NORMALIZATION OF THE DEMOCIDAL MINDSET: A CROSS-CULTURAL
COMPARISON OF ENDORSEMENT AND PERCEIVED ACCEPTABILITY

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Both scholars and practitioners frequently stress the significant role played by high-level perpetrators in cases of mass killing. Often overlooked however is that the thinking and behavior of these leaders are often constrained (or liberated) by what is considered to be acceptable or unacceptable in the cultural environment they are in. What the larger public considers to be normative will shape what policies leaders endorse and what actions they take. The dissertation examines the extent to which particular thinking patterns—those adopted by high-level perpetrators of democide—are normalized in general populations. Using cross-cultural data from the United States, India, and South Africa, this study measures the levels of individual endorsement of democidal statements, as well as the perceived acceptability of democidal statements. A primary objective of this study is to determine if this newly developed acceptability scale has promise as a better and more consistent way (as compared to the individual endorsement scale) of measuring exclusionary content at the societal level. Findings suggest that while an individual's endorsement of democidal items is a better predictor for intended behavior on related issues, the acceptability scale is potentially a more novel and reliable measure to use across different cultures. Evidence of pluralistic ignorance taking place is also

addressed. Understanding how these beliefs are represented in general populations may inform us of the political landscape that government leaders (current and/or aspiring) are operating in, which in turn may illustrate a population's susceptibility to mass violence. This research could provide insights for eventual norm-based interventions that could decrease exclusionary thinking and collective violence.

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I. INTRODUCTION

It is widely acknowledged that when it comes to violent conflict, exclusionary thinking matters. Past research, while limited, has typically focused on the exclusionary thinking of elites and other high-level perpetrators, and for good reason too. It is clear that what elites think and believe contributes to mass killing (Converse, 1964; Straus, 2015; Valentino, 2004). For over sixty years now, those in the field have pointed to the significance of belief systems in this context (for some of the seminal works, see Harff & Gurr, 1987, Kelman 1973, Kuper 1981, and Fein, 1984). Scholars have asserted that genocide and politicide become more likely when leaders and movements express an exclusionary ideology—a belief system that justifies efforts to persecute or eliminate certain groups of people (Harff, 2003; Pinker, 2011). In his exhaustive overview of genocide and mass atrocity prevention, Straus (2016) outlines four of the most significant, and commonly agreed upon risk factors associated with genocide and mass atrocity. Along with large-scale instability, armed conflict, and previous discrimination or violence, Straus lists ideology as one of the four significant risk factors. Belief systems or ideologies have also been emphasized in the atrocity-prevention world and at an international level. In the final report (2008) of the Genocide Prevention Task Force (co-chaired by former Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and former Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen), exclusionary ideology is listed as one of the core risk factors of genocide or mass atrocities. The United Nations (UN) has also affirmed the importance of paying attention to human thinking; In the UN's (2014) "Framework of Analysis for Atrocity Crimes," reasoning and ideology are listed as primary components of a major risk factor, "Motives or Incentives," which they define as the "reasons, aims or drivers that justify the use of violence against protected groups, populations or individuals, including by actors outside of State borders" (p.13). The fact that these forms of thinking (e.g., reasons, ideologies, motives, perceptions) are recognized so widely and at such a high level is indicative of their relevance.

However, in spite of these recognitions, very little is known about the presence and emergence of exclusionary thinking (Brehm, 2016). Past research is primarily qualitative in nature and focuses on the thinking of direct perpetrators (especially high-level elites). Far too often the role that exclusionary thinking plays amongst the public is ignored. This overlooks and underestimates how the public's thinking can shape both the political environment (in this context, making the societal environment riper for exclusion, discrimination or conflict), as well as shape leaders decision-making and behavior. Exclusively focusing on elite ideology, while useful, doesn't tell us if and how such ideas or beliefs are spread amongst a population. To fully understand what role exclusionary thinking plays in violent conflict, we need to be able to examine it at both levels. And while mass participation of a population is not needed to carry out a program of mass killing (Valentino, 2004), it may be necessary for the majority of the population to not actively oppose it.

Using the items from the Democidal Mindset Questionnaire (DMQ; Landau et al., 2020) to measure exclusionary thinking at the population level, the present study compares two distinct response scales—actual endorsement and perceived acceptability—in three different countries. While the endorsement scale is a standard Likert-style agreement scale (ranging from definitely agree to definitely disagree), the perceived acceptability scale was designed specifically for this study. I examine whether this acceptability scale might be a better technique for measuring exclusionary thinking at the aggregate societal or cultural level (rather than at the individual level).

Leaders vs. the Population

Previous research on mass violence provides evidence that the beliefs and ideologies of high-level leaders and elites play a critical role (Chirot & McCauley, 2006; Bellamy, 2012; Kiernan, 2007; Leader Maynard, 2014; Semelin 2007; Straus, 2015, 2016; Valentino, 2004). Mass killing is often an instrumental strategy that leaders use to carry out their goals, whether the goals are

politically, socially or economically motivated (Straus 2015; Valentino 2004). Leaders have power and influence and thus are in a position to broadcast their exclusionary beliefs or ideologies, creating deep divisions and polarization within communities. Such polarization can easily lead to entrenched group conflict, which is often characterized by widespread violence. However, it is important that we not only examine the role that leaders play, but also investigate the general population's acceptance of or agreement with certain beliefs. This is not to suggest that the population has greater influence or power over whether a mass atrocity occurs—mass atrocities are predominantly organized and orchestrated by governments and high-level leaders (Valentino 2004)—but simply to say that the population does indeed play a role (and in cases of mob violence or settler violence against indigenous peoples, the population may even play a bigger role than leaders). After all, leaders do not operate within a vacuum. Leaders are typically drawn from and elected by the same general population they lead and are continually socialized or enculturated within it. In turn, they are in a position to powerfully shape the profile of what is believed, disbelieved, valued, devalued and judged acceptable or unacceptable in the general population. And finally, they are constrained (especially in a democracy to the extent it is one) by what/how the general population thinks.

The dangerous ideas or ideologies a leader espouses (ones that can help to mobilize a population) often utilize the pre-existing ideas and views that are held by the society (Alvarez, 2008; Valentino, 2004). For example, the Nazi ideology drew from the already existing and widespread anti-Semitic views and stereotypes. As Alvarez (2008) points out, the Nazis were able to capitalize upon this vast reservoir of prejudice, which allowed them to portray the Jews as a threat to the German people. The same was true for the Rwandan Genocide—leaders were able to tap into the long-established perceptions regarding ethnicities (Tutsis and the Hutus) in Rwanda, in order to easily incite fear and division among the population. Leaders of a group take the shared and already existing beliefs of the society into consideration (consciously or subconsciously) and use these beliefs to justify their decisions and actions (Bar Tal, 2000).

In addition, actual perpetrators—while making up only a very small proportion of the total population—often rely on the approval, compliance and/or indifference of the other members of their group (Leader Maynard and Benesch, 2016; Valentino, 2004). Even if the majority of the population is not likely to fully internalize or endorse extreme exclusionary or violent beliefs, weaker levels of internalization or endorsements can still be enough to motivate people to directly or indirectly participate in violence (at varying levels) or make the violence appear to be permissible (Leader Maynard and Benesch, 2016). Habituation could also prove to be key here. For a leader to act on a democidal belief, it might not be necessary for the population to agree (although it is beneficial if they do), it may simply be enough that the population are habituated or accustomed to such beliefs or actions, and don't notice, or care to notice. This could mean that the more people are accustomed to exclusionary beliefs and actions, the more people will tolerate or comply with them. To summarize, while people might not necessarily agree with certain beliefs, they may still accept (or simply not oppose) them as normal in their country. It is this acceptance or tolerance in the general population that could give political leaders and governments the unopposed authority they need to implement discriminatory and often violent policies.

Over time, changes in a society's levels of acceptability of dangerous or destructive beliefs might reflect a society's radicalization; people may begin to increasingly see violence as justified or even necessary, which in turn would further legitimize a leader's violent policies or actions (Leader Maynard & Benesch, 2016). Where a general population falls along the spectrum of approval or disapproval may be a protective or risk factor when evaluating a country's risk for devolving into mass violence, such that a higher pre-existing approval in a general population would correspond to a higher risk for electing or acquiescing to a leader who disseminates exclusionary rhetoric. And it is what lies on the extreme end of the spectrum of sociopolitical violence that is especially salient: democide.

Democide

As defined by Rummel (1994), a democide is a genocide, politicide, or any violent political or ethnic suppression that is organized, sanctioned, or run by the government. In fact, the most prototypical cases of mass atrocity or genocide, such as those that occurred in Stalinist Russia, Maoist China, and Nazi Germany, were almost always democides—meaning that they were state-led. Rummel (1994) estimates that in the 20th century, democide has caused about 169 million deaths.

Although genocide is the most well recognized term used to describe mass violence, it has a major limitation. As it is outlined in the U.N. Genocide Convention, genocide can only apply to four specific types of groups: national, ethnical, racial, or religious. Many scholars have noted that such narrowness fails to include other legitimate groups that face the same acts listed in the Convention. For example, in Stalinist Soviet Union, Indonesia in 1965 and the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia, large-scale violence against civilians took place. However, in the Soviet Union, the intention was to destroy groups based on economic class. In Indonesia, the intention was to destroy groups based on political party. And in Cambodia, the intention was to destroy groups based on a urban vs. rural divide, and also based on education level (Straus, 2016). Despite the extensiveness and the group-destructive nature of the violence, these three cases do not meet the criteria of genocide according to the U.N. Genocide Convention for the groups that were target were not national, ethnical, racial or religious.

According to Rummel (1994), the term democide accounts for this limitation, for it includes forms of government murder not covered by the term genocide. Rummel's exact definition of democide—"the murder of any person or people by a government, including genocide, politicide, or mass murder"— is a bit too broad in scope, as even a single murder could be classified as democide. For this reason I adopt Saucier and Aker's (2018) refined definition of democide for the purpose of this study, in which, building upon Rummel's definition, they define

democide as the, "systematic killing of large numbers of noncombatant (civilian) individuals' ' (p. 81). This standard allows for some flexibility, especially as it pertains to the group-selective criterion (i.e., it is not limited to the four groups that genocide lists). This definition also mirrors the criteria set out by Straus (2016), which suggests that to be classified as a mass atrocity, the killing must be systematic, large scale, and towards civilians. Of course, the key feature of democide is the emphasis that is placed on the violence being state-led. Governments, naturally, have the resources, structure, legitimacy and power to accomplish widespread and systematic killing. The total control by the state gives the government, as Max Weber says, the "monopoly of legitimate use of physical force," which presents them with the "right" to use that physical force (2013, p. 78). In addition, the state also allows for pervasive governmental control and mobilization of humans, both of which are useful when attempting to target large numbers of people within a country. And although, democide is a major problem—indeed, by Rummel's (n.d.) estimates, 262,000,000 people have died from democide in the 20th century alone— no individual-level assessment tools have been developed to measure and monitor democidal thinking.

The Democidal Mindset. Saucier and Akers (2018) examined the thinking patterns adopted by high-level perpetrators of democide. They analyzed a corpus of texts/statements from 20 prominent cases of democide across cultures and time periods, and found 20 typical themes (e.g., dehumanization, polarized thinking, in-group idealization). Building on this work, Landau et al. (2020) utilized their database of extracted statements to develop the Democidal Mindset Questionnaire (DMQ). The DMQ presents a set of statements based on those made historically by democide-perpetrators and allows an individual to respond to how much they agree or disagree with each item. The DMQ statements are largely statements of belief or of what rules/norms of behavior should be, statements that are usually include connotations about the valuing of an in-group, or (more often) devaluing of an out-group. A 10-factor model of the DMQ items showed promise predicting outcomes relevant to democide (e.g., concerns about terrorism, crime,

corruption, moral decline, economic inequality, and intergroup conflict; Landau et al., 2020). These 10 factors are: xenophobia, *traitor talk*, *sabotage*, *wealthy elites*, *proviolence*, *support of torture*, *polarized thinking*, *in-group idealization*, *purity of thought* and *racialist views* (see Appendix A). Due to the fact that many of these factors or thinking patterns are quite common and can be seen in everyday language, it is possible, that it is the combination that makes them dangerous. Kiernan (2003), for example, refers to such a combination (in his case, of ideologies) as an "explosive mixture," likening it to a chemical reaction created by mixing certain compounds. This is an effective analogy, for the compounds or thinking patterns in other forms of conflict (e.g., civil war) or situations (e.g., of racism) might differ from those found in cases of democide, and in turn, may be the reason the mixture is so explosive.

Overall, these themes tend to represent various manifestations of *exclusionary thinking concerning an out-group*. While the questionnaire is specifically designed to measure the type of thinking that is typically associated with democides (i.e., democidal thinking), more broadly speaking, it measures exclusionary thinking. This assessment tool should prove to be useful for detecting exclusionary thinking (even at a milder level) in contexts outside of mass violence.

The DMQ highlights the significance that the thinking patterns of high-level perpetrators play (since each item is based on a direct statement made by a high-level figure), while also giving one the ability to investigate how this thinking is displayed amongst the public. And while *high-level* perpetrators-in-the-making (and of course actual perpetrators) are more likely to display these thinking patterns, it is likely that these same patterns could be distributed among the population (albeit at mostly lower levels than in democide-perpetrators). Just as one would need to examine clinically diagnosed psychopaths in order to create a tool to measure levels of psychopathy in the population, the DMQ was created based on an examination of perpetrators' thinking, with the goal of measuring levels of democidal thinking in the population.

The full set of DMQ items (i.e., 10 themes) are used in the present study, along with an add-on theme (identified by Landau et al., 2020, post hoc) that covers content related to in-group

blamelessness (see Appendix A). These items are utilized in the present study in two different

ways. Using a similar response scale to the what was used by Landau (2020) to derive the 10-

factor DMQ model, the first questionnaire measures an individual's personal endorsement (i.e.,

agreement or disagreement) of these items or statements; this measure is labeled the DMQ-E. The

second questionnaire uses a newly designed response scale to measure the perceived acceptability

of these statements in a country; this measure is labeled the DMQ-A. Measuring the perceived

acceptability should reveal the population's general level of approval or disapproval of these

beliefs. Emphasis is placed on what is *perceived,* for this scale does not ask participants to

respond with their own personal level of agreement or approval, but rather asks participants to

indicate how acceptable each statement is in their country (similar to Noelle-Neumann, 1974).

People in a country are expected to converge on their ratings (reasons for this are discussed in a

later section), and in turn, produce a general population score. Both versions of these measures

should give one a better understanding of the normalization of various aspects of the democidal

mindset in specific countries.

The Public & Perceived Acceptability

As mentioned, this study addresses the levels of exclusionary thinking at both the individual level

(personal endorsement), and the societal level (perceived acceptability). There are important

differences between these two levels, but, ultimately, both are utilized by people to understand

and interpret the world, as well as to regulate emotions and behavior (Eidelson & Eidelson,

2003). Unfortunately, dangerous thinking at either the individual level or the societal/cultural

level can be equally destructive. After all, individuals are influenced not only by their own

sincere beliefs, but also by their perception of the beliefs within their social environment (Leader

Maynard, 2019). For example, although an individual might hold the belief that throwing a half-

eaten piece of fruit onto the ground is acceptable—as it will likely decompose quickly and

provide nutrients to the soil—they may also recognize that littering is perceived negatively in

their society and decide not to discard their food in this manner. A less innocuous example: An individual could believe that helping out a person in need, regardless of what group they belong to, is the right thing to do, but they may also recognize that people from a certain group are viewed as traitors in their community or society, and therefore decide not to help them.

In order to study the thinking patterns or belief systems present in the broader societal or cultural environment, a new response scale was designed. In this section I discuss the relevant components and theories behind the development of the acceptability response scale. The inclusion of a response scale was inspired by the Overton-window model, and further reinforced by an understanding of cultural theories, and other relevant theories from psychology and political science. The first part of this section introduces the Overton-window model, summarizing how public opinion can shape politics and can constrain political actors. In the second part, I discuss how culture and cultural components (e.g., beliefs, values, norms) provide us with additional support and show how they may influence thinking and behavior. And finally, I examine how the "spiral of silence" and pluralistic ignorance may contribute to this dynamic.

The Overton Window

While considering ways in which one might investigate the distribution of aspects of the Democidal Mindset among a population, the Overton-window model was deemed relevant. The Overton window illustrates how public opinion/attitudes may inform and shape the general political sphere of a society. The model goes beyond the ideological approach (i.e., how much does an individual or group endorse or internalize certain exclusionary beliefs). Arguably it goes from an ideological approach to a cultural one. It further suggests how a society's level of acceptability (or disapproval) of an idea may directly shape the decisions political leaders can make, and in turn influence the policies that are adopted in that society.

The Overton window is a model derived informally in public-policy circles, which explains how ideas change in society and how they impact politics (The Mackinac Center for

Public Policy, n.d). The model suggests that politicians are constrained by the ideas that they are able to support by having to typically support policies
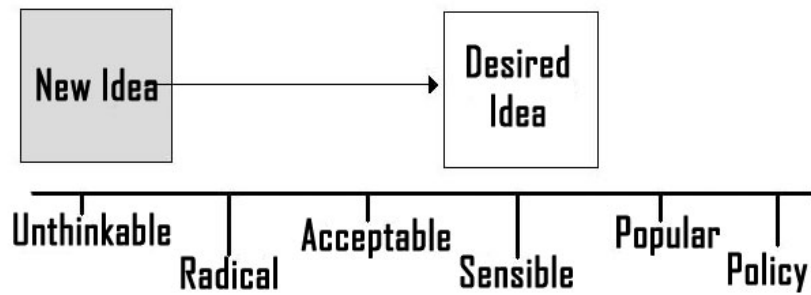
Figure 1. *The Overton Window*

that are widely accepted by the current society. These policy ideas progress through being viewed as acceptable, then sensible, then popular, before eventually become policy. The range of acceptable ideas that are available to politicians "are shaped by ideas, social movements and shared norms and values within society" (The Mackinac Center for Public Policy, n.d.). Policy ideas outside of the Overton window are considered to be radical or unthinkable. More practically speaking, the Overton window provides a sequential roadmap for public attitude and policy change, by pointing out how one could incrementally shift public opinion. See Figure 1 for an illustration of the Overton Window and the varying degrees/levels of acceptance.

The Overton window is not fixed, meaning it can shift up or down (or left to right as Figure 1 depicts), and it can also expand, allowing for more fringe ideas to fall within the acceptable range. Prohibition in the United States, a nationwide ban on the production and sale of alcohol from 1920 to 1933, provides us with a good example of the Overton window. In the beginning of the 20th century, the idea of prohibition began to gain traction and grew into a movement that spread across the country. Ultimately, the prohibition movement became so popular, it led politicians to amend the United States Constitution in 1920, which enforced the ban on alcohol. What makes Prohibition such a good example of the Overton window, is not only can we see how an idea can eventually come to be accepted, increase in popularity and finally lead to policy, but we can also see how that same idea can decline in public acceptability, eventually leading to its repeal in 1933, and ultimately to this day, considered to be a fringe or

unthinkable idea. While the Prohibition Era serves as a good example to showcase how public

opinion, and in turn, political actions can change, there are more recent examples to consider. In

the past ten years, we have seen such shifts in the Overton window regarding issues around

transgender rights, taking action to prevent climate change, gay marriage, the MeToo movement

and the Black Lives Matter movement. The rise of certain political leaders and the ideas they

promote is also evidence of how public opinion has shifted. United States Senator Bernie Sanders

is proof of this. For a large faction on the left, Socialism is not a dirty word anymore—

progressive policy ideas such as Medicare for all, free public college education, and increased

taxation of the rich are all discussed in mainstream circles now (Astor, 2019, February 26). To

quote Sanders directly, he states, "We have come a very, very long way in the American people

now demanding legislation and concepts that just a few years ago were thought to be very

radical" (Astor, 2019, February 26). These shifts have not been restricted to the left, however.

Donald Trump's presidential campaign, his subsequent election and his time in office, provide

even clearer evidence that ideas that were maybe once considered to be radical (or even morally

wrong) are now accepted by many, and tolerated by even more. Trump's racist, sexist, anti-

immigrant rhetoric, and in some cases, policies, may reflect a surge of exclusionary thinking in

the population. In similar language to that of the Overton window, Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018)

also suggest that Trump's assault on basic democratic norms has, "expanded the bounds of

acceptable political behavior" (p. 202). They go on to say that even if Trump hasn't broken the

"guardrails of democracy," he certainly has increased the likelihood that a future president will.

Some claim that Trump himself has shattered or smashed the Overton window entirely, allowing

for any fringe idea to be put on the table and considered (e.g., registration of Muslims, bans on

Muslims entering the country, mass deportation, walling off the United States' southern border at

Mexico's expense) (French, 2015; Robertson, 2018). While this may be true, it is important to

note that it is unlikely that Trump made people suddenly more racist or xenophobic than they

already were. However, what he may have done, which is equally as important, is to legitimize

extreme views that had been lying dormant in sizeable sectors of the population. Shifts such as these illustrate how ideas or beliefs in the population can change—for better or for worse. As we have seen recently, these shifts can give rise to far-right or alt-right movements, which in turn could set up a favorable attitudinal background for a more oppressive government.

For research on democide, the Overton-window approach is particularly worthy of consideration. Democides are orchestrated by governments, meaning that the perpetrators of democide are typically high-level government officials (e.g., politicians, military leaders). In this study, the Overton window is used as a framework in support of the premise that the normalization of democidal beliefs in a society could be a powerful indicator of the policies that society's leaders may feel newly unconstrained to adopt and of the likelihood that the population might tolerate democidal actions. The response scale used for the DMQ-A was designed with the Overton window in mind, and indexes varying degrees of acceptance (see Appendix B).

On the other hand, more optimistically, the Overton window may also have implications for the *prevention* of mass violence. As illustrated, it is possible for the window to shift, so the challenge for activists and practitioners is to move the window in their desired direction. For example, if it appears that a population views certain discriminatory policies of an out-group as "sensible," then international or local nonprofits may begin to target their efforts into making those policies appear less sensible, and merely only acceptable, and from there, they might work on making them appear radical. This is also a process of delegitimizing dangerous beliefs, which has been shown to be successful (Collier & Vicente, 2013). This process is not easily accomplished and would most likely need to be a gradual and long-term effort that locally based experts and organizations would spearhead.

The Relevance of Culture

So, what does it mean to measure perceptions of acceptability in this way? What do we have in mind when we ask people to rate how certain ideas are viewed in their society? As it

happens, we are actually tapping into culture here. Culture can be defined as the ideas, beliefs, values and norms that are widely shared by a group (Hill, 2009). While beliefs, values and norms are represented in individual mindsets, when they are aggregated (or shared) they make up what is cultural (Romney et al., 1986; Saucier, 2013). Accordingly, culture can be said to be distributed across mindsets in a population. Certain disciplines have incorporated this view of culture into their methods. In anthropology for example, it is common practice for researchers doing fieldwork to treat their informants' response as probabilistic in nature. In other words, the more people agree on an answer (when surveyed independently), the more likely that answer is to be the "correct cultural response" (Romney et al., 1986, p. 314). This consensus-type approach allows one to gather cultural information from the minds of its members. In line with Romney et al.'s (1986) consensus model, the present study's newly developed perceived-acceptability response scale, DMQ-A, attempts to uncover the consensus level of democidal thinking in a society. By surveying a participant's knowledge of how accepted certain democidal statements are in their society, and then seeing where participants converge, one should be able to procure an estimate of the degree to which these aspects are normalized in that society. In this way, measuring the degree of acceptance of aspects of the Democidal Mindset (comprising beliefs, values and norms), corresponds to measuring a 'pro-democidal culture' among that society. As culture is distributed across mindsets in the population to a lesser or greater degree (see Schwartz, 1978), so too would be a 'pro-democidal culture' (or anti-democidal culture on the other hand).

