusive policies and programmes by extending provisions to trans and LGBT+ POC across UK HEIs: *“Some universities are really big on gender-neutral toilets, yay...at [previous UK university] where I worked before [current UK university]...it was one toilet in the entire university...there’s a huge negative connotation attached to gender-neutral toilets...”* (Vin, UK); *“I don’t think the university recognizes that yet...There are spaces that are being made more possible for*

people—students of colour. But I don't know if that intersects with LGBT people of colour yet" (Alisha, UK).

In contrast, Philippine LGBT+ students' suggestions for improvement focused on basic provisions such as having institutionally-recognised LGBT+ student groups, LGBT+ inclusive policies and programmes across Philippine HEIs: "Well [that's] what we are fighting for...I think we really need [LGBT+] policies so that we can have a something to hold onto...it's really lacking...like how [university] treated the [recent anti-LGBT+ discrimination] case...That's not enough" (Nat, PH). The need for open discussion of LGBT+ issues was particularly highlighted by students in religious HEIs, where LGBT+ related discussions tend to be restricted: "It's stressful. And it's hard being an under-the-table org" (Luke, PH).

3.2. LGBT+ awareness and sensitivity. UK LGBT+ students discussed the need for HEI staff and students to improve their awareness of and sensitivity to LGBT+ students: "If lecturers are just aware...don't say things out of order [and be]...inclusive of everyone otherwise what's the point of being a lecturer if you're only teaching certain people." (Alvin, UK). For example, citing imbalances in awareness of trans students: "...the [LGBT+ student] society do a pronoun pledge...we give it to the students, staff...and we offer it to all of the departments...the sociology department, for example, have refused to take it from us" (Blake, UK); and the need for sensitivity to LGBT+ POC: "...there are definitely a lot of international students coming to the university...it would be much better if they can deal with intersectionality a wee bit better" (Miko, UK).

Philippine LGBT+ students, in contrast, discussed the need to promote basic understanding of LGBT+ identities. They described how HEI staff are "aware [that LGBT+ people exist] but they're not really that fully informed [of LGBT+ issues]..." (Tim, PH; see also Ryan, <https://osf.io/265d8/>) and they emphasised the need for LGBT+ sensitivity training, which only exists in some secular HEIs: "...the university should conduct an orientation or seminar with regards to the interaction with the LGBT community...it can go a long, a positive way..." (Bruce, PH).

3.3. LGBT+ student groups. Participants from UK and secular Philippine HEIs expressed feeling safe and accepted at their universities due to the presence of LGBT+ student groups within their HEIs: *“I feel considerably safer just because of the amount of...LGBT societies on campus”* (Harry, UK); with student representation perceived as institutional recognition of LGBT+ students’ social identity and belonging: *“...because like there’s an LGBT org [and] there’s LGBT representation in the student council...it helps with having that sense of belongingness that like there are people like you who are also here at the university”* (Anna, PH).

Philippine LGBT+ students, particularly those from religious HEIs, sought basic recognition of LGBT+ student groups: *“They never accredited um LGBT orgs...They really must have an LGBT org in [the university]. For me, honestly...that’s the top priority as of now...”* (Tim, PH); *“...we need an org for LGBT...”* (Jordan, PH). In contrast, UK LGBT+ students articulated a more complex demand for better support towards intersectional LGBT+ student groups across UK HEIs such as POC, *“I would probably encourage the universities to like promote the intersectionality rights of LGBT people...in the different aspects of culture...ethnicity because...universities are now getting more international”* (Miko, UK); and mature students, *“I think the university is geared more towards LGBT+ of their age...it’s not a place where it’s easy to find a community for a 40-year-old PhD”* (Britney, UK; see also Alisha, Caitlyn, <https://osf.io/265d8/>).

Phase 2 Qualitative Discussion

Qualitative results suggest that HEIs can function as a microcosm of society by reflecting the prevailing socio-political attitudes and issues in wider society. Our findings corroborate the results of previous LGBT+ campus studies that document the prevalence of modern prejudice (Morrison & Morrison, 2003) in the form verbal harassment, indirect snubs, and cliché slurs in US HEIs (Silverschanz et al., 2008; Woodford et al., 2012). The primary issues that our participants identified within their HEIs also reflected the salient socio-political

issues in wider Philippine and UK society; such as the negative impact of Catholic doctrine on national LGBT+ legislation (UNDP-USAID, 2014), recent debates on trans rights (e.g. Gender Recognition Act reform), and racial inequalities in the UK (e.g. backlash against Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities Report) reflect wider debates within higher education (Flaherty, 2019; Maguddayao, 2019; Universities UK, 2020).

