

**UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID**

**FACULTAD DE PSICOLOGÍA**



**TESIS DOCTORAL**

**Tolerancia a la violencia policial  
como expresión de la discriminación**

**Tolerance for police violence  
as an expression of discrimination**

MEMORIA PARA OPTAR AL GRADO DE DOCTOR

PRESENTADA POR

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**UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID**  
**FACULTAD DE PSICOLOGIA**  
**DOCTORADO EN PSICOLOGIA**  
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José Luis Álvaro Estramiana

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2019



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M A D R I D

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## TOLERANCIA A LA VIOLENCIA POLICIAL COMO EXPRESION DE LA DISCRIMINACION

RESUMEN: La presente tesis tiene por objetivo identificar qué factores psicosociales son capaces de favorecer y legitimar la relación entre la pertenencia grupal de quien es sospechoso de cometer un crimen y la tolerancia a la violencia policial. Fueran llevados a cabo estudios experimentales en Brasil y España que contribuyeron de manera integrada al logro del objetivo general. Todos los estudios desarrollados tienen como punto de partida los presupuestos teóricos de la perspectiva de las relaciones intergrupales (Tajfel, 1981) y articulan los niveles de análisis intergrupales e ideológico (Doise, 2002), puesto que asumen los siguientes aspectos: a) la tolerancia al uso de la violencia policial está influida por la estructura de las relaciones existentes entre grupos dominantes y grupos minoritarios, b) as las relaciones establecidas entre los grupos están asociadas a creencias sobre el orden social imperante, las cuales legitiman conductas discriminatorias. La tesis está estructurada en tres artículos. El primer artículo tratase de la investigación realizada en Brasil. En el contexto brasileño, la discriminación contra negros fue analizada por medio de la tolerancia a la violencia policial, el apoyo para reducir la edad de responsabilidad penal y el pago de indemnización por parte de la policía a los sospechosos adolescentes. Tres estudios experimentales fueran realizados, todos con estudiantes universitarios o de secundaria. En el Estudio 1 ( $N = 118$ ) se analizó la influencia del tipo de crimen (asalto versus tráfico de drogas) y de la víctima del crimen (identificable versus no identificable) en las variables estudiadas. El estudio 2 ( $N = 343$ ) analizó el efecto de la relación entre el tipo de crimen (asalto versus tráfico de drogas), víctima del crimen (identificable versus no identificable) y la raza del adolescente sospechoso (*blanco* versus *negro*) sobre la discriminación. Por último, el Estudio 3 ( $N = 316$ ) replicó el Estudio 2, añadiendo la *Creencia en un Mundo Justo* como variable moderadora de la discriminación. En conjunto,



los resultados indicaron que la discriminación racial por medio de más tolerancia a la violencia policial y el apoyo a la reducción de la edad de responsabilidad penal para los crímenes cometidos por adolescentes negros. Niveles elevados de adhesión a la CMJ elevaron la discriminación racial. El segundo artículo presenta dos estudios experimentales realizados en España. En este contexto, fue investigada la discriminación contra sospechosos de terrorismo islámico por medio de la tolerancia a la utilización de tortura contra este grupo. En Estudio 1 ( $N = 282$ ), se analizó la influencia de la nacionalidad de las víctimas de crímenes de terrorismo (Españoles versus otra nacionalidad) y de la nacionalidad de los torturadores (policía española versus policía egipcia) sobre la tolerancia a la utilización de tortura contra sospechosos de terrorismo islámico. El Estudio 2 ( $N = 165$ ) analizó la interacción entre Percepción de Amenaza (Real y Simbólica) y Autoritarismo de Derechas (RWA) como moderadores de la relación entre la nacionalidad de las víctimas de crímenes de terrorismo (españoles versus otra nacionalidad) y la discriminación. En conjunto, el Estudio 1 indicó que había más tolerancia a la utilización de tortura cuando las víctimas de acciones terroristas eran de nacionalidad española. Además, el Estudio 2 indicó que la relación entre la nacionalidad de las víctimas de acciones terroristas y la tolerancia a la utilización de tortura fue moderada, simultáneamente, por las interacciones entre Percepción de Amenaza Real y RWA y Percepción de Amenaza Simbólica y RWA, que aumentaban la tolerancia a la tortura independientemente de nacionalidad de las víctimas del terrorismo. El tercer artículo consta de dos estudios experimentales también realizados en el escenario español. En esta investigación, se analizó la función mediadora de la deshumanización en la relación entre la amenaza terrorista y la tolerancia a la violencia policial contra el presunto terrorismo islámico, con la tolerancia a la violencia medida dentro de un continuum de proceso de justicia, que varía de un aspecto retributivo (castigo) al restaurativo (rehabilitación). El

estudio 1 ( $N = 215$ ) ha demostrado que la amenaza terrorista contra el endogrupo (español) eleva el proceso de deshumanización del presunto terrorista islámico (exogrupo) que, a su vez, resulta una mayor tolerancia al uso de violencia contra el mismo. El estudio 2 ( $N = 304$ ) analizó cómo RWA modera la relación identificada en el estudio anterior, revelando que una mayor adhesión a RWA favorece la deshumanización del miembro del exogrupo, independientemente de la amenaza terrorista dirigirse al endogrupo. En síntesis, se identificó que la deshumanización es el mecanismo subyacente para apoyar diferentes mecanismos de justicia y que la adhesión al RWA favorece la expresión de este fenómeno.

**PALABRAS-CLAVE:** discriminación; creencia en el mundo justo; percepción de amenaza; autoritarismo de derechas; deshumanización.

## TOLERANCE FOR POLICE VIOLENCE AS AN EXPRESSION OF DISCRIMINATION

ABSTRACT: This thesis aim to analyze which psychosocial factors are capable of favoring and legitimizing the relationship between the offender's group membership and tolerance for police violence. Experimental studies were conducted in Brazil and Spain which contribute in an integrated way to achieving the general objective. All the studies were guided by theoretical assumptions from the perspective of intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1981) and articulate the intergroup and ideological levels of analysis (Doise, 2002), since they assume the following aspects: 1) tolerance for the use of police violence is influenced by the structure of the relations between dominant groups and minority groups, and (2) relationships established between groups are moderated by beliefs about the social order that legitimize discriminatory behavior. The thesis is structured in three scientific articles. The first article consists of research conducted in Brazil. In the Brazilian context, discrimination against black people is analyzed based on tolerance for police violence, support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, and support for the payment of compensation by the police to teenage offenders. Three studies were conducted, all with university students and high school students. In Study 1 ( $N = 118$ ), the influence of the type of crime (*robbery* versus *drug trafficking*) and the target of criminal action (*identifiable* versus *unidentifiable*) on the variables studied were analyzed. Study 2 ( $N = 343$ ) examined the effect of the relationship between the type of crime (*robbery* versus *drug trafficking*), the target of criminal action (*identifiable* versus *unidentifiable*), and the teenage offender's race (*white* versus *black*) on discrimination. Study 3 ( $N = 316$ ) replicated Study 2 by adding belief in a just world as a moderator of discrimination. Together, the results indicate racial discrimination through a greater tolerance for police violence and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility for crimes committed

by black teenagers. Another finding was a greater support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender when crimes are committed by white teenagers. High levels of adherence to belief in a just world accentuate racial discrimination. The second article presents two experimental studies conducted in Spain. In this context, It was investigated discrimination against suspected Islamic terrorists based on tolerance for the use of torture against these groups. Study 1 ( $N= 282$ ) analyzed the influence of the nationality of the victims of terrorist crimes (Spanish versus unidentified nationality) and the nationality of torturers (Spanish versus Egyptian police) on tolerance for torture against suspects of Islamic terrorism and support for the payment of compensation by the torturers to the suspects. Study 2 ( $N= 165$ ) analyzed the interaction among the nationality of the victims of terrorist crimes (Spanish versus unidentified nationality) and Perceived Threat (Realistic and Symbolic) as moderators on the relationship between RWA and discrimination. The results of Study 1 indicated that support for the use of torture against Islamic terrorists was greater when the victims of terrorist acts and the torturers belonged to the ingroup (Spaniards). Furthermore, Study 2 indicated that both the perception that the endogroup is a victim of terrorist actions and the perceived realistic and symbolic threat by the outgroup favor support for the use of torture against Islamic groups suspected of terrorist actions, regardless of the participants levels of adherence to RWA. The third article is composed by two experimental studies also carried out in Spain. In this investigation, it was analyzed the mediating role of dehumanization in the relationship between terrorist threat and tolerance for the use of police violence against suspected Islamic terrorism, with tolerance for violence measured within a *continuum* of justice procedure, which varies from the retributive aspect (punishment) to the restorative (rehabilitation). Study 1 ( $N = 215$ ) showed that the terrorist threat against the ingroup (Spaniards) raises the support for the retributive procedures of justice through the

dehumanization of the suspect of Islamic terrorism (exogroup), which in turn results in greater tolerance for the use of violence against it. Study 2 ( $N = 304$ ) analyzed how Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA) moderates the relationship identified in the previous study. It was revealed that a greater adherence to the RWA favors the dehumanization of the exogroup member, regardless of whether the terrorist threat is directed at the ingroup. In summary, the results indicated that dehumanization is the underlying mechanism for supporting different justice mechanisms and that adherence to the RWA favors the expression of this phenomenon.

**KEYWORDS:** discrimination, belief in a just world, threat perception, Right-wing Authoritarianism, dehumanization.

## TOLERÂNCIA À VIOLÊNCIA POLICIAL COMO EXPRESSÃO DA DISCRIMINAÇÃO

RESUMO: A presente tese tem como objetivo analisar os fatores psicossociais capazes de favorecer e legitimar a relação entre a pertença grupal do contraventor e a tolerância à violência policial. Foram realizados estudos experimentais no Brasil e na Espanha que contribuíram de modo integrado para a consecução do objetivo geral. Todos os estudos desenvolvidos basearam-se nos pressupostos teóricos da perspectiva das relações intergrupais (Tajfel, 1981) e articulam os níveis de análise intergrupar e ideológico (Doise, 2002), uma vez que pressupõem os seguintes aspectos: a) a tolerância à violência policial é influenciada pela estrutura das relações existentes entre grupos dominantes e minoritários, b) as relações estabelecidas entre os grupos está associadas a crenças sobre a ordem social vigente, as quais legitimam comportamentos discriminatórios. A tese está organizada em três artigos. O primeiro artigo consiste na pesquisa realizada no Brasil. No contexto brasileiro, a discriminação contra pessoas negras foi analisada com base na tolerância à violência policial, no apoio à redução da maioria penal e no apoio ao pagamento de indenização pela polícia ao adolescente contraventor. Três estudos foram conduzidos, todos com estudantes universitários e do ensino médio. No Estudo 1 ( $N = 118$ ), analisou-se a influência do tipo de crime (*assalto* versus *tráfico de drogas*) e o alvo do crime (*identificável* versus *não identificável*) sobre as variáveis aqui estudadas. O Estudo 2 ( $N = 343$ ) avaliou o efeito da relação entre tipo de crime (*assalto* versus *tráfico de drogas*), o alvo do crime (*identificável* versus *não identificável*) e o grupo racial do adolescente contraventor (*branco* versus *negro*) sobre a discriminação. O Estudo 3 ( $N = 316$ ) replicou o Estudo 2, adicionando a crença no mundo justo (CMJ) como moderadora da discriminação. Em conjunto, os resultados indicaram a discriminação racial por meio da maior tolerância à

violência policial e apoio à redução da maioria penal para os crimes cometidos por adolescentes negros. Além disso, verificou-se maior apoio ao pagamento de indenização pela polícia ao adolescente transgressor quando o crime foi cometido por adolescentes brancos. Níveis elevados de adesão à CMJ acentuaram a discriminação racial. O segundo artigo apresenta dois estudos experimentais realizados na Espanha. Nesse contexto, investigou-se a discriminação contra suspeitos de terrorismo islâmico com base na tolerância à utilização da tortura contra esse grupo. No Estudo 1 ( $N= 282$ ), analisou-se a influência da nacionalidade das vítimas de crimes de terrorismo (*espanhóis* versus *outra nacionalidade*) e da nacionalidade dos torturadores (*polícia espanhola* versus *polícia estrangeira*) sobre a tolerância à utilização de tortura contra suspeitos de terrorismo islâmico. O Estudo 2 ( $N= 165$ ) analisou a interação entre Percepção de Ameaça (Real e Simbólica) e Autoritarismo de Direita (RWA) como moderadores da relação entre nacionalidade das vítimas de crimes de terrorismo (*espanhóis* versus *outra nacionalidade*) e a discriminação. Em conjunto, o Estudo 1 indicou que a tolerância à utilização de tortura era maior quando as vítimas de ações terroristas pertenciam ao endogrupo (espanhóis). Ademais, o Estudo 2 indicou que a relação entre nacionalidade das vítimas de ações terroristas e tolerância à tortura foi simultaneamente moderada nas interações entre percepção de ameaça real e RWA e percepção de ameaça simbólica e RWA, as quais elevam a tolerância à tortura, independentemente da nacionalidade das vítimas de terrorismo. O terceiro artigo é composto por dois estudos experimentais também realizados no cenário espanhol. Nesta investigação, analisou-se o papel mediador da desumanização na relação entre ameaça terrorista e tolerância ao uso de violência policial contra suspeitos de terrorismo islâmico, sendo a tolerância à violência mensurada dentro de um *continuum* de procedimento de justiça, que varia do aspecto retributivo (punição) ao restaurativo (reabilitação). O Estudo 1 ( $N =215$ ) demonstrou que a ameaça terrorista contra o

endogrupo (espanhóis) eleva o processo de desumanização do suspeito de terrorismo islâmico (exogrupo) que, por sua vez, resulta numa maior à tolerância à utilização de violência contra o mesmo. O Estudo 2 ( $N=304$ ) analisou como o RWA modera a relação identificada no estudo anterior, sendo revelado que a maior adesão ao RWA favorece à desumanização do membro do exogrupo, independentemente da ameaça terrorista ser direcionada ao endogrupo. Em síntese, identificou-se que a desumanização é o mecanismo subjacente ao apoio a diferentes mecanismos de justiça e que a adesão ao RWA favorece a expressão desse fenômeno.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVES:** discriminação; crença no mundo justo; percepção de ameaça; autoritarismo de direita; desumanização.