Culture can explain the mechanisms that make it possible for certain ideas or belief systems to be normalized (or denormalized) across societies. Beliefs, values and norms are three key components that influence people's thinking and guide behavior. The beliefs that a collective hold differentiates them from other groups and can define their very essence as a group (Bar Tal, 2000). Shared beliefs emerge from shared experiences and socialization, and in turn, are used as templates through which a group or its members interpret future shared experiences and events (Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003). In addition, individuals actively compare their beliefs with their

fellow group members to establish their own social reality (Festinger, 1954, as cited in Bar Tal, 2000, p. 122). Shared beliefs can, inter alia, influence the social reality of the group, the bond group members feel towards one another, the conformity expected from group members and the actions that the group and its leader take. According to Schwartz and Bardi (2001), values are "desirable, transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives" (p. 269). Values are important for they motivate and control behavior and ultimately can define what is and what is not socially appropriate behavior (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). In addition, social actors (e.g., leaders) can invoke values to justify their own demands of others and also to arouse desired behaviors. Social norms are expectations and preferences that guide people's behavior, laying out obligations and expectations for people to follow. Not only do we expect others to conform to these norms, we also understand that we are expected to conform (Bicchieri, 2006). Another important aspect of social norms (especially in the context of the current study) is that they rely on perceptions: perceptions of how most others would behave, and also how most others would sanction one's conduct (Reno, Cialdini & Kallgren, 1993). All of these cultural components play a significant role in shaping our social world.

In order for shared beliefs, values and social norms to be socially significant and influential, mutual awareness and conformity are key. Firstly, group members must be aware that beliefs and norms are shared by other members (Bar Tal, 2000; Bicchieri, 2006). Such awareness can strengthen beliefs; making members feel more confident in their beliefs as well as increasing the sense of similarity or solidarity they feel with their fellow group members. This is also the case for social norms. For a social norm to exist, a substantial number of people must believe in it and expect others to follow it (Bicchieri, 2006). Secondly, conformity is another requisite for the efficacy of shared beliefs. Groups exert pressure on their members—especially members who deviate from the norm—to confirm and adopt shared beliefs. It is interesting to note, especially given the focus of this study, that conformity can be particularly high during periods of intense threat or tension—group members have more "punitive and unforgiving reactions toward in-

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group members who hold dissenting views at such times" (Eidelson & Eidelson, 2003, pp. 189).

Both awareness and conformity can give a group a sense of power, and ultimately may guide the

actions they decide to take as a group. A group's leaders will also take these shared beliefs into

consideration and will use them to justify their actions or decisions, which I will discuss in more

depth in a later section.

The influence of shared systems of beliefs, values and norms is not dependent on an

individual's actual commitment to or endorsement of those beliefs (although it certainly helps).

As Leader Maynard (2019) suggests when discussing ideology (i.e., belief systems that are often

political), even in the absence of sincere convictions to beliefs, widespread *expectations* regarding

belief systems can continue to shape public behavior—large numbers of "true believers" are not

required. If people expect that others will follow an ideology, then they are incentivized to do the

same, and this in turn can sustain the ideology (I touch upon this again when discussing

pluralistic ignorance).

Consequently, measuring a country's acceptability of democidal beliefs should give us a

better idea of the shared beliefs, values and social norms of the group (i.e., relevant cultural

aspects of the moment), the pressure members might feel to conform, as well as give us insights

into the potential actions that group, or its leader may decide to take.

Another relevant aspect to consider is how culture changes over time. Culture changes

progressively as more mindsets change, giving way for ideas or beliefs to become normalized or

abnormalized. Democidal thinking is likely to operate in a similar manner; societies may

experience periods in which more people view such ideas as acceptable (or at least tolerate them),

and periods in which such ideas are considered abhorrent. Once again, this mirrors the Overton-

window model, showing how the acceptability of certain ideas might shift over time.

As Sperber's (1996) epidemiological model of culture illustrates, some sets of beliefs

("sets of representations" in Sperber's words), are relatively endemic, and are transmitted

gradually through many generations and are generally long-lived, while others can operate much

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like an epidemic, and spread rapidly through a population with a short life-span. While a 'pro-democidal culture' could be both, it might function more like an epidemic, especially at its height. Certain sets of beliefs may build up over time (e.g., racist attitudes towards a group), but under the right circumstances, these pre-existing beliefs, potentially coupled with newer beliefs (e.g., views that a certain group is controlling the government, or stealing women, or need to be dealt with forcibly) become 'contagious' or catchy and can reproduce rapidly amongst the population. In addition, humans might also have certain dispositions, that while technically are adaptive, might also make us susceptible to maladaptive or harmful ideas or beliefs. Sperber notes that susceptibilities such as these may "reveal themselves only as a result of a change in environmental conditions" (Sperber, 1996, p.67). That is to say, aspects of the democidal mindset might be akin to susceptibilities; for example, humans may have a disposition for out-group vs. in-group categorization, which can be adaptive for many reasons, but this disposition might in turn make us susceptible to more extreme levels of this thinking (e.g., xenophobic attitudes, dehumanizing the out-group, and so on).

The Spiral of Silence & Pluralistic Ignorance

As this study asks participants to estimate their *perceptions* of the public's views, it is necessary to address theories of social perception, and more specifically, pluralistic ignorance and the spiral of silence. Both of these theories demonstrate why measuring people's perceptions of acceptability (rather than just their individual opinions) might be particularly valuable.

Noelle-Neumann's (1974) "spiral of silence" is an important theory to consider first. The spiral of silence suggests that people's perceptions of the distribution of public opinions influences their willingness to express their own opinions. When individuals express (or don't express) opinions, the environment of opinions is in turn altered—causing those who believe they are in the majority to be more willing to speak out, and those who believe they are in the minority to remain silent, thus creating a spiral of silence. So, while our private opinions are more or less

constant (at least they are in the short run, as we don't change opinions very quickly), our willingness to express our opinions changes depending on our perceptions (Taylor, 1982). In essence, public opinion is changed by this "perceptual process" (Taylor, 1982, pp. 312).[1]

While the theory of the spiral of silence illustrates that public opinion and public expression are influenced by perceptions of others' opinions, pluralistic ignorance shows us that oftentimes these perceptions are incorrect. Pluralistic ignorance is what occurs when the majority of individuals in a group misperceive other's opinions, mistakenly assuming that others do not share their own views (Prentice & Miller, 1993). Studies have illustrated this phenomenon taking place in a vast array of contexts: alcohol consumption on university campuses, gay-bashing, racial segregation in the American South, honor killings of women in Islamic society, and willingness to discuss climate change (Geiger & Swim, 2016; Pinker, 2011). People may endorse a belief even if they personally disagree—falsely thinking that everyone else favors it. In addition, due to pluralistic ignorance, people have been shown to actually change their attitudes, shifting towards the misperceived norm (Prentice & Miller, 1993). Out of pressure, and perhaps a desire to conform, and the fear of being judged or punished, pluralistic ignorance can also affect behavior. People have a tendency to rely on the behavior of others to identify norms, and in situations where misinformation is widespread, people may feel pressured to comply with the misperceived norm: "Their own behavior may be driven by social pressure [rather than by their feelings], but they assume that other people's identical behavior is an accurate reflection of their true feelings [and not due to social pressure]" (Prentice & Miller, 1993, p. 244).

It is one thing for an individual or a group to conform out of social pressure, but it is another thing for them to actively enforce (e.g., advocate, promote, or pressure others to comply with) a belief or the coinciding norms. Conforming out of social pressure is not the same as actively enforcing beliefs and their coinciding norms. Why would people publicly enforce a norm

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[1] Much like the current study, Noelle-Neumann (1974) asked participants to rate their perceptions of the majority opinion in their country on certain issues.

that they privately deplore? In essence, people can become trapped in pluralistic ignorance—incorrectly assuming that the majority would enforce the norm, when few actually would (Centola, Willer & Macy, 2005). Using computational simulations, Centola, Willer and Macy (2005) demonstrated how a false consensus can spread through an entire society and cause false compliance and false enforcement of a seemingly unpopular norm. The key factors here appear to be social connectedness and the distribution of true believers (those who hold the belief privately and sincerely support the norm) in the society. When true believers were clustered together in a smaller area, they were able to enforce the norm amongst their fellow neighbors (Centola, Willer & Macy, 2005). Moreover, a particularly visible or 'loud' cluster of true believers may have even more of an effect (even if their beliefs are deviant compared to the rest of the population) on compliance. This seems to support the spiral of silence theory as well; in areas where people are the majority (or even just perceive themselves to be), they are able to enforce their beliefs and norms more easily, owing to the fact that the minority remains silent as they too are aware of the distribution of opinions.

For the present study, the spiral of silence and pluralistic ignorance might occur—participants might respond that the citizens in their country think more extremely than they actually do. In addition, these misconceptions might in turn lead some people to believe they are the majority and others that they are the minority, encouraging some to express their opinions, and others to stay silent. What could this mean for the results? Even if the population does report a "false" level of consensual endorsement of democidal beliefs, this still informs us of their perceived reality, which is ultimately of interest here. The aim of the research is to determine the perceived normalization of democidal beliefs amongst the population. If the perception is that democidal beliefs are highly accepted in their country (even if this is not the case), then the pressure to conform, adhere to, and enforce those beliefs should also be high, and in turn may increase the country's risk for discrimination or violence.

"Dark Side of Democracy" & Country Context

There is a strong case for studying democidal thinking in democracies as well as in dictatorships. When one thinks of campaigns of mass killing, we usually associate them with dictatorships and other forms of authoritarian regimes. While this has often been the case, some of the most violent and memorable cases occurred in nations that at the time were to some degree, democratic. For example, Hitler gained popularity and influence when Germany was governed by the Weimar republic—a representative democracy that held genuine elections. Although Hitler himself was not elected into office (he was appointed by other elected officials), he did come to power legally. Within weeks of becoming chancellor, Hitler began to dismantle any form of democracy, first by introducing the Enabling Act, which allowed him and his party to pass laws without the approval of Germany's Parliament (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d.). Like other forms of government, democratic governments also have their weaknesses. Unfortunately, we often misattribute absolute equality and stability to democracy. This is a comforting illusion, but it has potential consequences. A failure to acknowledge the fragility of democracies may leave us ill-prepared and blindsided to the strategic dismantling or manipulation of democratic laws and policies. It seems more important than ever to assess our own democratic institutions for democidal undertones.

There are three primary reasons why it is worthwhile to study democracies in this context. The first is that in a democracy, the public plays a bigger role in politics and political behavior than it does in a nondemocratic society. In a non-democracy, rulers can more forcefully and with less constraint, reign over a population, so public opinion or the Overton window, while still relevant, have a more subdued impact. The second is that democracies are not as harmless as we believe them to be—they often carry with them the potential for the majority to oppress the minority, or vice versa, for an elected minority to dominate the majority. And third, is that democracies are also not as indestructible as we assume them to be. Throughout history there are

numerous examples of democracies that have been subverted or destroyed—most often at the hands of an *elected* popular "outsider," i.e., a person typically outside of the traditional political establishment.

As the present study focuses on the beliefs that a population holds, examining democratic countries was key. In democracies, "the people" have more say than they do in an authoritarian regime. More so than in a government controlled by a small group of powerful people, in a democracy, power is determined heavily by the *perception* of numbers (i.e., people; Converse, 1964). In other words, if a large number of people are perceived to be in support of (or opposed to) an idea, policy, movement, person or so on, then that means something—more directly than it does in an authoritarian-like system. According to Bueno de Mesquita and Smith (2011) systems of governments can be broken down into three important dimensions or groups: the nominal selectorate or "interchangeables," which includes every person who has some sort of say in who gets chosen as a leader (e.g., in the U.S., this would be every person who is able to vote); the real selectorate or "influentials," the group that actually chooses the leader and whose support is truly influential; and finally, the winning coalition or "essentials," whose support is essential to the leader staying in power. They believe that variations in the sizes of these groups can explain a great deal of what goes on in politics, and that the sizes of these groups shape how limited or liberated a leader is. Within an autocracy or a dictatorship, the government is made up of a small group of essentials, that are typically drawn from a very large group of interchangeables and a relatively small group of influentials. On the other hand, in a democracy, the government is formed from both a very large group of essentials and a very large group of interchangeables, with a group of influentials just as big. Thus, as their ability to stay in power depends on it, elected officials in a democracy have to garner the support of far more people than they would in a dictatorship. This is not to say that the people have a tremendous amount of power in a democracy (for it is as usual, the elites who have disproportionate control), but more to say that the leaders tend to be more responsive to larger numbers of the public. It stands to reason then,

that the belief systems of a population should also play a greater role in shaping the political landscape in democratic societies.

While these conditions would appear to protect a democratic society from the issues that authoritarian regimes face, democracies too have a dark side. One may argue that this "dark side" is even more sinister than a straight-forward dictatorship. Democracy evokes feelings of safety, comfort, security, leaving us blind to the exclusionary behavior that may be present in a given population. This blindness can leave thinking patterns and behavior unchecked until it is too late. According to sociologist Michael Mann (2005), murderous cleansing is the "dark side of democracy," for democracy always carries with it the potential that the majority might tyrannize the minority. Democracy is by definition, "the rule of the ordinary people" (i.e., the masses). But as Mann points out, when the people or the nation are defined in ethnic terms (or other terms for that matter), as they often are, then there is a problem—what happens to those of different ethnicities? It is true that many democracies have checks and balances in place, and so it is very unlikely that a program of mass killing will unfold in a longstanding, stable democracy (Easterly, Gatti & Kurlat, 2006; Mann, 2005). But, while stable democracies are typically safe or tend to be at lower risk, unstable or new democracies are not. In fact, regimes newly embarked upon democratization are even more likely to commit murderous cleansing than are stable *authoritarian* regimes (Mann p. 4).

And finally, democracies can be hijacked by a leader or party with authoritarian tendencies. According to Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) blatant dictatorships don't occur anymore, and military coups are rare. Yet democracies still die. Democratically elected officials can subvert democracies—in ways that are often legal—from within, using the very checks and balances designed to uphold democratic institutions to destroy them. Svolik (2014, 2019) too suggests that while democracies (esp. long-established ones) are often protected against military coups, "incumbent takeovers" (i.e., when an *elected* incumbent begins to undermine the tenants of democracy) are the most common form of democratic breakdown. Elected autocrats kill

democracy by "packing and 'weaponizing' the courts and other neutral agencies, buying off the media and the private sector (or bullying them into silence), and rewriting the rules of politics to tilt the playing field against opponents" (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018, p.8). It is this form of democratic perversion or decay that we should be on the lookout for. Indeed, it would appear that democracies do not make a government or its people immune to falling into the same toxic thinking that we have seen repeated over and over in cases of mass killing.

As Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) state, the breakdown of democracy "often begins with words"—leaders attack their critics or other groups using charged and oftentimes derogatory terms (i.e., traitors, enemies, terrorists), and when the public starts to share the same views, then it becomes much easier for the leader or the government to justify taking action against them. This critical interplay between the rhetoric of leaders and the people is at the heart of what makes the present study relevant.

United States

The United States is a particularly interesting country to investigate due to its current political climate and (as of the end of December 2020) president. Since the 1980's the United States has increasingly become more divided along political partisan lines. This has resulted in a deeply polarized society. According to Carothers and O'Donohue (2019, September 25), partisan sentiment emerged from the bottom up and not the top down. A series of cultural movements in the late 20th century (e.g., civil rights movement, women's' rights movement, anti-Vietnam War movement and the sexual revolution) drastically altered the social culture of the U.S.—changing or replacing beliefs, values and norms. Polarization, Carothers and O'Donohue assert, was driven by the social activists, evangelists, and public intellectuals of this time, and only later was reflected amongst the political parties. This exemplifies how social movements can influence culture, and in turn influence politics. It also supports the theory behind the Overton window— the opinions or beliefs that the public holds can shape the political realm. However, as Carothers

and O'Donohue go on to say, political elites have the ability to easily reverse or moderate polarization in their country if they truly wish to. Or as they say about the current president of the U.S., leaders can take up polarization as a weapon and wield it "as a core political strategy" (Carothers & O'Donohue, 2019, September 25). Southern Poverty Law Center holds that the upswing in radical right-wing and white nationalist rallies can be credited to Trump's rise to power, and more specifically, his divisive rhetoric (Miller & Graves, 2020, August 10). He instilled a sense of legitimacy among these extremist groups and justified their exclusionary beliefs. In addition, a particular frightening feature of Trump's approach is that he often tolerates or encourages violence. This is usually a precursor of democratic breakdown (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018). Particularly during his campaign, he openly encouraged his supporters to instigate violence and physically remove dissenters. As is known from the literature on mass killing, incitements of violence and calls to arms are central to mobilizing people (mostly military or paramilitary groups).

South Africa

Democratic voting was first introduced to South Africa in 1994, ultimately putting an end to the legalized racism that was Apartheid. The first democratic elections were met with overwhelming joy in the 1990s, however, almost thirty years later, how has democracy held up? Among other struggles, what South Africa appears to be wrestling with currently are rising levels of xenophobia. A Pew Research poll conducted in 2018 stated that 62% of South Africans viewed immigrants as taking their jobs and social benefits and 61% of South Africans thought that immigrants were more responsible for crime than locals (Tamir & Budiman, 2019, May 3). The rising levels of xenophobia may be due in part to the increasing numbers of immigrants. From 2005 to 2019 the number of immigrants jumped from 3% to 7%. South Africa is often a preferred destination for migrants coming from other African countries, as it is one of the few countries in Africa with a middle-level economy and therefore, more job opportunities. Similar to emigrants

from Mexico, and Latin America trying desperately to get into the United States, despite detentions and deportation, immigrants coming to South Africa are also seeking better opportunities and/or fleeing from unsafe living conditions. Sadly, these immigrants are not always welcome in South Africa. Over the past two decades, there have been countless incidents of xenophobic harassment and attacks, many of them resulting in deaths. For example, in May 2008, in Johannesburg, xenophobic violence broke out against foreigners and migrants, especially migrants coming from Zimbabwe (Human Rights Watch, 2008, May 22). This violence soon spread to other provinces, and in total, 62 people died, and many businesses and homes were destroyed by rioters. Xenophobic attacks peaked again in April 2015 and in September 2019 (BBC, 2019). As is often the case in other countries, immigrants and foreigners—mostly migrants from other African countries—are being blamed for South Africa's social and economic woes. According to a recent Human Rights Watch report (Ueda, 2020, September 17), the violent mobs, which typically have been made up of Black South Africans, are individuals who are "angry at the economic and living conditions they are experiencing – poverty and inequality, chronically high unemployment, high crime rates, and poor public services". While South Africa has implemented its National Action Plan to combat xenophobia, it has unfortunately failed to hold anyone accountable for the past xenophobic crimes (Mavhinga, 2019, March 25).

India

Like most countries, discrimination and violence are not new concepts in India. India's caste system is one of the most enduring hierarchical structures in the world and has contributed to the inequality faced by many of its citizens. Mob violence against Muslims and other minority groups is a long-standing problem in India. Over the past decade or so, India has seen a great deal of vigilante violence against those who consume beef or facilitate beef consumption. And since coming to power in 2014, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, has spurred this violence through their inflammatory rhetoric. As a result,

"Between May 2015 and December 2018, at least 44 people—36 of them Muslims—were killed across 12 Indian states. Over that same period, around 280 people were injured in over 100 different incidents across 20 states" (Bajoria, 2019, February 18). The attacks appear to have been led by "so-called cow protection groups" which seem to be connected with militant Hindu groups and the BJP. The victims, on the other hand, are predominantly Muslims, Dalits (formerly known as "untouchables") and Adivasis (indigenous communities).

Since Narendra Modi's election in 2014, he has implemented a handful of controversial and exclusionary policies. The most infamous of these policies is the Citizenship Amendment Bill that was passed in December 2019. Essentially, the law makes it possible for previously prohibited illegal immigrants to become citizens (Chaudhry, 2019, December 13). The big caveat to this law is that it only allows Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsees, and Christians, who migrated to India from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan to become citizens. Clearly excluded from this list of protected groups are Muslims. Soon after the bill was passed, the country broke out into (mostly peaceful) protests, objecting that this new law was unconstitutional as it treats Muslims differently from other religious groups. In February 2020, after a government official (also from Modi's party) publicly declared that he would have police remove "anti-government" protesters, ordinary citizens (largely Hindu nationalists) took matters into their own hands. On February 23, violent riots erupted in northeastern New Delhi. The target was not seemingly these protestors, but instead, were primarily Muslims and Muslim homes, businesses, and places of worship. In total, 53 people died. This violence also happened to coincide with President Donald Trump's inaugural visit to India. And with the addition of the COVID-19 pandemic, some fear that this "erosion of democratic values may go unnoticed" (Ganguly, 2020, September 18). This might well happen, for as Levitsky and Ziblatt point out, "Citizens become more likely to tolerate, and even endorse authoritarian measures when they fear for their security" (p. 192).

Purpose of this Study

The current study sets forth to examine the degree to which various aspects of the Democidal Mindset are normalized in three different countries. For comparison, I examine both the actual levels of individual endorsement of democidal statements, as well as the perceived acceptability of democidal statements. A leader's beliefs and actions will have far greater impact in these contexts than the ordinary member of a population. For this reason, detecting the normative framework (i.e., what is considered to be acceptable or unacceptable) within which leaders are operating in, might prove to be more informative than merely studying individual belief-endorsements. Thus, a primary objective of this study is to see if this newly developed acceptability scale is a better and more consistent way (as compared to the more conventional individual endorsement scale) of measuring exclusionary content at the population level.

To investigate whether the DMQ-A is a better guide for measuring exclusionary thinking amongst a population than the DMQ-E, the consistency and ability to predict intended behaviors and prejudicial attitudes are examined and compared. Additionally, a handful of supplemental measurements and items are included. Comparisons are made to evaluate if the DMQ items contribute anything to the prediction of these items that these other measurements don't already explain.

Comparators to the DMQ

Ho et al.'s (2015) Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) scale, and Bizumic and Duckitt's (2018) Very Short Authoritarianism (VSA) scale are included. These two measures are included as comparisons, as these are two dominant constructs in contemporary political psychology that are also important comparators to the Democidal Mindset, since they are found to predict prejudice-related variables. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) is the degree to which one supports group-based inequality (or hierarchies). Individual levels of SDO have been found to predict a range of intergroup attitudes and behaviors, including but not limited to, racism, sexism,

generalized prejudice against certain groups, support for torture, opposition towards humanitarian practices and affirmative action (Ho et al, 2015). The VSA scale is an adapted version of Altemeyer's (1981) Right Wing Authoritarianism scale. Right-wing authoritarianism is the degree to which "people defer to established authorities, show aggression toward out-groups when authorities sanction that aggression, and support traditional values endorsed by authorities" (Saunders & Ngo, 2017, p. 1). Research has shown that individuals high in authoritarianism also express greater prejudice, ethnocentrism, nationalism, and are more supportive of tougher punitive authoritarian control (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2018). Both the SDO and VSA are expected to positively correlate with the democidal thinking, for the Democidal Mindset covers content related to hierarchical thinking and prejudice to an out-group.