UK and Philippine LGBT+ students in our study also discussed contrasting coping strategies and outcomes that have been outlined in other LGBT+ campus climate studies (Blumenfeld et al., 2016; Garvey et al., 2018). Philippine LGBT+ students engaged in more extreme forms of withdrawal and isolation as a result of the more overt presence of minority stress (e.g. lack of institutionally recognised LGBT+ student groups and LGBT+ inclusive policies and programmes across Philippine HEIs due to traditional *and* modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice) within their HEIs. For some UK participants, the strong presence of LGBT+ student groups within their HEIs allowed them to develop a sense of LGBT+ “identity acceptance” and “identity pride” (Adams & Phillips, 2009; Bilodeau & Renn, 2005; Cass, 1984) within their universities.

Our qualitative findings suggest the importance of HEIs’ validation of LGBT+ social identity in creating positive LGBT+ campus climates. From a social identity standpoint (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), it appears that developing a sense of social identity belonging through their engagement with LGBT+ inclusive student groups helped our participants navigate the effects of negative campus experiences. However, reflecting the differences in LGBT+ equality legislation between their national contexts (Equality Act 2010; ILGA, 2018; SOGIE Equality Bill; "Senate Bill No. 689," 2019), Philippine LGBT+ students emphasised the need to develop and implement *basic* LGBT+ inclusive infrastructures across secular and religious HEIs (University of the Philippines Center for Women's and Gender Studies et al., 2019); while UK LGBT+ students stressed the need to *advance* existing support infrastructures, particularly for trans, LGBT+ POC, and LGBT+ mature students (Oxford SU LGBTQ+ Campaign, 2018).

Triangulated Discussion

Echoing previous LGBT+ campus climate assessments (e.g. UK - Ellis, 2009; South Africa - Nduna et al., 2017; USA - Rankin et al., 2010), our triangulated results reveal that campus climates remain negative for LGBT+ students across UK and Philippine HEIs. Taken together, our findings draw attention to how HEIs can reflect the socio-political context they are situated in. For example, consistent with the Philippines' religious-conservative context, quantitative results showed that traditional anti-LGBT+ prejudice was higher among Philippine students than UK students. The salience of traditional anti-LGBT+ prejudice across Philippine HEIs was corroborated by the sentiments and experiences of Philippine LGBT+ students, particularly those from religious HEIs who disclosed more negative LGBT+ campus climates (e.g. unaccredited LGBT+ student groups, anti-trans policies, non-existent LGBT+ programmes). Supporting Morrison and Morrison (2003), triangulated findings also suggest the pervasiveness of modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice in current society as UK and Philippine students both endorsed above mid-point modern prejudice scores that were higher on average than traditional prejudice and qualitatively disclosed the prevalence of indirect anti-LGBT+ slurs and slights (e.g. "you don't look gay") across their HEIs.

Notably, triangulated findings underscored the potential importance of developing LGBT+ students' social identity belonging for creating more positive campus climates. Quantitative results showed that LGBT+ and cis-heterosexual students reported similar levels of social identity belonging within their universities. From a minority stress standpoint, this finding was unexpected since we predicted that LGBT+ students' minority identity would put them at risk of marginalisation from their university identity (Meyer, 2003; Stuart, 2009). However, qualitative results suggested that participants developed a sense of social identity belonging via LGBT+ inclusive student groups and programmes within their HEIs. Linking minority stress model (Meyer, 2015) to Social Identity Theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), we postulate that institutional recognition of LGBT+ students' social (minority) identity, through the presence of LGBT+ inclusive student groups and programmes,

functioned as a protective factor that buffered UK and Philippine LGBT+ students from the negative impact of anti-LGBT+ prejudice across HEIs. This ties in with existing research that suggests academic belonging (Ingram, 2012) can reduce stress and increase wellbeing (Skipper & Fay, 2019). We recommend further research to better understand the role of social identity belonging in the minority stress model, particularly in teasing out the relationship between social identity belonging and well-being, both of which appear to be impacted by LGBT+ campus climates.