## **SECTION I -INTRODUCTION**

## INTRODUCTION

In the final decades of the 20th century, several western countries experienced processes of social and political transformation that culminated in the consolidation of democratic regimes of government (Bresser-Pereira, 2011; Huntington, 1991). In general, democratic societies are based on the recognition of the fundamental rights of human beings and on the guarantee of their individual freedoms (Nisnevich, 2012), as advocated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations, 1948). Democracy also presents as one of its fundamental components the defense of the rule of law, a principle according to which all citizens, the state, and those who govern are equally subject to the law, regardless of their position, status, and power (Bobbio, Matteucci, & Pasquino, 1998; Karstedt & LaFree, 2006).

Notwithstanding the defense of such principles, democratic societies are still susceptible to the occurrence of extrajudicial procedures which threaten the rule of law, for instance police violence. Despite being a violation of fundamental human rights, the use of violence by the police is endorsed by the population in different social contexts. In Brazil, in the midst of the problem of urban violence, the population judges police action as a security measure and, at the same time, tolerates acts of violence carried out by the police (Guimarães, Torres, & Faria, 2005). with growing support for the use of severe punishments against those who violate existing laws, even if such punishments result in extrajudicial practices of violence and oppression (Brazilian Forum of Public Security, 2017).

In the European context, it also seen that the population supports the use of extrajudicial actions, such as torture, on the part of the police, especially when they are targeted at members of social minorities, such as Muslim immigrants (Álvaro et al., 2015;

Viki, Osgood, & Phillips, 2013). More recent studies suggest that the occurrence of terrorist attacks is one of the factors associated with increasing discrimination against this group in Europe (Van de Vyer, Houston, Abrams, & Vasiljevic, 2016) and the strengthening of xenophobic and conservative political positions (Ekman, 2015; Greven, 2016).

Previous investigations indicate that tolerance for extrajudicial conduct by the police varies depending on the degree to which the population perceives that the right to decide what behavior towards citizens is appropriate falls within the authority of the police (Gerber & Jackson, 2017; Tyler, 2006). However, there is evidence that support for the use of police violence represents a discriminatory process, and cannot be summarized as a perception of the rights conferred on the police's authority. Tolerance toward police violence, as discriminatory behavior, was analyzed by Oliveira (2013), who found that there is greater support for the use of this type of violence when it is directed at members of minority groups. The relationship between the social group of the suspected offender and the support for the use of violence has been recurrently verified in a number of studies, which converge on indicating that tolerance for the use of violent procedures is more frequent when the suspect belongs to a minority group (e.g., Álvaro et al., 2015; Goff, Jack, Cullota, DiLeone & DiTomasso, 2014; Haslam & Loughman, 2014).

Considering that support for police violence is greater when directed at members of social minorities, and given the current scenario in which the use of this extrajudicial procedure is perceived as legitimate in relation to the problem of urban violence in Brazil and that of Islamic terrorism in Europe, the present thesis aims to analyze which psychosocial factors are capable of favoring and legitimizing the relationship between the offender's group membership and tolerance for police violence. Toward this end, experimental studies were conducted in Brazil and Spain. It is emphasized that these are

not comparative studies, but rather investigations that adopt discrimination, operationalized as tolerance of police violence, as an object of study and that consider how this phenomenon is shaped by the specific social dynamics of each of these countries.

All the studies that comprise the present thesis were guided by theoretical assumptions from the perspective of intergroup relations (Tajfel, 1981). In this perspective, it is assumed that the individuals' belonging to certain social categories influences social behavior in a preponderant way, since the mere categorization of individuals in certain groups can mobilize different behaviors regarding dominant groups and groups with disadvantaged status (Tajfel & Turner, 1986).

In the context of intergroup relations, discrimination is understood as a differential treatment toward individuals, expressed as a function of their belonging to a social category (Brewer, 2016). It may be characterized by the expression of negative behaviors against outgroup members or, more subtly, by less positive responses to other groups than would be offered to the ingroup in comparable circumstances (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Estes, 2010).

In addition to the role played by social categorization, the perspective of intergroup relations considers that the expression of discriminatory behavior is shaped by shared beliefs about the current social order and the current differences between groups (Staerklé, 2013). Such beliefs are capable of accentuating the differences between groups and, at the same time, justifying the status quo (Tajfel, 1982). Based on these theoretical premises, the studies developed here sought to identify which psychosocial factors favor the relationship between the social affiliation of the offender and the tolerance of police violence, considering the following aspects: 1) tolerance for the use of police violence is influenced by the structure of the relations between dominant groups and minority groups, and (2) relationships established between groups are moderated by beliefs about the social order

that legitimize discriminatory behavior. Thus, the studies that comprise this thesis sought to explain the psychosocial factors that favor and legitimize this type of discrimination, through articulation between the intergroup and ideological levels of analysis (Doise, 2002).

### **Thesis Organization**

This thesis was developed under the joint supervision of the Federal University of Paraíba (*UFPB*), Brazil, and the Complutense University of Madrid (*UCM*), Spain, with the financial support of the CAPES/DGPU program and of CNPq. The thesis is structured in three scientific articles. Each of the articles is composed of studies that meet specific objectives of the thesis, which contribute in an integrated way to achieving the general objective.

The first article, entitled "Racial Discrimination and Belief in a Just World: Police Violence against Teenagers in Brazil", was published in the *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* and is composed of three experimental studies that adopted crimes committed by adolescents as a research scenario. In addition to tolerance toward the use of police violence, the studies took support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage suspected offender as a measure of discrimination, as well as support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility from 18 to 16 years, since the population has also expressed support for this measure in the face of urban violence (Galvão & Camino, 2011; Menin, 2005).

Earlier investigations had already identified that support for the use of violent punishments could be influenced by the type of crime (Bastian, Denson, & Haslam, 2013), the target of the crime (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), and the offender's social group (Álvaro et al., 2015), however the literature lacks studies that evaluate how these variables interact

regarding tolerance for police violence. Given this gap, Study 1 was carried out to verify how the type of crime (assault versus drug trafficking) and the target of the crime (identifiable versus unidentifiable) influence tolerance of police violence, support for the payment of compensation by the police to the adolescent offender, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. Study 2 then evaluated the effect of the interaction between type of crime (assault versus drug trafficking), the target of the crime (identifiable versus unidentifiable), and the skin color of the offender (white vs. black) on discrimination.

Finally, considering that intergroup behavior is influenced by the beliefs of stability and legitimacy of the relationships between groups (Tajfel, 1981), Study 3 replicated the previous study, adding the Belief in a Just World (BJW) as a moderator of the relationship between the racial group of the adolescent offender and discrimination. Initially developed by Lerner (1965), the concept of BJW is based on a principle according to which people are motivated to perceive the world as a fair place and to accept their own fate. Although the motivational aspect may suggest that BJW consists of an intra-individual type of variable, other investigations indicate that the level of adherence to BJW can explain phenomena at the intergroup (Halabi, Statman, & Dovidio, 2015) and ideological level (Correia, 2003; Doise, 1982). More specifically, adherence to BJW is positively related to beliefs that legitimize the existing social structure and favor the expression of negative behaviors against minority groups (Alves & Correia, 2009; Jost & Hunyad, 2005).

Combined, the three studies that comprise the investigation carried out in Brazil confirm that support for police violence has a discriminatory logic and, at the same time, broaden the explanatory scope of previous studies by establishing that discrimination is influenced by the type of crime for which the offender is a suspect and by the target of the criminal act. There was greater tolerance for police violence, greater support for lowering

the age of criminal responsibility, and less support for the payment of compensation by the police when the scenario involved a Black teen suspected of committing a crime of assault with an unidentifiable target. In addition, it was verified that adherence to BJW accentuates the discriminatory behavior against the minority group, legitimizing the discriminatory relation between the White and Black groups in the context analyzed here.

These studies evaluated the influence of social categorization on discrimination, considering only the race of the teen offender (Black or White). However, it was not possible to assess whether discrimination would be influenced by the social category of the victims of the criminal act and by that of the police who used violence. Therefore, studies carried out in the Spanish context were used to fill this gap, and at the same time make additional contributions to previous studies.

The second article, entitled "Discrimination Against Suspects of Islamic Terrorism: Nationality, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, and Perception of Threat as Predictors of Support for Torture", was based on two experimental studies conducted in Spain that adopted the crime of Islamic terrorism as the research scenario, given the relevance this type of violation has gained in the European scenario, particularly in strengthening ultraconservative and xenophobic political positions in the manifestation of flagrant forms of discrimination against immigrants from Muslim-majority countries (Ekman, 2015; Greven, 2016; Van de Vyer, Houston, Abrams, & Vasiljevic, 2016). Study 1 aimed to analyze how the nationality of the victims of terrorist attacks (Spanish versus unidentified nationality) and the nationality of the police (Spanish versus foreign police) influence discrimination, measured by the tolerance for the use of torture by the police against suspected Islamic terrorists.

Study 2 complemented the prior one by articulating the intergroup and ideological levels of analysis in explaining discriminatory behavior. More specifically, in this study,

we sought to identify how the interaction between nationality of the victims of a terrorist attack (Spanish versus unidentified nationality), adherence to Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA), and perception that immigrants are a threat (realistic and symbolic) explain tolerance toward the use of torture by the Spanish police (ingroup) against the suspects of Islamic terrorism (outgroup). The choice of these variables as moderators stems from the fact that their contents are closely related both to the maximization of the differences between ingroup and outgroup, and to the defense of the population against foreigners, identified as a threat (Ekman, 2015). The perceived realistic threat consists of the perception that immigrants jeopardize the economic power and well-being of the members of the ingroup (Onranet & Van Hiel, 2013), while the symbolic threat refers to the perception that the cultural practices of immigrants place the cultural identity of the ingroup at risk (Stephan, et al., 1999). RWA, in turn, represents a set of ideological positions that legitimizes arbitrary forms of power in defense of the members of the ingroup (Altemeyer, 1981; Duckitt, 2001).

These two studies identified that the nationality of the victims of terrorist attacks influences tolerance of torture against Islamic terrorism suspects, with greater support for this extrajudicial measure when the victims of terrorist crime belong to the ingroup (Spanish). Nevertheless, it was found that the terrorist threat against the ingroup and the perception that immigrants pose a threat promote tolerance for the use of torture against members of the outgroup, regardless of RWA adherence levels.

Finally, the third article, entitled "Perception of Terrorist Threat, Dehumanization, and Right-wing Authoritarianism as Predictors of Discrimination", is based on two experimental studies also carried out in Spain and that used the crime of Islamic terrorism as the research scenario. The previous studies were consistent in indicating that tolerance for police violence represents a discriminatory phenomenon, given that tolerance for this



conduct was greater in the condition in which members of the dominant group (Spanish nationality) were seen as victims of the minority group (Muslim immigrant). However, discrimination was assessed from an ostensibly punitive scenario, torture, and it was not possible to infer whether such a relationship could be applied to broader conceptions of justice.

Thus, Study 1 was conducted to verify discrimination against suspected Islamic terrorists by means of a continuum ranging from support for retributive justice procedures (use of violence against the offender) to restorative processes (rehabilitation of the offender). In addition, this study sought to analyze whether the relationship between perceived terrorist threat and discrimination would be explained by the dehumanization of the offender, i.e., by the perception that the Islamic terrorism suspect lacks uniquely human attributes (Haslam, 2006). The choice of dehumanization as a mediating variable is justified by its known association with the use of violence against outgroup members (Viki, Fullerton, Raggett, Tait, & Wiltshire, 2012; Goff et al., 2014) and, at the same time, by the possibility of exploring the extent to which the dehumanization process is influenced by the scenario in which the members of the dominant group (Spanish nationality) are seen as victims of the minority group (Muslim immigrant).

Study 2, in turn, aimed to investigate whether the scenario in which the members of the ingroup (Spanish nationality) are seen as victims of the criminal action practiced by a member of the minority group (Muslim immigrant) would result not only in the tolerance of police violence, but also in a process of homogenization of the outgroup, in which all its members are assessed as a possible threat to the security and the values of the ingroup. Given that, in the previous article, adherence to RWA increased discrimination against the outgroup, regardless of the nationality of the victims of terrorist attacks, the present study also sought to verify whether adherence to RWA would influence the dehumanization of

the suspected Islamic terrorist, regardless of the nationality of the victims of the terrorist attacks (Spanish / ingroup versus other nationality / outgroup).

These two studies showed that discrimination against minority groups in a transgression scenario can be explained in a continuum that spans support for retributive and restorative justice processes. In addition, the dehumanization of the offender is the mechanism that explains the relationship between the perception of terrorist threat against the ingroup and discrimination, identified by greater support for retributive measures (use of violence) than for restorative measures (rehabilitation). It was confirmed that the occurrence of such a discriminatory process is supported by the level of adherence to the ideological components of RWA. High adherence to RWA resulted in a further dehumanization of the suspected Islamic terrorist, regardless of whether the terrorist threat was directed at the ingroup. At the same time, it was found that high adherence to RWA explains the process of discrimination against Muslim immigrants.

## **SECTION II- EMPIRICAL RESEARCH**

## CHAPTER 1

### **Racial discrimination and belief in a just world:**

#### **Police violence against teenagers in Brazil**

The investigation presented in this chapter has been published in the Journal of Experimental Social Psychology:

da Costa Silva, K., Torres, A.R.R., Álvaro, J.L., Garrido, A., & Linhares, L.V. (2018). Racial discrimination and belief in a just world: Police violence against teenagers in Brazil. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 74, 317-327. doi: 10.1016/j.jesp.2017.10.009

**ABSTRACT:** Discrimination against black people is analyzed based on tolerance for police violence, support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, and support for the payment of compensation by the police to teenage offenders. Three studies were conducted, all with university students and high school students. In Study 1 (N = 118), the influence of the type of crime (*robbery* versus *drug trafficking*) and the target of criminal action (*identifiable* versus *unidentifiable*) on the variables studied were analyzed. Study 2 (N = 343) examined the effect of the relationship between the type of crime (*robbery* versus *drug trafficking*), the target of criminal action (*identifiable* versus *unidentifiable*), and the teenage offender's race (*white* versus *black*) on discrimination. Study 3 (N = 316) replicated Study 2 by adding belief in a just world as a moderator of discrimination. Together, the results indicate racial discrimination through a greater tolerance for police violence and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility for crimes committed by black teenagers. Another finding was a greater support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender when crimes are committed by white teenagers. High levels of adherence to belief in a just world accentuate racial discrimination.

Keywords: racial discrimination, police violence, belief in a just world.