Racial & Religious Prejudice Attitudes

DeSante and Smith's (2018) Fear, Institutionalized Racism, and Empathy (FIRE) scale is included. This scale is included as a useful tool to measure complex prejudicial attitudes (e.g., white guilt, acknowledgement of white privilege), while simultaneously capturing an affective component (i.e., fear, and empathy). While the FIRE scale was developed to measure racial attitudes in the United States (and it thus is used in its original format for the U.S. samples in this study), I have adapted it to be used in South Africa (the only tweak is that "U.S" is replaced with "South Africa") and in India. In India, rather than measuring racial attitudes the scale is adapted to measure attitudes concerning religious prejudice. This was done after consulting with colleagues from India as well as from my own research and understanding of the context in India. See Appendix C for the three versions of the FIRE scale.

Behavioral Intention Items

The current study does not (and cannot) claim that the holding of democidal or exclusionary beliefs by citizens means that democidal behavior is likely to occur. More advanced

studies would be needed before we are able to suggest that democidal thinking is related to actual democidal behavior. However, the current study does examine whether high levels of agreement or high levels of perceived acceptability are related to relevant *intended* behaviors.

Three item sets are included to measure intended prejudicial behavior to specific groups. The general formatting of these items is loosely based on Bogardus' (1933) widely used Social Distance Scale. Using the format of the Social Distance Scale, an individual indicates their willingness to participate in a social relationship or contract (which vary by degrees) with a person from a particular group. In the present study, participants indicate how willing they would be to accept a person from each of groups listed as their neighbor, a member of their family, or as the military leader or president of their country. For each of the three sampled countries, a set of groups were determined based on the relevant country context and historical background, making them country-specific. Alongside the country-specific groups, the same four additional groups were included across all three countries: homosexuals, transgender people, immigrants/migrants and foreigners. See Appendix D for the questions and list of groups. Due to the focus of the present study, these items are not analyzed in the same manner as Bogardus' (1933) Social Distance Scale typically is (see Analysis section for more details).

In addition to these, a set of eleven items are also included to measure intended behaviors that are theoretically relevant to democidal thinking. Seven of these items were loosely based on Stanton's (2020) "10 Stages of Genocide". For each stage, Stanton references behaviors that one might expect to see at each stage. For example, under his 6th stage, *polarization*, hate groups or extremists may broadcast polarizing propaganda, or laws may forbid certain forms of social interaction or relations between members. From this, items were designed to capture this content; e.g., "*How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?*". And finally, an additional two to four items (depending on the country) were included from Claassen (2017) that asked participants how

likely they were to take action to prevent a certain group from (1) moving into their neighborhood and (2) operating a business in their area. See Appendix E.

Research Questions

This study aims to answer two primary research questions: (1) *whether the acceptability scale (DMQ-A), is a better guide for measuring a country's level of democidal thinking, as compared to the endorsement scale (DMQ-E)*; (2) is there evidence of pluralistic ignorance taking place?

Research Question # 1. The first research question was broken into a subset of five questions:

- *RQ1a: Are there agreed upon normative beliefs related to democide, and which measure produced more agreement?* To answer this question, we examined the degree to which individuals who completed the DMQ-A agreed on their responses and compared that to the degree to which individuals who completed the DMQ-E agreed on their responses.

- *RQ1b: Which measure (DMQ-A vs. DMQ-E) was less affected by demographic groups?* In other words, do the results for the DMQ-A indicate that they are not due to demographic subgroups, but instead pertain to the entire population?

- *RQ1c Which measure (DMQ-A vs. DMQ-E) was more consistent across the Democidal Mindset themes?* Said another way, which measure produced a response-pattern that was more replicable across cultures in terms of the eleven DMQ themes?

- *RQ1d: Do perceived democidal norms (DMQ-A) affect intended behavior, and how does this compare to the effects of personal democidal beliefs (DMQ-E) on intended behavior?*

- RQ1e: *Do perceived democidal norms (DMQ-A) affect related prejudicial attitudes (FIRE scale)), and how does this compare to the effects of personal democidal beliefs (DMQ-E) on prejudicial attitudes?*

Research Question # 2. Is there evidence of pluralistic ignorance? Evidence of pluralistic ignorance would come from people rating pro-democidal views as more acceptable in their country than are actually endorsed, or conversely from people rating anti-democidal views as more condemned or deviant even though most people in their country subscribe to them.

II. METHODS

Participants & Recruitment

Participants were recruited from three countries: The United States, India and South Africa. Participants in the United States and India were recruited using Mechanical Turk. Participants in South Africa were recruited using a Qualtrics panel, as Mechanical Turk (MTurk) did not have enough South African workers signed up on their platform (MTurk was only introduced to the country in 2017). In all three samples participants had to be 18 years old or older and proficient in the English language. Due to the differing platforms and their respective fees and rates, Mturk workers were compensated $4 for their time, and Qualtrics respondents were compensated $6.50. Below are the demographics for each sample:

India Samples. For the DMQ-E sample (N=105), participants were 74% male, M_{Age}=29.21, 75% Hindu, and 94% reported having a bachelor's degree. Participants in the DMQ-A sample (N=100) were 69% male, M_{Age}=28.5, 83% Hindu, and 89% reported having a bachelor's degree.

U.S. Samples. For the DMQ-E sample (N=104), participants were 62% male, M_{Age}=38.12, 76% white/Caucasian, and 57% reported having a bachelor's degree. Participants in the DMQ-A sample (N=100) were 56% male, M_{Age}=38.87, 74% white/Caucasian, and 52% reported having a bachelor's degree.

South Africa Samples. The demographic breakdown for age, sex, and race were agreed upon in advanced with Qualtrics. For the DMQ-E sample (N=104), participants were 53% female, M_{Age}=42.31, relatively well balanced with regard to race (42% Black African, 43% white/Caucasian, 6% Colored, and 9% Indian/Asian), and relatively evenly distributed across education levels (69% of people had some form of postsecondary education). Participants in the DMQ-A sample (N=110) were 50% male, M_{Age}=45.17, relatively well balanced with regard to race (41% Black African, 44% white/Caucasian, 10% Colored, and 5% Indian/Asian), and

relatively evenly distributed across education levels (65% of people had some form of postsecondary education).

Materials

Democidal Mindset. To measure the Democidal Mindset, all participants received the complete set of items from Democidal Mindset Questionnaire (DMQ) along with the additional add-on theme that covered in-group blamelessness (Landau et al., 2020). In total, there were 63 DMQ items. What differed between surveys was the response scale that was used. Within each country, and with independent samples, ~100 participants were given a regular agreement/disagreement scale and ~100 participants were given the newly developed acceptability scale. The measures and scales are as follows:

- *Democidal Mindset Questionnaire - Endorsement (DMQ-E).* Using this scale participants were asked to rate their own agreement (or disagreement) with the Democidal Mindset items, on a scale of 0-4: 0 being "definitely disagree" and 4 being "definitely agree". See Appendix F for the response scale.

- *Democidal Mindset Questionnaire - Acceptability (DMQ-A).* Using this scale participants were asked to rate their perceived acceptability of these items in their country, on a scale of 0-4, "condemned" being 0 and 4 being "praised and commended". See Appendix F for the response scale.

Authoritarianism. Bizumic and Duckitt's (2018) 6-item V*ery Short Authoritarianism* (VSA) scale was used to measure authoritarianism. The abbreviated scale was developed directly from Altemeyer's (1998) widely used Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA). Similar to the Democidal Mindset scales, participants were either asked to rate their own agreement or their perceived societal acceptability of the 6 items.

S*ocial Dominance Orientation (SDO).* To measure SDO, the revised 8-item SDO scale developed by Ho et al. (2015). Once again, participants were either asked to rate their own agreement or their perceived acceptability of the 8 items.

Fear, Institutional Racism and Empathy (FIRE). DeSante and Smith's (2018) FIRE scale was used and adapted to assess various types of racism or prejudice on a scale of 1-5, with 1 being "strongly disagree" and 5 being "strongly agree". As the FIRE scale was developed specifically to measure racial attitudes in the U.S., the original scale was utilized for the U.S. samples. For the South Africa samples, the only alteration to the scale was substituting the word "U.S." with "South Africa". For the India sample, the scale was adapted to measure for attitudes of religious prejudice, rather than racism. See Appendix C.

Behavioral intention measures. A number of behavioral intention items were included to compare how participants' perceptions of acceptability or actual endorsement of democidal beliefs are related to certain discriminatory behaviors. See Appendix D and Appendix E.

Demographic materials:

- Participants were asked to report their sex, age, ethnicity (in the U.S.), religion (in India), race (in South Africa), and ethnic/religious/racial identification (which ranged from "very little" to "very much" on a 4-point Likert-scale).

- Political affiliation. Participants were asked to report their political affiliation using a 5-point Likert-scale that ranged from "very conservative/very right-wing" to "very liberal/left-wing".

- Subjective SES. In order to measure socioeconomic status (SES) in three different cultures, Adler's et al. (2000) measure of subjective socioeconomic status was utilized. Participants were presented with an image of a ladder in which the rungs/steps were labeled 1-10 (1 being the highest rung, and 10 being the lowest). They were told that people at the top of the ladder are the people who are the best off – those who have the most money, the most education and

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the most respected jobs. And on the bottom of the ladder are the people who are the worst off. Participants were then asked to select the number that corresponded with the rung/step where they thought they stood relative to other people in their country.

Procedures

MTurk Samples

For both India and the United States, participants were recruited via MTurk. To sign up on MTurk, all individuals are required to be over the age of 18 and be proficient in English. Using the additional qualification settings, I was able to ensure that the surveys were available only to participants located in India or the United States. In addition, I also set up an additional qualification to not allow repeat submissions (participants were only able to take the survey once). Samples were collected in batches of 9 participants (in order to avoid paying a higher MTurk fee) and released at staggered time intervals throughout the day (morning, afternoon and evening) within each of the respective time zones in an attempt to reach a wider range of people (e.g., not only the earlier risers, or people who didn't work a typical Monday - Friday job). Eligible participants completed the online questionnaire—which was programmed in Qualtrics. For each country, the aim was to obtain around 100 participants to take the DMQ-E measure, and 100 participants to take the DMQ-A. Prior to accepting the submissions, the data was reviewed for poor quality work. Participant's work was rejected if (a) they did not fully complete the survey, (b) they did not pass the attention check (a simple item that instructed participants to select a specific option), (c) had a duration of less than five minutes, which was typically a ¼ (or less) of the mean response time, making it a workable and lenient threshold, and (d) they were identified as "same-responders". For criterion c, "same-responders" were defined as participants

who used the same response (e.g., strongly agree) for 90% or more of the items. After poor quality work was rejected, this required reposting the survey for additional participants to submit.

Qualtrics Panel Samples

South African participants were recruited via a Qualtrics panel. Qualtrics ensured that participants would speak English, and that 50% of the sample would be male and 50% female. In addition, they also were able to ensure that the samples were well balanced according to age (~33% were between the ages of 18-34, ~33% between the ages of 35-55, and the final ~33% were 55+). For these reasons, the South African samples are more balanced across demographic groups. Similar to the MTurk samples, before submissions were accepted, the data was reviewed for poor quality work (e.g., having a duration of less than five minutes or being identified as a "same-responder"). Qualtrics was able to automatically reject participants who did not complete the survey and who failed to pass the attention check.

Analysis

First, reverse-keyed items for all scales (e.g., DMQ, SDO, behavioral scales) were flipped so that items were coded in the same direction; this was done for each of the samples. Second, in order to more efficiently use the measurements in analyses, variables were computed to reflect the overall DMQ-E or DMQ-A scores, by averaging or aggregating across DMQ items for each participant. This was also done for the VSA, SDO, and FIRE scales as well. In addition, DMQ theme variables were also created by averaging across the specific items that coincided with each of the eleven themes (as determined by Landau et al., 2020) for each participant.

Since different statistical tools were used for each of the research questions, the analysis plan for each question was as follows:

RQ1a: Are there agreed upon normative beliefs related to democide, and which measure produced more agreement?

To assess if the DMQ-A is a more reliable measure to use, reliability analyses were conducted, and psychometric qualities assessed. Rather than examining the reliability analyses of items (which were also run as a supplemental analysis, see Table 1), reliability analyses of raters are investigated here. While inter-item reliability analyses are particular useful for assessing the items themselves and making decisions about which items to retain and which to discard (which was investigated by Landau et al, 2020), the focus of the present study was to assess which measure produced better reliability (i.e., higher convergence) amongst raters. Better reliability amongst raters would suggest that there is more agreement or consensus in their ratings, and in turn should suggest that the measure/scale in question produces more homogeneity, i.e., more consistent estimates of the underlying phenomenon.

In order to run inter-rater reliability analyses, the data for the 63 DMQ items was transposed, so that each participant was made to be a variable, and each of the DMQ items treated as a row of data. After examining the reliability coefficients, an odd finding emerged for one of the samples. In India, the DMQ-A sample displayed weak psychometric qualities signaling something problematic with the data in this particular sample and required further investigation. The association between participants' scores was reviewed via a correlation matrix on the transposed data (in which items were rows of data and participants were variables, n=100), and it was decided that the set of participants needed refinement to improve reliability. In order to do this, principal components analyses (PCA) were run and extraction communalities for the first two components were assessed. To improve this sample, only participants with high extraction-communalities values were retained, as this would suggest that their responses were relatively well explained by the components. In order to determine a cut-off value for the extraction communalities, a histogram was reviewed, and the value of .135 was chosen. All participants with an extraction value of .135 or higher were retained and all others removed, thus creating a smaller

and refined version of the sample (n=32) consisting of a set of respondents more comparable with other samples in their within-country convergence. The original DMQ-A sample and this newly refined DMQ-A sample in India are used in the results section to allow for comparisons between the two. Greater detail regarding the steps taken here to obtain this refined sample can be found in the results section.

To compare the reliability and consistency between the two measures, standard deviations, coefficients of internal consistency, and unidimensionality *between raters* were assessed. The normality of the distributions was also evaluated by comparing the levels of skewness and kurtosis in raters' responses.

RQ1b: Which measure (DMQ-A vs. DMQ-E) was less affected by demographic groups?

In order to explore whether the DMQ-A was a more consistent measure across demographic subgroups (i.e., if it suggests that the results are not due to subgroups but instead pertain to the entire population), a combination of means, standard deviations, correlations (zero-order and point-biserial) and partial eta squared scores were examined. The purpose was to see if any of the demographic variables were systematically related to either the DMQ-E or the DMQ-A. Participants average score for the 63 DMQ items was calculated for both the DMQ-E and DMQ-A scales and used in the analyses that follow. In addition, to more thoroughly investigate certain key demographic variables (e.g., religion, ethnicity, political affiliation) dummy codes were also created. Dummy codes were generated based on rationale first (i.e., is there a good reason to compare subgroups?), and second if there was a sufficient number of participants in each of the said subgroups (i.e., at least 20 or more). Point-biserial correlations and effect sizes of these dummy-coded variables were run when needed and examined. As the present study examines three different countries, demographics factors differed sometimes depending on the country. For example, in India, participants were asked what their religion was, while in the

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United States participants were asked what their ethnicity was, and in South Africa, what their race was.

RQ1c Which measure (DMQ-A vs. DMQ-E) was more consistent across the Democidal Mindset themes?

To determine if the DMQ-A (compared to the DMQ-E) means for each of the eleven DMQ themes (see Appendix A) were more consistent across countries, means and correlations between samples are examined. Two steps of analysis were taken. First, participants average scores for each of the eleven themes were computed. Descriptive statistics were then run to obtain overall means and standard deviations for each of the themes in each of the samples. General comparisons of means and standard deviations were made first. Themes with the highest means across countries as well as those with the lowest means across countries were also identified. Second, using the descriptive data generated in the first step, a new dataset was created and zero-order correlations between samples were run. Whichever set of samples (DMQ-E samples vs. DMQ-A samples) shows the stronger correlations, would be the measure that is more consistent across countries in terms of the eleven DMQ themes.

RQ1d: Do perceived democidal norms (DMQ-A) affect intended behavior, and how does this compare to the effects of personal democidal beliefs (DMQ-E) on intended behavior?

This research question asked two related questions: first, which measure does a better job at predicting behavioral intention items after controlling for demographic factors; and secondly, do the measures add anything unique to the predictability of behavioral intention items that cannot otherwise be explained by the VSA and SDO variables (i.e., do they produce significant findings after controlling for the VSA and SDO variables). To answer these questions, a series of hierarchical regressions were run. As listed previously, there were two sets of behavioral intention items, the "social distance" items and the remaining set of items that were crafted

particularly for this study. The three social distance questions asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from one of the given social groups (of which there ranged between 8 - 11 groups depending on the country) as a specific social relation or contact (e.g., (1) neighbor, (2) family member, and (3) leader). It should be noted that these social distance items are only loosely based on Bogardus' (1933) Social Distance Scale (SDS) with regard to their formatting, and not in terms of how they are analyzed. The SDS is a rank-order (or hierarchical) scale and as such, is treated as a Guttman Scale, or a cumulative scale. With a Guttman Scale, agreement with one item implies agreement with the items that preceded it. For instance, if one agrees that they would accept an immigrant as a close relative by marriage, the SDS assumes you would also accept an immigrant as your neighbor or your close personal friend. Unfortunately, the Guttman scale has its drawbacks (Clogg & Sawyer, 1981; Mather et al, 2017) and has been criticized for oversimplifying attitudes towards others and our willingness to participant in a social relation with others. For example, one might feel more strongly towards who their co-workers are than who their neighbors are, rather than the other way around as the SDS suggests. Another example could be that, in a certain culture, it might be relatively common to have a member from a certain group as a close relative by marriage, so one may not feel as strongly towards them in that social relation but might feel very strongly about having them a close friend. In addition, the SDS and the Guttman Scale is unidimensional in nature, and so does not pick up on the varying degrees of a person's attitude towards a group in a particular social relation. In the present study, a 5-point Likert scale is used to measure participants attitudes towards specific groups in certain social relations. And rather than aggregating the scores across the three social relations used here (neighbor, family member and leader), these items are treated separately in order to distinguish any subtle differences between the three levels of social relations and how democidal thinking predicts intended behavior towards specific social groups.

In the present study, hierarchical regressions are used to assess the predictive power of the DMQ-E and the DMQ-A on behavioral intention items. For the social distance items,

hierarchical regressions were run separately for each of the social groups within each of the three questions. Behavioral items were treated as the dependent variable. Likewise, hierarchical regressions were also run for the remaining behavioral intention items (ranging between nine and eleven depending on country). For both types of behavioral items, two stages of analysis were completed. In the first stage, hierarchical regressions were run by including demographics variables in step 1 (i.e., model 1), and then including either the DMQ-E themes or the DMQ-A themes in step 2 (i.e., model 2). After this was completed, another set of hierarchical regressions were run, but this time with an extra model included. Once again, demographics were included in step 1, but in step 2, both VSA and SDO variables (i.e., participants overall score on these measures) were included, and finally, either the DMQ-E themes or the DMQ-A themes were included in step 3.

R-squared values were examined to determine how much of the variance could be explained by either the DMQ-E or the DMQ-A themes. Comparisons were then made across measures and across countries.

RQ1e: *Do perceived democidal norms (DMQ-A) affect related prejudicial attitudes (FIRE scale)), and how does this compare to the effects of personal democidal beliefs (DMQ-E) on prejudicial attitudes?*

Similar to the previous research question, a series of hierarchical regression analyses were run to investigate which measure—the DMQ-E or the DMQ-A—did a better job at predicting prejudicial attitudes after demographic variables were added. In addition, hierarchical regression analyses were also run to determine if either measure explained any of the variance in prejudicial attitudes that was not explained by the VSA and SDO variables. Prejudicial attitudes were measured using four-item FIRE scale. In the first stage, hierarchical regressions were run with the overall FIRE scores (i.e., participants average scores on this measure) as the dependent variable, demographics variables in step 1 (i.e., model 1), and either the DMQ-E themes or the

DMQ-A themes in step 2 (i.e., model 2). For the second set of hierarchical regressions, once again, the overall FIRE scores variable was treated as the dependent variable, demographics were included in step 1, both VSA and SDO variables (i.e., participants overall score on these measures) were included in step 2, and either the DMQ-E themes or the DMQ-A themes included in step 3. R-squared values were then examined to determine how much of the variance in the FIRE scores could be explained by either the DMQ-E or the DMQ-A themes. Comparisons were then made across measures and across countries.

RQ2. Is there evidence of pluralistic ignorance?

Pluralistic ignorance was assessed in two primary ways. First mean differences (between measures) of the 11 Democidal Mindset themes were obtained through simple subtraction and analyzed. Secondly, linear regressions were run and examined along with the saved residuals. Zero-order correlations were also reviewed. To run these analyses, a new dataset was compiled. Using the transposed dataset that was also utilized in RQ1a (i.e., the inter-rater reliability analyses), the inter-rater means for the 63 DMQ items were extracted and moved into a new dataset. This was done for each of the seven samples (India DMQ-E, India DMQ-A, India refined DMQ-A, U.S DMQ-E, U.S. DMQ-A, South Africa DMQ-E, and South Africa DMQ-A). The data used here (from the transposed dataset) were all coded in the same direction (i.e., all opposite content items had been reversed prior to transposing). Although this new dataset allowed for direct comparisons to be made between the two measures, analyses should be interpreted with a note of caution. Participants who received the DMQ-E measure were in independent samples with different response scales (which were differently anchored, see Appendix F for the scales), from participants who received the DMQ-A, making comparisons between samples complicated. Any differences in the results could simply be an artifact of the difference in response scales, and thus, the analyses that follow are more exploratory in nature. It does help comparability, however, that both DMQ-E and DMQ-A used 0-to-4 response scales.

To examine which of the eleven Democidal Mindset themes were most affected by the measure, differences between the theme means are calculated first within countries, and then across countries. The degree to which the two measures *differ* in respect to theme means within and between countries, could give insight into which themes generate the largest disagreement in terms of perceived acceptability and personal endorsement. Furthermore, differences in theme means might suggest evidence of pluralistic ignorance occurring—i.e., the degree to which participants agree with (or disagree with) certain themes, is different to how participants perceive the acceptability of these themes in their country

Zero-order correlations between the DMQ-E and the DMQ-A samples within each country were computed to examine the strength of the association between these measures. If the correlations are close to perfect that might suggest that there isn't a difference between the levels of personal endorsement and the levels of perceived acceptability of the DMQ items in a country, and therefore, that pluralistic ignorance is likely not occurring. However, correlations that are less than perfect might suggest that people really are misperceiving how accepted (or unaccepted) these items are in their country (using the actual levels of endorsement as the base). Linear regressions were also conducted, where the inter-rater item means of acceptability (i.e., DMQ-A, the independent variable) were used to predict inter-rater item means of endorsement (i.e., DMQ-E, the dependent variable). This was completed for each country. From these regressions one could assess the proportion of variance that the DMQ-A scores explained in the DMQ-E scores. Similar to the correlations, if the DMQ-A is not able to explain a certain portion of the variance in the DMQ-E, this might suggest that pluralistic ignorance is at play. And finally, the unstandardized residuals were also saved from the regression analyses. The residuals allow one to see how far off a data point is from the regression line of best fit, with larger residuals indicating more divergence between the independent and dependent variables. In the context of this dataset, the larger residuals signaled which DMQ items displayed the greatest discrepancy between the DMQ-A and the DMQ-E. To assess which items generated the largest residuals on average across

countries, the average of the residuals was computed. To calculate this average, alongside the residuals from the U.S. and South Africa, the India residuals that were obtained using the *refined* DMQ-A sample (and not the residuals that used the regular DMQ-A sample) were used; the refined sample was used as it was deemed (from the previous analyses conducted) to be a more reliable sample for the DMQ-A in India (the refined DMQ-A was also more comparable to the other countries in its degree of inter-rater convergence). Average residuals greater than .20 or less that -.20 were identified and interpreted. Once again, such results might point towards a potential pluralistic-ignorance phenomenon taking place, at least as it pertains to certain items.