Aside from extending LGBT+ campus climate research outside of the US higher education context, our research contributes to the growing body of LGBT+ campus climate literature by providing a nuanced picture of the current state of higher education for LGBT+ students in the UK and Philippines. Our research builds on the strengths of previous studies (e.g. Brown et al., 2004; Rankin et al., 2010; Woodford & Kulick, 2015) by incorporating a mixed-method comparative approach between a non-western, religious-conservative national context (Philippines) and a European, more LGBT+ progressive context (UK). By comparing two contrasting contexts, our research demonstrates how the 'macro' (national) climate can influence institutional (university) climates. Specifically, our findings highlight how the presence (UK context) or absence (PH context) of LGBT+ legislation can shape university policies and practices. Mirroring their respective national contexts, quantitative results suggested a difference between UK and Philippine HEIs' support infrastructures for LGBT+ students, a gap which was validated by marked differences between UK and Philippine LGBT+ students' suggestions for improving LGBT+ inclusion in their HEIs. Thus, our research underscores the value of national LGBT+ inclusive legislation as a key step toward better LGBT+ inclusion in higher education.

Nevertheless, despite the presence of LGBT+ inclusive legislation in the UK, our findings stress the continued outcomes disparity between LGBT+ and cis-heterosexual students, including greater drop-out risk among LGBT+ students (Garvey et al., 2018; National Union of Students, 2014; Woodford & Kulick, 2015). One plausible explanation for

this is the persistence of modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice (Morrison & Morrison, 2003). Thus, although the presence of LGBT+ inclusive legislation is a crucial step toward creating positive LGBT+ campus climates, as suggested by the Philippine context; it is important to remember that it is not a magic bullet against more covert forms of modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice, as exemplified by the UK context. Therefore, we recommend increased sensitivity and awareness of LGBT+ issues to dispel the notion that anti-LGBT+ prejudice no longer exists. We also recommend clear communication and better visibility of LGBT+ inclusive policies and programmes to mitigate modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice.

The experiences of our trans and LGBT+ POC participants further reveal the need to critically reflect and question the underlying power structures of patriarchy and hegemonic whiteness (Mitha et al., 2021). While we acknowledge that the small sample of trans and LGBT+ POC in our study precludes generalisation, our qualitative data combined with recent global events (i.e. rise in anti-trans sentiments - Flaherty, 2019; anti-racism protests - Universities UK, 2020) raises the question to what extent is LGBT+ acceptance, particularly in the UK, based on misogynistic White norms. To some degree, the lack of LGBT+ POC participation in the UK focus groups/interviews may in itself be indicative of LGBT+ POCs' discomfort toward the "whiteness" of LGBT+ spaces. Thus, we recommend a scoping review of existing HE policy and practice to ensure better inclusion of diverse and intersectional identities.

On the whole, our findings show that as a microcosm of larger society, higher education is a space where socio-political attitudes can either be challenged or perpetuated. As spaces of learning and knowledge exchange, HEIs have the potential to advance the inclusion of marginalised groups. For example, HEIs can foster LGBT+ students' university belonging by recognising and validating their LGBT+ social identity through supporting intersectional LGBT+ student groups, policies, and programmes.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Our research aimed for a multi-level analysis ranging across macro – country, institutional – HEI-type, and individual – SOGI identity levels. We acknowledge that the use of national LGBT+ rights as an indicator of LGBT+ socio-political climate is an imperfect metric and further acknowledge the lack of explicit measures of intra-national cultural perceptions allowing for unaccounted variance from potential intra-national socio-cultural confounds. For example, cultural measures of national happiness or family-network support (e.g. communality) could potentially account for the higher levels of well-being and belonging reported by the Philippine sample compared to the UK sample (Uchida et al., 2004). Moreover, the effect sizes we found were relatively small so our findings should be interpreted with caution. Nevertheless, future research should incorporate standardised cultural measures to explicate the significant main effects of perceived national context (e.g. LGBT+ inclusive legislation) as this emerges as a factor at the national and institutional levels.

Despite collecting responses across a wide range of UK and Philippine HEIs (Phase 1 = 42 institutions; Phase 2 = 13 institutions), we recognise the need for representative sampling of more diverse HEI types to offer statistical power for quantitative cross-institutional comparisons (e.g. urban-rural, public-private, ancient-modern, religious-secular), particularly given the qualitative finding that suggests varied LGBT+ campus climates and coping strategies across institutions. Likewise, although our study included various LGBT+ identities and ethnic backgrounds, the comparatively smaller proportion of non-White, lesbian, asexual, trans, non-binary respondents prevented intra-group comparisons across sexual/gender identity and ethnicity. Our qualitative findings signal the need for more intersectional LGBT+ campus climate research involving multiple minority student identities (e.g. SOGI, ethnicity, age, social class), as well as the direct and indirect effects of religion at national, institutional, and individual levels.

