



Dissertation Summary

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Morality, Group Dynamics, and Inter- and Intragroup Attitudes

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1 List of Publications Directly Used in the Dissertation

The dissertation follows the formal requirements of Type B format.

Study 1: Sam Nariman, H., Hadarics, M., Soufizadeh, A. M., & Kende, A. (2020). The mediating role of moral exclusion between authoritarianism and outgroup discrimination. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *74*, 1-6. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2019.10.001>

Study 2: Sam Nariman, H., Hadarics, M., Kende, A., Láštiová, B., Poslon, X. D., Popper, M., ... & Minescu, A. (2020). Anti-Roma bias (stereotypes, prejudice, behavioral tendencies): A network approach toward attitude strength. *Frontiers in psychology*, *11*, 2071. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2020.02071>

Study 3: Sam Nariman, H., Nguyen Luu, L.A., & Hadarics, M. (2021). Exploring inclusiveness towards immigrants as related to basic values: A network approach. *Plos one*, *16*, e0260624. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0260624>

Study 4: Sam Nariman, H., Hadarics, M., Mehrez, Nguyen Luu, L.A., Soufizadeh, A., & Littvay, L. (2022). Immigrants' intragroup moral exclusion predicts ingroup-directed behavioral intentions: The mediating role of disidentification. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *91*, 113-118. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2022.09.006>

2 General Introduction

Taking an integrative approach, the findings from these studies highlight the importance of investigating the moral dimensions of group-based attitudes and the complex interactions between these dimensions. They offer insights into a variety of contexts, including the treatment and perception of Roma and Jewish minorities in Hungary, attitudes towards immigrants across Europe, and experiences of Iranian and Tunisian immigrants in Italy. The dissertation investigates the psychological mechanisms underlying intergroup conflict and discrimination, such as right-wing authoritarianism, social dominance orientation, moral exclusion, perceived threat to national identity, disidentification, and basic values. The studies collectively reveal how these mechanisms manifest across various social and cultural contexts, and how they influence group-based attitudes and behaviors. In an era marked by identity politics, it is crucial to deepen our understanding of these phenomena, their origins, and potential solutions. To this end, this dissertation contributes to the ongoing discussion on ways to reduce discrimination.

The overarching scope of this dissertation was to examine the complex interplay between group-based attitudes and behavioral tendencies, with a particular focus on their moral dimensions. By “moral dimensions”, I mean value-laden intuitive judgements that I quantitatively investigated in their interrelationship with related group-based evaluations. In Study 1 and Study 4 the role of moral exclusion was investigated, in Study 2 the strong interconnection between perceived threat (to national identity) and other anti-Roma evaluations was revealed, and in Study 4 the relationship between basic values and outgroup attitudes was explored. The ultimate aim was to enhance our understanding of these attitudes and inform interventions that reduce discrimination.

In Study 1, we examined the effects of right-wing authoritarianism (RWA) and social dominance orientation (SDO) on negative intergroup behaviors, focusing on the potential mediating role of moral exclusion within these relationships. By integrating the Dual Process Model (Duckitt, 2001) with research on moral exclusion, we aimed to delve deeper into the underlying mechanisms that contribute to individuals' endorsement of negative intergroup beliefs and behaviors. Our study emphasizes the need to better understand the dynamics of intergroup conflict and discrimination, particularly in the context of the Hungarian Roma and Jewish minorities. We utilized a dataset of survey responses ($N = 1015$) collected from a representative Hungarian sample to investigate the mediating role of moral exclusion in the relationship between RWA and SDO and the discriminatory intentions they produce against

the Roma and Jewish communities in Hungary. Our findings revealed that moral exclusion indeed played a mediating role in the relationship between both RWA and SDO and negative behavioral intentions towards the Hungarian Roma and Jewish minorities. Furthermore, we proposed that the concept of moral exclusion should not be regarded as a generalized tendency, but rather as a mechanism that stems from various social cognitive motivations, including RWA and SDO. This study offers a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which moral exclusion interacts with authoritarian personality traits to contribute to negative intergroup behaviors. Additionally, we highlight the importance of examining moral exclusion in different contexts and target groups to better understand the dynamics of intergroup conflict and discrimination. In light of our findings, we underscore the significance of further research into the relationships between RWA, SDO, moral exclusion, and intergroup behaviors. Such research can facilitate the development of targeted interventions aimed at reducing discrimination, and fostering positive intergroup relations.