RQ1a: Are there agreed upon normative beliefs related to democide, and which measure produced more agreement?

Inter-rater reliability analyses were conducted on the transposed data, and psychometric qualities assessed for each measure. While not discussed here, the *inter-item* reliability analyses for the DMQ, VSA, and SDO in each sample were also run as supplemental analyses (see tables in Appendix G for the results). Overall, in terms of inter-rater reliability, the alpha values for both the DMQ-E and the DMQ-A were relatively similar and high (all above .90) across all samples (see Table 1). As mentioned in the analysis section, the one exception to this was the DMQ-A sample in India, which had much lower internal consistency (α=.71) between raters and also a very low mean of inter-rater correlations and intraclass correlation (single measures).

Table 1.
Psychometric Qualities for Raters Across Full Set of DMQ items

	India DMQ-E	India DMQ-A	India DMQ-A Refined (N=32)	U.S DMQ-E	U.S DMQ-A	S. Africa DMQ-E	S. Africa DMQ-A
Cronbach alpha	.970	.710	.861	.920	.940	.980	.960
Stdzd. Cronbach Alpha	.970	.610	.864	.910	.950	.980	.960
Mean of inter-rater correlations [MIC]	.250	.020	.166	.090	.150	.280	.180
Intraclass correlation (ICC) single measures	.220	.020	.162	.090	.130	.280	.180
Variance of inter-rater correlations (VIC)	.040	.020	.036	.050	.040	.030	.030
Variance of the rater means (VIM)	.310	.260	.226	1.190	.610	.310	.320
Mean of DMQ item std. deviation	1.100	.840	1.100	1.020	.950	.950	1.200

Note. The data was transposed so that participants were variables (i.e., raters) and DMQ items were each a row of data. The last row here, "Mean of DMQ item standard deviations" reflects how much the raters were giving the same raw response, one indicator of convergence.

Table 2.

Rater Descriptives for Full Set of DMQ Items

	India DMQ-E	India DMQ-A	India DMQ-A Refined (N=32)	U.S DMQ-E	U.S DMQ-A	S. Africa DMQ-E	S. Africa DMQ-A
Mean	3.690	3.910	3.500	2.890	3.010	2.840	3.030
Standard Deviation	.540	.160	.490	.340	.360	.760	.520
Skewness	-2.310	-.590	-1.080	1.320	.420	.080	-.180
Kurtosis	5.160	-.010	.996	3.310	.780	-.690	-.560

Note. The data was transposed so that participants were variables (i.e., raters) and DMQ items were each a row of data.

To further investigate the reason for the weak psychometric qualities in India DMQ-A sample, the correlation matrix was reviewed and the association between participant's scores assessed—this was also done by using a transposed dataset in which participants were variables, and DMQ items were rows. From this matrix it became apparent that most participants' responses were not strongly correlated with one another. This is unusual, as one would expect to see some degree of convergence in non-random data for almost any measurement (and especially for this measure of perceived acceptability). However, the correlation matrix did show a smaller subgroup of participants that were more appropriately correlated with one another. In order to reduce the data (i.e., the participants) and hopefully improve this sample, a principal components analysis (PCA) on all 100 participant variables was run. A five-factor model was arbitrarily selected, while a quartimax rotation was intentionally used (as this rotation tends to keep much of the first unrotated component in place, which is what one would want when identifying convergences). From the scree plot that was produced, it was evident that there were only two factors, so another PCA was run, but this time specifying only 2 components or factors. From the results, the extraction communalities were examined. These extraction values suggest how much variance within each of the variables can be explained by the principal components. Variables with high values are well represented, while variables with low values are not well represented. To improve this sample, to make it more comparable to the other samples, I sought to retain those

participants with high values, as this would suggest that their responses were relatively well explained by the components. In order to visualize the distribution of the extraction values, and thereby create a cut-off value, a histogram was generated. This histogram gave evidence that many of the participants were grouped together with low extraction communalities. Using the threshold of .135 (chosen based on the histogram), I retained all participants with an extraction value of .135 or higher. After all other participants were removed, a considerably smaller, but more reliable, sample remained (n=32). This refined sample[2] is included in all analyses alongside the original Indian DMQ-A to show how it might correct for some of the unusual findings in the original sample.

Across all three countries, the unidimensionality of raters in both DMQ-E and DMQ-A scales were unsatisfactory (i.e., greater than .01); the variance of inter-rater correlations (VIC) values were all between .02 - .05 (see Table 1). However, in both India and the U.S. the DMQ-A samples (including the refined sample in India) showed better unidimensionality of raters than the DMQ-E samples. In South Africa, unidimensionality was the same for both DMQ-E and DMQ-A samples.

In India (both original and refined) and the U.S., the distributions (of rater responses) for the DMQ-A samples appeared to be more normally distributed than the DMQ-E samples. These samples showed much less peakedness and skew than their DMQ-E counterparts (see Table 2). In addition, the average standard deviation for the raters were also lower for the DMQ-A samples than it was for the DMQ-E samples, suggesting that there was more convergence in these samples. While the refined DMQ-A sample in India was also more normally distributed than the Indian DMQ-E sample, it had the same average standard deviation for raters (SD=1.1; See Table 2). In South Africa both the DMQ-E and DMQ-A samples were normally distributed, with very little skew or peakedness (see Table 2). However, unlike India and the U.S., the DMQ-E in South

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[2] In the refined DMQ-A sample participants were 75% male, M_{Age}=28.22, 81% Hindu, and 81% reported having a bachelor's degree.

Africa reported a lower average standard deviation for raters compared to the DMQ-A (see Table 2).

RQ1b: Which measure (DMQ-A vs. DMQ-E) was less affected by demographic groups?

Total means for participant DMQ scores suggests that for the most part, the DMQ-A generated higher means and lower average standard deviations (with a couple of exceptions) (see Table 3). The two exceptions to this are that in India, the refined DMQ-A sample had a slightly

Table 3.
Descriptive Statistics for Measures

		N	M	SD	Skew	Kurt.
US DMQ-E	DMQ	104	2.892	1.089	-.064	-1.456
	FIRE	104	3.579	1.012	.028	-.893
	VSA	104	2.633	.919	-.112	-.705
	SDO	104	2.513	1.031	-.201	-1.242
US DMQ-A	DMQ	100	3.011	.780	.298	-.874
	FIRE	100	3.698	.900	.116	-1.209
	VSA	100	2.925	.464	-.070	.884
	SDO	100	2.538	.639	-.200	-.039
IN DMQ-E	DMQ	105	3.693	.556	-.998	1.206
	FIRE	105	2.824	.494	-.864	1.003
	VSA	105	3.289	.539	.505	.881
	SDO	105	2.725	.653	-1.260	.729
IN DMQ-A	DMQ	100	3.897	.525	.042	-.158
	FIRE	100	2.863	.427	-.559	1.792
	VSA	100	3.888	.611	.092	-.411
	SDO	100	3.865	.624	-.184	.164
IN DMQ-A Refined	DMQ	32	3.650	.540	.617	.683
	FIRE	32	2.750	.575	-.271	.676
	VSA	32	3.740	.617	.653	.169
	SDO	32	3.612	.635	.047	.080
SA DMQ-E	DMQ	104	2.844	.560	.331	.376
	FIRE	104	2.123	.678	.136	-.878
	VSA	104	3.657	.792	-.555	.529
	SDO	104	2.142	.610	.160	-.537
SA DMQ-A	DMQ	110	3.030	.565	1.243	4.595
	FIRE	110	2.161	.619	.243	-.521
	VSA	110	3.426	.706	.249	-.068
	SDO	110	2.403	.685	.801	1.818

Notes. N - numbers of participants. M - mean. SD - standard deviation. Kurt.- kurtosis. IN - India. US - United States. SA - South Africa. DMQ - participant means scores on Democidal Mindset items. FIRE - participant means scores on Fear, Institutionalized Racism and Empathy scale. VSA - participant means scores on Very Short Authoritarianism Scale. SDO - participant means scores on Social Dominance Orientation.

lower mean (M=3.53) than the DMQ-E (M=3.69), and in South Africa, the DMQ-A reported an

almost equal, but slightly higher standard deviation (SD=.57) than the DMQ-E (SD=.56) (see

Table 3). When comparing the means across the two measures, it suggests that participants

reported higher levels of acceptability than the levels of actual endorsement that were reported. In

addition, the lower standard deviations on the DMQ-A measure suggest that participants' scores

of acceptability were closer together than participants' scores of endorsements; that is, they

agreed more regarding what is acceptable than regarding what each personally agreed with.

Furthermore, correlations and effect sizes appear to suggest that the DMQ-A was also

less influenced by and more consistent across demographics than the DMQ-E. While this finding

was most apparent in South Africa, it was also true to an extent in the U.S. and in India. As

mentioned in the analysis section, to measure for the democidal items, participant total means

scores (aggregated across the 63 DMQ items) for the DMQ-E and DMQ-A are utilized here. In

Table 4.
Zero-Order Correlations Between Demographics and S. Africa DMQ-E and DMQ-A

	DMQ-E		DMQ-A	
	r	Sig.	*r*	Sig.
DMQ x Sex	.213	.096	.062	.523
DMQ x Age	-.208*	**.034**	.074	.444
DMQ x Racial Identification	.019	.848	-.026	.789
DMQ x Political Affiliation	.291*	**.003**	.155	.105
DMQ x Education	-.188	.056	-.191*	**.046**
DMQ x Sub. SES	.204*	**.038**	.244*	**.010**
DMQ x Race Dummy (black vs. other)	.269**	**.006**	.106	.270
DMQ x Race Dummy (white vs. other)	-.301**	**.002**	-.164	.087
DMQ x Education Dummy (low vs. high)	.258**	**.008**	-.015	.880
DMQ x Polit. Affil. Dummy (conser. vs. other)	.174	.077	.066	.495
DMQ x Polit. Affil. Dummy (liberal. vs. other)	-.200*	**.042**	-.118	.220
DMQ x Sub. SES Dummy (low vs. high)	.123	.212	.171	.074
DMQ x Race	.310	**.017**	.221	.149

Notes. In bold are p-values that are less that .05. The correlations reported for race in both samples are Eta coefficients. In the DMQ-E sample, since participants reported being either male (code as "1"), female (coded as "2"), or as "other" (coded as 3), sex is also reported here as an Eta coefficient. In the DMQ-A sample, sex was dichotomous, as participants only reported as male (coded as "1") and female (coded as "2").

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

South Africa, many of the demographic variables were associated with the DMQ-E: age, political affiliation (very left-wing/liberal to very right-wing/conservative), subjective SES, race, both dummy-coded versions of race, the dummy-code version of education, and one the dummy-coded versions of political affiliation (which compared those who reported as "very liberal" to all others; see Table 4). In contrast, only education and subjective SES were significantly correlated with the DMQ-A (see Table 4) illustrating that it was less affected by demographic factors.

In the U.S., political affiliation, education, and the two dummy-coded versions of political affiliation (one that compared those reporting as "very liberal" to all others, and another comparing those reporting as "very conservative: to all others) produce significant findings for both the DMQ-E and the DMQ-A (see Table 5). Although the same demographic variables were predictive of both measures in the U.S., they correlated much more strongly with the DMQ-E than they did with the DMQ-A (see Table 5). For instance, political affiliation was moderately correlated with the DMQ-E (r=.58, p<.001; see Table 5), but only weakly correlated with the DMQ-A (r=.32, p<.001; see Table 5). The same was true for the dummy-coded versions of political affiliation (see Table 5).

Table 5.
Zero-Order and Point Biserial Correlations Between Demographics and U.S. DMQ-E and DMQ-A

	DMQ-E		DMQ-A	
	r	Sig.	*r*	Sig.
DMQ x Sex	.048	.626	-.124	.223
DMQ x Age	-.049	.624	-.058	.571
DMQ x Ethnic Identification	.104	.295	.058	.566
DMQ x Political Affiliation	.576**	**.000**	.315**	**.001**
DMQ x Education	.314**	**.001**	.260**	**.009**
DMQ x Sub. SES	.100	.312	.163	.107
DMQ x Ethnic Dummy (white vs. other)	.039	.693	-.163	.107
DMQ x Ethnic ID Dummy (low vs. high)	.074	.455	.074	.464
DMQ x Polit. Affil. Dummy (Liberal vs. other)	-.525**	**.000**	-.275**	**.006**
DMQ x Polit. Affil. Dummy (Conser. vs. other)	.525**	**.000**	.266**	**.008**
DMQ x Ethnicity	.297	.056	.241	.224

Notes. In bold are p-values that are less that .05. The correlations reported for ethnicity are Eta coefficients. Sex was dichotomous, as participants only reported as male (coded as "1") and female (coded as "2").
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

In India, sex, age and religious identification (i.e., how much an individual identifies with their reported religion, ranging from very little to very much) were all significantly correlated with the DMQ-E (r_{Sex}=.35 p<.001; r_{Age}=-.33, p<.001; r_{ReliID}=-.20, p=.04; see Table 6). In the full DMQ-A sample in India only the dummy-coded version of subjective SES (comparing those low on SES, 1-6, to those high on SES, 7-10) reported a weak but significant point-biserial correlation with the DMQ-A (r_{pb}=.25, p<.05; see Table 7). There was also a significant effect size of religion (η^2=.31, p<.008; see Table 7). However, when the refined DMQ-A sample was used, there were no significant findings across any of the demographics (see Table 7), which might suggest that the associations found in the original DMQ-A sample were simply a result of the unreliable data.

Table 6.
Zero-Order and Point Biserial Correlations Between Demographics and India DMQ-E

	r	Sig.
DMQ x Sex	.349**	**.000**
DMQ x Age	-.325**	**.000**
DMQ x Religious Identification	.203*	**.038**
DMQ x Political Affiliation	.146	.138
DMQ x Education	.085	.386
DMQ x Sub. SES	.085	.391
DMQ x Religion Dummy (Hindu vs. other)	.015	.883
DMQ x Religion Dummy (Christian vs. other)	.015	.878
DMQ x Polit. Affil. Dummy (conser. vs. liberal)	.138	.160
DMQ x Religion	.140	.735

Notes. In bold are p-values that are less that .05. The correlation reported for religion is an Eta coefficient. Sex was dichotomous, as participants only reported as male (coded as "1") and female (coded as "2").
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 7.

Zero-Order and Point Biserial Correlations Between Demographics and India DMQ-A and DMQ-A Refined

	India DMQ-A		India Refined DMQ-A	
	r	Sig.	*r*	Sig.
DMQ x Sex	.065	.522	.325	.070
DMQ x Age	-.037	.715	-.276	.126
DMQ x Religious Identification	.149	.140	-.300	.096
DMQ x Political Affiliation	.040	.694	.120	.513
DMQ x Education	-.100	.323	-.205	.261
DMQ x Sub. SES	.182	.070	.018	.923
DMQ x Rel. ID Dummy (low vs. high)	.075	.457	-	-
DMQ x Polit. Affil. Dummy (conser. vs. liberal)	-.010	.925	.334	.062
DMQ x Sub. SES Dummy (low vs. high)	.258**	**.010**	.027	.884
DMQ x Religion	.308	**.008**	.218	.492

Notes. In bold are p-values that are less that .05. The correlation reported for religion is an Eta coefficient.
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

RQ1c Which measure (DMQ-A vs. DMQ-E) was more consistent across the Democidal Mindset themes?

Generally speaking, across countries, the average theme mean was higher for the DMQ-A measure than it was for the DMQ-E (see Table 8 and Figure 2). The average theme mean was highest in the India samples (M_{DMQ-E}=3.66, SD_{DMQ-E}=.73; M_{DMQ-A}=3.90, SD_{DMQ-A}=.66; M_{DMQ-A_R}=3.56, SD_{DMQ-A_R}=.68) as compared to the United States (M_{DMQ-E}=2.88, SD_{DMQ-E}=.1.18, and M_{DMQ-A}=3.02, SD_{DMQ-A}=.87) and South Africa (M_{DMQ-E}=2.84, SD_{DMQ-E}=.83 and M_{DMQ-A}=3.03, SD_{DMQ-A}=.79) (see Table 8 and Figure 2). The average standard deviations for themes were lower for the DMQ-A samples than they were for the DMQ-E samples (see Table 8). This may suggest that there is less variability in how people respond to the items within each theme on the DMQ-A than for the DMQ-E. Figure 3 shows a few interesting findings. Firstly, as stated above, India had some of the highest means (this could be in part due to acquiescence in these samples which is discussed later on) (See Figure 3). Secondly, the DMQ-E (i.e., personal endorsements) sample in South Africa displayed marked spread or splay amongst theme means that is not seen in other samples (See Figure 3). This could suggest that there was greater diversity or more variability in
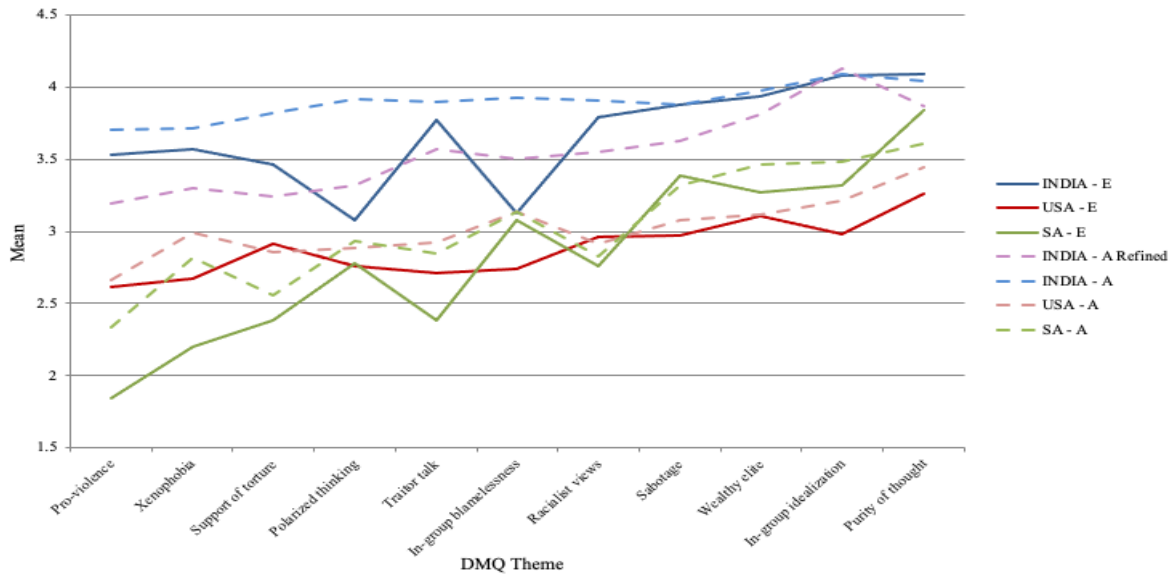
Figure 2. DMQ Theme Means by Theme

how South African participants responded personally to these statements. The DMQ-A sample, however, shows that there was more consensus amongst participants in terms of the societal acceptability of the DMQ statements. Thirdly, from Figure 3, one can see that there is a tendency for the lines not to cross (though they sometimes do), which might suggest that the positions of themes (e.g., there position on the Overton window) tend to be somewhat similar across countries.
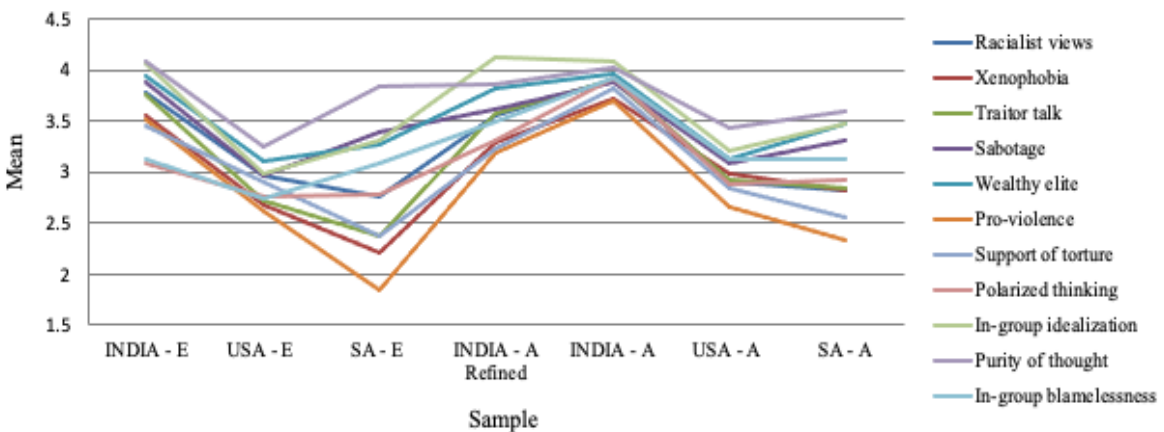
Figure 3. DMQ Theme Means by Sample

Table 8.

Means, Standard Deviations and Within-Country Mean Differences for DMQ Themes

	India								U.S.						S. Africa				
	E		A		*M Diff.*	w/A Refined		*M Diff.*	E		A		*M Diff.*	E		A		*M Diff.*
Theme	M	SD	M	SD		M	SD		M	SD	M	SD		M	SD	M	SD	
RV	3.79	.76	3.91	.68	*.12*	3.55	.66	*.24*	2.96	1.09	2.92	.96	*.04*	2.76	.84	2.83	.79	*.07*
XE	3.57	1.01	3.72	.79	*.15*	3.30	.91	*.27*	2.68	1.38	2.99	1.02	*.31*	2.20	.84	2.82	.86	*.61*
TT	3.77	.81	3.90	.67	*.13*	3.57	.73	*.20*	2.71	1.38	2.92	.91	*.21*	2.38	.88	2.85	.82	*.47*
SB	3.88	.75	3.88	.65	*.00*	3.63	.59	*.25*	2.97	1.22	3.08	.92	*.11*	3.39	.89	3.32	.83	*.07*
WE	3.94	.60	3.97	.54	*.03*	3.81	.56	*.13*	3.11	1.15	3.12	.90	*.01*	3.27	.87	3.47	.76	*.20*
PV	3.53	.94	3.71	.75	*.18*	3.19	.87	*.34*	2.61	1.38	2.66	1.11	*.05*	1.84	.77	2.34	.86	*.49*
ST	3.46	.70	3.82	.70	*.36*	3.24	.69	*.22*	2.91	1.10	2.85	.87	*.06*	2.39	.84	2.56	.77	*.17*
PT	3.08	.45	3.92	.55	*.84*	3.32	.44	*.24*	2.76	.85	2.89	.50	*.13*	2.78	.60	2.94	.57	*.15*
II	4.08	.74	4.09	.57	*.01*	4.13	.65	*.05*	2.98	1.32	3.22	.94	*.24*	3.32	.83	3.49	.75	*.17*
PU	4.09	.49	4.04	.54	*.05*	3.87	.57	*.21*	3.26	1.09	3.44	.73	*.18*	3.84	.70	3.61	.69	*.23*
IB	3.12	.79	3.93	.85	*.81*	3.50	.85	*.38*	2.74	.99	3.14	.74	*.40*	3.08	1.08	3.14	1.02	*.05*
Total	**3.66**	**.73**	**3.90**	**.66**	***.24***	**3.56**	**.68**	***.23***	**2.88**	**1.18**	**3.02**	**.87**	***.16***	**2.84**	**.83**	**3.03**	**.79**	***.24***

Notes. A - perceived acceptability measure (DMQ-A). E - personal endorsement (DMQ-E). M – means. SD – standard deviations. M. Diff. - the difference between the DMQ-E and DMQ-A means. Themes: RV – racialist views, XE – xenophobia, TT – traitor talk, SB – sabotage, WE – wealthy elite, PV – pro-violence, ST – support of torture, PT – polarized thinking, II – in-group idealization, PU – purity of thought, IB – in-group blamelessness.