Although our anti-LGBT+ prejudice measure had good reliability across our sample, it is a general measure of prejudice and future LGBT+ campus climate studies should consider incorporating internalised anti-LGBT+ prejudice measures (e.g. Bockting et al., 2020; Herek et al., 1998; Tran et al., 2018) since anti-LGBT+ attitudes and identification might manifest differently for LGBT+ people. Future LGBT+ campus climate studies should also explore the extent to which social identity belonging can be employed as an intervention to buffer LGBT+ students from the adverse impacts of minority stress emerging from traditional (direct) and modern (indirect) anti-LGBT+ prejudice. While we acknowledge that we had no explicit measure of salience of LGBT+ social identity for LGBT+ students, participants were asked about multiple aspects of identification based on best practice recommendations (Badgett, 2009; Scottish Trans Alliance & Stonewall, 2017; Stonewall, 2016), including gender identity (“Do you identify as trans?”), sexual orientation (“Do you consider yourself to be lesbian/gay/bisexual/asexual?”), level of outness (“If you identify as LGBT+, to what extent would you say that you are ‘out’ to the following groups?”). Future work could explore intersectional issues of identity salience for students with multiple marginalised identities and issues of identity switching to fit contextual situations (Mitha et al., 2021). In addition, subsequent models of social identification warrant further exploration. For instance Brewer’s (1993) notion of Positive Optimal Distinctiveness might indicate university context, including social and physical spaces on campus, as well as the heterogeneity of the population itself, might affect the valence and strength of LGBT+ student identification (see also Cuddy et al., 2007). Acknowledging more recent literature critically exploring minority compared to majority identification processes (e.g. minority strengths model; Perrin et al., 2020), we acknowledge that social identity belonging/inclusion versus marginalisation/exclusion are not the only possible outcomes of social categorisation for stigmatised minority identities. Future research should consider exploring more diverse identity outcomes than belonging and marginalisation, such as rejection identification or rejection disidentification (Becker & Tausch, 2014; Bogart et al., 2018), social mobility and social creativity (Jackson et al., 1996),

minority resilience (Meyer, 2015), multiple identity salience 'away' from negative valenced or stigmatised identity (McConnell et al., 2018), or positive impact of global identification (Koc & Vignoles, 2018).

Implications and Recommendations

The findings of this research benefit LGBT+ university students, HE staff, and policymakers by providing an updated and nuanced picture of LGBT+ campus climates that lead to specific recommendations for more LGBT+ inclusive policy and practice across national contexts. We suggest the following recommendations at the macro (country), institutional (HEIs), and individual (LGBT+ students) levels.

First, national context differences in levels of traditional and modern prejudice emphasise the importance of distinct interventions depending on the type of prejudice. Given the salience of traditional anti-LGBT+ prejudice in the Philippine context, promoting basic LGBT+ awareness that combats myths about LGBT+ identities and framing LGBT+ policies as a human rights issue may be beneficial for advancing LGBT+ equality legislation in the country. For the UK context, it may be more effective to raise awareness about how structural inequalities and anti-LGBT+ discrimination *continue* to manifest implicitly even when gains are made against explicit harassment and overt discrimination, as both detrimentally impact LGBT+ academic and well-being outcomes, such as university belonging and drop-out intentions.

Related to this, proponents of the SOGIE Equality Bill ("Senate Bill No. 689," 2019) and the UP SOGIESC Policy (University of the Philippines Center for Women's and Gender Studies et al., 2019) can use our findings as empirical evidence to strengthen their argument for implementing LGBT+ inclusive legislation in the Philippines. At minimum, legal protection against anti-LGBT+ discrimination and harassment could at least reduce blatant expressions of traditional anti-LGBT+ prejudice across HEIs. Likewise, HE staff and administrators can use our findings to update existing policy and practice to tackle more subtle forms of modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice and better include trans and LGBT+ POC across HEIs (e.g. using