Study 2 utilized a correlational network approach to explore the potential for interventions targeting anti-Roma bias in Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, France, and Ireland. These countries represent a mix of Eastern and Western European contexts with significant Roma populations, both indigenous and recent immigrants. Employing network analysis, we investigated the connectivity between a constellation of stereotypical, emotional, and behavioral evaluations of the Roma population in representative samples from the selected countries. By identifying the variables (nodes) with the highest degree of interactions within these networks, we aimed to pinpoint the most influential variables for intervention purposes. Threat perception to national identity was found to be the most important factor having strongest connections with other Roma-related evaluations. Lastly, it is noteworthy that the perceived threat, identified as the most central variable, maintains a significant relationship with one's moral considerations, and it can function as a precursor to moral exclusion (e.g., Olson et al., 2011). We also know that perceived threat to national identity is strongly related to the moral exclusion of the Roma (Hadarics, 2020). This result offers a potentially promising theoretical basis for intervention strategies that focus on central variables with considerable associations with other variables, although further research is needed to confirm its effectiveness. Furthermore, the network analysis revealed that feelings of sympathy and empathy, were also among most central variables within the networks.

Study 3 explored the relationship between Europeans' basic values and their attitudes towards immigrants, employing Latent Class Analysis (LCA) and network analysis, using the

9th round of European Social Survey (ESS). We examined participants' level of support for permitting three categories of immigrants to enter and reside in their countries: immigrants belonging to the same ethnic group, immigrants from different ethnic groups, and immigrants originating from economically disadvantaged countries outside Europe. Our analysis revealed the presence of four distinct categories of Europeans, each displaying a distinct set of attitudes towards immigrants. These categories were labeled as Inclusive (displaying high levels of inclusivity), Some (being selective in their acceptance), Few (being highly selective in their acceptance), and Exclusive (displaying high levels of exclusivity). Subsequently, we estimated correlational networks to investigate the relationships between Schwartz's (1992) ten basic values for each of the four groups. We compared the networks of the four groups by analyzing the extent to which the values were interconnected, how the values clustered together, and the strength of connections between values with similar motivational backgrounds. Our analysis indicated that, while the overall connections between the 10 basic values were largely similar across the four groups, there were some notable differences in terms of how the values clustered and the strength of connections between specific value pairs. Interestingly, we found a more intricate arrangement of values among the most inclusive Europeans, meaning that they differentiated and integrated broader range of basic values (openness to change, conservation, self-transcendence, and self-enhancement) than their less inclusive groups. Furthermore, our analysis unveiled that the highly inclusive Europeans exhibited stronger associations between values that had similar motivational backgrounds. We discussed the practical implications of our findings, highlighting the importance of considering the complexity of value structures, when developing interventions aimed at reducing discrimination in European societies.

Study 4 aimed to investigate the relationship between moral exclusion, disidentification, and ingroup-directed behavioral intentions among Iranian and Tunisian immigrants living in Italy. While previous research has extensively examined negative attitudes towards immigrants among majority members, less is known about whether moral exclusion is also directed towards ingroup members, particularly by immigrants against their own group. Our argument was that moral exclusion, which justifies negative treatment of individuals or groups outside of one's moral scope, can also be directed towards the ingroup members. In other words, we proposed that moral exclusion is not limited to outgroup members and can also be applied to individuals within one's own group. We also hypothesized that disidentification with one's ethnic identity mediates this relationship, as