## **Introduction**

In the context of public security, it is possible to verify the presence of discrimination against black people based on several indicators. According to the Map of Incarceration – Adolescents in Brazil (*Mapa do Encarceramento – Os jovens no Brasil*, 2014), the more the prison population in Brazil grows, the more black people are overrepresented in the prison population. In 2005, blacks accounted for 58.4% of the prison population. In 2012, that proportion increased to 60.8%. In the cases of deaths due to police action, the victims are predominantly black (61%), most of whom are men (97%), and young persons between 15 and 29 years of age (78%) (Sinhoretto, Silvestre, & Schlittler, 2014).

Given this scenario of inequality, this paper aims to analyze racial discrimination against blacks based on the context of tolerance for police violence and support for

lowering the age of criminal responsibility. The choice of this subject is justified by the social relevance of these topics. Faced with increasing levels of violence, Brazilian society takes security measures through police action (Minayo & Adorno, 2013; Peres, Ruotti, Carvalho, & Regina, 2015) and simultaneously tolerates acts of violence by the police (Torres, Faria, Guimarães, & Martigoni, 2005). These actions violate principles of the rule of law and are violent and abusive (Guimarães, Torres, & Faria, 2005; Ruotti, Freitas, Almeida, & Peres, 2009). In the context of the increase in violence, reducing the age of criminal responsibility has gained prominence in Brazil, considering that police action is increasingly expressed against young people living on the outskirts of urban centers (Minayo & Adorno, 2013; Peres et al., 2015), in addition to the population's support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility (Galvão & Camino, 2011; Menin, 2005).

Support for severe punishments against an offender varies depending on the type of crime and the identifiability of the target of the criminal action. It is known that an identifiable target mobilizes greater cognitive and emotional resources than do statistical targets (Chaiken, 1980; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986). Regarding the type of crime, there is greater support for the use of severe punishments for crimes involving innocent victims, such as robberies and crimes involving violence (Bastian, Denson, & Haslam, 2013; Bastian, Laham, Wilson, Haslam, & Koval, 2011; Gromet & Darley, 2009; Viki, Fullerton, Raggett, Tait, & Wiltshire, 2012). Support for more stringent punishments is also greater when it is perceived that the crime causes greater harm to its victims (Gromet & Darley, 2009).

On the other hand, support for the use of severe punishments and police violence can also be analyzed from the scope of intergroup relations. Studies converge in noting that there is greater tolerance for police violence when it is directed at members of minority groups (Álvaro et al., 2015) and that these groups are assessed as more dangerous, as

lacking self-control, and as being less sensitive to pain (Bastian et al., 2011; Goff, Jack, Cullota, DiLeone, & DiTomasso, 2014; Haslam & Loughman, 2014; Viki et al., 2006), which would result in negative actions against social minorities (Cuddy, Rock, & Norton, 2007; Zebel, Zimmermann, Viki, & Doosje, 2008) and in more severe forms of judgment in the face of the transgressions committed by members of these groups (Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008).

In the penal system, the offender's racial group has an effect on the jury's decision-making, such that blacks receive more severe sentences than whites, and the latter are subject to greater complacency (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie-Vaughns, & Davis, 2004; Mitchell, Haw, Pfeifeir, & Meissner, 2005; Sommers, 2007; Sommers & Ellsworth, 2009). These racial disparities are also found in cases in which the offender is under 18 years of age. The simple suggestion that a teenage offender is black mobilizes people to perceive the offender as being similar to an adult in terms of guilt and to express greater support for severe legal measures against him/her (Rattan Levine, Dweck, & Ebehardt, 2012). By the age of 13, black teenage offenders are prematurely viewed as being responsible for their actions and as the target for stricter police actions, whereas white teenagers at this age are still perceived as innocent (Goff et al., 2014).

Therefore, the type of crime, the target of criminal action, and the race of the offender may explain support for severe punishment measures and tolerance for police violence. To date, however, studies have not been conducted to explain the support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility and tolerance for police violence against teenagers based on the interaction between the type of crime, the target of the criminal action, and the teenage offender's race. In this sense, the general objective of this study is to analyze racial discrimination against blacks from the context of support for reducing the age of criminal responsibility, tolerance for the use of violence by the police, and support

for compensating the victim of such violence. To that end, we investigate whether there would be differences in these variables depending on the type of crime and the target of criminal action (Study 1). In addition, we verify the effect of the interaction between the type of crime, the target of criminal action, and the teenage offender's race on tolerance for police violence, support for compensating the victim of such violence, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility (Study 2).

Because intergroup behaviors are influenced by beliefs about the stability and legitimacy of existing relationships between groups (Tajfel, 1981), we also try to verify the moderating role that belief in a just world exercises in the relationship between the teenage offender's race on tolerance for police violence, support for compensating the victim of such violence, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility (Study 3). We understand that this variable can moderate the severity of punishment attributed to members of dominant and minority groups because belief in a just world represents a central principle according to which good people are rewarded and bad people are punished (Hafer & Bégue, 2005; Lerner, 1971),

The three studies conducted here involve the participation of high school students and university students in their first academic year. Previous studies have indicated that it is important for studies related to support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility from 18 to 16 years to analyze the population that would be directly affected by this legislative amendment (Galvão & Camino, 2011; Menin, 2005). This work was also approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Paraíba (Universidade Federal da Paraíba) and conformed to all American Psychological Association (APA) guidelines for research with human participants<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> We clarify that in these studies we report all measures, manipulations, and exclusions, as well as the method of determining the final sample size



## Study 1

The objective of this study is to verify whether there is a difference in the level of tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, depending on the type of crime and the target of criminal action. Specifically, we analyze whether the type of crime committed by the teenager (drug trafficking versus robbery) and the target of the criminal action (identifiable versus unidentifiable) influence (1) tolerance for police violence, (2) support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, and (3) support for the payment of compensation by the police. This is an experimental study with a between-subjects design.

The crimes of robbery and drug trafficking were included in this investigation because they are the most common infractions committed by teenagers in Brazil (*Mapa do Encarceramento – Os jovens no Brasil*, 2014). These crimes were also chosen because they are distinct in terms of offensiveness. The crime of robbery has greater offensiveness because it necessarily results in victim(s), whereas the crime of drug trafficking, although it consists of a transgression, does not involve victims but clients. Because drug trafficking is a criminal act that does not result in victims, it is likely to elicit less support for the use of punishments. Research on processes of social attribution and judgment indicate that when a person involved in a negative event is perceived as being responsible for this situation, this perception results in greater responsibility for the event and a lesser degree of empathy for him/her (Weiner, 1995).

Attitudes toward criminal conduct have been analyzed in several studies in social psychology (e.g., Bastian et al., 2013; Carlsmith & Darley, 2008; Sommers, 2007). In expressing attitudes about the guilt of victims of misfortune, people place little emphasis on the potential benefit and damage that punitive sanctions can have for society and tend to

support a retributive model of justice based on the premise that punishments should be proportional to the seriousness of the crime committed, regardless of whether the punishment is capable of preventing further occurrences of the crime or of minimizing the harm caused to the victim (Carlsmith, 2006; Carlsmith & Darley, 2008).

Support for retributive forms of justice can therefore be explained by the severity of the crime. As regards the type of crime, the more the crime is perceived as being morally wrong, the greater the support for punishment (Carlsmith, 2008; Gromet & Darley, 2006). Crimes that generate the greatest moral offense are those that are committed intentionally and that involve innocent victims, such as robberies and crimes involving the use of violence (Bastian et al., 2013; Bastian et al., 2011; Gray, Gray, & Wegner, 2007; Gromet & Darley, 2009; Viki et al., 2012). For these types of crimes, people tend to support the application of stricter punishments, such as stricter criminal sentences involving the deprivation of liberty (Bastian et al., 2013), and consent to the use of violent actions against criminals and their social exclusion (Viki et al., 2012).

Not only the type of crime but also the target of criminal action influences the support for severe punishments. The influence of the presence of the victim on our attitudes and judgments about negative situations has been researched by studies on the “effect of identifiability” (Small & Lowenstein, 2003; Small, Lowenstein, & Slovic, 2007), such that simple forms of identifying victims evoke more empathy than the mention of victims in statistical terms. This effect can be explained by psychological theories that indicate that people use different judgment processes when evaluating specific targets compared to general targets (Hamilton & Sherman, 1996; Sherman, Beike, & Ryalls, 1999). There is evidence that people are more engaged, both mentally and emotionally, when they process information about specific individuals compared to abstract targets

(Chaiken, 1980; Petty & Cacioppo, 1986), making guilt and responsibility more salient when there is an identifiable victim (Douglas, 1992; Jenni & Lowenstein, 1997).

Given that the crime of robbery, because it involves a victim(s), mobilizes greater support for retributive forms of justice, we expected that, in assessing offenses committed by teenagers, the participants would present greater tolerance for police violence and greater support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility for the crime of robbery than for drug trafficking (H1). We also expected an interaction between the type of crime and the target of the crime on our dependent variables. Given that an identifiable target implies a greater expression of behaviors to repair justice, we expected that there would be greater support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, greater tolerance for police violence, and lesser support for compensating the victim of such violence in the scenario of robbery with an identifiable target (H2). Because drug trafficking is a crime that does not involve a victim(s), but someone who actively participates in the offense, it was expected that lower levels of support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility and tolerance for police violence, and greater support for compensating the victim of police violence would be observed in the interaction between the identifiable target and drug trafficking (H3).

## **Method**

### **a) Participants and Procedure**

A total of 118 students participated in this study, of whom 92 were university students and 26 were high school students. In all, 63.6% of the participants classified themselves as *pardos* (mixed)<sup>2</sup>. The design was between-subjects and the students were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions. As a criterion for participation in the study, we adopted the fact of attending high school or in the first year of a university

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<sup>2</sup> Given the process of miscegenation in Brazil, the *pardos* category is commonly used as a reference to diversity of ethnic backgrounds.

program. The participants ranged from 17 to 29 years of age ( $M = 19.7$ ,  $SD = 2.43$ ). The majority of the participants (78.2%) were female. Sample size was previously calculated using G\*Power software, estimating a sample of 179 participants as adequate for a design with 80% power to detect a moderate effect size between the variables ( $f = .25$ ). Given the difficulty in obtaining access to a sample that was partially composed of high school students, for whom prior approval by the educational institution is required to conduct the research, we sought to collect as many participants as possible within the concession granted by the schools.

The questionnaires were completed individually in classrooms, after obtaining consent from the teachers and the students to conduct the research. To analyze the data, we conducted a 2 (type of crime: robbery versus drug trafficking) x 2 (target of criminal action: identifiable versus unidentifiable) analysis of variance (ANOVA), using tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation by the police, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility as dependent variables.

#### **b) Instruments**

The instrument used began with a supposed story published in a newspaper that reported the arrest of a 16-year-old teenager. The news described varied according to the type of crime (drug trafficking or robbery) and the target of criminal action (identifiable target: another teenager who appeared to be the same age as the offender; or unidentifiable target: the target of the crime was not specified, and it was only noted that the offenses were committed in Greater João Pessoa). Each participant responded to only one experimental condition. The news made clear that the suspect was guilty and reported that he had been arrested by two policemen, who struck him on the head and on various parts of the body, keeping him handcuffed at gunpoint. From this scenario, we obtained the following dependent variables:

*Tolerance for police violence*

This variable was operationalized, requiring the participants to indicate whether they agreed with the police action using a six-point Likert scale (1 = totally disagree to 6 = totally agree).

*Support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender*

Additionally, using a Likert scale (1 = totally disagree to 6 = totally agree), the participants had to respond whether they agreed that the police should pay compensation to the teenager.

*Support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility*

The operationalization of this dependent variable also involved using a six-point Likert scale (1 = totally disagree to 6 = totally agree). The participants had to respond how much they agreed with lowering the age of criminal responsibility from 18 to 16.

**c) Results**

First, the main effects of the type of crime and the target of criminal action on the tolerance for police violence, support for payment of compensation by the police to the victim of such violence, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, were evaluated. The main effect of the target of the criminal action on these variables wasn't significant,  $F(3,112) = 1.14, p = .334, \eta^2 = .03$ , but there was a significant main effect of the type of crime,  $F(3,112) = 8.35, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$ . It was also observed that there wasn't an interaction effect between these two variables,  $F(3,112) = 1.98, p = .12, \eta^2 = .05$ .

As regards tolerance for police violence, it was verified that it was significantly greater when the crime committed by the teenager was a robbery ( $M = 3.93, SD = .2$ ) than when it was drug trafficking ( $M = 2.5, SD = .23$ ),  $F(1, 114) = 50.44, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$ . No significant relationships regarding the target of criminal action (identifiable versus unidentifiable) were found,  $F(1,114) = 6.36, p = .10, \eta^2 = .02$ . There was also no

interaction effect between the type of crime and the target of criminal action on tolerance for police violence,  $F(1, 114) = 5.95, p = .12, \eta^2 = .02$ .

Regarding the support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender, a significant relationship based on the type of crime was observed,  $F(1, 114) = 6.6, p = .01, \eta^2 = .05$ . It was verified that the support for the payment of compensation by the police was greater when the crime committed by the teenager was drug trafficking ( $M = 4.26, SD = .25$ ) than when it was robbery ( $M = 3.38, SD = .22$ ). The target of criminal action did not indicate a significant relationship,  $F(1,114) = 1.65, p = .2, \eta^2 = .01$ . In addition, an interaction between the type of crime and the target of criminal action was observed,  $F(1,114) = 4.9, p = .02, \eta^2 = .04$ .

Planned comparisons indicated that in the condition in which the target of criminal action was unidentifiable, the participants did not differ in their support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender, based on the crime of drug trafficking ( $M = 3.66, SD = 1.63$ ) or robbery ( $M = 3.54, SD = 1.71$ ),  $t(114) = -.313, p = .754, d = .05$ . However, when the target of criminal action was identifiable, the participants expressed greater support for the payment of compensation by the police when the crime committed by the teenager was drug trafficking ( $M = 4.85, SD = 1.61$ ) than when it was robbery ( $M = 3.23, SD = 1.77$ ),  $t(114) = -2.9, p < .001, d = .54$ .

With regard to support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, it was verified that participants expressed greater support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility when the teenager was involved in a robbery ( $M = 3.52, SD = 2.03$ ) as opposed to drug trafficking ( $M = 2.18, SD = 1.96$ ),  $F(1, 114) = 13.26, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$ . No significant effects were observed for the target of criminal action,  $F(1,114) = .38, p = .53, \eta^2 = .003$ , or in the interaction between the target of criminal action and the type of crime,  $F(1,114) = .45, p = .5, \eta^2 = .004$ .