gender-neutral language, having preferred name policies, calling out slurs). Promoting awareness and sensitivity toward trans and LGBT+ POC concerns is especially relevant given the alarming rise in transphobia (Flaherty, 2019) and racial disparity (Universities UK, 2020) issues prevalent in the UK and in global trends (UNESCO, 2019; United Nations, 2021). Further, it is also important for HE staff to recognise the influential role they play in creating positive LGBT+ campus climates. Although having LGBT+ inclusive policies is important for improving general LGBT+ campus climates, our findings indicate that visibility of institutional support for LGBT+ is crucial in fostering LGBT+ students' sense of belonging within their universities because it communicates explicit acceptance and overt validation of LGBT+ identities across levels of hierarchical institutional power. As potential role models, HE staff should consistently challenge anti-LGBT+ prejudice, especially its more subtle forms (e.g. making anti-LGBT+ statements like "that's so gay", deadnaming, misgendering) and continually promote LGBT+ awareness, particularly toward LGBT+ POC since these identities are often overlooked within the LGBT+ community. Therefore, we recommend continuous Continuing Professional Development (CPD) for staff via formal and informal teaching qualification modules explicitly addressing issues of intersectional LGBT+ inclusivity in learning and teaching practice.

Within the national and institutional changes recommended above, we further hope our findings encourage LGBT+ students to seek out, and advocate for, LGBT+ support and inclusive policies within their HEIs. Although LGBT+ campus climate is a developing field worldwide, our findings suggest that finding safe and inclusive spaces is possible even amidst the continued presence of anti-LGBT+ prejudices and within negative campus climates. Continued visibility of LGBT+ identities and awareness of LGBT+ issues not only prompts institutional action, it can also positively impact LGBT+ students who are only just beginning to explore their identities.

Conclusion

Using a mixed-method comparative approach we explored LGBT+ campus climate in UK and Philippine HEIs. Our findings underscore the need for the continued global advancement of LGBT+ equality by highlighting the structural inequalities that LGBT+ people continue to face, particularly in the form of modern anti-LGBT+ prejudice in higher education.

We argue that promoting university belonging and identification, not only validates minority students' identities but mitigates negative psychosocial outcomes. Further, we emphasise the need for LGBT+ inclusive policy and practice across HEIs and stress the importance of overtly promoting LGBT+ visibility, policies, and programmes for the continued validation of LGBT+ social identities, especially as more subtle forms of anti-LGBT+ prejudice persist. As spaces for learning and knowledge exchange, we invite HEIs to advance equality more broadly by challenging all forms of prejudice and creating more inclusive campuses for minority and marginalised groups.

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Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Phase 1 Participants

Demographic	UK		Philippines		Full sample	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Sexual orientation						
Asexual	32	2.24	42	2.70	74	2.48
Bisexual	236	16.52	206	13.25	442	14.81
Gay or lesbian	123	8.61	64	4.12	187	6.27
Heterosexual	966	67.60	1172	75.37	2138	71.65
Other	57	3.99	58	3.73	115	3.85
Gender						
Female	962	67.32	980	63.02	1942	65.08
Male	416	29.11	467	30.03	883	29.59
Non-binary	29	2.03	71	4.57	100	3.35
Prefer to self-describe	14	0.98	31	1.99	45	1.51
Trans						
Yes	44	3.08	68	4.37	112	3.75
No	1365	95.52	1439	92.54	2804	93.97
Prefer not to say	12	0.84	40	2.57	52	1.74
Position						

Undergraduate	926	64.80	1215	78.14	2141	71.75
Postgraduate – Master's	255	17.84	234	15.05	489	16.39
Postgraduate – PhD	209	14.63	-	-	209	7
Other	31	2.17	49	3.15	80	2.68
Country of birth						
UK	842	59.00				
Outside UK	579	41.00				
PH			1227	79.00		
Outside PH			320	21.00		
Importance of religion						
Not at all important	700	49.33	130	8.40		
Not very important	388	27.34	348	22.48		
Rather important	196	13.81	475	30.68		
Very important	135	9.51	595	38.44		

Note. $N = 2984$. Participants were on average 22.27 years old ($SD = 6.12$). See online supplement at <https://osf.io/265d8/> for a breakdown of ethnicity and religious affiliation.

Table 2**Hierarchical regression models predicting LGBT+ students' academic persistence**

Predictor	UK LGBT+ (<i>n</i> = 448)					PH LGBT+ (<i>n</i> = 379)				
	<i>b</i>	SE <i>b</i>	β	95% CI		<i>b</i>	SE <i>b</i>	β	95% CI	
				LL	UL				LL	UL
Modern prejudice	-.064	.088	-	-	.108	-.174*	.073	-	-	-
			.032	.236				.109	.319	.030
Social identity belonging	-.495***	.104	-	-	-.291	-.676***	.107	-	-	-.466
			.253	.699	.291			.349	.885	.466
Experience of harassment	.473**	.151	.136	.176	.770	.324*	.129	.114	.070	.579
Campus climate perceptions	-.016***	.004	-	-	-.007	-.013**	.004	-	-	-.004
			.193	.025	.007			.158	.021	.004
R^2			.184					.236		
<i>F</i>			26.168***					30.148***		

Note. Values presented are adjusted R^2

b = unstandardised regression coefficient. β = standardised regression coefficient.