social identification becomes painful and threatening when it does not fulfill an individual's psychological needs. Our findings suggested that moral exclusion is associated with negative ingroup-directed behavioral intentions and negatively associated with positive ingroup-directed behavioral intentions. Furthermore, the results showed that disidentification with immigrants' own ethnic group mediates the relationship between moral exclusion and ingroup-directed behavioral intentions. Our results underscore the significance of taking into account the moral dimensions of disidentification in the analysis of group-based relations. While not explicitly addressed in the paper due to space constraints, interventions could be aimed at mitigating the affective/moral expressions of disidentification to reduce its negative consequences. In our discussion of future directions, we suggested system justification as one such negative consequence that may strongly associate with disidentification and intragroup moral exclusion.

2.1 Main Constructs Used in the Dissertation

2.1.1 *Moral exclusion*

Moral exclusion (Deutsch, 1990; Opatow, 1990; Staub, 1990) entails the denial of moral considerations to particular groups or individuals, rendering them outside the scope of justice. This allows dominant groups to justify harm or unequal treatment towards those excluded. In Study 1, we used Opatow's (1993) Scope of Justice/Moral Exclusion Scale, which explicitly measures denial of moral considerations for outgroups. In contrast, for Study 4, we employed the Moral Inclusion/Exclusion of Other Groups (MIEG) scale, developed by Passini and Morselli (2016). This scale offers a more subtle way to capturing moral exclusion. Consequently, we believed that rephrasing a less explicit measure of moral exclusion (directed towards the outgroup) aimed at the ingroup would yield a more reliable assessment of intragroup moral exclusion.

2.1.2 *Authoritarian personality*

Dual Process Model (Duckitt, 2001) posits authoritarian personality emerges from two distinct motivationally based ideological dimensions; social dominance orientation (SDO) and right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). Those high in SDO tend to view the world as highly competitive, which in turn disposes them to endorse motivational goals of perpetuating dominance, social hierarchy, and intergroup inequality (Pratto et al., 1994). High RWAs, on the other hand, perceive the world as a dangerous and threatening place, motivated to maintain in-group norms and values as well as social cohesion, order, and structure (Altemeyer, 1983). In Study 1 we used RWA scale (Altemeyer, 1981) translated and adapted

by Enyedi (1996). For assessing social dominance orientation, we applied a shortened 8-item Hungarian version of the SDO7 scale (Ho et al., 2015; adapted by Faragó & Kende, 2017).

2.1.3 Attitudes toward Roma

Attitudes towards the Roma community were measured in Study 2 for five European countries: Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, France, and Ireland were measured capturing participant's blatant stereotyping against the Roma, perception of undeserved benefits received by the Roma, and perception of cultural difference with the Roma. We used Attitudes Toward Roma Scale (Kende et al., 2017).

2.1.4 Basic values

Values are defined as “*desirable transsituational goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in the life of a person or other social entity*” (Schwartz, 1994, p. 21). They are abstract and superordinate standards that determine individuals' worldviews, attitudes, and behaviors in a vast array of more specific situations and contexts. In Study 3, 21-item Portrait Values Questionnaire (PVQ-21, Schwartz, 2007) was used to capture the participants' personal values.

2.1.5 Disidentification

Coping mechanisms against a negative social identity include social creativity, social competition, and individual mobility (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Disidentification is a form of individual mobility where the individuals psychologically distance themselves from the negative identity. We used a disidentification scale developed by (Becker & Tausch, 2014).