And finally, what is also interesting to note is that across both measures, and across all three countries, pro-violence, xenophobia, and support of torture appear to have, on average, some of the lowest theme means (i.e., are less endorsed, or more highly condemned; this thought appears to consistently (across all samples) have some of the highest theme means (i.e., are more endorsed, or more highly praised) (see Table 8 and Figures 2 and 3). This gives us some indication that across cultures, certain DMQ themes are viewed as more acceptable in society, while others are deemed to be less acceptable (i.e., they are at different points in the Overton window).

Zero-order correlations were examined to assess which measure was more consistent for

Table 9.
Correlation Matrix of DMQ Theme Means and DMQ-E & DMQ-A Samples

		IN DMQ-E	US DMQ-E	SA DMQ-E	IN DMQ-A Refined	IN DMQ-A	US DMQ-A	SA DMQ-A
India DMQ-E	r	1						
	p-value							
	N	11						
US DMQ-E	r	**.688***	1					
	p-value	.019						
	N	11	11					
SA DMQ-E	r	**.477**	**.834****	1				
	p-value	.138	.001					
	N	11	11	11				
India DMQ-A Refined	r	.754**	.715*	.801**	1			
	p-value	.007	.013	.003				
	N	11	11	11	11			
India DMQ-A	r	.457	.708*	.848**	**.887****	1		
	p-value	.157	.015	.001	.000			
	N	11	11	11	11	11		
US DMQ-A	r	.520	.750**	.903**	**.804****	**.774****	1	
	p-value	.101	.008	.000	.003	.005		
	N	11	11	11	11	11	11	
SA DMQ-A	r	.553	.758**	.947**	**.881****	**.840****	**.929****	1
	p-value	.078	.007	.000	.000	.001	.000	
	N	11	11	11	11	11	11	11

Note. IN - India. US - United States. SA - South Africa. In bold are correlations between DMQ-E samples and correlations between DMQ-A samples.
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

the eleven themes across samples. All DMQ-A samples reported significant, strong (all $>r=.78$) correlations between one another (all correlations were positive as was to be expected; see Table 9). In addition, correlations between DMQ-A samples were also stronger as compared to the

correlations between the DMQ-E samples (see Table 9). This suggests that participant's average theme means were more consistent across countries for the DMQ-A measure than they were for the DMQ-E.

RQ1d: Do perceived democidal norms (DMQ-A) affect intended behavior, and how does this compare to the effects of personal democidal beliefs (DMQ-E) on intended behavior?

Overall and across countries, the DMQ-E was a better predictor of the behavioral intention items. However, often times the DMQ-A was not far behind (especially for the additional eleven behavioral items). In addition, for the most part the DMQ measures (especially, the DMQ-E) reported significant findings even after controlling for demographic factors and controlling for the VSA and SDO measures. For inter-item reliability analyses and correlations between measures (DMQ, VSA and SDO) see Appendix G.

Social distance items

With regard to the social distance behavior items, the DMQ-E outperformed (i.e., explained more variance in more of the items) the DMQ-A in the U.S. and especially in South Africa (see Appendix H for all tables relevant to behavioral items). In India, the DMQ-E and DMQ-A explained similar amounts of variance in the social distance items (see Tables H.24-H.27). In India, although the refined DMQ-A explained fewer items significantly, for the items it did predict, it explained a great deal of variance in them (~60%; see Tables H.24-H.27).

Across measures and countries, it does not appear that one of the categories of social relations (neighbor, family member or leader) was substantially better explained by the DMQ measures than the others. However, in both the U.S. and in India, after controlling for demographics and VSA and SDO measures, it appears that the DMQ-E measure was more predictive of the leader category (especially a *black* leader in the U.S. and a *Pakistani* leader in India; see Tables H.17 and H.25), but this was not necessarily the case in the other samples. It

also appears that for certain social groups, while the DMQ measures did for the most part explain variance in these same groups *across* the social relation categories (e.g., if the DMQ-E explained variance for Christians in the neighbor category, it likely also explained variance in the family member and leader categories), this was not always the case. For example, in India, the DMQ-E explained about 12-17% of the variance in how likely participants were to accept a Kashmiri person as their neighbor but did not explain variance in how likely they were to accept a Kashmiri person as their family member or leader (see H.34-H.25). In South Africa, the DMQ-E explained around 30% of the variance in how likely participants were to accept a homosexual person as a leader, but not how likely they were to accept them as their neighbor or family member (see Tables H.20-H.21). This could suggest that a person's willingness to accept a certain group as a specific social relation of theirs, might be somewhat dependent on the combination of group type, relation type, and their level of democidal thinking, and have some culture-specificity.

These results also provide evidence for which groups the DMQ measures did the best job of predicting variance for. In India, the DMQ measures did the best job of explaining variance in the Pakistanis, homosexuals and foreigners' items (see Tables H.24-H.27). In the U.S., the measures did the best job of explaining variance in the blacks (or African Americans), Muslims, and foreigners' items (see Tables H.16 -H.19). And for South Africa, the DMQ-E (the DMQ-A did not report significant findings) did the best job of explaining variance in the Nigerians, transgender people, and foreigners (see Tables H.20-H.23). While many of these groups/categories are culture-specific, the "foreigner" group appeared to at the top of the list, suggesting that this group might be a universal target.

Additional behavioral items

With regard to the additional eleven behavioral items, the DMQ-E had much more predictive power than the DMQ-A, but both measures appeared to preform relatively well (see Appendix H for all tables relevant to behavioral items). Both the DMQ-E and the DMQ-A were

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predictive of a good deal of variance in many of these items, even after controlling for demographic factors, as well as the VSA and SDO measures. The DMQ-E and DMQ-A explained the most variance (after controlling for demographics and VSA and SDO factors) in the items within the U.S. samples (see Tables H.28-H.29), and for some items explained roughly 70-80% of the variance. Across all three countries, both the DMQ-E and DMQ-A appear to consistently predict item number 3 (see Tables H.28-35). This item asked participants how likely they would be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups. The other two items (10 and 11 in the U.S., items 8 and 9 in South Africa, and item numbers 10 and 11 in India) which were also consistently predicted by the both measures, and also appeared to report some of the largest R-squared values were the items that asked participants if they would take part in action to prevent a certain group (country-specific) from either moving into their neighborhood or operating a business in their area.

RQ1e: Do perceived democidal norms (DMQ-A) affect related prejudicial attitudes (FIRE scale)), and how does this compare to the effects of personal democidal beliefs (DMQ-E) on prejudicial attitudes?

Both DMQ-E and the original DMQ-A samples from India and the United States explained a significant amount of variance in the FIRE scores that was not explained by demographic variables (see Table 10). In India, the original DMQ-A explained slightly more of the variance (22%) in the FIRE scores, while the DMQ-E explained 19% of the variance (Tables 10). However, when the refined DMQ-A was inputted, it did not significantly explain any variance within the FIRE scores, which was likely due to the fact that significance couldn't be reached due to the much smaller sample size (N=32) (Tables 10). In the United States the DMQ-E explained 41% variance in the FIRE scores in comparison with the DMQ-A which explained 27% of the variance. Neither the DMQ-E nor the DMQ-A explained a significant amount of the variance in South Africa (see Tables 33).

Table 10.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for FIRE Controlling for Demographics

	R Square	Adj. R Square	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
India - DMQ-E	.312	.187	.201	2.335	**.014**
India - DMQ-A	.343	.216	.268	3.073	**.002**
India – Refined DMQ-A	.634	.244	.545	2.030	.101
U.S. - DMQ-E	.502	.411	.446	7.089	**.000**
U.S. - DMQ-A	.388	.269	.278	3.384	**.001**
S. Africa - DMQ-E	.263	.118	.097	1.030	.427
S. Africa - DMQ-A	.316	.188	.121	1.459	.161

Note. In bold are p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e. model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Interestingly, in both India and the United States, only the DMQ-A explained a significant amount of variance in the FIRE scores that was not explained by demographic variables, or the VSA and SDO variables (see Table 11). In India, the original DMQ-A explained 21% of the variance and in the United States, the DMQ-A explained 27% of the variance. Once again, the South African samples did not report any significant values for either DMQ measures (see Table 11). This suggests that the DMQ-A, as compared to the DMQ-E, may potentially be a more novel predictor of prejudicial attitudes, as there was less overlap in terms of prediction with other well-known measures (e.g., SDO and VSA).

Table 11.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for FIRE Controlling for VSA and SDO

	Model	R Square	Adj. R Square	R Square Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
India - DMQ-E	2. w/ VSA & SDO	.159	.099	.048	2.785	.067
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.313	.169	.154	1.747	.077
India - DMQ-A	2. w/VSA & SDO	.086	.016	.011	.539	.585
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.354	.211	.268	3.059	**.002**
India – Refined DMQ-A	2. w/VSA & SDO	.228	.002	.138	2.151	.138
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.659	.186	.431	1.491	.244
U.S. - DMQ-E	2. w/VSA & SDO	.403	.359	.347	27.874	.000
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.512	.409	.110	1.738	.079
U.S. - DMQ-A	2. w/VSA & SDO	.199	.138	.089	5.042	.008
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.404	.270	.205	2.508	**.009**
S. Africa - DMQ-E	2. w/VSA & SDO	.310	.252	.144	9.909	.000
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.354	.208	.044	.520	.885
S. Africa - DMQ-A	2. w/VSA & SDO	.223	.161	.029	1.840	.164
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.325	.181	.101	1.215	.289

Note. In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e. model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e. model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

RQ2. Is there evidence of pluralistic ignorance?

To assess which themes showed the greatest differences between the DMQ-E and DMQ-A, the mean differences of themes were examined within county and between countries. In India, support of torture, polarized thinking and in-group blamelessness showed the greatest mean differences between the DMQ-E sample and the DMQ-A sample (see Table 12). When the refined DMQ-A sample was used in India, pro-violence and in-group blamelessness showed the greatest mean differences between the DMQ-E and DMQ-A refined (see Table 12). In the United States, xenophobia, in-group idealization, and in-group blamelessness showed the greatest mean differences between measures (see Table 12). And in South Africa, xenophobia, traitor talk, and pro-violence showed the greatest differences in means between the DMQ-E and DMQ-A (see Table 12). Aggregating across all three countries, the themes with the largest mean differences

were xenophobia, polarized thinking, and in-group blamelessness, and ones with the smallest

mean differences were racialist views, sabotage, and purity of thought (see Table 12 and Figure

3). Larger differences in theme means between the DMQ-E and DMQ-A measures might indicate

a certain degree of pluralistic ignorance taking place—people mistakenly report higher or lower

levels of perceived acceptability of a theme, compared with what the actual levels of agreement

towards those themes really are. While smaller mean differences suggest that there is perhaps

little evidence of pluralistic ignorance, and peoples' reports of acceptability are more closely

aligned with the actual levels of agreement towards those themes.

Table 12

Means and Between-Measure Mean Differences for DMQ Themes

| Theme | E | | | A | | | | Tot. *M* E | Tot. *M* A | *M* Diff. A - E | Tot. *M* A (Refined) | *M* Diff. A - E (Refined) |
	IN - E	U.S. - E	SA - E	U.S. - A	SA - A	IN - A	IN - A Refined					
RV	3.79	2.96	2.76	2.92	2.83	3.91	3.55	*3.17*	*3.22*	*.05*	*3.10*	*-.07*
XE	3.57	2.68	2.2	2.99	2.82	3.72	3.3	*2.82*	*3.18*	*.36*	*3.04*	*.22*
TT	3.77	2.71	2.38	2.92	2.85	3.9	3.57	*2.95*	*3.22*	*.27*	*3.11*	*.16*
SB	3.88	2.97	3.39	3.08	3.32	3.88	3.63	*3.41*	*3.43*	*.01*	*3.34*	*-.07*
WE	3.94	3.11	3.27	3.12	3.47	3.97	3.81	*3.44*	*3.52*	*.08*	*3.47*	*.03*
PV	3.53	2.61	1.84	2.66	2.34	3.71	3.19	*2.66*	*2.90*	*.24*	*2.73*	*.07*
ST	3.46	2.91	2.39	2.85	2.56	3.82	3.24	*2.92*	*3.08*	*.16*	*2.88*	*-.04*
PT	3.08	2.76	2.78	2.89	2.94	3.92	3.32	*2.87*	*3.25*	*.38*	*3.05*	*.18*
II	4.08	2.98	3.32	3.22	3.49	4.09	4.13	*3.46*	*3.60*	*.14*	*3.61*	*.15*
PU	4.09	3.26	3.84	3.44	3.61	4.04	3.87	*3.73*	*3.70*	*-.03*	*3.64*	*-.09*
IB	3.12	2.74	3.08	3.14	3.14	3.93	3.5	*2.98*	*3.40*	*.42*	*3.26*	*.28*

Notes. A - perceived acceptability measure (DMQ-A). E - personal endorsement (DMQ-E). Tot. *M* - totals means are calculated across samples for the two respective measures. *M* Diff. - Differences between means are calculated using the total theme-mean values. IN – India. U.S – United States. SA- South Africa. Themes: RV – racialist views, XE – xenophobia, TT – traitor talk, SB – sabotage, WE – wealthy elite, PV – pro-violence, ST – support of torture, PT – polarized thinking, II – in-group idealization, PU – purity of thought, IB – in-group blamelessness.

Evidence of pluralistic ignorance is also discussed under RQ1c as it pertains to the DMQ

themes. Please see this section for additional results. In order to further explore pluralistic

ignorance, for each of the seven samples (India DMQ-E, India DMQ-A, India DMQ-A refined,

U.S DMQ-E, U.S. DMQ-A, South Africa DMQ-E, and South Africa DMQ-A) the means for the

63 DMQ items were extracted and moved into a new dataset. From here, I was able to compute

zero-order correlations, across the set of item means, between the DMQ-E and the DMQ-A

samples in each country. Overall, in each country, the DMQ-A strongly predicted the DMQ-E

(see Table 13). The one exception to this was that in India, the original DMQ-A sample only

weakly predicted the DMQ-E (r=.27, p<.05; see Table 13). This finding only provided further

validation that using the refined sample was necessary. The refined DMQ-A sample corrected for

this weak correlation, and like the other samples, it strongly predicted the DMQ-E (r=.87, p<.001;

see Table 36). The strongest relationship was found between the South African samples (r=.92,

p<.001; see Table 13). These correlations suggest that these two measures are strongly related but

that there is still some portion of the measure (esp. in India and the U.S.) that is left unexplained

or unassociated.

Table 13.
Correlations and Simple Linear Regressions Where DMQ-A is Used to Predict
DMQ-E in Each Country

	r	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
India	.265*	.055	.070	4.625	**.035**
India (DMQ-A Refined)	.873**	.757	.761	194.579	**.000**
U.S.	.841**	.702	.707	146.941	**.000**
S. Africa	.920**	.843	.846	334.704	**.000**

Note. In bold are p-values that are less that .05.
* Correlation is significant at the .05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the .01 level (2-tailed).

Linear multiple regressions were also conducted on the item means for each country,

where acceptability (DMQ-A) was used to predict endorsement (DMQ-E). In all three countries

the DMQ-A significantly accounted for a good amount (70-84%) of the variance (see Table 13).

Once again, the regular DMQ-A sample in India only explained 5% of the variance in the DMQ-

E; this was again corrected for using the refined DMQ-A sample, which explained 76% of the

variance (see Table 13). Like the correlations, these results suggest that while the DMQ-E does a

good job of predicting the DMQ-A (and vice versa), it isn't able to account for 20 - 30% of the

variance (see Table 13); acceptability does not always predict endorsement perfectly.

The unstandardized residuals that were saved from these regression analyses were then examined and the largest residuals identified (see Appendix I for the results). Large residuals should indicate that DMQ items that showed the largest differences between actual endorsement and perceived acceptability. The DMQ items that produced large, positive residuals, indicated that people endorsed these items more than other people perceived or recognized those items as being acceptable in their society. The large, negative residuals on the other hand suggest that people endorsed these items less than others recognized as being acceptable. There are a few inferences that can be taken away from these large residuals. Firstly, it appears that (on average across countries) three xenophobia-theme items produced large, negative residuals, suggesting that people endorsed these statements less than others actually perceived them as acceptable in their society (see Appendix I for the results). Two of the traitor-talk items also produced large negative residuals, also suggesting that people endorsed these statements less than others actually perceived them to be acceptable (see Appendix I). Secondly, and on the other end, two of the support-of-torture items (48 and 52) generated large, positive residuals, suggesting that people endorsed these statements more than others actually perceived them as acceptable in their society (see Appendix I). What is interesting here is that these two support-of-torture items were opposites of one another—one item stated, "torture is never acceptable" and the other "there are times and places where torture is acceptable". From the country-level residuals, we can see that this finding is driven mostly by the Indian samples. One possible explanation for this finding is that the Indian samples showed more yea-saying, and thus more variance can be attributed to acquiescence, which in turn could make opposite-content items such as these look uncorrelated (or even slightly positive-correlated). Another possibility is that participants (especially in the Indian samples) might have missed the "never" in the first item and responded similarly to both items. And the final take-away from these residuals is that four items (30, 32 38, and 52) out of the six opposite-content (i.e., the anti-democidal items) items produced, large positive residuals (see Appendix I). The indication here is that *anti*-democidal attitudes are more strongly endorsed

(i.e., are agreed with) than people tend to assume (i.e., given the perceived acceptability of the statements).

IV. DISCUSSION

This dissertation explored the extent to which a newly developed acceptability response scale (DMQ-A) was a better guide for measuring democidal thinking in a society, as compared to the endorsement scale (DMQ-E). Additionally, this research provided further application and testing of the Democidal Mindset Questionnaire—one of the first tools to measure exclusionary thinking. Landau et al. (2020) developed a way in which to measure the Democidal Mindset at a self-report level, giving one the ability to assess an individual's personal endorsement of these items. And while the current study also employs a measure of personal endorsement, it expands previous research on the Democidal Mindset by measuring the perceived acceptability of the mindset. This perceived acceptability scale may allow one to measure the levels of democidal thinking at a cultural or societal level. Research suggests that *shared* societal or ideological belief structures have far greater impact or force than the individual levels of sincere endorsements that underlie them (Leader Maynard, 2019). Moreover, as encapsulated by the Overton window and theories of culture and social perception, we know that public opinion can have several important impacts. It can: shape politics and constrain or liberate political actors, influence a population's perceptions and in turn their willingness to express their own beliefs and finally, may influence the behavior of both leaders and population. Consequently, measuring the cultural (i.e., normative) levels of democidal or exclusionary thinking could possibly be more useful (or at least could provide additional insight) when it comes to understanding mass killing. And although the results do not conclusively point to one measure being far superior to the other in all respects, they do seem to give some indication of the context wherein each method performs best.

On average, people appear to report higher levels of perceived acceptability of democidal thinking in comparison to the levels of reported endorsement in their countries, at least so long as one assumes that the 0-4 response scales that were used for the two types of data correspond fully. This finding was stable across all three countries. Although more research is needed here,

this result could suggest that some form of pluralistic ignorance is occurring; people misreport more acceptability of democidal beliefs than actually exists, much like students misreporting the levels of alcohol consumption on college campuses.

Investigation into the psychometric qualities indicated that inter-rater consistency was high in all samples and for both measures. The one exception to this was that the DMQ-A sample in India demonstrated much poorer psychometric qualities. There are a few possible reasons why ~70 of the participants' responses were abnormal in this particular sample. Firstly, the DMQ-A measure is novel and not like a typical self-report survey (like the DMQ-E)—instead it asks participants to surmise the attitudes and beliefs of one's society, and this may have been a problematically unfamiliar task for much of the India sample. Adding to this, English fluency might have also posed more of a problem here than it did for the DMQ-E sample, for participants might have struggled more with understanding the response scale of the DMQ-A and words within it such as "commended," "tolerated" or "condemned". In response to this unfamiliarity many respondents may have resorted to random or highly acquiescent patterns of responding. Another possible reason for this is that, in general, MTurk data coming from India is often observed to be of poorer quality (Feitosa, Joseph, & Newman, 2015; Khanna et al., 2010), so this sample might have just been as unlucky collection of participants and more affected by poor quality and unreliable responses. This would be strange however, for the DMQ-E data, which was collected in the same manner and around the same times was not similarly affected. Nonetheless, after investigative analyses were conducted, and the sample size was reduced to a smaller set of participants, the data appeared to be more reliable. Although the lessened statistical power in the reduced sample made statistical significance less likely to be observed, both samples (original and refined) were used throughout the analyses, allowing for comparisons to be made.

Furthermore, pertaining to the discussion of psychometric qualities, while inter-rater consistency was high, unidimensionality of the raters (i.e., homogeneity across the group rather than a heterogeneous collection of homogeneous subgroups) in both the personal endorsement

and the acceptability scales was unsatisfactory. As it applies to raters, unsatisfactory

unidimensionality suggests that there is some cultural heterogeneity within countries. Now, this is

not surprising, as one would expect participants (i.e., raters) in country samples to come from

different 'cultural subgroups' and thus report a range of different responses. However, whichever

scale (DMQ-E or DMQ-A) pulls in less of this cultural heterogeneity should be better at assessing

a society as a whole (rather than an individual) for the democidal thinking—i.e., it should be

more reliable across subgroups within that society. The results suggest that in India and the U.S.

the DMQ-A might indeed be the better measure to use for this purpose, for it pulled in less of this

cultural heterogeneity. South Africa reported very similar levels of rater unidimensionality for the

DMQ-E and DMQ-A. Furthermore, in India and the U.S., the DMQ-A samples (as compared to

the DMQ-E) were also more normally distributed in relation to individuals' scores on the DMQ

items (as one might expect for errors around a true underlying score).

The DMQ-A reported lower standard deviations across demographic factors in

comparison to the DMQ-E, suggesting that there was less variability in the acceptability scale,

even across demographic subgroups. Moreover, in all three countries (and especially so in South

Africa), the DMQ-A was less influenced by demographic factors as compared to the DMQ-E.

One notable case was that in the United States, political affiliation appeared to be significantly

associated with the DMQ-E. People who reported being more politically conservative, also

reported higher levels of endorsement of democidal statements. This result, while not as strong,

was also found in the South African samples (and more so in the DMQ-E than the DMQ-A

sample). These findings are likely not isolated observations, for holding politically conservative

attitudes has also been shown to be related to scoring highly on on other related measures, such as

right-wing authoritarianism (Bizumic & Duckitt, 2018) and social dominance orientation (Ho et

al., 2015). In summary, it appears that the acceptability measure might prove to be less affected

by demographic factors (including the individual political affiliation of respondents), but larger

more representative samples are needed to support this. In addition, the results also seemed to

suggest that with regard to the Democidal Mindset, political affiliation and subjective SES might

be worthwhile demographics to explore in future studies.