## Summary

This study aimed to verify whether there was a significant difference in the level of tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender, and for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, based on the type of crime and the target of criminal action. The results partially confirmed the hypotheses raised. The type of crime had a significant effect on tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender, and for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. When the teenager was responsible for robberies, there was greater tolerance for police violence, lesser support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender, and greater support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility from 18 to 16 years, compared to the scenario in which the teenager was engaged in drug trafficking.

Although the target of criminal action in itself did not have an effect on the tolerance for police violence, nor on the support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, an interaction effect between the target of criminal action and the type of crime, on support for the payment of compensation by the police, was found. When the target of criminal action was identifiable, the participants offered more support for the payment of compensation by the police in the scenario of drug trafficking than in that of robbery. However, when the target was unidentifiable, there were no differences in support for the payment of compensation.

The crime of drug trafficking, by presenting an identifiable target, generated greater support for the payment of compensation by the police because the participants identified the presence of an accomplice who actively participated in the context of the infraction, whereas in the robbery, the identifiability of the target highlighted the occurrence of an offense against an innocent victim.

This Study indicates that the type of crime influenced the level of tolerance for police violence and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, and that there was an interaction between the target of criminal action and the type of crime with regard to the degree of the support for the payment of compensation by the police. However, the results do not allow us to identify how the teenage offender's race interacts with the type of crime and with the target of criminal action in the expression of tolerance for police violence and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. Thus, Study 2 aimed to investigate the effect of the interaction between the type of crime, the target of the criminal action, and the teenage offender's race on tolerance for police violence and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility.

## **Study 2**

In Study 1, we found that tolerance for police violence against teenagers, support for the payment of compensation by the police, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility may vary according to the type of crime and the target of criminal action. Nonetheless, differences in the level of tolerance for police violence and support for the use of severe punishments in the face of criminal actions can also be explained based on the offender's racial group. (Álvaro et al., 2015; Bastian et al., 2011; Haslam & Loughman, 2014; Goff, et al., 2008).

This study was conducted to verify whether there is an interaction effect between the type of crime, the target of criminal action, and the teenage offender's race on tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. More specifically, we sought to investigate whether these variables would be forms of expression of racial discrimination.



Using the same scenarios as in Study 1, we analyzed whether the type of crime committed by the teenager (drug trafficking versus robbery), the target of criminal action (identifiable versus unidentifiable), and the teenage offender's race (white versus black), influence racial discrimination against blacks, measured based on (1) tolerance for police violence, (2) support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, and (3) support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender. This is an experimental study with a between-subjects design.

There is evidence that there is greater tolerance for police violence when it is targeted at minority groups (Álvaro et al., 2015). Previous research has also identified that, compared to white people, black people are negatively assessed as dangerous people and as being deserving of more severe punishments (Eberhardt et al., 2004; Mitchell et al., 2005; Oliveira, 2013; Sommers & Ellsworth, 2009). In the case of black teenagers, these negative assessments imply that they cannot be judged innocent and that they should receive the same legal punishments as adults (Rattan et al., 2012). Goff et al. (2014) find that the perception of innocence and support for the use of severe punishments against teenagers vary according to the offender's race and the severity of the crime committed. Black teenagers are judged as being guiltier for their actions than white teenagers, with this difference being most pronounced when in serious crime scenarios (e.g., armed robbery) as opposed to minor offenses (e.g., drug possession, theft).

Thus, as in Study 1, we expected that, in assessing offenses committed by teenagers, the participants would present greater tolerance for police violence, greater support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, and lesser support for compensating the victim of police violence for the crime of robbery than for drug trafficking (H1). We also expected an interaction between the type of crime and the target of the crime on the variables analyzed here. Given that an identifiable target implies a

greater expression of behaviors to repair justice, we expected that there would be greater support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, greater tolerance for police violence, and lesser support for compensating the victim of such violence in the interaction between robbery and an identifiable target (H2). Because drug trafficking is a crime that does not involve a victim(s), but someone who actively participates in the offense, it was expected that lower levels of support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility and tolerance for police violence, and greater support for compensating the victim of police violence would be observed in the interaction between the identifiable target and drug trafficking (H3).

As regards the teenage offender's race, we expected that there would be greater tolerance for police violence, lesser support for compensating the victim of such violence, and greater support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility when evaluating a black suspect than when evaluating a white suspect (H4). Because Study 1 found that the crime of robbery elicits more support for police action than does drug trafficking, we assumed that disparities in tolerance for police violence, support for compensating the victim of such violence, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, observed in the comparison between the conditions in which the teenage offender was white or black, would be more pronounced in the crime of robbery than in drug trafficking (H5). Given that the results of Study 1 also noted that the interaction between the type of crime and the target of criminal action influences support for the payment of compensation by the police, we expected that this influence would be more significant in the attitudes toward the white teenage offender than in those toward the black teenage offender (H6).

## **Method**

### **a) Participants and Procedure**

A total of 343 high school students enrolled in public schools in the city of João Pessoa (Brazil) participated in this study. In all, 63.3% of participants classified themselves as *pardos* (mixed). The design was between-subjects and the students were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions. The participants ranged from 13 to 20 years of age ( $M = 16.29$ ,  $SD = 1.36$ ). The majority of the participants (52.5%) were male. Sample size was previously calculated using G\*Power software, estimating a sample of 237 participants as adequate for an experimental design with 80% power to detect a moderate effect size between the variables ( $f = .25$ ). As in Study 1, we sought to collect as many participants as possible, within the concession granted by the high schools.

The questionnaires were completed individually in classrooms, after obtaining consent from the educational institution, teachers, and students to conduct the research. The same analysis and design procedures as those in Study 1 were adopted, adding the variable of the teenage offender's race (white versus black) as an independent variable.

### **b) Instruments**

The same instrument from Study 1 was used, adding information about the teenage offender's race, which was presented in two independent conditions: white versus black. The expression of racial discrimination was analyzed using the same variables used in Study 1.

### **c) Results**

The analyses indicated significant main effects regarding the type of crime,  $F(3,333) = 3.06$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $\eta^2 = .02$ , the target of criminal action,  $F(3,333) = 3.58$ ,  $p = .014$ ,  $\eta^2 = .03$ , and the teenage offender's race,  $F(3,333) = 12.76$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta^2 = .10$ .

Differences regarding the type of crime occurred only in support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender,  $F(1,335) = 8.12, p = .005, \eta^2 = .02$ . There was greater support for compensation when dealing with drug trafficking ( $M = 3.4, SD = .13$ ) compared to robbery ( $M = 2.89, SD = .13$ ). Regarding the target of criminal action, the differences were in support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. There was greater support when dealing with an unidentifiable target ( $M = 4.89, SD = .14$ ) compared to an identifiable target ( $M = 4.47, SD = .14$ ),  $F(1,335) = 14.83, p = .03, \eta^2 = .01$ . The between-participant tests indicated that the differences regarding the teenage offender's race were found in the support for payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender,  $F(1,335) = 31.4, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$ , and in the support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility,  $F(1,335) = 9.08, p = .003, \eta^2 = .02$ . There was greater support for payment of compensation when the teenager was white ( $M = 3.68, SD = 1.94$ ) than when the teenager was black ( $M = 2.6, SD = 1.63$ ). In turn, support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility was greater when the teenager was black ( $M = 4.98, SD = 1.76$ ) than when he was white ( $M = 4.37, SD = 1.92$ ).

There were also significant interaction effects between the type of crime and the target of criminal action,  $F(3,333) = 3.86, p = .01, \eta^2 = .03$ , between the type of crime and the teenage offender's race,  $F(3,333) = 3.61, p = .01, \eta^2 = .03$ , and a three-way interaction between type of crime, the target of criminal action, and the teenage offender's race,  $F(3,333) = 2.55, p = .05, \eta^2 = .02$ .

In the interaction between type of crime and the target of criminal action, the differences were found only in the degree of tolerance for police violence,  $F(1,335) = 12.81, p = .01, \eta^2 = .01$ . As can be seen in Table 1, planned comparisons indicated that these differences occurred because, when the crime was drug trafficking, there was a

greater tolerance for police violence in the unidentifiable target scenario ( $M = 4.75$ ,  $SD = 1.26$ ) than in the identifiable one ( $M = 4.08$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ),  $p < .001$ .

Table 1

*Interaction between type of crime and the target of the crime on the degree of tolerance for police violence (N = 343).*

<i>Type of Crime</i>	<i>Target of the Crime</i>		<i>t</i> (339)	<i>p</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	Identifiable	Unidentifiable			
	Target <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )	Target <i>M</i> ( <i>SD</i> )			
Robbery	4.59 (1.69)	4.47 (1.51)	-.52	.60	.05
Drug Trafficking	4.08 (1.51)	4.75 (1.26)	2.86	<.001	.31

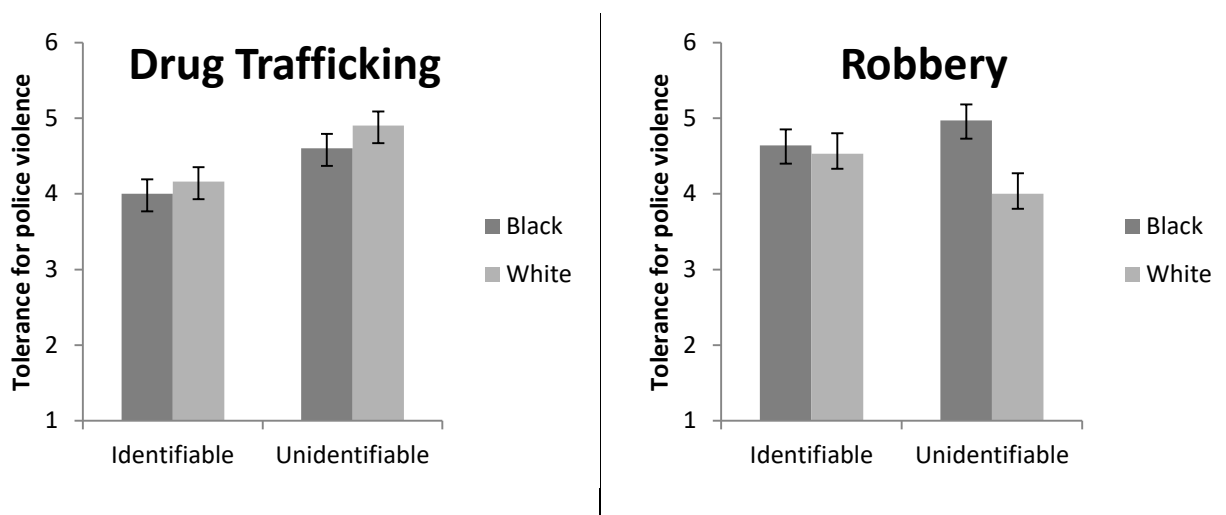
As regards the interaction between the type of crime and the teenage offender's race, the significant differences were only found in the degree of tolerance for police violence  $F(1,335) = 4.23$ ,  $p = .04$ ,  $\eta^2 = .01$ . As can be seen in Table 2, planned comparisons indicated that these differences occurred because, when the teenager was black, there was greater tolerance for police violence with respect to a robbery ( $M = 4.75$ ,  $SD = 1.51$ ) than with drug trafficking ( $M = 4.30$ ,  $SD = 1.42$ ),  $p = .05$ .

Table 2

*Interaction between type of crime and the teenage offender's race on the degree of tolerance for police violence (N = 343).*

<i>Type of Crime</i>					
<i>Teenage offender's race</i>	<i>Robbery</i> M (SD)	<i>Drug Trafficking</i> M (SD)	<i>t</i> (339)	<i>p</i>	<i>Cohen's d</i>
White	4.32(1.66)	4.52(1.44)	-.87	.38	.09
Black	4.75 (1.51)	4.30(1.42)	1.9	.05	.2

A three-way interaction effect between the type of crime x the target of criminal action x the teenage offender's race occurred on tolerance for police violence,  $F(1, 335) = 7.97, p = .05, \eta^2 = .011$ . As can be seen in Figure 1, the effect of this interaction lies in the crime of robbery.



**Figure 1.** Tolerance for police violence based on the type of crime (drug trafficking x robbery), the target of the crime (identifiable x unidentifiable), and the teenage offender's race (black x white) (N = 343).

In this type of crime, when there was an identifiable target, there were no differences in the degree of tolerance for police violence in the comparison between the crime committed by a black ( $M = 4.53$ ,  $SD = 1.62$ ) or a white ( $M = 4.64$ ,  $SD = 1.4$ ) offender,  $t(335) = -.34$ ,  $p = .73$ ,  $d = .03$ . However, when the target was unidentifiable, there was greater tolerance for police violence when the offender was black ( $M = 4.97$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ) than when he was white ( $M = 4$ ,  $SD = 1.84$ ),  $t(335) = 3.05$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $d = .33$ .

In contrast, no significant interaction effects were found in the case of drug trafficking. There were no significant differences in tolerance for police violence between a white ( $M = 4.16$ ,  $SD = 1.54$ ) and a black ( $M = 4$ ,  $SD = 1.5$ ) offender, in the condition in which the target was identifiable,  $t(335) = -.5$ ,  $p = .61$ ,  $d = .05$ , nor between a black ( $M = 4.6$ ,  $SD = 1.2$ ) and a white ( $M = 4.9$ ,  $SD = 1.24$ ) offender in the condition in which the target was unidentifiable,  $t(335) = -.91$ ,  $p = .361$ ,  $d = .09$ .

## Summary

This study aimed to verify whether there is an interaction effect between the type of crime, the target of criminal action, and the teenage offender's race, on tolerance for police violence and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. To that end, we replicated Study 1, adding the teenage offender's race (white versus black) as an independent variable. Specifically, the intention was to investigate whether tolerance for police violence and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility would be forms of racial discrimination against blacks.

Although the results of Study 1 have been replicated only in the effect of the type of crime on the support for the payment of compensation, partially confirming Hypothesis

H1, this study contributed by indicating the expression of racial discrimination against blacks in the contexts studied. Confirming the hypothesis (H4), the data demonstrate that, in assessing offenses committed by black teenagers, the participants offered greater support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility from 18 to 16 years. However, when the teenage offender was white, there was greater support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenager for the aggression suffered during the police's handling.