2.1.6 Group-based behavioral intentions

Study 1 used items capturing discriminatory intentions against the Roma and Jewish communities in Hungary. Study 2 measured collective action tendencies towards the Roma communities in Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, France, and Ireland. Study 3 used items measuring support for the accommodation of immigrants in the given European country (Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czechia, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Serbia, Slovenia, Switzerland, and United Kingdom). Behaviors from Intergroup Affect and Stereotypes (BIAS) map was used (Cuddy et al., 2007). BIAS map suggests four types of intergroup behaviors based on two dimensions of intensity (active vs. passive) and valence (facilitation vs. harm). The four types of behavior, therefore, are: active harm (e.g., harassing), passive harm (e.g., neglecting), active facilitation (e.g., helping), and passive facilitation (e.g., associating). Among the four only

active facilitation is considered springing from a positive intention. Beneficial outcomes of passive facilitation are only by-products of the actor's intention to "work-with" the outgroup members to reach a specific goal. However, the actor does not intend to build a positive relationship with the outgroup member. Study 4 rephrased the items to assess the participants' behavioral intentions towards their own group members instead of the outgroup. Note, the items tapping into active harm were not asked because they received negative reactions from the respondents during the pilot data collection.

3 Research Projects

3.1 Study I: The Mediating Role of Moral Exclusion between Authoritarianism and Outgroup Discrimination

It has been well-documented that right wing authoritarianism and social dominance orientation as two facets of the authoritarian personality differentially account for a variety of negative intergroup behaviors. Integrating the Dual Process Model (Duckitt, 2001), with the literature on "Moral exclusion" (e.g., Opatow, 1990; Tileagă, 2007) we investigated whether or not moral exclusion would mediate such a relationship. Employing survey data (N = 1015), collected from a representative Hungarian sample, we found that moral exclusion mediated the effects of both RWA and SDO on the negative behavioral intentions against Roma as well as Jewish minorities in Hungary. Moreover, we argued that the concept of moral exclusion should be interpreted not as a generalized tendency, but as a mechanism which can be stemmed from distinct social cognitive motivations.

Keywords: Moral exclusion; Social dominance orientation; Right-wing authoritarianism; Intergroup behavior

3.2 Study II: Anti-Roma bias (stereotypes, prejudice, behavioral tendencies): A network approach toward attitude strength

The Roma have been and still are a target of prejudice, marginalization, and social exclusion across Europe, especially in East-Central European countries. This paper focuses on a set of stereotypical, emotional, and behavioral evaluative responses towards Roma people selected as representing the underlying components of anti-Roma bias. Employing network analysis, we investigated, if attitude strength is associated with stronger connectivity in the networks of its constituent elements. The findings from representative surveys carried out in Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, France, and Ireland supported our assumption, as high attitude strength towards the Roma resulted in stronger connectivity in all pairs of high versus low attitude

strength networks. Our finding yields a solid theoretical framework for targeting the central variables—those with the strongest associations with other variables—as a potentially effective attitude change intervention strategy. Moreover, perceived threat to national identity, sympathy, and empathy were found to be the most central variables in the networks.

Keywords: Anti-Roma bias, attitude strength, network connectivity, network analysis, intervention

3.3 Study III: Exploring inclusiveness towards immigrants as related to basic values: A network approach

Using the 9th round of European Social Survey (ESS), we explored the relationship between Europeans' basic values and their attitudes towards immigrants. Employing a latent class analysis (LCA), we classified the respondents based on three items capturing the extent to which participants would support allowing three groups of immigrants to enter and live in their countries: immigrants of same ethnic groups, immigrants of different ethnic groups, and immigrants from poorer countries outside Europe. Four classes of Europeans with mutually exclusive response patterns with respect to their inclusive attitudes towards immigrants were found. The classes were named Inclusive (highly inclusive), Some (selective), Few (highly selective), and Exclusive (highly exclusive). Next, using a network technique, a partial correlation network of Schwartz's (1992) ten basic values was estimated for each class of participants. The four networks were compared to each other based on three network properties namely: global connectivity, community detection, and assortativity coefficient. The global connectivity (the overall level of interconnections) between the 10 basic values was found to be mostly invariant across the four networks. However, results of the community detection analysis revealed a more complex value structure among the most inclusive class of Europeans. Further, according to the assortativity analysis, as expected, for the most inclusive Europeans, values with similar motivational backgrounds were found to be interconnected most strongly to one another. We further discussed the theoretical and practical implications of our findings.