With regard to the eleven Democidal Mindset themes, there appeared to be lower

standard deviations in people's average theme scores on the DMQ-A than there was on the DMQ-

E, and thus potentially more consistency in how participants responder to items within each

theme using the DMQ-A scale. In addition, participants average theme means were more

consistent (i.e., more strongly correlated) across countries for the DMQ-A measure than they

were for the DMQ-E. This indicates that perhaps the DMQ-A is a better measure to be used when

seeking to identify pancultural phenomena.

And finally, an examination of the theme means did produce two interesting and

potentially cross-cultural findings. Firstly, across the three countries, the themes that showed the

largest differences between their average scores, and thus potentially showed the greatest

evidence of pluralistic ignorance occurring, were xenophobia, polarized thinking, and in-group

blamelessness. And the themes that showed the small differences, potentially suggesting lower

levels of misperceptions (i.e., less evidence of pluralistic ignorance) were racialist views,

sabotage, and purity of thought. And secondly, when examining the theme means across

countries, xenophobia, pro-violence and support of torture appear to consistently have some of

the lowest theme means (i.e., are less endorsed, or more highly condemned), and wealthy elite,

in-group idealization and purity of thought appear to have some of the highest theme means (i.e.,

are more endorsed, or more highly praised). This gives us some indication that across cultures, at

least as far as these three sets of samples would indicate, certain DMQ themes are viewed as more

acceptable in society, while others are deemed to be less acceptable.

But in terms of predicting behavioral intentions, the DMQ-E on average, performed

better than the DMQ-A. This is to be expected, for a person's endorsement of beliefs should also

correspond with their behavioral intentions on related issues. For the social distancing items,

which asked participants about specific groups, the DMQ items seemed to best predict behavioral

intentions towards the most recognized discriminated-against groups in those countries; Muslims and Adivasis in India, blacks (or African Americans) and Muslims in the U.S. and Nigerians in South Africa. In addition, the other group that the DMQ items consistently predicted across all three countries was "foreigners". This confirms that attitudes towards these groups and "foreigners" are particularly salient and associated with the democidal thinking items. With regard to the additional set of behavioral intention items, the DMQ measures (both DMQ-E and DMQ-A) appeared to do the best job at predicting items that asked participants about voting in favor to forbid intermarriage between ethnic groups and items that asked participants if they would take action to prevent a specific group (e.g., people from NE India, or people from Mexico or Central America) from either moving into their neighborhood or operating a business in their area. These are all outcomes that involve direct daily interaction with members of some out-group.

In contrast, when it came to predicting prejudicial attitudes (via the means of the FIRE scale), it appears that the DMQ-A might perform better. While there were no significant results in the refined India DMQ-A sample, or either sample in South Africa, in India and the U.S. the DMQ-A predicted prejudicial attitudes (after controlling for demographics and VSA and SDO variables) when the DMQ-E did not. One potential explanation for this, is that by including the VSA and SDO—self-report predictors of prejudice—into the model in the second step, and then including another self-report predictor of prejudice (which was also highly correlated with the VSA and SDO), the DMQ-E, in the third step, the final model didn't add much additional prediction. The DMQ-A, which unlike the VSA, SDO, and DMQ-E is not a typical self-report predictor, might have explained a unique portion of the variance in prejudicial attitudes that the DMQ-E was not able to explain. That is, the DMQ-A enables a complementary, more indirect assessment of racism, along the lines of views that racist attitudes are 'pretty widely accepted in my society', and thus, perhaps implicitly suggesting that these attitudes are fine, for 'everyone does it'.

And finally, the present study tried to ascertain (in the ways that it could) if there was any evidence that pluralistic ignorance existed. Due to the fact that two distinct response scales (endorsement and acceptability) were used to measure democidal thinking, comparisons between measures are fraught with issues and thus the findings presented are only approximates. Overall, while the DMQ-A was closely associated with and explained a great deal of variance in the DMQ-E, there still existed ~25% of variance that could not be explained from one platform to the other. This finding, along with the fact that the overall DMQ means were higher in the DMQ-A samples, could be a potential indication that pluralistic ignorance is present. People had a tendency to rate DMQ statements as being acceptable to a higher proportion than there were levels of actual endorsement of those same items. A review of the saved residuals also produced a couple interesting findings. The residuals indicate that for three of the xenophobia-theme items, people endorsed these statements less than others actually perceived them as being acceptable in their society. It is possible that findings such as this one (e.g., people assuming that their society is more anti-foreigner than the actual attitudes of people suggest) might occur often, and possibly be a driving force behind why certain discriminatory policies are tolerated or accepted in a society, even when the actual sentiment or support towards them is a lot weaker than one would think. When the acceptability is higher than the endorsement for a particularly dangerous attitude, it might imply that there is "room to grow" for that attitude—i.e., people are prepared to tolerate it even if many don't endorse it. Another finding from the residuals implied that certain anti-democidal items were more strongly endorsed that other people perceived them to be. This is a positive finding, suggesting that people are less democidal than people tend to assume. While it was not possible to do in the present study (due to constraints of money and the survey length), future studies could measure pluralistic ignorance more precisely by asking the same participants to rate both the perceived acceptability of and their own level of agreement to the same democidal mindset items. However, the findings provided here do indicate what one might find if this sort of study was conducted.

In summary, while the DMQ-E appears to be a better predictor of an individual's intended behavior, the DMQ-A seems to produce more inter-rater convergence with less variability and thus, provides a more efficient way to discern the pattern within a population— fewer respondents might be needed. In addition, the DMQ-A could also end up being a more novel predictor (as compared than DMQ-E) of related prejudicial attitudes (as an increment above other well-known measures), but more research is needed here before making such a claim. It is also worthwhile to note, that with regard to predicting intended behavior, not only were both DMQ measures able to explain variance in some of these items even after controlling for authoritarianism and Social Dominance Orientation, they also tended to produce levels of prediction that were comparable to these other scales/measures (see results for more details). These findings provide further support for the Democidal Mindset Questionnaire and suggests that it is measuring something unique that cannot be completely explained by measures of authoritarianism or a person's views on group-based inequality.

This work has relevance in both the academic community and in the field of atrocity prevention. First it shows how one might measure beliefs and attitudes at a societal or cultural level. While self-reports are useful tools, using a response scale to measure the perceived societal acceptability may provide a better method for judging the normative framework as it pertains to certain beliefs and, here, the relative degree to which a facilitative 'pro-democidal culture' exists in a population. In turn, this normative framework could give us insight into what is considered to be acceptable or unacceptable in a society, and therefore what types of actions or policies might be tolerated or even viewed as popular by the public. In conjunction, what the public considers to be normative may also influence the political arena, in terms of what types of leaders get elected and the subsequent policies they decide to implement. As it relates to the atrocity-prevention community, measuring democidal thinking in a population or community might prove useful for the purposes of conflict analysis, and in particular, for early-warning detection. As the Early Warning Project—the first public early warning system for mass atrocities available—states,

"[atrocities] are always preceded by a range of early warning signs. If these signs are detected, their causes can be addressed, preventing the potential for catastrophic progression" (Early Warning Project, n.d.). In line with this thinking, people's beliefs and attitudes (and in turn their speech) can be used to detect early warning signs of exclusionary or dangerous thinking. Early warning is an effective and inexpensive way to tackle mass killing before it occurs. Where a general population falls along the spectrum of approval or disapproval of the mindset could be a protective factor or risk factor, advantageously tapping into what the population is prone to tolerate or not tolerate in the way of democidal behavior. Higher pre-existing approval in a general population may correspond to a higher risk for electing a leader who disseminates exclusionary rhetoric. Over time, changes in a society's levels of acceptability of these attitudes may also reflect a society's radicalization. In addition, the Democidal Mindset Questionnaire items might be used on the ground by practitioners to survey locals, giving one the ability to gauge community sentiment. In the future, a shortened and possibly culture-specific version of the Democidal Mindset might be implemented in a variety of contexts. This might be a good first step for local programs and NGOs aimed at preventative work (such as Search for Common Ground or Mercy Corps) in the community to take, allowing them to assess the current environment. Practitioners would be able to survey communities, for democidal thinking, much like the U.S. government uses MPICE (Agolia & Sotirin, 2010) to assess environments of conflict. From this, practitioners may be able to develop norm-based inventions to decrease democidal thinking in a community. Building on the research of pluralistic ignorance, we know that norm-based interventions have shown some success (Miller & Prentice, 2016) in changing perceptions. Miller and Prentice (2016) also note that an issue with many of these norm-based interventions is that the majority of them have relied on self-report data. The perceived acceptability scale could somewhat resolve this issue. Rather than asking participants to self-report their own beliefs or attitudes, the perceived acceptability measure asks participants to report how acceptable or unacceptable they believe certain beliefs, attitudes or values to be in

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their society. This would also help to decrease any social desirability bias (i.e., participants reporting beliefs that would be deemed as more socially acceptable rather than reporting what they truly believe).

Limitations and Future Directions

A considerable limitation of this study is that it relies on data from online survey platforms, and in particular, relies on data from Mechanical Turk (MTurk) (for the Indian and U.S. samples). While most psychological research is typically conducted on university students (which also comes with its own issues), I felt that for this particular content, it called for a wider representation of participants from the general community. The easiest and most affordable way to collect participants from the larger community is through the means of MTurk. Due to limited funds, I was unable to pay for additional qualifications on MTurk that might have improved the quality of the data. While I was able to use a Qualtrics panel for my South African samples, it was considerably more expensive than the MTurk samples. In the future, this research would ideally be conducted on larger and more well-balanced samples. In addition, future studies could also focus on surveying particular subgroups within a society that may be at greater risk for displaying democidal thinking. Such studies could prove useful for NGOs such as the Southern Poverty Law Center.

An additional limitation is that the Democidal Mindset and the subsequent Democidal Mindset Questionnaire (DMQ) items represent very new research. More testing is needed. Thresholds and baseline levels of what is considered a "normal" level of democidal thinking and what is an unusually high level of democidal thinking need to be determined. Longitudinal data is also needed in order to monitor how democidal thinking may change over time. Nevertheless, this research has introduced a promising line of inquiry.

Conclusion

The primary purpose of this dissertation was to compare two response scales of democidal thinking—actual endorsement (DMQ-E) and perceived acceptability (DMQ-A)—in three different countries. A scale that measures perceived acceptability (as compared to individual endorsement) has the potential to provide a way to measure democidal thinking at a societal or cultural level, which may prove more useful when analyzing instances of mass killing. Though the present findings are mixed, they do suggest that the DMQ-A produces results with less variance. While the DMQ-E proved to be a better predictor of behavioral intention, the DMQ-A appeared to be a slightly more novel predictor of prejudicial attitudes (as an increment above other well-known measures such as the VSA or SDO). This research not only provides further testing of the Democidal Mindset, but it also expands the work by applying theoretical concepts such as the Overton window and pluralistic ignorance to craft an original way to measure democidal thinking. Eventually, this research could provide insights for tracking the performance of norm-based interventions aimed decrease exclusionary thinking and collective violence.

APPENDIX A

THEMES FOR 10-FACTOR DMQ MODEL

Themes for 10-Factor DMQ Model (Landau et al., 2020)

Theme Number	Theme Label
1	Racialist views
2	Xenophobia
3	Traitor talk
4	Sabotage (internal enemies)
5	Wealthy elite
6	Pro-violence
7	Support of torture
8	Polarized thinking
9	In-group idealization
10	Purity of thought
13	In-group blamelessness

Note. Theme 13 is add-on theme identified post-hoc by Landau et al. (2020).

APPENDIX B

COMPARISON OF THE OVERTON WINDOW AND DMQ-A DEGREES OF ACCEPTANCE

Comparison of the Overton Window and DMQ-A Degrees of Acceptance

The Overton Window Degrees of Acceptance	DMQ-A Response Scale
Policy	Praised and commended
Popular	Commonly accepted
Sensible	
Acceptable	Tolerated
Radical	Disapproved
Unthinkable	Condemned

FIRE SCALE VERSIONS

Fear, Institutional Racism and Empathy (FIRE; DeSante & Smith, 2018)

United States: original version of FIRE scale

1. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

2. I am fearful of people of other races.

3. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

4. I am angry that racism exists.

India: adapted FIRE scale

1. Hindus in India have certain advantages because of their religion.

2. I am fearful of people of other religions.

3. Religious conflicts in India are rare, isolated situations.

4. I am angry that religious prejudice exists.

South Africa: adapted FIRE scale

1. White people in South Africa have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.

2. I am fearful of people of other races.

3. Racial problems in South Africa are rare, isolated situations.

4. I am angry that racism exists.

APPENDIX D

SOCIAL DISTANCE QUESTIONS AND GROUPS FOR EACH COUNTRY

These items are loosely based on Bogardus' (1933) Social Distance Scale. For each country, participants indicate their willingness to participate in a social relationship or contract with a person from a particular group. The following three questions were asked for each of the corresponding social groups selected for that country.

1. Below is a list of various groups of people. For each group, please state how likely you would be to accept them as your neighbors (living next to you).

2. Below is a list of various groups of people. For each group, please state how likely you would be to accept them as a member of your family.

3. Below is a list of various groups of people. For each group, please state how likely you would be to accept them as a military leader or president of your country.

Groups Selected for India

1. Muslims

2. Christians

3. Dalits

4. Adivasis

5. Pakistanis

6. Kashmiris

7. People from the North East of India

8. Homosexuals

9. Transgender people

10. Immigrants /Migrants

11. Foreigners

Groups Selected for U.S.

1. Blacks (or African Americans)

2. Jews

3. Muslims

4. Mexicans/Latin Americans

5. Homosexuals

6. Transgender people

7. Immigrants /Migrants

8. Foreigners

Groups Selected for South Africa

1. Zimbabweans

2. Nigerians

3. Congolese

4. Indians/Asian

5. Homosexuals

6. Transgender people

7. Immigrants /Migrants

8. Foreigners

APPENDIX E

BEHAVIORAL INTENTION ITEMS FOR EACH COUNTRY

The following seven items were included in all three countries.

1. How likely would you be to sign a petition to shut down a group on social media, known for propagating hate speech against immigrants?

2. How likely would you be to join a community-based group (supported by the government) responsible for policing your community for local traitors or enemies?

3. How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?

4. How likely would you vote in favor of a policy that made it illegal for the government to censor journalists whenever it chose to?

5. How likely would you be to support a policy that helped refugees to come to your country?

6. How likely would you be to support the police taking aggressive actions to remove illegal immigrants?

7. How likely would you be to oppose to a policy that would require people to carry identification cards displaying one's ethnic/racial/religious (country-specific) identification with them at all times?

The following items were country specific:

India

1. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... - moving into your neighborhood?

2. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... -operating a business in your area?"

3. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... -moving into your neighborhood?

4. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... -operating a business in your area?"

U.S.

1. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come here from Mexico or Central America from ... -moving into your neighborhood?

2. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come here from Mexico or Central America from... -operating a business in your area?

3. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent blacks (African Americans) from ... -moving into your neighborhood?

4. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent blacks (African Americans) from... -operating a business in your area?"

South Africa

1. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come here from other countries in Africa from... - Moving into your neighborhood?

2. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come here from other countries in Africa from... - Operating a business in your area?

DEMOCIDAL MINDSET QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE SCALES

Democidal Mindset Questionnaire - Endorsement (DMQ-E). Using this scale participants were asked to rate their own agreement (or disagreement) of the Democidal Mindset Questionnaire items.

4 - Definitely Agree - I would proudly associate myself with this view

3 - Moderately Agree - I would tend to associate myself with this view

2 - Neutral - I am uncertain whether to associate myself with this view

1 - Moderately Disagree - I would tend to disassociate myself from this view

0 - Definitely Disagree - I would strongly disassociate myself from this view [even in the sense of 'I would certainly not want to be associated with such a view!']

Democidal Mindset Questionnaire - Acceptability (DMQ-A). Using this scale participants were asked to rate their perceived acceptability of the Democidal Mindset Questionnaire items in their country.

4 – Praised and commended, most people would express their approval of this

3 – Commonly accepted, most people would be willing to say this (but would not expect to be praised for saying it)

2- Tolerated, most would disagree, but they would put up with others saying this

1 – Disapproved, most people would express their disapproval of this

0- Condemned, considered by most people to be so unacceptable that anyone saying this would experience undesirable consequences

SCALE PSYCHOMETRICS AND CORRELATIONS

Table G.14.

Psychometric Qualities of Scales

			α	Stdzd. α	MIC	ICC	VIC	VIM
US DMQ-E	DMQ	63	.987	.986	.521	.541	.082	.112
	VSA	6	.743	.732	.313	.325	.060	.140
	SDO	8	.865	.862	.438	.444	.045	.171
US DMQ-A	DMQ	63	.979	.977	.401	.424	.075	.130
	VSA	6	.627	.618	.212	.219	.024	.060
	SDO	8	.715	.702	.227	.239	.064	.227
IN DMQ-E	DMQ	63	.949	.947	.220	.229	.041	.290
	VSA	6	.456	.467	.128	.123	.019	.134
	SDO	8	.546	.477	.102	.131	.070	.177
IN DMQ-A	DMQ	63	.956	.956	.255	.258	.013	.026
	VSA	6	.649	.645	.231	.301	.235	.041
	SDO	8	.775	.776	.302	.301	.012	.010
IN DMQ-A Refined	DMQ	63	.946	.946	.218	.219	.033	.123
	VSA	6	.569	.551	.170	.180	.032	.132
	SDO	8	.705	.710	.234	.230	.033	.064
SA DMQ-E	DMQ	63	.927	.924	.167	.162	.025	.578
	VSA	6	.577	.579	.186	.185	.025	.122
	SDO	8	.589	.610	.164	.152	.007	.271
SA DMQ-A	DMQ	63	.937	.937	.191	.192	.023	.276
	VSA	6	.553	.550	.169	.171	.016	.120
	SDO	8	.678	.682	.211	.208	.009	.092

Notes. MIC - mean of inter-item correlations. ICC - intraclass correlation single measures.
VIC - variance of inter-item correlations. VIM - variance of the inter-item means. US - United States. IN - India. SA - South Africa. DMQ – Democidal Mindset Questionnaire. VSA – Very Short Authoritarianism scale. SDO - Social Dominance Orientation.

Table G.15.
Correlation Matrix of Scales

		DMQ	VSA	SDO
	DMQ	1		
US DMQ-E	VSA	.807**	1	
	SDO	.743**	.701**	1
	DMQ	1		
US DMQ-A	VSA	.392**	1	
	SDO	.706**	.365**	1
	DMQ	1		
IN DMQ-E	VSA	.715**	1	
	SDO	.747**	.673**	1
	DMQ	1		
IN DMQ-A	VSA	.780**	1	
	SDO	.842**	.681**	1
	DMQ	1		
IN DMQ-A Refined	VSA	.687**	1	
	SDO	.775**	.598**	1
	DMQ	1		
SA DMQ-E	VSA	.451**	1	
	SDO	.419**	.087	1
	DMQ	1		
SA DMQ-A	VSA	.212*	1	
	SDO	.467**	-.168	1

Notes. US - United States. IN - India. SA - South Africa. DMQ - participant means scores on Democidal Mindset items. VSA - participant means scores on Very Short Authoritarianism scale. SDO - participant means scores on Social Dominance Orientation.
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

INTENDED BEHAVIORAL ITEMS RESULTS FOR EACH COUNTRY

Table H.16.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for US DMQ-E and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for Demographics

	Neighbor					Member of your family					Military leader or president			
	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
Blacks (or African-Americans)	.372	.247	.168	**.030**		.379	.257	.216	**.005**		.441	.331	.273	**.000**
Jews	.313	.177	.151	.083		.403	.285	.187	**.010**		.344	.215	.215	**.008**
Muslims	.366	.241	.182	**.019**		.446	.336	.302	**.000**		.384	.262	.225	**.003**
Mexicans/Latin Americans	.336	.205	.188	**.020**		.380	.257	.208	**.006**		.356	.229	.201	**.011**
Homosexuals	.381	.259	.142	.068		.351	.222	.121	.162		.370	.245	.177	**.021**
Transgender people	.303	.166	.107	.302		.294	.154	.170	**.053**		.265	.120	.130	.195
Immigrants /Migrants	.326	.193	.224	**.007**		.452	.343	.376	**.000**		.339	.208	.222	**.006**
Foreigners	.340	.210	.203	**.012**		.403	.285	.259	**.001**		.252	.104	.150	.124

Note. These questions asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor, member of their family, or a military lead or president. In bold are *p*-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e., moc 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.17.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for U.S. DMQ-E and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for VSA and SDO

	Model	Neighbors				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
Blacks (or African-Americans)	2. w/VSA & SDO	.287	.227	.083	.005	.301	.242	.138	.000	.332	.276	.164	.000
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.382	.242	.095	.322	.401	.266	.100	.253	.488	.372	.155	**.016**
Jews	2. w/VSA & SDO	.234	.169	.072	.014	.310	.252	.094	.002	.176	.106	.046	.077
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.339	.189	.105	.290	.420	.289	.111	.164	.352	.205	.176	**.031**
Muslims	2. w/VSA & SDO	.248	.185	.064	.020	.250	.187	.106	.002	.248	.184	.089	.005
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.374	.232	.126	.135	.469	.349	.219	**.001**	.425	.295	.177	**.014**
Mexicans/Latin Americans	2. w/VSA & SDO	.262	.200	.115	.001	.318	.261	.147	.000	.199	.131	.044	.080
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.366	.222	.104	.270	.412	.278	.093	.293	.387	.249	.188	**.014**
Homosexuals	2. w/VSA & SDO	.312	.254	.072	.009	.290	.230	.060	.021	.248	.185	.055	.035
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.439	.312	.127	.082	.371	.229	.081	.467	.403	.268	.155	**.040**
Transgender people	2. w/VSA & SDO	.257	.194	.060	.025	.214	.148	.090	.006	.183	.114	.048	.067
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.343	.194	.086	.452	.320	.167	.107	.302	.297	.138	.114	.277
Immigrants/Migrants	2. w/VSA & SDO	.234	.170	.132	.001	.370	.316	.293	.000	.247	.184	.130	.001
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.353	.207	.119	.185	.501	.388	.131	**.037**	.415	.283	.168	**.022**
Foreigners	2. w/VSA & SDO	.275	.214	.138	.000	.352	.298	.208	.000	.196	.129	.094	.005
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.359	.214	.084	.453	.471	.351	.119	.085	.352	.205	.155	.061

Notes. This question asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor (living near or next to them). In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e. model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e. model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

Table H.18

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for US DMQ-A and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for Demographics

	Neighbors				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
Blacks (or African-Americans)	.319	.176	.153	.098	.222	.058	.084	.647	.271	.118	.131	.228
Jews	.257	.101	.099	.472	.242	.083	.139	.213	.196	.028	.141	.242
Muslims	.359	.224	.107	.281	.314	.170	.082	.563	.341	.203	.072	.633
Mexicans/Latin Americans	.248	.090	.113	.365	.154	-.023	.055	.914	.244	.085	.077	.684
Homosexuals	.278	.126	.099	.448	.335	.195	.199	**.022**	.277	.125	.117	.306
Transgender people	.234	.073	.092	.554	.297	.150	.145	.141	.204	.037	.092	.590
Immigrants /Migrants	.208	.041	.102	.503	.264	.109	.102	.440	.142	-.038	.067	.844
Foreigners	.299	.152	.187	**.044**	.210	.044	.100	.514	.191	.021	.089	.627