Regarding the interaction between the teenage offender's race and the type of crime committed, there was also a significant effect on the level of tolerance for police violence. When the teenage offender was white, the type of crime committed did not influence the participants' level of tolerance for police violence. However, in assessing the crime committed by a black teenager, participants expressed greater tolerance for police violence with the crime of robbery rather than with drug trafficking, which confirms hypothesis H5e demonstrating differential treatment based on the race of the teenager committing criminal acts.

This study also revealed a three-way interaction between the type of crime, the target of criminal action, and the teenage offender's race. Different from Study 1, in which the effect of the interaction between the target of criminal action and the type of crime was observed to be in support for the payment of compensation by the police, the data obtained in this study indicated that the interaction effect between these variables occurred only in the degree of tolerance for police violence. The differences were located in the crime of robbery because, in the condition in which the target was unidentifiable, there was more tolerance for police violence for the crime committed by a black teenager than when the crime was committed by a white teenager. In the condition in which the target was identifiable, this difference was not significant. Although this outcome contradicts the initial predictions, given that the identifiability of the target was expected to result in



greater tolerance for police violence, it is likely that, by being committed by a black teenager, the robbery, a crime associated with greater support for the use of severe punishment, stressed the stereotype that a member of a minority group poses a threat to society as a whole.

In summary, this study shows that the scope of justice adopted by the participants in the contexts analyzed herein presents a discriminatory logic, varying according to the race of the offender. We seek to broaden the contribution of this study by adopting belief in a just world as a moderating variable between the teenage offender's race, the tolerance for police violence, and the support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility.

### **Study 3**

This study aimed to verify the moderating role played by Belief in a Just World (BJW) in the relationship between the teenage offender's race, tolerance for police violence, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. The concept of BJW was developed by Lerner (1965), according to whom people are motivated to perceive the world as a just place and to accept their own destiny. It is not a binary construct, instead having great inter-individual variation. Thus, some people have higher levels of BJW than others and therefore present a greater need to organize their cognitive and emotional world, associating suffering with deservingness (Harfer & Bégue, 2005, Rubuin & Peplau, 1975).

Much of the research on BJW has focused on levels of intra- and inter-individual analysis (Doise, 2002), turning to the study of this variable as an adaptive function, which contributes to the maintenance of confidence, the feeling of invulnerability in the face of adverse situations, and the hope that personal efforts will be rewarded in the future (Correia Vala, & Aguiar, 2007). However, more recent research has shown that BJW may also be investigated at intergroup (Aguiar, Correia, Vala, & Pereira, 2008; Halabi, Statman,

& Dovidio, 2015) and ideological levels (Correia 2003, Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Jost Banaji, & Nosek, 2004).

At the intergroup level, it appears that BJW exerts different effects on ingroup and outgroup targets. In observing an innocent victim in distress, there is a greater activation of thoughts associated with justice when the victim belongs to the ingroup than when the victim is from the outgroup, although this does not always imply greater derogation of the victim (Aguiar et al., 2008; Correia, et al., 2007). In analyzing the role of BJW in responsibility and punishment, Halabi et al. (2015) find that higher levels of adherence to BJW are associated with support for more severe punishments for outgroup members and more lenient punishments for ingroup members.

At the ideological level, the role of BJW as a legitimizing aspect of the status quo has been explored because it is positively correlated with other ideologies that legitimize the social structure and the hierarchical differences between groups, such as meritocratic individualism, Protestant ethics, and right-wing authoritarianism (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Jost et al., 2004). Adherence to BJW also implies higher levels of defense of authorities and institutions, support for the restriction of criticism of the government, and favoritism for the dominant group, and these consequences are observed both among members of dominant groups and among social minorities (Jost & Hunyady, 2002).

Taken together, the literature notes that BJW is associated with blaming those who are in an unfavorable situation and defending those who are favorably viewed, because it presents a central principle according to which “good things happen to good people and bad things happen to bad people” (Alves, & Correia, 2009; Hafer, & Bègue, 2005; Lerner, 1980).

Although BJW was originally constructed from a motivational perspective, being characterized as a motivation to perceive the world as a place where people have what they

deserve and deserve what they have (Lerner, 1977), other investigations have revealed that adherence to BJW is associated with the legitimizing of status differences between groups, favoring the expression of discriminatory behavior against disadvantaged status groups, such as immigrants (Lima-Nunes, Pereira, & Correia, 2013) and those with unfavorable socioeconomic status (Bègue & Bastounis, 2003). Thus, BJW is used here as a moderating variable that influences general attitudes about the perception of justice and the legitimacy of the social system. Based on the results of Study 2, it was expected that the type of crime would have an effect on the support for the payment of compensation to the teenage offender, with greater support in the crime of drug trafficking than in the crime of robbery (H1). It was yet expected that the target of the crime has influence on the support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, having more support for the unidentifiable target than for the identifiable target (H2). An effect was also expected of the teenage offender's race on the support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenager, and on lowering the age of criminal responsibility, with more support for the payment of compensation to the white versus the black teenager (H3). It is assumed that the occurrence of a three-way interaction between type of crime, target of the crime, and the teenage offender's race in the tolerance for police violence, such that the greater tolerance for the use of police violence against the black teenager, compared to the white, would occur in the crime scenario of robbery with an unidentifiable victim (H4). Given that BJW is associated with the legitimizing of inequality between social groups, we expected that the effect of the teenage offender's race, on tolerance for police violence and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, would be greater among participants with high adherence to BJW than among participants with low adherence (H5).

## **Method**

**a) Participants and Procedure**

A total of 316 high school students enrolled in public schools in the city of João Pessoa (Brazil) participated in this study. The students were randomly assigned to the experimental conditions. The participants ranged from 14 to 21 years of age ( $M = 15.8$ ,  $SD = .113$ ). The majority of the participants (56.6%) were female. In all, 62.3% of the participants classified themselves as *pardos* (mixed). The questionnaires were completed individually, in classrooms, after obtaining consent from the educational institution, teachers, and students to conduct the research. A priori analysis with G\*Power software estimated a sample of 279 participants as adequate for an experimental design with 80% power to detect a moderate effect among the variables ( $f = .25$ ). However, we sought to collect as many participants as possible within the concession granted by the high schools in order to increase the predictive power of the study. Multiple regression analyses were conducted with type of crime, target of the crime, the teenage offender's race, and BJW as the predictor variables on tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility.

**b) Instruments**

The same instrument was used as in the previous study (Study 2), adding a scale for BJW, developed and validated in Brazil by Linhares, Torres, and Pereira (*in press*). The scale consists of seven items, elaborated on the basis of popular Brazilian sayings that reflect core principles of BJW (e.g., live by the sword, die by the sword; good things come to those who wait). Using a five-point Likert scale (1 = totally disagree to 5 = strongly agree), the participants indicated how much they agreed with each item, such that the highest scores on this scale indicated greater adherence to BJW. The expression of racial discrimination was analyzed using the same dependent variables used in Study 2.

### c) Results

The analyses indicated a significant main effect for the teenage offender's race:  $F(3, 306) = 9.19, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$ . The differences in this variable were in support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenage offender,  $F(1, 308) = 44.59, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$ , and for lowering the age of criminal responsibility,  $F(1, 308) = 42.84, p < .001, \eta^2 = .05$ . There was greater support for the payment of compensation by the police when the teenager was white ( $M = 3.375, SD = 1.826$ ) than when he was black ( $M = 2.64, SD = 1.57$ ). Support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility was greater when the teenager was black ( $M = 5.19, SD = 1.43$ ) than when he was white ( $M = 4.46, SD = 1.68$ )

There was an interaction effect between the type of crime and the teenage offender's race,  $F(3, 306) = 3.31, p = .02, \eta^2 = .03$ . This effect was found in relation to the tolerance for police violence,  $F(1, 308) = 5.77, p = .01, \eta^2 = .018$ . As can be seen in Table 3, planned comparisons indicated that these differences occurred because, for the crime of robbery, there was greater tolerance for police violence for the black offender ( $M = 4.47, SD = 1.34$ ) than for the white offender ( $M = 4.1, SD = 1.38$ ),  $p < .001$ .

Table 3

*Interaction between the type of crime and the teenage offender's race on the degree of tolerance for police violence (N = 316).*

<i>Type of Crime</i>	<i>Teenage offender's race</i>		<i>t</i> (312)	<i>p</i>	Cohen's <i>d</i>
	White M (SD)	Black M (SD)			
Robbery	4.1 (1.38)	4.47(1.34)	2.89	<.001	.32
Drug Trafficking	4.41 (1.43)	4.25(1.64)	-.65	.51	.07

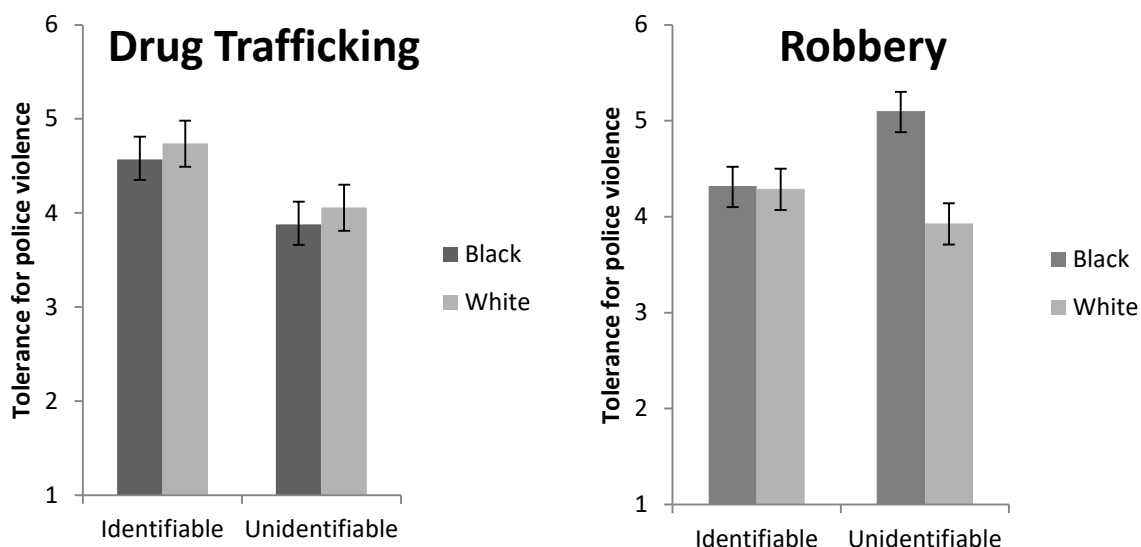
There was also an interaction effect between the target of the crime and the type of crime,  $F(3, 306) = 2.84, p = .03, \eta^2 = .02$ . In this interaction, the differences found were in the tolerance for police violence,  $F(1, 308) = 7.62, p < .001, \eta^2 = .02$ . As can be seen in Table 4, these differences occurred because the tolerance for police violence was greater when the crime was drug trafficking and the target was unidentifiable ( $M = 4.65, SD = .16$ ), than when the target was identifiable ( $M = 3.97, SD = .17$ )  $p = .01$ .

Table 4

*Interaction between type of crime and the target of the crime on the degree of tolerance for police violence (N = 316).*

<i>Target of the Crime</i>					
<i>Type of Crime</i>	<i>Identifiable</i> M (SD)	<i>Unidentifiable</i> M (SD)	<i>t</i> (312)	<i>p</i>	<i>Cohen's d</i>
Robbery	4.30 (.15)	4.51(.15)	-.21	.83	.02
Drug Trafficking	3.97(.17)	4.65(.16)	-2.58	.01	.29

There was a trend of three-way interaction between the type of crime, target of the crime, and the teenage offender's race, in tolerance for police action,  $F(1,316) = 3.14, p = .07, \eta^2 = .01$ . As can be seen in Figure 2, when the crime was robbery and the target was unidentifiable, there was greater tolerance for police violence against a black teenager ( $M = 5.1, SD = 1.33$ ) than against a white teenager ( $M = 3.93, SD = 1.42$ ),  $t(308) = 3.925, p < .001, d = .44$ .



**Figure 2.** Tolerance for police violence based on the type of crime (drug trafficking x robbery), the target of the crime (identifiable x unidentifiable), and the teenage offender's race (black x white) ( $N = 316$ ).

However, when the target was identifiable and the crime was robbery, there were no differences between black ( $M = 4.32$ ,  $SD = .22$ ) and white offender ( $M = 4.29$ ,  $SD = .22$ ) in the tolerance for police violence,  $t(308) = .10$ ,  $p = .91$ ,  $d = .01$ .

In the drug trafficking condition, when the target was identifiable, there were no differences in tolerance for police action between a white ( $M = 4.74$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ) and a black ( $M = 4.57$ ,  $SD = 1.41$ ) offender in the condition in which the target was identifiable,  $t(308) = -.52$ ,  $p = .60$ ,  $d = .05$ . Again, no significant differences were found in the tolerance for police violence between a black ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.70$ ) and a white ( $M = 3.88$ ,  $SD = 1.84$ ) offender when the target was unidentifiable,  $t(308) = -.50$ ,  $p = .61$ ,  $d = .05$ .

*Moderation analysis with BJW*

*Teenage offender's race X BJW*

Initially, we verified the moderating role of BJW in the relationship between the teenage offender's race and the tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation by the police, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility.

As can be seen in Table 5, the analysis of the moderations indicated that the multiple regression coefficient is significantly different from zero. Significant interaction was observed between the teenager's race and BJW in tolerance for police violence,  $b = .22$ ,  $SE = .08$   $t(312) = 2.54$ ,  $p = .01$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .02. and between the teenager's race and BJW in support for the payment of compensation by the police,  $b = -.23$ ,  $t(312) = -2.29$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .01.

Table 5

*Teenage offender's race X BJW as predictive factor of support for police violence and support for the payment of compensation*

Predictors	Variable Criterion					
	<i>Tolerance for police violence</i>			<i>Support for payment of compensation</i>		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	4.37	.33	13.01***	3.12	.39	7.97***
BJW	-.006	.087	-.07	-.02	.10	-.21
Teenage offender's race	-.69	.33	-2.05*	.50	.39	1.29
<i>Interaction</i>						
BJW x Teenage offender's race	.22	.087	2.54*	-.23	.10	-2.29*
Regression coefficient	.171			.245		
Explained Variance	$R^2$ adjusted = .02			$R^2$ adjusted = .06		
Significance of the model	$F(1, 312) = 6.48, p = .01$			$F(1, 312) = 5.27, p = .022$		

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



The interpretation of this interaction was based on the projection of the regression line, representing the effect of the scenarios for participants with low adherence ( $-1 SD$  below the mean) and high adherence ( $+1 SD$  above the mean).