LL = 95% confidence interval lower limit. UL = 95% confidence interval upper limit.

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

Table 3**Hierarchical regression models predicting LGBT+ students' psychological well-being**

Predictor	UK LGBT+ (n = 448)					PH LGBT+ (n = 378)				
	b	SE b	β	95% CI		b	SE b	B	95% CI	
				LL	UL				LL	UL
Modern prejudice	.046	.061	.034	-	1.66	.226***	.063	.178	.103	.350
				.074						
Social identity belonging	.228**	.072	.174	.085	.370	.140	.091	.092	-	.320
									.039	
Experience of harassment	.042	.105	.018	-	.249	-.065	.111	-	-	.153
				.165				.029	.282	
Campus climate perceptions	.012***	.003	.214	.006	.018	.014***	.004	.224	.007	.022
R^2			.109					.109		
F			14.611***					12.556***		

Note. Values presented are adjusted R^2

b = unstandardised regression coefficient. β = standardised regression coefficient.

LL = 95% confidence interval lower limit. UL = 95% confidence interval upper limit.

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

Table 4

Demographic Characteristics of Phase 2 Participants from the UK

Participant	Age	HEI	Discipline	Position	Ethnicity	SOGI
Megan	21	Ancient, urban	Natural sciences	1 st year undergraduate	White-Scottish	Bisexual, Female
Harry	19	Ancient, urban	Social sciences	2 nd year undergraduate	White-Scottish	Gay, Male
Meryl	19	Ancient, urban	Social sciences	2 nd year undergraduate	White-European	Gay/lesbian, Female
Michael	21	Ancient, urban	Arts & humanities	2 nd year undergraduate	White-European	Bisexual, Male
Arthur	34	Ancient, urban	Social sciences	1 st year postgraduate	-	Gay, Male
Caitlyn	23	Ancient, urban	Arts & humanities	Final year undergraduate	Arab (mixed)	Asexual, Female
Blake	20	Ancient, urban	Social sciences	3 rd year undergraduate	White-British	Bisexual, Trans
Britney	40	Ancient, urban	Social sciences	2 nd year postgraduate	White	Queer, Female
Alisha	33	Ancient, urban	Social sciences	Final year postgraduate	Other	Other, Female
Drew	41	Post-1992, suburb	Natural sciences	3 rd year undergraduate	White-Scottish	Gay, Male

		an				
Clark	20	Ancient, urban	Arts & humanities	3 rd year undergraduate	White-British	Bisexual, Male
Alec	21	Post-1992, urban	Social sciences	Final year undergraduate	White-Scottish	Gay, Male
Miko	24	Post-1992, urban	Arts & humanities	2 nd year postgraduate	Chinese	Gay, Male
Kyle	21	Ancient, urban	Social sciences	2 nd year undergraduate	Indo-Caribbean	Gay, Male
Vin	35	Post-1992, urban	Social sciences	Final year postgraduate	White-European	Gay, Male
Alvin	21	Ancient, urban	Natural sciences	2 nd year undergraduate	Southeast Asian	Gay, Male
Sabrina	27	Post-1992, suburban	Social sciences	3 rd year postgraduate	White-European	Gay/lesbian, Female

Table 5

Demographic Characteristics of Phase 2 Participants from the Philippines

Participant	Age	HEI	Discipline	Position	Ethnicity	SOGI
John	20	Public, secular	Arts & humanities	4 th year undergraduate	Filipino-Chinese	Pansexual, Nonbinary
Jordan	23	Private, religious	Social sciences	1 st year postgraduate	Filipino	Lesbian, Trans
Bea	21	Private, religious	Social sciences	4 th year undergraduate	Filipino-Chinese	Bisexual, Female
Tim	19	Private, religious	Social sciences	3 rd year undergraduate	Filipino	Gay, Male
Alexandra	20	Private, religious	Arts & humanities	3 rd year undergraduate	Filipino-Chinese	Gay, Male
Bruce	18	Private, religious	Social sciences	1 st year undergraduate	Filipino-Chinese	Bisexual, Male
Nadine	19	Public, secular	Arts & humanities	1 st year undergraduate	Filipino (Igorot)-Chinese	Bisexual, Female
Andrew	18	Public, secular	Natural sciences	3 rd year undergraduate	Filipino	Gay, Male
Ryan	20	Public, secular	Social sciences	4 th year undergraduate	Filipino	Gay, Male
Emerson	18	Private, religious	Social sciences	1 st year undergraduate	Filipino	Bisexual, Nonbinary
Charlie	18	Private, religious	Social sciences	1 st year undergraduate	Filipino	Gay, Male
Nat	20	Public, secular	Social sciences	4 th year undergraduate	Filipino	Bisexual, Female
Chuck	23	Private, religious	Social sciences	5 th year undergraduate	Filipino	Lesbian, Female
Sarah	21	Public,	Arts &	3 rd year	Filipino	Polysexual,