Note. These questions asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor, member of their family, or a military leader or president. In bold are *p*-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e., model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.19.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for U.S. DMQ-A and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for VSA and SDO

	Model	Neighbors				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
Blacks (or African-Americans)	2. w/VSA & SDO	.219	.150	.054	.050	.169	.095	.031	.196	.157	.082	.891	.405
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.323	.161	.104	.370	.246	.065	.078	.696	.275	.101	.882	.321
Jews	2. w/VSA & SDO	.204	.133	.045	.084	.170	.096	.067	.031	.100	.020	.045	.111
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.281	.108	.077	.667	.263	.086	.093	.535	.205	.013	.105	.503
Muslims	2. w/VSA & SDO	.258	.192	.007	.671	.242	.174	.010	.566	.269	.204	.000	.977
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.359	.205	.101	.351	.317	.153	.076	.644	.360	.206	.091	.440
Mexicans/Latin Americans	2. w/VSA & SDO	.180	.107	.045	.090	.132	.055	.033	.189	.192	.120	.025	.247
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.257	.079	.077	.690	.172	-.027	.039	.974	.257	.078	.065	.803
Homosexuals	2. w/VSA & SDO	.287	.223	.107	.002	.222	.153	.086	.009	.197	.126	.037	.132
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.343	.185	.056	.813	.346	.189	.125	.204	.281	.108	.084	.607
Transgender people	2. w/VSA & SDO	.213	.143	.071	.020	.191	.119	.038	.125	.116	.037	.004	.834
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.261	.083	.048	.920	.300	.131	.109	.360	.208	.017	.092	.607
Immigrants /Migrants	2. w/VSA & SDO	.182	.109	.076	.018	.228	.159	.065	.026	.105	.025	.030	.226
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.245	.063	.063	.827	.274	.099	.046	.925	.144	-.061	.040	.976
Foreigners	2. w/VSA & SDO	.175	.102	.063	.036	.140	.063	.030	.213	.113	.034	.012	.554
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.314	.149	.139	.166	.213	.023	.073	.766	.192	-.002	.079	.735

Notes. This question asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor (living near or next to them). In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e. model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e. model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

Table H.20.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for S. Africa DMQ-E and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for Demographics

	Neighbors				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
Zimbabweans	.199	.040	.155	.143	.318	.184	.206	**.013**	.240	.090	.115	.309
Nigerians	.252	.104	.231	**.012**	.309	.172	.231	**.006**	.191	.031	.120	.328
Congolese	.243	.094	.188	**.044**	.308	.171	.166	.054	.236	.084	.104	.400
Indians/Asians	.245	.095	.144	.148	.225	.071	.156	.122	.214	.059	.079	.653
Homosexuals	.237	.086	.161	.099	.245	.095	.135	.189	.411	.295	.258	**.001**
Transgender people	.279	.137	.197	**.026**	.392	.271	.187	**.012**	.354	.226	.216	**.006**
Immigrants/Migrants	.160	-.006	.146	.207	.247	.098	.180	**.054**	.252	.105	.176	.060
Foreigners	.252	.104	.211	**.021**	.297	.158	.257	**.003**	.143	-.026	.066	.825

Note. This question asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor (living near or next to them). In bold are p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e., model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.21.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for S. Africa. DMQ-E and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for VSA and SDO

	Model	Neighbors				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
Zimbabweans	2. w/VSA & SDO	.231	.166	.187	.000	.237	.173	.125	.001	.133	.060	.007	.664
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.303	.146	.073	.644	.362	.217	.124	.151	.249	.080	.117	.308
Nigerians	2. w/VSA & SDO	.074	-.004	.053	.070	.168	.098	.091	.007	.075	-.003	.003	.842
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.253	.084	.179	.061	.328	.176	.160	.063	.214	.036	.139	.211
Congolese	2. w/VSA & SDO	.110	.035	.055	.058	.234	.170	.092	.005	.132	.059	.001	.967
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.263	.096	.153	.118	.334	.183	.100	.338	.241	.069	.109	.375
Indians/Asians	2. w/VSA & SDO	.247	.184	.147	.000	.163	.093	.095	.006	.143	.071	.008	.646
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.330	.178	.083	.505	.269	.104	.106	.366	.224	.049	.081	.638
Homosexuals	2. w/VSA & SDO	.196	.129	.120	.001	.256	.193	.146	.000	.408	.358	.255	.000
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.295	.135	.098	.399	.328	.176	.072	.618	.490	.375	.082	.279
Transgender people	2. w/VSA & SDO	.232	.167	.150	.000	.361	.308	.157	.000	.364	.310	.226	.000
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.355	.210	.124	.160	.435	.307	.073	.461	.445	.319	.081	.365
Immigrants /Migrants	2. w/VSA & SDO	.121	.047	.107	.004	.218	.152	.152	.000	.182	.113	.105	.003
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.203	.022	.082	.658	.335	.185	.117	.216	.285	.123	.103	.370
Foreigners	2. w/VSA & SDO	.170	.100	.129	.001	.179	.110	.139	.001	.078	.000	.001	.971
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.304	.146	.134	.158	.359	.214	.180	**.025**	.149	-.043	.071	.790

Notes. This question asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor (living near or next to them). In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e., model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e., model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

Table H.22.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for S. Africa DMQ-A and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for Demographics

	Neighbor				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
Zimbabweans	.199	.049	.099	.438	.121	-.043	.062	.838	.118	-.047	.088	.613
Nigerians	.116	-.049	.093	.571	.203	.054	.052	.868	.136	-.026	.078	.694
Congolese	.207	.059	.119	.275	.216	.070	.094	.461	.183	.030	.125	.258
Indians/Asians	.113	-.053	.069	.785	.154	-.004	.138	.210	.198	.048	.106	.376
Homosexuals	.156	-.001	.098	.487	.096	-.073	.051	.918	.101	-.067	.055	.893
Transgender people	.170	.014	.125	.268	.130	-.032	.082	.657	.122	-.041	.073	.746
Immigrants/Migrants	.106	-.062	.071	.772	.210	.063	.170	.070	.136	-.025	.104	.455
Foreigners	.181	.028	.119	.296	.109	-.058	.072	.761	.191	.040	.134	.198

Note. In bold are p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e., model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.23.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for S. Africa. DMQ-A and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for VSA and SDO

	Model	Neighbors				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
Zimbabweans	2. w/VSA & SDO	.123	.053	.023	.277	.077	.004	.018	.380	.042	-.034	.013	.508
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.216	.048	.092	.495	.139	-.044	.062	.840	.140	-.044	.098	.527
Nigerians	2. w/VSA & SDO	.036	-.041	.013	.508	.158	.091	.008	.616	.066	-.009	.008	.659
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.128	-.058	.092	.583	.234	.071	.076	.639	.147	-.035	.081	.667
Congolese	2. w/VSA & SDO	.134	.065	.046	.075	.136	.066	.013	.473	.063	-.012	.005	.765
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.238	.075	.104	.370	.234	.070	.098	.420	.192	.019	.129	.242
Indians/Asians	2. w/VSA & SDO	.087	.014	.043	.098	.056	-.019	.040	.123	.101	.029	.009	.605
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.139	-.045	.051	.910	.170	-.007	.114	.364	.202	.032	.101	.431
Homosexuals	2. w/VSA & SDO	.092	.020	.034	.160	.070	-.004	.025	.264	.048	-.029	.002	.917
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.164	-.014	.072	.740	.104	-.087	.034	.982	.109	-.081	.062	.857
Transgender people	2. w/VSA & SDO	.108	.037	.063	.032	.065	-.010	.017	.402	.060	-.015	.010	.574
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.204	.035	.097	.469	.156	-.024	.091	.572	.126	-.061	.066	.815
Immigrants /Migrants	2. w/VSA & SDO	.096	.024	.062	.036	.099	.027	.059	.042	.043	-.034	.011	.574
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.144	-.038	.048	.927	.257	.099	.158	.082	.154	-.026	.111	.399
Foreigners	2. w/VSA & SDO	.072	-.002	.010	.600	.075	.001	.038	.131	.075	.001	.019	.365
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.193	.021	.122	.286	.127	-.059	.052	.909	.219	.052	.144	.149

Notes. This question asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor (living near or next to them). In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e. model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e. model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

Table H.24.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for India DMQ-E and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for Demographics

	Neighbors					Member of your family					Military leader or president				
	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Muslims	.236	.086	.099	1.027	.430	.212	.059	.212	.059	.737	.129	-.041	.070	.634	.795
Christians	.153	-.013	.135	1.256	.264	.222	.070	.125	1.275	.253	.272	.130	.181	1.964	**.042**
Dalits	.142	-.026	.098	.908	.537	.270	.127	.142	1.534	.134	.257	.111	.082	.874	.569
Adivasis	.197	.041	.132	1.299	.239	.325	.193	.168	1.966	**.042**	.296	.158	.228	2.557	**.007**
Pakistanis	.292	.154	.117	1.312	.232	.292	.153	.146	1.634	.103	.478	.376	.240	3.631	**.000**
Kashmiris	.268	.125	.185	1.996	**.038**	.293	.155	.099	1.112	.361	.237	.088	.106	1.104	.368
Someone from the North East of India	.239	.091	.177	1.845	.058	.150	-.016	.106	.984	.467	.173	.011	.083	.794	.645
Homosexuals	.403	.287	.212	2.810	**.004**	.332	.201	.148	1.749	.076	.398	.280	.230	3.023	**.002**
Transgender people	.189	.030	.117	1.139	.342	.293	.155	.139	1.554	.127	.313	.178	.202	2.321	**.015**
Immigrants /Migrants	.221	.068	.151	1.531	.135	.262	.118	.165	1.765	.073	.360	.234	.206	2.547	**.008**
Foreigners	.260	.115	.206	2.198	**.021**	.297	.160	.187	2.106	**.028**	.376	.254	.197	2.496	**.009**

Note. These questions asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor, member of their family, or a military leader or president. In bold are *p*-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e., model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.25.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for India DMQ-E and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for VSA and SDO

	Model	Neighbors				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
Muslims	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.14	0.068	0.003	0.838	0.148	0.077	0.005	0.737	0.063	-0.015	0.003	0.85
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.241	0.071	0.101	0.431	0.229	0.057	0.081	0.631	0.14	-0.052	0.077	0.739
Christians	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.068	-0.009	0.05	0.08	0.115	0.041	0.018	0.372	0.125	0.052	0.033	0.168
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.171	-0.015	0.102	0.495	0.227	0.054	0.112	0.357	0.275	0.113	0.151	0.111
Dalits	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.055	-0.024	0.012	0.554	0.138	0.066	0.01	0.584	0.175	0.106	0.001	0.97
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.15	-0.04	0.095	0.581	0.282	0.121	0.144	0.13	0.266	0.101	0.091	0.494
Adivasis	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.077	0.001	0.012	0.544	0.166	0.096	0.009	0.597	0.099	0.023	0.03	0.203
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.203	0.025	0.125	0.29	0.328	0.178	0.163	0.055	0.326	0.175	0.227	**0.007**
Pakistanis	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.177	0.108	0.002	0.899	0.207	0.141	0.061	0.028	0.32	0.263	0.081	0.004
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.299	0.142	0.122	0.214	0.3	0.143	0.093	0.428	0.492	0.379	0.173	**0.006**
Kashmiris	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.086	0.009	0.003	0.875	0.22	0.155	0.026	0.203	0.132	0.059	0.001	0.969
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.278	0.117	0.192	**0.032**	0.318	0.166	0.098	0.366	0.248	0.08	0.117	0.301
Someone from the North East of India	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.074	-0.003	0.013	0.523	0.053	-0.026	0.009	0.648	0.102	0.027	0.012	0.528
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.243	0.074	0.168	0.083	0.151	-0.038	0.098	0.547	0.184	0.001	0.082	0.664
Homosexuals	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.262	0.2	0.07	0.013	0.263	0.202	0.079	0.007	0.28	0.22	0.112	0.001
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.424	0.296	0.163	**0.023**	0.351	0.207	0.088	0.409	0.439	0.314	0.159	**0.022**
Transgender people	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.074	-0.003	0.002	0.883	0.164	0.094	0.01	0.573	0.117	0.044	0.006	0.714
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.203	0.024	0.128	0.272	0.293	0.135	0.129	0.182	0.325	0.174	0.208	**0.013**
Immigrants /Migrants	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.076	-0.001	0.007	0.712	0.119	0.046	0.021	0.322	0.19	0.123	0.037	0.119
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.239	0.068	0.162	0.1	0.264	0.099	0.145	0.139	0.38	0.241	0.19	**0.013**
Foreigners	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.095	0.019	0.041	0.119	0.139	0.067	0.029	0.209	0.296	0.238	0.117	0.001
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.268	0.105	0.173	0.061	0.299	0.142	0.16	0.073	0.433	0.307	0.137	0.055

Notes. These questions asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor, member of their family, or a military leader or president. In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e. model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e. model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

Table H.26.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for India DMQ-A and DMQ-A Refined and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for Demographics

		Neighbor				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
DMQ-A	Muslims	.231	.072	.163	.119	.237	.079	.206	**.037**	.241	.083	.168	.101
	Christians	.304	.160	.194	**.031**	.305	.161	.257	**.004**	.229	.069	.140	.213
	Dalits	.199	.033	.186	.081	.271	.120	.191	**.044**	.145	-.032	.104	.534
	Adivasis	.266	.114	.213	**.024**	.269	.118	.089	.535	.246	.090	.198	**.043**
	Pakistanis	.358	.224	.296	**.001**	.401	.276	.317	**.000**	.497	.393	.407	**.000**
	Kashmiris	.215	.053	.165	.125	.220	.058	.115	.372	.150	-.026	.075	.771
	Someone from the North East of India	.196	.029	.148	.202	.137	-.042	.064	.860	.241	.084	.175	.083
	Homosexuals	.354	.220	.232	**.006**	.420	.300	.289	**.000**	.364	.232	.296	**.001**
	Transgender people	.184	.015	.145	.227	.338	.201	.176	**.041**	.181	.012	.115	.413
	Immigrants/Migrants	.252	.097	.181	.066	.248	.092	.185	.060	.419	.298	.305	**.000**
	Foreigners	.247	.091	.167	.100	.201	.035	.165	.135	.440	.324	.287	**.000**
DMQ-A Refined	Muslims	.648	.222	.482	.162	.723	.387	.458	.095	.712	.362	.518	.073
	Christians	.499	-.110	.218	.835	.544	-.009	.319	.568	.625	.170	.345	.383
	Dalits	.621	.160	.531	.154	.575	.058	.346	.466	.475	-.163	.298	.703
	Adivasis	.721	.382	.543	.057	.522	-.058	.379	.485	.606	.128	.441	.262
	Pakistanis	.684	.301	.480	.123	.709	.355	.492	.090	.859	.689	.688	**.001**
	Kashmiris	-.015	1.047	.467	.319	.760	.468	.679	**.014**	.521	-.062	.414	.427
	Someone from the North East of India	.668	.266	.372	.262	.761	.471	.417	.081	.312	-.524	.197	.950
	Homosexuals	.798	.552	.521	**.020**	.693	.319	.284	.381	.618	.154	.494	.188
	Transgender people	.604	.124	.462	.240	.528	-.045	.330	.570	.558	.021	.429	.349
	Immigrants/Migrants	.593	.099	.362	.407	.675	.280	.490	.125	.724	.390	.488	.077
	Foreigners	.819	.599	.520	**.013**	.727	.395	.537	**.055**	.801	.559	.537	**.017**

Note. These questions asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor, member of their family, or a military leader or president. In bold are *p*-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e., model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.27.

Hierarchical Linear Regressions for India DMQ-A and DMQ-A Refined and Social Distance Items #1-3 Controlling for VSA and SDO

			Neighbors				Member of your family				Military leader or president			
		Model	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	Sig. F Change
DMQ-A	Muslims	2. w/VSA & SDO	.104	.026	.037	.162	.081	.000	.050	.088	.090	.010	.017	.423
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.266	.092	.162	.114	.262	.087	.181	.070	.312	.149	.222	**.014**
	Christians	2. w/VSA & SDO	.157	.083	.047	.086	.099	.020	.051	.081	.105	.026	.015	.462
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.323	.162	.166	.072	.329	.169	.229	**.010**	.231	.049	.126	.304
	Dalits	2. w/VSA & SDO	.167	.094	.155	.000	.116	.038	.037	.157	.090	.010	.050	.088
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.264	.090	.097	.489	.283	.112	.166	.092	.195	.004	.105	.503
	Adivasis	2. w/VSA & SDO	.069	-.013	.016	.467	.211	.141	.030	.178	.120	.043	.073	.027
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.284	.114	.215	**.023**	.277	.106	.067	.763	.253	.075	.132	.248
	Pakistanis	2. w/VSA & SDO	.169	.096	.107	.004	.230	.163	.146	.000	.237	.170	.147	.000
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.388	.243	.220	**.007**	.413	.274	.183	**.018**	.516	.401	.279	**.000**
	Kashmiris	2. w/VSA & SDO	.124	.047	.074	.025	.124	.047	.019	.377	.084	.003	.009	.645
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.217	.031	.093	.582	.246	.066	.122	.318	.199	.009	.116	.411
	Someone from the North East of India	2. w/VSA & SDO	.077	-.004	.029	.240	.102	.023	.030	.229	.089	.008	.022	.331
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.204	.015	.127	.330	.145	-.059	.043	.967	.281	.110	.193	**.045**
	Homosexuals	2. w/VSA & SDO	.199	.129	.077	.015	.197	.127	.067	**.026**	.183	.111	.116	.002
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.414	.274	.214	**.006**	.436	.302	.239	**.002**	.382	.235	.198	**.015**
	Transgender people	2. w/VSA & SDO	.104	.025	.064	.042	.219	.150	.057	**.041**	.088	.008	.022	.339
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.220	.035	.116	.385	.341	.185	.122	.213	.195	.003	.106	.488
	Immigrants /Migrants	2. w/VSA & SDO	.124	.047	.054	.065	.113	.035	.050	.081	.195	.124	.081	.013
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.256	.079	.132	.248	.285	.115	.172	.077	.445	.314	.251	**.001**
	Foreigners	2. w/VSA & SDO	.112	.034	.032	.196	.076	-.005	.040	.146	.206	.136	.053	.052
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.257	.081	.145	.183	.202	.012	.125	.341	.456	.327	.250	**.001**
DMQ-A Refined	Muslims	2. w/VSA & SDO	.205	-.071	.039	.575	.278	.026	.012	.822	.244	-.018	.051	.474
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.655	.108	.449	.278	.725	.289	.447	.169	.764	.391	.520	.073
	Christians	2. w/VSA & SDO	.360	.137	.079	.263	.265	.009	.040	.542	.324	.089	.044	.484
		3. w/DMQ Themes	.585	-.072	.225	.803	.575	-.097	.310	.643	.683	.180	.359	.361

Dalits	2. w/VSA & SDO	.147	-.149	.057	.473	.249	-.012	.021	.728	.244	-.020	.067	.379
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.668	.143	.521	.184	.609	-.010	.360	.494	.552	-.158	.308	.679
Adivasis	2. w/VSA & SDO	.196	-.083	.018	.773	.158	-.135	.015	.817	.168	-.121	.003	.961
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.725	.291	.529	.109	.567	-.118	.409	.475	.616	.008	.448	.342
Pakistanis	2. w/VSA & SDO	.297	.052	.093	.241	.294	.049	.077	.303	.270	.016	.099	.231
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.694	.209	.397	.280	.741	.330	.447	.147	.877	.682	.607	**.004**
Kashmiris	2. w/VSA & SDO	.216	-.057	.141	.148	.084	-.234	.004	.957	.125	-.180	.018	.792
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.693	.207	.477	.189	.775	.418	.690	**.024**	.580	-.086	.455	.388
Someone from the North East of India	2. w/VSA & SDO	.345	.117	.048	.442	.401	.193	.057	.352	.331	.099	.217	.040
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.674	.158	.329	.433	.853	.620	.452	**.024**	.627	.037	.296	.590
Homosexuals	2. w/VSA & SDO	.434	.237	.157	.060	.575	.427	.166	.022	.361	.139	.237	.026
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.833	.568	.399	.057	.775	.418	.200	.519	.760	.379	.398	.162
Transgender people	2. w/VSA & SDO	.213	-.061	.070	.375	.405	.198	.207	.032	.137	-.163	.008	.900
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.630	.044	.417	.363	.738	.324	.333	.290	.590	-.059	.453	.374
Immigrants /Migrants	2. w/VSA & SDO	.299	.055	.068	.345	.193	-.088	.008	.889	.259	.001	.023	.707
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.604	-.022	.305	.609	.709	.248	.516	.136	.745	.341	.486	.112
Foreigners	2. w/VSA & SDO	.397	.187	.098	.177	.222	-.049	.032	.628	.353	.129	.089	.225
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.847	.604	.450	**.028**	.756	.369	.534	.075	.811	.513	.458	**.054**

Notes. These questions asked participants how likely they would be to accept a person from each of these groups as their neighbor, member of their family, or a military leader or president. In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e. model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e. model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

Table H.28.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for U.S. DMQ-E and DMQ-A and Additional Behavioral Intention Items Controlling for Demographics

	DMQ-E						DMQ-A				
	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Q1. How likely would you be to sign a petition to shut down a group on social media, known for propagating hate speech against immigrants?	.137	-.034	.120	1.085	.383		.295	.147	.197	2.055	.033
Q2. How likely would you be to join a community-based group (supported by the government) responsible for policing your community for local traitors or enemies?	.722	.667	.387	10.870	**.000**		.567	.477	.250	4.247	**.000**
Q3. How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?	.777	.733	.413	14.457	**.000**		.634	.557	.377	7.587	**.000**
Q4. How likely would you vote in favor of a policy that allowed the government to censor journalists whenever it chose to?	.197	.038	.169	1.642	.101		.296	.148	.135	1.407	.186
Q5. How likely would you be to support a policy that prevented refugees from coming to your country?	.271	.127	.132	1.413	.182		.234	.073	.146	1.408	.185
Q6. How likely would you be to support the police taking aggressive actions to remove illegal immigrants from the country?	.609	.532	.311	6.229	**.000**		.480	.371	.125	1.770	**.073**
Q7. How likely would you be to oppose to a policy that would require people to carry identification cards displaying one's ethnicity with them at all times?	.752	.702	.380	11.972	**.000**		.594	.509	.318	5.766	**.000**
Q8. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come to the U.S. from Mexico or Central America from...Moving into your neighborhood?	.771	.726	.324	11.088	**.000**		.630	.553	.386	7.690	**.000**
Q9. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come to the U.S. from Mexico or Central America from...Operating a business in your area?	.809	.771	.470	19.250	**.000**		.629	.552	.346	6.870	**.000**
Q10. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Blacks (African Americans) from... Moving into your neighborhood?	.784	.741	.461	16.666	**.000**		.623	.543	.350	6.822	**.000**
Q11. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Blacks (African Americans) from... Operating a business in your area?	.838	.806	.492	23.754	**.000**		.668	.599	.409	9.083	**.000**

Note. In bold are *p*-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e., model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.29.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for U.S. DMQ-E and DMQ-A and Additional Behavioral Intention Items Controlling for VSA and SDO