The participants who showed high adherence to BJW ( $+1SD$ ) expressed greater tolerance for police action when the offender was black ( $\hat{Y} = 4.7$ ) than when the offender was white ( $\hat{Y} = 3.9$ ),  $b = -1.168$ ,  $SE = .266$ ,  $t(312) = 3.0$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .02. For those who presented low adherence to BJW ( $-1SD$ ), there were no significant differences between the black ( $\hat{Y} = 4.28$ ) and the white offender ( $\hat{Y} = 4.43$ ),  $b = -.07$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $t(312) = -.61$ ,  $p = .53$ ,  $R^2$  changed  $< .001$ .

Regarding support for the payment of compensation by the police, there was a significant effect on the interaction between the teenage offender's race and adherence to BJW,  $b = -.23$   $SE = .10$ ,  $t(312) = -2.29$ ,  $p = .02$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .01. Those who showed high adherence to BJW ( $+1SD$ ) agreed more with the payment of compensation to the white offender ( $\hat{Y} = 3.59$ ) than to the black offender ( $\hat{Y} = 2.43$ ),  $b = -1.16$ ,  $SE = .26$ ,  $t(312) = -4.31$ ,  $p < .001$ . Among those with low adherence ( $-1SD$ ), no significant differences were found in the support for the payment of compensation by the police between the white ( $\hat{Y} = 3.19$ ) and the black offender ( $\hat{Y} = 2.91$ ),  $b = -.28$ ,  $SE = .29$ ,  $t(312) = -1.03$ ,  $p = .30$ ,  $R^2$  changed  $< .001$ .

Regarding the support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, the interaction between the teenage offender's race and BJW was not significant,  $b = -.14$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $t(312) = -.78$ ,  $p = .45$ ,  $R^2$  changed  $< .001$ .

*Teenage offender's race X Type of crime X BJW*

Since a 4-way interaction would result in a loss of clarity, precision, and parsimony in the analysis and interpretation of the variables, we opted for two three-way interactions. First, we analyzed the predictive power of the type of crime x teenager's race x BJW interaction in the tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation to the teenager, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility.

As observed in Table 6, BJW acts as moderator on the difference in tolerance for police violence, between the condition of a robbery committed by a white teen and a robbery committed by a black teen,  $b = .67$ ,  $SE = .23$ ,  $t(308) = 2.9$ ,  $p < .001$ . When there was low adherence to BJW (-1SD), there were no differences in tolerance for police violence, when robbery by a black teen ( $\hat{Y} = 4.31$ ) and robbery by a white teen ( $\hat{Y} = 4.30$ ) were compared,  $b < .001$ ,  $SE = .31$ ,  $t(308) = .013$ ,  $p = .98$ ,  $R^2$  changed  $< .001$ . However, with high adherence to BJW (+1SD), there was greater tolerance for police violence when the robbery was committed by a black teen ( $\hat{Y} = 5.05$ ) than when the robbery was committed by a white teen ( $\hat{Y} = 3.77$ ),  $b = 1.27$ ,  $SE = .31$ ,  $t(308) = 4.08$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .05.

Table 6

*Teenage offender's race X Type of crime X BJJ as predictive factor of tolerance for police violence and support for the payment of compensation*

Predictors	Variable Criterion					
	<i>Tolerance for police violence</i>			<i>Support for payment of compensation</i>		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	4.44	.34	12.98***	3.26	.40	8.13
BJJ	-.02	.08	-.28	-.05	.10	-.52
D1	-.14	.61	-.24	-.25	.71	-.35
D2	-1.86	.89	-2.09*	2.12	1.04	2.03
D1 X BJJ	.01	.15	.09	-.03	.18	-.17
D2 X BJJ	.67	.23	2.90***	-.72	.27	-2.67**
Regression coefficient	.24			.27		
Explained Variance	R <sup>2</sup> adjusted = .05			R <sup>2</sup> adjusted = .07		
Significance of the model	<i>F</i> (7,308) = 2.69, <i>p</i> = .01			<i>F</i> (7,308) = 3.49, <i>p</i> < .001.		

\* *p* < .05, \*\* *p* < .01, \*\*\* *p* < .001

*Note:* D1 = Difference between the interaction scenarios Crime of Drug Trafficking \* White Teenager and Crime of Drug Trafficking \* Black Teenager, and D2 = Difference between the interaction scenarios Crime of Robbery \* White Teenager and Crime of Robbery \* Black Teenager

Table 6 further indicates that the interaction crime X teenager's race X BJJ predicts significant differences in support for the payment of compensation to the teenage offender, when comparing robbery committed by a white teen to robbery by a black teen,  $b = -.72$ ,  $SE = .27$ ,  $t(308) = -2.67$ ,  $p < .001$ . Among the participants with low BJJ (-1SD), there are no significant differences in support for the payment of compensation, when comparing robbery by a white teen ( $\hat{Y} = 2.96$ ) with robbery by a black teen ( $\hat{Y} = 3.07$ ),  $b = .11$ ,  $SE = .36$ ,  $t(308) = .30$ ,  $p = .75$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .01. However, when there is high BJJ (+1SD), there is greater support for the payment of compensation from the police to the

teenager in the case of robbery by a white teen ( $\hat{Y} = 3.56$ ) than in the scenario of robbery by a black teen ( $\hat{Y} = 2.29$ ),  $b = -1.26$ ,  $SE = .36$ ,  $t(308) = -3.43$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .05.

There was no significant interaction between the teen's skin color, type of crime, and BJW regarding support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, both in the differences between drug trafficking committed by a white teen and drug trafficking by a black teen,  $F(3,308) = 1.15$ ,  $p = .32$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .01, as well as in the differences between robbery committed by a black teen and robbery committed by a white teen, regarding support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility,  $F(3,308) = 2.79$ ,  $p = .10$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .01.

*Teenage offender's race X Target of Crime X BJW*

We analyzed the effect of the interaction of target of the crime X teenager's race X BJW in the prediction of tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. As seen in Table 7, the moderation analysis indicates adherence to BJW accentuates the differences in tolerance for police violence, in comparing a crime with an identifiable target, committed by a white teen, and a crime with an identifiable target, committed by a black teen,  $b = .40$ ,  $SE = .14$ ,  $t(308) = 2.71$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $R^2 = .02$ . When there was low adherence to BJW (-1SD), there were no significant differences between the crime with an identifiable target, committed by a white teen ( $\hat{Y} = 4.48$ ), and the crime with an identifiable target, committed by a black teen ( $\hat{Y} = 4.39$ ),  $b = .038$ ,  $SE = .14$ ,  $t(308) = .24$ ,  $p = .81$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .01. On the other hand, in the high adherence to BJW (+1SD), there was a greater tolerance for police violence given the crime with an identifiable target, committed by a black teen ( $\hat{Y} =$

4.76) than the crime with an identifiable target, committed by a white teen ( $\hat{Y} = 4.4$ ),  $b = .41$ ,  $SE = .18$ ,  $t(308) = 2.19$ ,  $p = .028$ ,  $R^2$  changed = .04.

Table 7

*Teenage offender's race X Target of Crime X BJW as predictive factor of tolerance for police violence and support for the payment of compensation*

Predictors	Variable Criterion					
	Tolerance for police violence			Support for payment of compensation		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>Intercept</i>	4.39	.33	13***	3.17	.39	8.04***
BJW	-.01	.08	-.11	-.03	.10	-.38
D1	-1.4	.58	-2.50*	.72	.67	1.06
D2	-.47	.98	-.47	1.15	1.14	1.00
D1 X BJW	.40	.14	2.71**	-.25	.17	-1.47
D2 X BJW	.29	.25	1.14	-.59	.29	-1.99*
Regression coefficient	.23			.27		
Explained Variance	R <sup>2</sup> adjusted = .05			R <sup>2</sup> adjusted = .07		
Significance of the model	$F(7,308) = 2.54, p = .01$			$F(7,308) = 2.46, p = .06$		

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

*Note:* D1 = Difference between the interaction scenarios Identifiable Target \* White Teenager and Identifiable Target \* Black Teenager, and D2 = Difference between the interaction scenarios Unidentifiable Target \* White Teenager and Unidentifiable Target \* Black Teenager.

The results in Table 7 also indicate that the interaction between target of the crime, teenager's race, and BJW has a significant effect on the differences in support for the payment of compensation to the teenage offender, between a crime with an unidentifiable target committed by a white teen and a crime with an unidentifiable target committed by a black teen,  $b = -.59$ ,  $SE = .299$ ,  $t(308) = -1.99$ ,  $p = .04$ ,  $R^2 = .02$ . In the condition of low adherence to BJW (-1SD), the differences between a crime with an unidentifiable target

committed by a white teen ( $\hat{Y} = 3.25$ ) and a crime with an unidentifiable target committed by a black teen ( $\hat{Y} = 2.75$ ) are not significant,  $b = -.49$ ,  $SE = .39$ ,  $t(308) = -1.26$ ,  $p = .20$ ,  $R^2$  changed  $<.001$ . The condition of high adherence to BJW (+1SD), in turn, results in greater support for the payment of compensation to the teenage offender, when the crime has an unidentifiable target and is committed by a white teen ( $\hat{Y} = 3.97$ ), than when the crime has an unidentifiable target and is committed by a black teen ( $\hat{Y} = 2.34$ ),  $b = -1.6$ ,  $SE = .38$ ,  $t(308) = -4.21$ ,  $p <.001$ ,  $R^2$  changed =  $.06$ .

No significant effects were found in the interaction between target of the crime, the teenager's race, and BJW on support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, in the comparison between the crime with an identifiable target, committed by a white teen, and a crime with an identifiable target, committed by a black teen,  $b = -.11$ ,  $SE = .16$ ,  $t(308) = -.71$ ,  $p = .47$ ,  $R^2 <.001$ , just as there was no interaction effect when comparing the crime with an unidentifiable target, committed by a black teen, and the crime with an unidentifiable target, committed by a white teen,  $b = .38$ ,  $SE = .27$ ,  $t(308) = 1.37$ ,  $p = .17$ ,  $R^2 <.001$ .

## **Discussion**

This research aimed to analyze racial discrimination against blacks based on the context of support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility, tolerance for police violence, and support for the payment of compensation to the victim of this violence. In the first study (Study 1), it was found that the crime of robbery resulted in greater tolerance for police violence and increased support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. Support for the payment of compensation by the police, in turn, was greater when the crime was drug trafficking and when the target was identifiable. These results corroborate previous studies that show that support for severe punishment decreases depending on the

severity of the crime and harm to the victims (Bastian et al., 2013; Bastian et al., 2011; Gray et al., 2007; Gromet & Darley, 2009; Viki et al., 2012).

Study 2 broadened the explanatory scope of the previous study by demonstrating that one's tolerance for police violence against teenagers and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility follow a discriminatory logic. Once again, there was more tolerance for police violence for the crime of robbery, but this effect was more significant for the black teenager. It was also confirmed that there was greater support for the payment of compensation by the police when the crime of drug trafficking involved an identifiable target. However, this relationship was more evident when the teenager was white than when he was black. These results are in line with previous research that shows that tolerance for police violence and support for the use of severe punishments are greater when the offender belongs to a social minority group (Álvaro et al., 2015; Bastian et al., 2010; Goff et al., 2008; Goff et al., 2014; Haslam & Loughman, 2014).

Study 3 aimed to verify the moderating role that BJW plays in the relationship between the teenage offender's race and tolerance for police violence, support for the payment of compensation to the victim of this violence, and support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility. The results confirmed the discrimination against black people that was previously observed in Study 2. Greater support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility was found when the teenage offender was black, whereas greater support for the payment of compensation by the police occurred when the teenager was white than when he was black. However, greater tolerance for police violence was observed when it was a crime of robbery committed by a black teenager, and with an unidentifiable target.

The relevance of the present study lies in its elucidation of the moderating role of BJW on intergroup relations. In this respect, two contributions should be highlighted. First, to measure BJW, a scale developed and validated in the Brazilian context was used, which

represents an additional contribution because BJW scales traditionally adopted in the Brazilian context have had unsatisfactory validity and reliability indices (Linhares et al., *in press*).

It should also be highlighted that this study extends the understanding of the moderating role of BJW in discriminatory behavior, by demonstrating that its adherence results in unfavorable consequences for minority groups. In this study, both the members of the dominant group (white) and the social minority (black) were presented as offenders and not only as victims. The data presented show that BJW influences the judgment of the dominant group (white) and the minority group (black) in a different manner in the measures adopted here. For tolerance for police violence, high adherence to BJW implies more support for violent police action against the black teenager. However, for support for the payment of compensation by the police, high adherence to BJW results in greater support for the payment of compensation to the white teenager.

Analyzing the moderating effect of BJW by using the different scenarios of interaction between the type of crime (robbery versus drug trafficking) and the target of criminal action (identifiable versus unidentifiable), we find that BJW did not exert a moderating effect on the variables studied when the crime was drug trafficking. This result is not surprising given that, in Studies 1 and 2, drug trafficking mobilized less support for police violence and lowering the age of criminal responsibility than did robbery.

However, the analysis of the moderating effect of BJW in the scenario in which the crime was robbery presents significant results. The discriminatory effect was intensified among the participants with high adherence to BJW, who expressed greater support for police action and for lowering the age of criminal responsibility when the offender was black, and greater support for the payment of compensation by the police to the teenager when he was white.



BJW also emphasized the discriminatory effect of the relationship between the race of the teenage offender and the target of the crime. High adherence to BJW implied a greater tolerance for police violence given a crime with an identifiable target, committed by a black teenager, in comparison to the crime committed by a white teen. On the other hand, high adherence to BJW increased the support for the compensation payment in the scenario where the target of the crime was unidentifiable and the teenage offender was white.

Therefore, these results demonstrate that BJW intensifies discriminatory behavior against blacks in the context analyzed here, corroborating previous studies that show that adherence to BJW is associated with support for the use of more severe punishments for minorities (Halabi et al., 2015) and that BJW acts as a legitimizer of the differences between social groups (Jost & Hunyady, 2005; Jost et al., 2004; Jost & Hunyady, 2002; Lima-Nunes et al., 2013).