		secular	humanities	undergraduate		Genderfluid
David	20	Public, secular	Natural sciences	4 th year undergraduate	Filipino	Gay, Male
Luke	20	Private, religious	Arts & humanities	4 th year undergraduate	Filipino	Gay, Trans
Anna	21	Public, secular	Social sciences	4 th year undergraduate	Filipino	Bisexual, Female
Cameron	23	Private, religious	Social sciences	2 nd year postgraduate	Filipino- Chinese	Gay/lesbian, Nonbinary

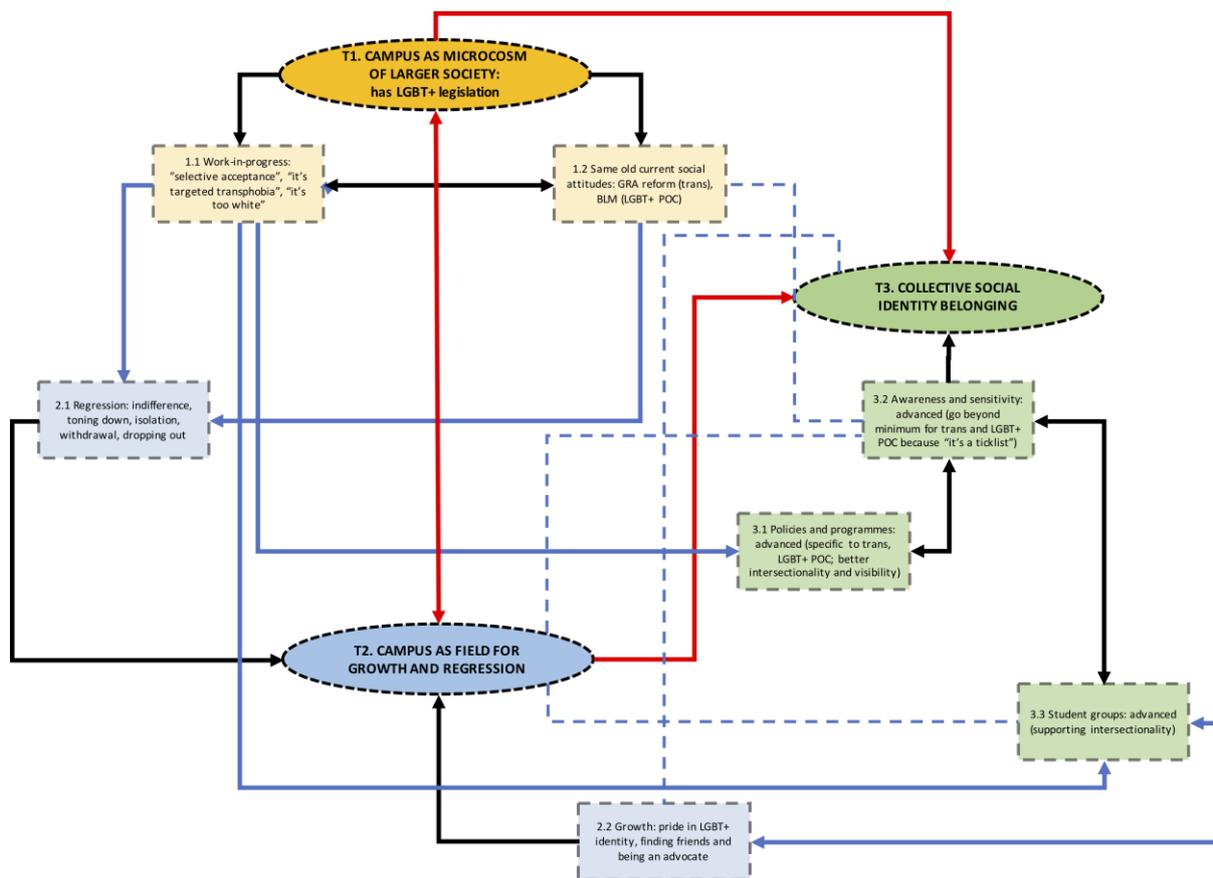


Figure 1

Cognitive Map of Linkages Between Themes and Subthemes for the UK Context. Solid red arrows indicate connections between themes. Solid black arrows indicate connections between themes and its subthemes. Solid blue arrows indicate direct relationships between subthemes of different themes. Broken lines indicate less direct relationships.