		DMQ-E					DMQ-A				
		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Q1. How likely would you be to sign a petition to shut down a group on social media, known for propagating hate speech against immigrants?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.062	-.016	.046	2.306	.105	.116	.038	.018	.904	.408
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.173	-.014	.110	1.018	.438	.299	.131	.183	1.874	.056
Q2. How likely would you be to join a community-based group (supported by the government) responsible for policing your community for local traitors or enemies?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.547	.509	.212	22.187	.000	.360	.303	.043	2.994	.055
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.728	.667	.182	5.111	**.000**	.572	.469	.212	3.556	**.000**
Q3. How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.561	.524	.197	21.326	.000	.345	.287	.088	6.031	.003
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.778	.728	.217	7.487	**.000**	.638	.550	.292	5.796	**.000**
Q4. How likely would you vote in favor of a policy that allowed the government to censor journalists whenever it chose to?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.057	-.022	.029	1.468	.236	.088	.007	.000	.012	.988
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.257	.089	.200	2.054	**.033**	.241	.058	.153	1.452	.167
Q5. How likely would you be to support a policy that prevented refugees from coming to your country?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.220	.154	.080	4.880	.010	.088	.007	.000	.012	.988
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.294	.135	.075	.808	.632	.241	.058	.153	1.452	.167
Q6. How likely would you be to support the police taking aggressive actions to remove illegal immigrants from the country?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.507	.465	.209	20.141	.000	.368	.311	.013	.902	.409
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.636	.554	.129	2.714	**.005**	.495	.374	.128	1.817	.065
Q7. How likely would you be to oppose to a policy that would require people to carry identification cards displaying one's ethnicity with them at all times?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.617	.585	.246	30.474	.000	.318	.257	.042	2.788	.067
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.763	.709	.146	4.682	**.000**	.605	.510	.287	5.228	**.000**
Q8. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come to the U.S. from Mexico or Central America from...Moving into your neighborhood?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.631	.600	.184	23.768	.000	.378	.323	.134	9.677	.000
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.785	.736	.153	5.436	**.000**	.633	.545	.255	4.995	**.000**
Q9. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come to the U.S. from Mexico or Central America from...Operating a business in your area?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.549	.511	.210	22.133	.000	.402	.349	.119	8.933	.000
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.827	.787	.277	12.219	**.000**	.630	.541	.228	4.418	**.000**
Q10. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Blacks (African Americans) from... Moving into your neighborhood?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.511	.470	.189	18.349	.000	.341	.283	.068	4.667	.012
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.793	.746	.282	10.427	**.000**	.629	.540	.288	5.584	**.000**
Q11. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Blacks (African Americans) from... Operating a business in your area?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.515	.475	.170	16.631	.000	.346	.288	.086	5.951	.004
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.840	.804	.325	15.554	**.000**	.671	.591	.325	7.075	**.000**

Note. In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e. model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e. model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

Table H.30.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for S. Africa DMQ-E and DMQ-A and Additional Behavioral Intention Items Controlling for Demographics

	DMQ-E					DMQ-A				
	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Q1. How likely would you be to sign a petition to shut down a group on social media, known for propagating hate speech against immigrants?	.268	.123	.196	2.092	**.029**	.177	.023	.151	1.523	.137
Q2. How likely would you be to join a community-based group (supported by the government) responsible for policing your community for local traitors or enemies?	.315	.180	.207	2.360	**.013**	.178	.024	.156	1.566	.122
Q3. How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?	.327	.194	.271	3.148	**.001**	.260	.122	.209	2.332	**.014**
Q4. How likely would you vote in favor of a policy that allowed the government to censor journalists whenever it chose to?	.172	.008	.093	.881	.561	.232	.088	.166	1.785	.068
Q5. How likely would you be to support a policy that prevented refugees from coming to your country?	.221	.067	.162	1.625	.106	.136	-.026	.085	.810	.630
Q6. How likely would you be to support the police taking aggressive actions to remove illegal immigrants from the country?	.279	.137	.245	2.660	**.006**	.177	.023	.156	1.570	.121
Q7. How likely would you be to oppose to a policy that would require people to carry identification cards displaying one's race with them at all times?	.276	.133	.115	1.246	.270	.174	.020	.126	1.259	.261
Q8. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come here from other countries in Africa from...Moving into your neighborhood	.416	.301	.385	5.156	**.000**	.233	.089	.151	1.623	.105
Q9. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come here from other countries in Africa from......Operating a business in your area?	.311	.175	.281	3.193	**.001**	.205	.056	.168	1.750	.075

Note. In bold are p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e., model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.31.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for S. Africa DMQ-E and DMQ-A and Additional Behavioral Intention Items Controlling for VSA and SDO

		DMQ-E					DMQ-A				
		R Square	Adj. R Square	R Square Change	F Change	Sig. F Change	R Square	Adj. R Square	R Square Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Q1. How likely would you be to sign a petition to shut down a group on social media, known for propagating hate speech against immigrants?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.194	.126	.122	7.179	.001	.034	-.044	.008	.407	.667
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.315	.160	.121	1.351	.212	.180	.006	.147	1.451	.165
Q2. How likely would you be to join a community-based group (supported by the government) responsible for policing your community for local traitors or enemies?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.200	.132	.091	5.401	.006	.046	-.030	.024	1.248	.291
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.331	.179	.131	1.497	.148	.184	.010	.138	1.368	.202
Q3. How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.240	.176	.184	11.493	.000	.052	-.024	.000	.013	.987
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.381	.241	.141	1.743	.078	.282	.128	.230	2.593	**.007**
Q4. How likely would you vote in favor of a policy that allowed the government to censor journalists whenever it chose to?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.096	.020	.017	.895	.412	.110	.039	.044	2.471	.090
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.174	-.013	.078	.723	.713	.240	.078	.130	1.386	.193
Q5. How likely would you be to support a policy that prevented refugees from coming to your country?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.095	.019	.036	1.910	.154	.072	-.002	.021	1.141	.324
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.232	.058	.137	1.363	.206	.145	-.038	.073	.687	.748
Q6. How likely would you be to support the police taking aggressive actions to remove illegal immigrants from the country?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.152	.080	.118	6.588	.002	.034	-.043	.014	.704	.497
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.304	.146	.152	1.664	.096	.188	.015	.154	1.539	.132
Q7. How likely would you be to oppose to a policy that would require people to carry identification cards displaying one's race with them at all times?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.178	.109	.018	1.045	.356	.055	-.021	.006	.325	.723
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.276	.113	.098	1.035	.424	.179	.003	.124	1.223	.284
Q8. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come here from other countries in Africa from...Moving into your neighborhood	2. w/VSA & SDO	.226	.161	.195	11.967	.000	.133	.064	.051	2.962	.056
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.428	.299	.202	2.691	**.005**	.281	.127	.147	1.659	.096
Q9. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who have come here from other countries in Africa from......Operating a business in your area?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.125	.051	.095	5.146	.008	.108	.036	.071	3.986	.022
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.317	.162	.192	2.140	**.026**	.268	.112	.160	1.774	.071

Note. In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e. model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e. model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

Table H.32.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for India DMQ-E and Additional Behavioral Intention Items Controlling for Demographics

	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Q1. How likely would you be to sign a petition to shut down a group on social media, known for propagating hate speech against immigrants?	.183	.024	.105	1.016	.439
Q2. How likely would you be to join a community-based group (supported by the government) responsible for policing your community for local traitors or enemies?	.290	.151	.189	2.107	**.028**
Q3. How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?	.502	.405	.273	4.339	**.000**
Q4. How likely would you vote in favor of a policy that allowed the government to censor journalists whenever it chose to?	.220	.067	.111	1.123	.354
Q5. How likely would you be to support a policy that prevented refugees from coming to your country?	.276	.135	.214	2.340	**.014**
Q6. How likely would you be to support the police taking aggressive actions to remove illegal immigrants from the country?	.324	.192	.240	2.811	**.004**
Q7. How likely would you be to oppose to a policy that would require people to carry identification cards displaying one's religious affiliation/membership with them at all times?	.523	.430	.311	5.155	**.000**
Q8. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... Moving into your neighborhood?	.373	.250	.214	2.703	**.005**
Q9. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... Operating a business in your area?	.319	.185	.185	2.148	**.025**
Q10. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... Moving into your neighborhood?	.444	.335	.319	4.542	**.000**
Q11. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... Operating a business in your area?	.478	.376	.225	3.404	**.001**

Note. In bold are *p*-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e. model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.33.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for India DMQ-E and Additional Behavioral Intention Items Controlling for VSA and SDO

	Model	R Square	Adj. R Square	R Square Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Q1. How likely would you be to sign a petition to shut down a group on social media, known for propagating hate speech against immigrants?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.123	.050	.045	2.468	.090
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.239	.069	.116	1.173	.318
Q2. How likely would you be to join a community-based group (supported by the government) responsible for policing your community for local traitors or enemies?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.140	.069	.039	2.205	.116
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.300	.144	.160	1.769	.072
Q3. How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.397	.347	.168	13.380	.000
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.520	.413	.124	1.992	**.039**
Q4. How likely would you vote in favor of a policy that allowed the government to censor journalists whenever it chose to?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.122	.048	.013	.694	.502
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.250	.083	.129	1.329	.223
Q5. How likely would you be to support a policy that prevented refugees from coming to your country?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.091	.015	.029	1.540	.220
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.293	.135	.202	2.207	**.021**
Q6. How likely would you be to support the police taking aggressive actions to remove illegal immigrants from the country?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.164	.094	.080	4.573	.013
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.337	.188	.173	2.013	**.037**
Q7. How likely would you be to oppose to a policy that would require people to carry identification cards displaying one's religious affiliation/membership with them at all times?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.321	.264	.108	7.661	.001
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.531	.427	.210	3.468	**.001**
Q8. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... Moving into your neighborhood?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.245	.183	.087	5.539	.005
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.407	.275	.162	2.112	**.028**
Q9. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... Operating a business in your area?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.167	.097	.033	1.917	.153
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.320	.167	.153	1.735	.079
Q10. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... Moving into your neighborhood?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.238	.174	.113	7.132	.001
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.476	.359	.238	3.506	**.000**
Q11. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... Operating a business in your area?	2. w/VSA & SDO	.306	.249	.053	3.666	.029
	3. w/DMQ Themes	.482	.366	.175	2.613	**.006**

Note. In bold are model 3 p-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1), VSA and SDO variables in block 2 (i.e. model 2), and DMQ themes in block three (i.e. model 3). Results from model 2 and 3 are reported.

Table H.34.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for India DMQ-A and DMQ-A Refined and Additional Behavioral Intention Items Controlling for Demographics

	DMQ-A					DMQ-A Refined				
	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Q1. How likely would you be to sign a petition to shut down a group on social media, known for propagating hate speech against immigrants?	.197	.030	.125	1.163	.325	.497	-.114	.411	1.038	.465
Q2. How likely would you be to join a community-based group (supported by the government) responsible for policing your community for local traitors or enemies?	.355	.221	.219	2.533	**.008**	.771	.493	.600	3.339	**.018**
Q3. How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?	.405	.282	.254	3.188	**.001**	.724	.390	.314	1.449	.254
Q4. How likely would you vote in favor of a policy that allowed the government to censor journalists whenever it chose to?	.282	.133	.202	2.096	**.029**	.591	.095	.336	1.045	.461
Q5. How likely would you be to support a policy that prevented refugees from coming to your country?	.207	.042	.122	1.142	.341	.677	.285	.461	1.815	.146
Q6. How likely would you be to support the police taking aggressive actions to remove illegal immigrants from the country?	.258	.104	.161	1.613	.110	.471	-.171	.321	.774	.661
Q7. How likely would you be to oppose to a policy that would require people to carry identification cards displaying one's religious affiliation/membership with them at all times?	.437	.320	.283	3.744	**.000**	.552	.008	.426	1.211	.362
Q8. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... Moving into your neighborhood?	.373	.243	.246	2.930	**.003**	.725	.391	.426	1.974	.116
Q9. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... Operating a business in your area?	.312	.169	.209	2.262	**.018**	.700	.335	.361	1.531	.224
Q10. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... Moving into your neighborhood?	.401	.276	.348	4.333	**.000**	.719	.378	.296	1.340	.298
Q11. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... Operating a business in your area?	.226	.066	.184	1.777	.071	.531	-.040	.254	.687	.731

Note. In bold are *p*-values that are less that .05. These regressions included demographic variables in block 1 (i.e., model 1) and DMQ themes in block two (i.e. model 2). Only results from model 2 are reported.

Table H.35.

Hierarchical Linear Regression for India DMQ-A and DMQ-A Refined and Add. Behavioral Intention Items Controlling for VSA and SDO

	Model	DMQ-A					DMQ-A Refined				
		R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change	R Sq.	Adj. R Sq.	R Sq. Change	F Change	Sig. F Change
Q1. How likely would you be to sign a petition to shut down a group on social media, known for propagating hate speech against immigrants?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.117	0.039	0.046	2.35	0.101	0.138	-0.162	0.052	0.693	0.51
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.203	0.014	0.086	0.783	0.656	0.621	0.021	0.483	1.391	0.289
Q2. How likely would you be to join a community-based group (supported by the government) responsible for policing your community for local traitors or enemies?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.148	0.074	0.013	0.672	0.513	0.184	-0.1	0.013	0.188	0.83
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.473	0.347	0.324	4.47	**0.000**	0.799	0.481	0.615	3.342	**0.024**
Q3. How likely would you be to vote in favor of a government policy that would forbid intermarriage between certain ethnic groups?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.228	0.16	0.077	4.518	0.013	0.467	0.281	0.056	1.205	0.318
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.428	0.292	0.2	2.541	**0.008**	0.791	0.461	0.325	1.697	0.188
Q4. How likely would you vote in favor of a policy that allowed the government to censor journalists whenever it chose to?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.146	0.071	0.066	3.532	0.033	0.408	0.202	0.152	2.962	0.072
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.314	0.151	0.168	1.782	0.071	0.67	0.148	0.262	0.866	0.59
Q5. How likely would you be to support a policy that prevented refugees from coming to your country?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.121	0.043	0.036	1.845	0.164	0.22	-0.051	0.004	0.065	0.938
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.273	0.101	0.153	1.53	0.137	0.707	0.242	0.486	1.809	0.162
Q6. How likely would you be to support the police taking aggressive actions to remove illegal immigrants from the country?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.118	0.041	0.022	1.114	0.333	0.258	0	0.109	1.683	0.208
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.272	0.099	0.154	1.537	0.135	0.519	-0.243	0.26	0.59	0.804
Q7. How likely would you be to oppose to a policy that would require people to carry identification cards displaying one's religious affiliation/membership with them at all times?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.217	0.148	0.063	3.633	0.03	0.2	-0.078	0.074	1.071	0.359
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.463	0.336	0.247	3.341	**0.001**	0.703	0.233	0.503	1.846	0.153
Q8. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... Moving into your neighborhood?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.181	0.109	0.054	3.011	0.054	0.329	0.096	0.031	0.527	0.597
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.397	0.253	0.215	2.596	**0.007**	0.73	0.303	0.401	1.619	0.21
Q9. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent Muslims from... Operating a business in your area?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.151	0.076	0.048	2.569	0.082	0.342	0.113	0.003	0.057	0.945
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.318	0.156	0.167	1.781	0.071	0.723	0.285	0.381	1.504	0.247
Q10. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... Moving into your neighborhood?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.14	0.065	0.088	4.654	0.012	0.461	0.273	0.037	0.792	0.465
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.413	0.274	0.273	3.384	**0.001**	0.766	0.395	0.305	1.422	0.277
Q11. How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people from the North East of India (ex. from Assam) from... Operating a business in your area?	2. w/VSA & SDO	0.073	0.009	0.031	1.521	0.224	0.358	0.134	0.081	1.444	0.257
	3. w/DMQ Themes	0.231	0.049	0.159	1.503	0.147	0.566	-0.122	0.208	0.523	0.854

DMQ ITEM RESIDUALS FROM LINEAR REGRESSIONS

Table I.36.
DMQ Item Residuals from Linear Regressions

DMQ #	Theme	DMQ Item	IN Res.	IN Res. Refined	U.S. Res.	SA Res.	Average Res.
27	XE	It's wrong to believe ideas from foreign countries.	.009	-.024	-.257	-.658	**-.313**
3	WE	A certain group of other people is taking the places and positions in our society that should be reserved for our people.	.125	-.099	-.091	-.507	**-.232**
17	XE	Foreigners are to blame for our country's failures.	-.071	.130	-.336	-.465	**-.224**
18	XE	Foreigners are trying to steal our lands.	.119	-.046	-.261	-.351	**-.219**
35	II	Our country is the center of civilization.	.149	-.285	-.068	-.301	**-.218**
51	TT	Those among us who reject our people's beliefs should be called traitors.	.056	-.091	-.158	-.405	**-.218**
60	TT	We should hold an entire group accountable for the actions of some of its members.	-.077	-.315	-.045	-.261	**-.207**
29	IB	My ethnic group is a good people, who have never done any real harm to anyone.	-.009	-.352	-.227	.013	-.189
46	PT	The world has two kinds of people: our enemies and our friends.	.277	-.153	-.254	-.047	-.151
54	II	We have a holy right to our language and our way of life.	.087	-.308	-.266	.141	-.144
37	TT	People from our group who associate with people from more troublesome groups are a special kind of traitor.	.143	-.152	-.198	-.078	-.143
7	WE	A group of people has been made wealthy by stealing from us, and they must pay us back completely.	.243	-.162	.206	-.439	-.131
57	II	We must regain the great honor, dignity, and glory of the ancient civilization created by our people.	.325	-.110	-.140	-.120	-.123
36	II	Our people are entitled, by divine destiny, to certain areas of land and soil.	.278	-.085	.068	-.344	-.120
15	TT	Criticizing our leader makes you an enemy of our country.	.031	.410	-.171	-.572	-.111
10	TT	Anyone who shows kindness to the enemy is a traitor.	.070	.213	-.139	-.378	-.102
33	WE	One ethnic group is secretly controlling our government behind the scenes.	.127	-.034	.040	-.290	-.095
62	PT	We should never let ourselves be ruled by people from certain ethnic groups.	.167	.042	-.011	-.298	-.089
25	II	It is our divine mission to transform our country into a paradise, our own Promised Land.	.161	-.169	-.025	-.069	-.088
56	II	We must maintain the purity of our ethnic group.	.301	-.160	.024	-.120	-.085
8	PU	A successful political movement is one that will sweep away the bad and purify the country.	.489	.346	-.274	-.253	-.060
28	SB	Many of the bad events that have been happening in this country are due to the activities of foreign agents.	.103	-.019	-.105	-.045	-.056
16_r	PT	Every human is partly good and partly bad -- there are no bad people separate from the good people.	-1.716	-.394	.163	.391	-.054
31	ST	My homeland is so great and holy that saving it would justify the spilling of a lot of blood.	.187	-.047	.002	-.072	-.039
13	PV	Complete destruction is necessary for great reconstruction.	.085	-.003	.041	-.122	-.028
2	RV	A certain ethnic group should be separated from us, so as to prevent any contaminating contact.	-.187	-.104	-.075	.101	-.026
24	PV	If people don't agree with us, violence is the best	-.039	.369	-.166	-.274	-.023

		way to deal with the problem.					
39	SB	So-called refugees are really infiltrators who threaten the culture, language, and very existence of our country.	.242	.053	-.044	-.068	-.020
19	PV	God wants us, for the sake of good, to hate a certain group of people.	-.165	-.173	.118	-.004	-.020
22	XE	Ideally, our country would consist of people with just one language, religion, and culture.	-.089	.050	-.104	.073	.006
53	PV	We are now in a fight-to-the-death between two worlds, two religions, two civilizations.	.042	.042	-.133	.118	.009
20	PU	I believe it is a citizen's duty to report troublemakers to the government because this maintains stability and security.	.238	-.052	.066	.038	.017
21	XE	I get disgusted when people start praising the culture of some other country.	.161	.460	-.027	-.355	.026
42	RV	Some groups of people cannot be civilized.	-.126	-.085	.121	.095	.044
14	PU	Correct principles must triumph, without making any compromises.	.315	.159	-.098	.077	.046
59	SB	We should be alert: The principal enemy of our civilization is living right here among us, in this nation.	.367	.053	-.047	.147	.051
23	PT	If our nation is to survive, we must go now on a military offensive.	.154	.281	-.122	.034	.065
49	WE	There is a global conspiracy threatening the survival of my people.	.289	.336	-.138	.012	.070
34	RV	Only some groups are capable of true art and science.	.086	.061	.157	.038	.085
9_r	PT	An important job of the media is to critique our police and military, so that we can constantly work to improve them.	-1.752	-.317	-.081	.141	.086
58	PV	We need war to fix the problems with this country, and those who don't agree are traitors.	.014	.340	-.167	.096	.090
44	PU	Some ideas can poison the virgin minds of our youth.	.062	-.243	.073	.461	.097
50	PV	There is one group that is destined to be the master and rule over the entire world.	.098	.296	.258	-.249	.102
41	WE	Some groups of people are instinctively submissive to other groups of people.	-.046	-.377	.358	.379	.120
5	SB	A certain group, seemingly loyal, works to corrupt and damage our country from within.	.149	-.051	.089	.337	.125
40	RV	Some groups are destined to vanish, because they are inferior.	.143	.072	.129	.194	.132
4	SB	A certain group, one could say, is sucking the blood of our people.	.358	.390	.096	-.040	.148
47	PT	There are bad people who must be sorted out from the good, and dealt with forcefully.	.288	.028	.150	.280	.152
26	ST	It is sometimes important to kill many people, in order to preserve a great many more.	.072	.335	-.002	.166	.167
12	RV	Certain groups of people lack the essential traits that would entitle them to civil and political rights, or to equal treatment.	.170	.219	.094	.205	.173
45	ST	Sometimes it is necessary to be harsh and cruel in the name of the life and progress of the nation.	.278	.185	.199	.146	.176
61	TT	We should imprison those journalists whose writings are demoralizing the public.	.232	.152	.054	.354	.187
1	WE	Most of our people sit by, while a certain group of wealthy elitists take control of all the positions of power	.391	.244	.420	-.093	.191
6	SB	A certain race wants to exterminate our race.	.028	.123	.155	.296	.191
55	PU	We may sometimes need to repress certain political movements that disturb national unity.	.179	.152	.173	.276	**.200**
52_r	ST	Torture is never acceptable.	1.857	.617	-.141	.136	**.204**

							Average Res
43	SB	Some groups of people in our country are out to sabotage the country.	.161	.139	.021	.530	**.230**
48	ST	There are times and places where torture is acceptable.	.054	.329	.102	.357	**.262**
30_r	IB	My ethnic group, I must admit, has done considerable harm to others.	1.212	.716	.281	-.189	**.269**
38_r	PT	Progress and success always require making compromise with the opposition.	1.810	.706	.126	.045	**.292**
11	ST	Certain groups of people have savage customs.	.304	.104	.430	.549	**.361**
63	PU	Whenever an ideology or political party is full of dangerous and wrong ideas, it should be eliminated.	.308	.099	.257	.766	**.374**
32_r	RV	No race of people is better or superior to any other race.	0.44	.240	.429	.458	**.376**

Notes. Res - residuals. IN - India. U.S. - United States. SA - South Africa. Themes: RV – racialist views, XE – xenophobia, TT – traitor talk, SB – sabotage, WE – wealthy elite, PV – pro-violence, ST – support of torture, PT – polarized thinking, II – in-group idealization, PU – purity of thought, IB – in-group blamelessness. For the "Average Res" column, the average residual is calculated across the three countries, using the refined residuals for India, and the residuals for the U.S. and South Africa. The items here are sorted by lowed to highest average residual. In bold are the average residuals greater than .20 and values less than -.20.

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