Nevertheless, the present investigation has some limitations. The results presented in the three studies, in indicating that the crime of robbery resulted in greater support for the use of police violence than did drug trafficking, confirmed previous investigations that indicated that crimes involving victims elicit greater support for punitive justice processes (e.g., Bastian et al., 2013; Viki et al., 2012). On the other hand, there is evidence that certain types of crimes are stereotypically associated with certain social groups, which may influence the judgments made against different types of offenses (Osborne & Davis, 2012). Future investigations, in the Brazilian context, could analyze if there are crimes stereotypically associated with the black and white groups and, once such an association is identified, verify how the presentation of an offender consistent with the stereotype of the crime, and of a counter-stereotypical offender, influence the support of different justice mechanisms.

Although the scenarios and measures used here have been consistent with the demonstration of discriminatory conduct against the black teen, some of the main effects of the variables studied here were not replicated over the three studies. This is probably due to the fact that the dependent variables were measured by only one item, which limits the possibility of obtaining greater reliability in the replication of the results. Thus, further research is needed to develop more robust measures for the assessment of discriminatory conduct against minority groups in contexts of legal offenses.

Another limitation of this study is that the target of the criminal action was manipulated only in terms of identifiability (identifiable versus unidentifiable). Because the teenage offender's race influences support for lowering the age of criminal responsibility and tolerance for police violence, future studies can also analyze the effect of the target of criminal action in terms of his/her racial group, to integrate various data in this area.

Considering that this study has shown that racial discrimination against blacks in the context of tolerance for police violence and lowering the age of criminal responsibility is moderated by adherence to BJW, other studies can further investigate the role of this variable as an ideological system associated with the perception of the legitimacy of the social structure, analyzing the content of social representations that are evoked by subjects who have different levels of adherence to BJW.

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## CHAPTER 2

### **Discrimination against suspected islamic terrorists: Nationality, Right-wing Authoritarianism, and perceived threat as predictors of support for torture.**

The investigation presented in this chapter has been sent for publication

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**ABSTRACT:** This research investigates discrimination against suspected Islamic terrorists based on tolerance for the use of torture against these groups. Two experimental studies were conducted. Study 1 (N= 282) analyzed the influence of the nationality of the victims of terrorist crimes and the nationality of torturers on tolerance for torture against suspects of Islamic terrorism and support for the payment of compensation by the torturers to the suspects. Study 2 (N= 165) analyzed the interaction among the nationality of the victims of terrorist crimes and Perceived Threat as moderators on the relationship between RWA and discrimination. The results of Study 1 indicated that support for the use of torture against Islamic terrorists was greater when the victims of terrorist acts and the torturers belonged to the ingroup. Study 2 indicated that both the perception that the endogroup is a victim of terrorist actions and the perceived realistic and symbolic threat by the outgroup favor support for the use of torture against Islamic groups suspected of terrorist actions, regardless of the participants levels of adherence to RWA.

Keywords: discrimination; torture; perceived threat; right-wing authoritarianism



### CHAPTER 3

#### **Terrorist threat, dehumanization, and Right-wing Authoritarianism as predictors of discrimination**

The investigation presented in this chapter has been accepted for publication in the *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*.

da Costa Silva, K., Álvaro, J.L., Torres, A.R.R., & Garrido, A. (in press). Terrorist threat, dehumanization, and Right-wing Authoritarianism as predictors of discrimination. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*. doi: 10.1111/sjop.12574

**ABSTRACT:** This study analyzed the relationship between perceived terrorist threat and discrimination, operationalized by support for retributive justice procedures against Islamic groups suspect of terrorist crimes. Two experimental studies were performed. Study 1 (N = 215) showed that the perception of terrorist threat against the ingroup raises the support for the retributive procedures of justice through the dehumanization of the exogroup. Study 2 (N = 304) analyzed how the mediating role of dehumanization in the relationship between perceived terrorist threat and support for retributive justice is moderated by Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA). In addition, the study aimed to verify if the dehumanization of exogroup and RWA could explain the relationship between perception of terrorist threat and discrimination of Muslim immigrants. The results indicated that adherence to RWA favors dehumanization of the exogroup and, consecutively, support for the use of retributive justice. The adherence to RWA has been identified as the mechanism that explains the discrimination against Muslim immigrants.

Keywords: discrimination, dehumanization, right-wing authoritarianism.

## INTRODUCTION

Coexistence between native and foreign-born communities is one of the most relevant social issues of our time. Several studies indicate that this relationship is marked by the expression of negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviors against immigrant groups (e.g., Álvaro et al., 2012; Cea D'Ancona & Valles, 2014). Particularly in recent years, explicit manifestations of hostility against immigrants from Muslim-majority countries have been increasing (Ekman, 2015; Ward, Szabo, & Stuart, 2017). Data from the European Social Survey (2016) indicate that the number of people who perceive those immigrants as responsible for the increase in criminality and insecurity and who are in favor of banning their entry into Europe increased from 2002 to 2014.

One of the factors associated with the escalation of blatant discriminatory behavior against social minorities in Europe is terrorist threat perception. According to the Pew Research Center (2015), the percentage of people who express concern with attacks motivated by Islamic terrorism has been increasing since 2011, especially in countries with a significant proportion of Muslim immigrants, such as France, Belgium, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Surveys have repeatedly identified that the occurrence of Islamic terrorist attacks is followed by expressions of hostility and discriminatory behaviors against immigrants from Muslim-majority countries (e.g., Doosje, Zimmerman, Küpper, Zick, & Meertens, 2009; Echebarria-Echabe & Fernandez-Guede, 2006; Heath & Richards, 2016; Imhoff & Recker, 2012; Jost, Napier, Thorisdottier, Gosling, Palfai, & Ostafin, 2007).

From the perspective of intergroup relations, discrimination is the negative treatment of a given group or its members (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick, & Mess, 2010). Discrimination may occur at the individual or the institutional level. The former is



observed both in avoidance behavior and in explicit hostility against members of a given group (Allport, 1954/1979). While discrimination at the institutional level is characterized by the support for norms, procedures, and actions of institutions that result in unfavorable treatment against certain groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). The effects of threat perception on discrimination have been extensively studied in social psychology (e.g., Sherif, 1996; Stephan & Stephan, 1996; Stephan, Renfro, Esses, Stephan, & Martin, 2005). Perceiving an outgroup as a possible threat to the physical integrity of ingroup members is associated with increased expression of negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviors (Stephan et al., 2005; Esses, Jackson, & Bennet-AbuAyash, 2010). The perception that the West is under the constant threat of radical Islamism has supported the strengthening of extreme right political parties, such as the *Front National* in France, the *Freiheitliche Partei Österreichs* in Austria, and the *Partij voor de Vrijheid* (PVV) in Holland, which share nationalistic and openly xenophobic views (Ekman, 2015; Greven, 2016).

In this context, wherein terrorist threat is associated with increased hostility and blatantly discriminatory practices against Muslim immigrants, the overall objective of the present research is to analyze discrimination against Islamic terrorist suspects operationalized as the support for retributive justice strategies to the detriment of restorative strategies. The former is characterized by emphasis on punishing those who break social rules, based on the principle that people should receive a punishment commensurate with the gravity of the crime they committed (Gromet & Darley, 2009; Tyler, Boeckmann, Smith, & Hou, 1997), whereas the restorative strategy is focused on repairing the damage caused by the offense, involving both the transgressor and those affected by the crime (victims and community members) in combined efforts to resolve the transgression. In contrast to retributive justice, restorative justice operates through the offender completing reparative sanctions (Braithwaite, 2002; Gromet & Darley, 2009). The

choice of retributive justice as a measure of discrimination stems from the fact that previous investigations have verified that support for punitive mechanisms in the face of a transgression can be explained by intergroup factors. Research based on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) has determined that support for the use of both retributive and restorative measures varies based on whether social identity is shared with the offender. The use of retributive justice (for example, punishment of the aggressor) is preferred over restorative justice (for example, rehabilitation and social reintegration of the transgressor) when the criminal action is committed by an outgroup member (Sommers & Ellsworth, 2009; Vidmar, 2002). In intergroup conflict scenarios, the preference for retributive mechanisms against outgroup members has practical and symbolic implications. As pointed out by Wenzel, Okimoto, Feather, and Platow (2008), retributive justice, since it consists of a unilateral imposition of punishment, favors the maintenance of differences of status and power between outgroup and ingroup.

The group membership of the offender, therefore, influences the support for different forms of justice, and there is greater support for the use of retributive procedures when the offender belongs to a minority group (Álvaro et al., 2015; da Costa Silva, Torres, Álvaro, Garrido, & Linhares, 2018). Nevertheless, the present research adds another psychosocial factor: the dehumanization of the transgressor. The concept of dehumanization may be defined as the denial of qualities or traits that people perceive as solely human or central to human nature (Haslam, 2006). From the perspective of intergroup relations, studies converge in characterizing dehumanization as a perceptible process in which qualities considered essentially human are attributed to a lesser degree to outgroup members than to ingroup members (Betancor, Rodríguez, Delgado, & Ariño, 2012; Leyens et al., 2000). Previous investigations point out that dehumanization is the mechanism underlying the relationship between social group and support for justice

procedures, legitimizing the use of violent measures against social minorities (e.g., Goff, Jackson, Di Leone, Culotta, DiTomaso, 2014; Kteily, Bruneau, Waytz, & Cotterrill, 2015).

### **Dehumanization and support for retributive justice**

Although the term dehumanization contradicts the precept, widely shared in democratic societies, that all humans are equal (e.g., Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948), various groups have at times been assessed as “less human,” which shows that the perceptions of humanity in social relations vary widely. Nazi propaganda described the Jews as “pests” (Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008). Soccer fans verbally assaulted a black player by associating him with a monkey (Ferreira et al., 2016). Then-presidential candidate Donald Trump labeled refugees from Muslim-majority countries “animals” (Rawstory, 2016).

Studies on dehumanization derive from research initiated by Leyens et al. (2000) on a specific type of denial of essentially human attributes, termed *infracumanization*. The key aspect of this line of research is that secondary emotions (e.g., shame, hope), which are attributes unique to humans, are more easily associated with ingroup members than with outgroup members, whereas this difference is not observed in the attribution of primary emotions (e.g., anger, joy), which are common to animals and humans. Although denying secondary emotions is a subtle process of dehumanization, it has been systematically assessed as a characteristic of relations between social groups (Delgado, Betancor, Rodríguez-Perez, & Ariño, 2012; Rodríguez-Pérez, Betancor, & Delgado, 2009).

Dehumanization has numerous negative effects on intergroup relations. Denying secondary emotions to outgroup members is related to the perception of outgroup threat (Kteily et al. 2015), to failure to help in emergency situations (Cuddy, Rock, & Norton, 2007), and to discrimination against immigrants (Pereira, Vala, & Leyens, 2009).

Several studies have extended the dehumanization effect beyond the attribution of secondary emotions, focusing on uniquely human characteristics in general (Haslam & Loughnam, 2014). Haslam (2006) identifies two types of dehumanization: animalistic dehumanization, which is the denial of uniquely human attributes (e.g., refinement and moral sensibility), and mechanistic dehumanization, which is the denial of human nature (e.g., interpersonal warmth and cognitive openness). Animalistic dehumanization resembles the attribution of more uniquely human emotions (secondary emotions) to the ingroup versus the outgroup (Leyens et al., 2001).

Haslam's dualistic model stimulated the development of measurement instruments where dehumanization is verified through the attribution of uniquely human qualities and qualities of human nature to particular social groups (Bastian & Haslam, 2010; Haslam & Bain, 2007; Viki et al., 2006). When taken together, contemporary research on dehumanization suggests that privileging the "humanity" of one's own group is a common occurrence. Furthermore, dehumanization as denial of uniquely human attributes may explain the support for using retributive strategies (e.g., severe punishment, violence) over restorative strategies (e.g., offender rehabilitation) in the case of an offense committed by an outgroup member. Denying uniquely human attributes is related to supporting their social exclusion and the use of violence (Bastian et al., 2013; Viki, Fullerton, Raggett, Tait, & Wiltshire, 2012; Goff et al., 2014), agreeing with the use of torture techniques (Viki, Osgood, & Phillips, 2013), and supporting the use of military interventions (Kteily et al., 2015).

In general, dehumanization favors the use of retributive strategies because the dehumanized individual is perceived as incapable of assimilating the moral principles shared by the community and therefore unworthy of civilized treatment (Opatow, 1990). In societies in which using aggression is prohibited or unacceptable, dehumanization is a

mechanism that allows justifying the use of violence against those who practice it as legitimate conduct, without morally condemning such conduct (Bandura, 2002; Harris & Fiske, 2011; Jackson & Gaertner, 2010).

In summary, these studies show dehumanization as a recurrent element in the relationship between dominant groups and minority groups. As a phenomenon of intergroup relations, perceiving outgroup members as lacking essentially human attributes is not a stable and uniform phenomenon. For example, in highly threatening situations, such as terrorist crimes, the attribution of exclusively human emotions to outgroup members is minimal (Goldenberg, Heflick, Vaes, Motyl, & Greenber, 2009), especially, when they are described as perpetrators of these crimes (Betancor, Rodríguez-Pérez, Delgado, & Ariño, 2012; Delgado, Rodríguez-Pérez, Vaes, Leyens, & Betancor, 2009).

The investigations carried out to date demonstrate that members of minority groups are recurrently perceived as devoid of essentially human characteristics and that such a perception legitimizes the use of violent behavior against them. In addition, it is known that dehumanization can be accentuated by associating outgroup members with responsibility for situations of threat and insecurity, for instance terrorist attacks.

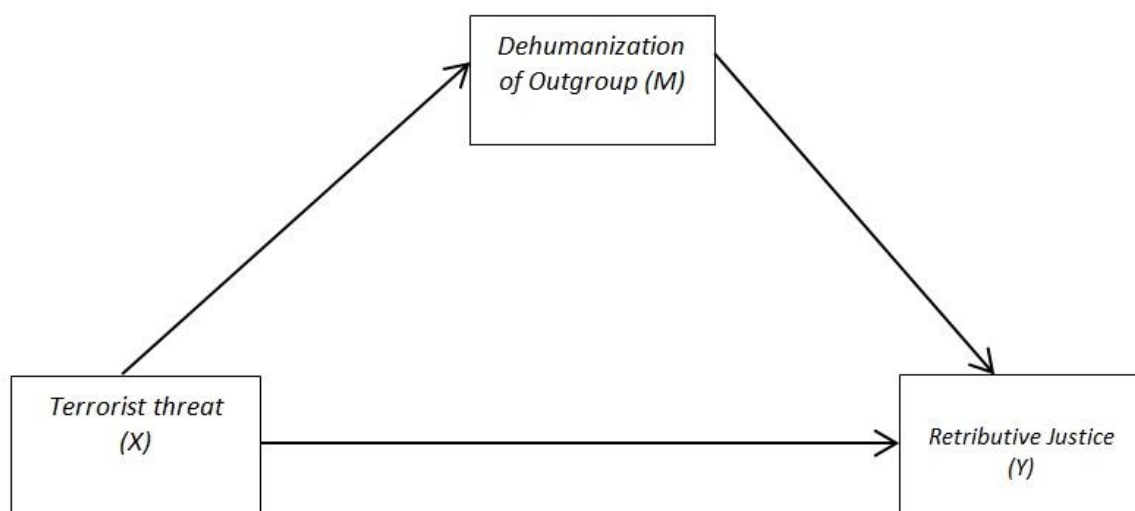
However, it has not yet been analyzed whether dehumanization of the outgroup and the consequent support for the use of retributive measures may vary depending on whether the ingroup is highlighted as the focus of this threat.