3.4 Study IV: Immigrants' intragroup moral exclusion predicts ingroup-directed behavioral intentions: The mediating role of disidentification

Previous research documents the relationship between negative treatments of outgroup members and moral exclusion. In this study, we expect negative treatments of the ingroup members to be also related to a moral exclusionary mechanism. Next, we hypothesize that the

relationship between intragroup moral exclusion and behavioral intentions (both positive and negative ones) targeting the ingroup members, to be mediated by immigrants' disidentification with their ethnic identity. Using two samples of Iranians (n=385) and Tunisians (n=124) living in Italy, we test the two hypotheses. Results provided evidence that moral exclusion is negatively associated with positive behavioral intentions (active facilitation) and positively associated with the negative behavioral intentions (passive facilitation and passive harm). Results also suggest that this relationship is mediated by disidentification with immigrants' own ethnic group.

Keywords: Moral exclusion; Intragroup moral exclusion; Disidentification; Ethnic identity

4 General Discussion

This dissertation encompasses four distinct yet interrelated quantitative studies which together provides an examination of various facets of group-based attitudes, morality, and group-based behavioral tendencies. The term "morality" and its derivatives serve as an overarching concept to investigate, identify, and explore value-laden intuitive judgments, such as moral exclusionary inclinations in Studies 1 and 4, perceived threats to national identity in Study 2, and the ten basic values in Study 3.

The central theme that emerges from the four research studies is the crucial role of group-based value-laden intuitive evaluations and their complex interaction with group-based behavioral tendencies. These evaluations play a pivotal part in their interplay with the way individuals perceive and behave towards both outgroup and ingroup members. Study 1 and Study 4 delve into the importance of moral exclusionary evaluations in driving behavioral tendencies against the outgroup and ingroup members, respectively. Study 3 investigates the intricate relationship between the 10 basic human values and their influence on behavioral tendencies towards outgroup members. The findings imply that the nature of these values and the complex dynamic between them is significantly related to how individuals tend to treat the outgroup. Lastly, the results of Study 2 confirm that the affective elements of the Roma's social perception, perceived threat to national identity, exhibit significant causal links with the corresponding behavioral tendencies. Overall, the studies underscore the vital interdependence between group-based moral intuitions and the behavioral tendencies towards both ingroup and outgroup members. This implies that interventions may need to emphasize

the affective aspects of group-based perceptions for the development of effective interventions that aim to reduce group-based biases.

Study 1 highlights the significant role of moral exclusion in regulating negative intergroup behaviors, especially when combined with as right-wing authoritarian and social dominance orientation tendencies. While previous research has identified positive associations between SDO, RWA, and moral exclusion (e.g., Passini & Morsell, 2016), our study goes beyond by investigating their combined influence on behavioral tendencies against Roma and Jewish minorities in Hungary. Moreover, our findings indicate that both RWA and SDO are applicable to both communities, as the hypothesized model worked for both the Roma and Jewish minorities. Considering that Roma people are generally viewed as low status and the Jewish minority as high status—with the former perceived as *derogated* and the latter as *dangerous*—theoretically, SDO should predict prejudice against the Jewish community, and RWA against the Roma. Our representative sample, however, shows that both of these constructs are relevant to both communities within the current Hungarian context, and discriminatory intentions against these two groups can be due to a combined effect of both RWA and SDO. For interventionists, it implies a need to focus on mitigating these underlying moral motivations to diminish prejudice against minority group members.

Study 2's network analysis approach offers a novel perspective on anti-Roma bias in different European countries. The identification of threat perception to national identity as a central variable suggests that interventions aimed at reducing this perceived threat could have a cascading effect on related anti-Roma evaluations. Furthermore, recognizing the role of empathy as a central variable highlights the importance of empathy-building interventions that could potentially reshape negative attitudes toward Roma populations.