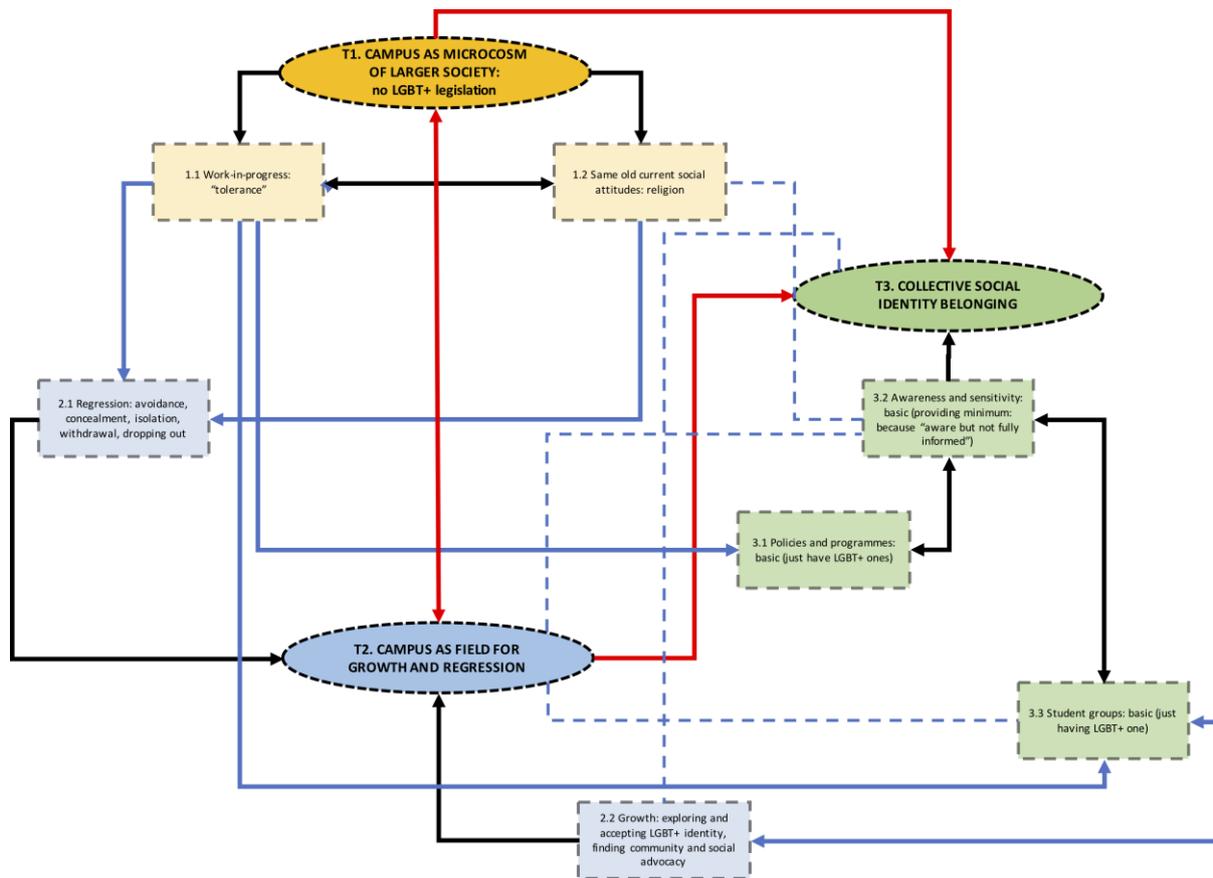


Figure 2

Cognitive Map of Linkages Between Themes and Subthemes for the Philippine Context. Solid red arrows indicate connections between themes. Solid black arrows indicate connections between themes and its subthemes. Solid blue arrows indicate direct relationships between subthemes of different themes. Broken lines indicate less direct relationships.