Study 3's categorization of Europeans into distinct groups based on their attitudes towards immigrants offers insights for interventions. By understanding the more complex dynamics of values among the most inclusive Europeans, interventions could target the alignment of different sets of values and emphasize promoting mindful examination of opposing motivations within one's personal value system to foster less discriminatory intentions. Previous studies have shown that the importance individuals assign to specific values (like openness to change, self-transcendence, self-enhancement, and conservation) reveals their attitudes towards different groups. From a theoretical perspective, we contributed to the literature in the field by showing that attitudes towards the outgroup also present themselves in the *interconnections* between different sets of values and the way

individuals differentiate between values with differing or even opposing motivational forces. Moreover, in the discussion section, I highlighted a *prevailing consensus* suggesting a positive correlation between cognitive rigidity and conservatism. However, this observation requires a more detailed examination. A recent meta-analysis (Costello et al., 2022) shows that not all forms of conservatism are associated with cognitive rigidity. Specifically, while social conservatism is robustly related to cognitive rigidity, this is not the case for economic conservatism, which has a negligible relationship with cognitive rigidity. Our findings align with this perspective as we measured what they refer to as “rigidity-of-the-social-right,” contrasting it with the rigidity-of-the-right hypothesis, which indiscriminately lumps together various kinds of conservatism related to cognitive rigidity.

Study 4 contributes to the field by revealing the possibility that moral exclusion can be directed towards one's own ingroup. We showed that the effect of moral exclusion on behavioral intentions directed towards the ingroup is influenced by immigrants disidentifying from their ethnic identity. Interventions could target disidentification and focus on its affective/moral dimensions to reduce negative intragroup sentiments among immigrants. This could, in turn, help mitigate societal consequences such as system-perpetuating tendencies. One significant difference between the measurement of moral exclusion in Study 1 and Study 4 lies in the fact that, in Study 1, we used Opatow's (1993) Scope of Justice/Moral Exclusion Scale, which explicitly measures denial of moral considerations for outgroups. In contrast, for Study 4, we employed the Moral Inclusion/Exclusion of Other Groups (MIEG) scale, developed by Passini and Morselli (2016). This scale offers a more subtle way to capturing moral exclusion. Consequently, we believed that rephrasing a less explicit measure of moral exclusion (directed towards the outgroup) aimed at the ingroup would yield a more reliable assessment of intragroup moral exclusion.

Collectively, the 4 studies bring forth the suggestion that addressing the affective dimensions is paramount and interventions may be more effective when they engage these deep-rooted emotional evaluations. By addressing these affective evaluations, interventions can diminish group-based discriminatory motives. Although all four studies, conducted across various cultural contexts, underscore the crucial role of affective/value-laden judgments, the efficacy of interventions can be enhanced by tailoring them to the specific cultural nuances.

In building the statistical models across the four studies, emphasis was placed on grounding them in prior theoretical justifications, complemented by the most recent empirical

findings. However, this does not preclude the potential for alternative model constructions or even substituting items from different scales. For example, in Study 4, one can posit that disidentification could act as a moderator variable, and its relationship with moral exclusion is not necessarily one of mediating effect only. The primary objective was to understand the relationships between theory-based and empirically supported psychological constructs, and whether they influence group-based behavioral intentions. In short, the causal order implied by Studies 1 and 4 using path models, alongside the specific variable choices across all the 4 Studies, were not based on immutable laws but rather on a foundational theoretical understanding of the interrelations between these variables and group-based behaviors.

5 Limitation

This dissertation delves into the underlying psychological mechanisms that influence negative group-based behaviors, even though it focused on measuring behavioral intentions rather than actual behaviors. Prior experimental research (see Webb & Sheeran, 2006) indicates that behavioral intentions predict actual behavior. However, not measuring actual behavior in our attitude surveys remains a limitation of this dissertation. Future research should incorporate actual behavioral measures, as doing so could provide clearer insights into the psychological mechanisms preceding or interacting with group-based derogatory behavior.

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