Thus, Study 1 was carried out to verify if, in a terrorist threat scenario where a member of the outgroup (Islamic terrorist) is presented as a suspect in the criminal action, the level of threat against the ingroup (Spanish) could influence the dehumanization of the outgroup and, consequently, discrimination against it, operationalized by support for the use of retributive justice procedures rather than restorative ones. In this study, the model of dehumanization based on the denial of secondary emotions was adopted, since this

phenomenon is recurrently verified in intergroup conflicts, in general, and specifically in contexts of terrorist threat (Betancor et al., 2012, Delgado et al., 2009; Goldenberg et al., 2009), the scenario adopted in the present research.

### Study 1

Because the perception of threat to ingroup physical integrity increases the expression of discriminatory behaviors (Stephan et al., 2005; Esses, Jackson, & Bennet-AbuAyash, 2010), in Study 1 it was expected that in the scenario where the ingroup is the focus of terrorist threats (High Threat) by the outgroup, greater support for retributive justice would be observed, with this relationship being explained by the dehumanization of the outgroup (Hypothesis 1a). On the other hand, it was assumed that in a scenario in which the ingroup (Spanish) is not represented as the focus of the terrorist threat (Low Threat), there would be less support for the use of retributive measures, due to the lower degree of dehumanization of the outgroup in that condition (Hypothesis 1b). Figure 1 represents the theoretical model adopted in this study.



**Figure 1-** Theoretical model analyzed in Study 1

## STUDY 1

### Method

#### *Participants*

This study included a total of 215 Spanish subjects (53.95% women), members of the general population, recruited by “snowball” sampling with ages ranging from 18 to 58 years ( $M = 36.97$ ;  $SD = 13.4$ ). The recruitment of the participants by Sociology students of a Public University in Madrid, who were previously trained on the research objectives and the APA standards regarding research with human beings. The recruitment had as its sole criterion not to select university students, since this type of sample is characterized by low levels of explicit discrimination (Álvaro et al., 2015), making it necessary to investigate in other population segments.

#### *Design*

All participants were randomly distributed in a 2 (Terrorist threat: High Threat against ingroup vs. Low Threat against ingroup) X 2 (Type of emotions attributed to terrorists: primary emotions vs. secondary emotions) design. The first variable relied on inter-subject design, whereas the second was based on intra-subject design.

#### *Procedures*

Online questionnaires were administered using the SurveyMonkey software. This software enables the online administration of questionnaires and the randomization of participants in different experimental conditions as well. Each participant answered the questionnaire individually after signing the informed consent form for research.

### *Instruments*

*Experimental manipulation:* Terrorist threat against ingroup: High Threat vs. Low threat ) was experimentally manipulated by presenting a real news story, previously published on an Internet portal and adapted for the purpose of this research. The news item reported on terrorist actions of the Islamic State (ISIS) in Syria, which stood out for its political influence in the Middle East and for claiming responsibility for several terrorist acts during the data collection period (December 2016). The report also noted that ISIS is considered by specialists to be one of the most dangerous groups in the world and is responsible for kidnappings, civilian murders, and torture.

The terrorist threat was presented on two levels. In the condition in which the ingroup was the focus of terrorist threat (High Threat), information that Spain was under the threat of radical Islamism and that a suspect linked to ISIS propaganda and indoctrination had been detained in Spain was included in the news item. It reported that this suspect was a member of the terrorist network responsible for the 11-M attacks, which caused approximately 200 deaths and hundreds of wounded in Madrid (2004). In turn, the condition in which the terrorist threat was not directed toward the ingroup (Low Threat) excluded this information, focusing only on the terrorist actions of ISIS in Syria.

*Dehumanization:* A measurement tool based on the instrument developed by Rodríguez, Rodríguez-Pérez, Vaes, Rodríguez, and Leyens (2012) and consisting of 16 emotions, including 8 secondary or exclusively human emotions (4 positive secondary emotions: *love, hope, optimism* and *fascination*; and 4 negative secondary emotions: *bitterness, unhappiness, worry* and *shame*) and 8 primary emotions or emotions shared by humans and non-human animals (4 positive primary emotions: *joy, surprise, trust, anticipation*; and 4 negative primary emotions: *anger, disgust, fear, sadness*) was used. The participants were asked to indicate how much they thought people who belong to



terrorist groups such as ISIS experience each of those emotions using a Likert-type scale (1= Not at all to 5 = Fully).

*Retributive Justice*: Participants answered a 10-item, single-factor scale regarding their attitudes toward the rehabilitation of suspects of Islamic terrorism (*The use of police violence against suspects to prepare jihadist terrorism actions is, in certain cases, justified; The government should invest in programs of rehabilitation and social reintegration of Islamic terrorists (inverse); The punishment of terrorist actions is more urgent than its prevention*). This measurement tool was adapted from Cullen, Lutz, Link, and Wolf (1989). The participants answered the questionnaire using a 7-point Likert scale (from 1 = Totally disagree to 7 = Totally agree). Higher scores on the scale indicated greater support for Islamic terrorist rehabilitation ( $\alpha = .872$ ).

#### *Data analysis*

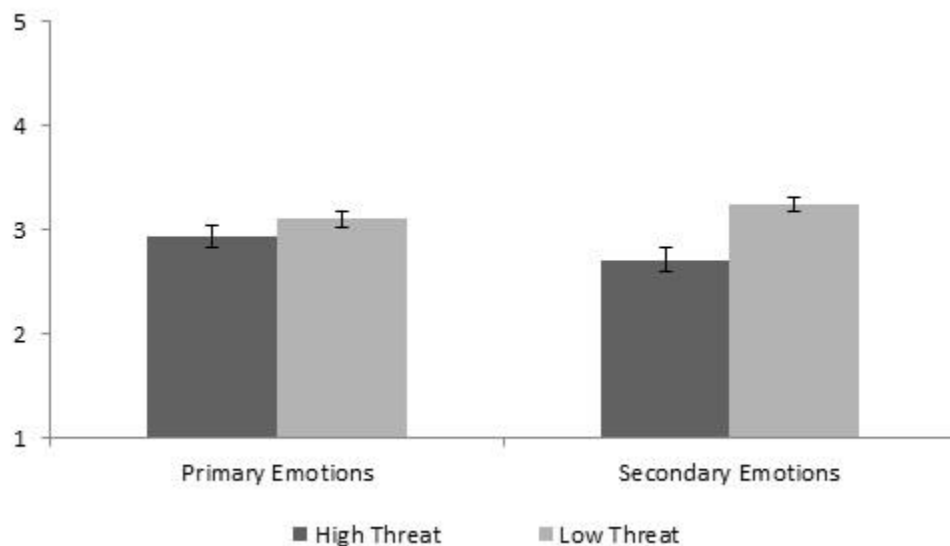
To analyze how the dehumanization of terrorists varies as a function of terrorist threat against ingroup, 2 (High Threat vs. Low Threat) X 2 (Type of emotions: primary vs. secondary emotions) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA) was performed; threat perception was an inter-subject variable, and the emotions attributed to terrorists were intra-subject variables.

The hypothesis that the terrorist threat against ingroup (X) influences support for the use of retributive justice against the outgroup (Y) through the dehumanization of the Islamic terrorist suspect (M) was tested using the PROCESS software for SPSS (Hayes, 2013). The bootstrap CI analysis method (5000 samples) was adopted, as recommended by Hayes and Scharkow (2013), because it is a test that presents better reliability than the rest.

## Results

### *Dehumanization*

The analysis of variance indicated a main effect of the variable terrorist threat against the ingroup (High Threat x Low Threat) on the attribution of primary and secondary emotions to the Islamic terrorism suspect,  $F(1, 213) = 8.757, p = .003, \eta^2 = .039$ . As can be seen in Figure 2, fewer secondary emotions were significantly attributed to suspects in the context in which the ingroup was perceived as the target of terrorist threat (High Threat;  $M = 2.75, SD = .526$ ) than those attributed when the terrorist threat was perceived as unrelated to the ingroup (Low Threat;  $M = 3.11, SD = .712$ ),  $t(204.63) = -5.102, p < .001$ . However, no significant differences in attribution of primary emotions to suspects as a function of terrorist threat against the ingroup were found,  $t(213) = -1.751, p = .081$ .

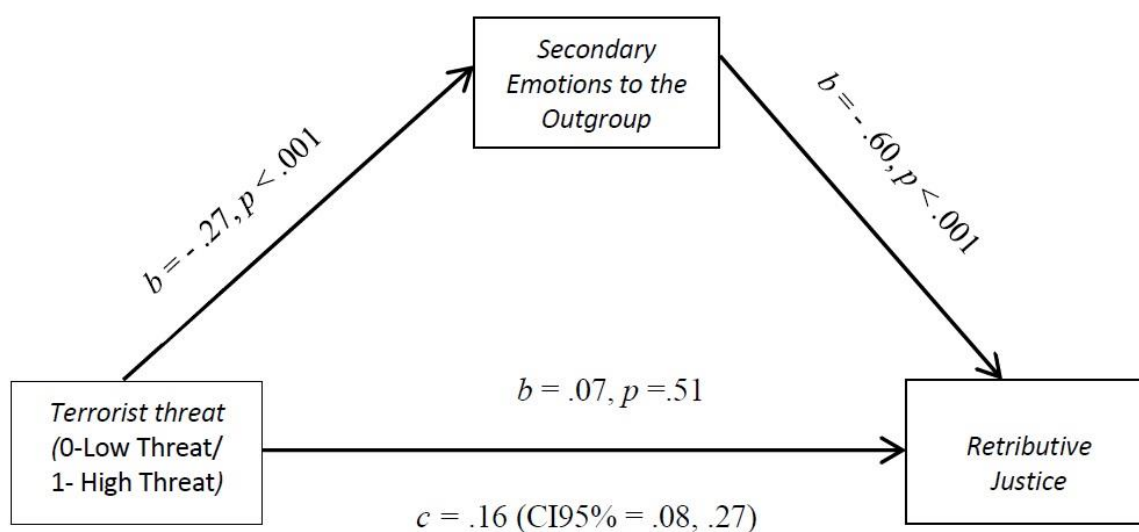


**Figure 2-** Attribution of secondary and primary emotions to suspects of terrorism as a function of perceiving terrorist threat against ingroup.

*Mediating role of dehumanization*

Initially, the terrorist threat against the ingroup was dummy coded as 0 = Low Threat and 1 = High Threat. The analyses indicate that the terrorist threat against the ingroup can predict support for the use of retributive justice against the suspected Islamic terrorist,  $b = .23$ ,  $t(194) = 2.49$ ,  $p = .01$ , 95% CI = .05, .42. As can be seen in Figure 3, the High Threat condition, in contrast to the Low Threat condition, significantly decreases the attribution of secondary emotions to the suspected Islamic terrorist,  $b = -.27$ ,  $t(190) = -6.4$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI = -3.64, -.19. In turn, the attribution of secondary emotions to the suspected Islamic terrorist predicts support for the use of retributive justice in a negative way,  $b = -.60$ ,  $t(194) = -3.99$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI = -.90, -.30.

Upon analyzing the direct and indirect effects of the perceived terrorist threat with respect to retributive justice, it was found that the terrorist threat against the ingroup did not have a direct effect on support for retributive justice,  $b = .07$ ,  $t(194) = .64$ ,  $p = .51$ , 95% CI: lower = -.14, upper = .28. However, the indirect effect, through the attribution of secondary emotions to the suspected Islamic terrorist, was .16, being significant (95% CI: lower = .08, upper = .27).



**Figure 3-** Direct and Indirect effects of Terrorist Threat (0- Low Threat / 1- High Threat) on support for Retributive Justice.

## Discussion

In this study, we sought to verify if, in a terrorist threat scenario in which a member of the outgroup (Islamic terrorist) is presented as a suspect in the criminal action, the level of threat against the ingroup (Spanish) could influence the dehumanization of the outgroup and, therefore, discrimination against them, operationalized by the support for the use of retributive justice procedures rather than restorative ones.

The results indicate that terrorist threat against ingroup influences the expression of discriminatory behavior, here assessed by the support for retributive justice strategies. In the condition in which the ingroup was perceived as a possible target of terrorist actions (High Threat), participants showed increased support for retributive justice.

The relationship between terrorist threat against ingroup and discrimination was mediated by dehumanization of suspects of Islamic terrorism. When the ingroup was perceived as a possible target of terrorist actions (High Threat), attribution of secondary emotions to suspects decreased, which, in turn, implied increased support for retributive

justice against this group, thus confirming Hypothesis H1a. Conversely, when the ingroup (Spanish) was not placed as the focus of the terrorist threat (Low Threat), there was less support for retributive justice, since this condition implied a greater attribution of secondary emotions to the outgroup member, confirming Hypothesis H1b.

In summary, Study 1 concurs with previous investigations indicating that the association of the outgroup with the terrorist threat raises the discrimination against them (Doosje et al., 2009; Echebarria-Echabe & Fernandez-Guede, 2006; Jost et al. 2007). At the same time, the study corroborates the fact that dehumanization of the outgroup is the mechanism that explains the support for discriminatory behavior (Bastian et al., 2013; Esses et al., 2013; Kteily et al., 2015). The present investigation, however, offers an additional contribution by identifying that dehumanization of the outgroup and the consequent support for retributive justice mechanisms are accentuated by the ingroup being the focus of the threat perpetrated by the outgroup.

Although the present study has identified that the context in which the ingroup is the focus of a threat favors the expression of discriminatory behavior, previous investigations are consistent in pointing out that reactions to a threatening intergroup context are not linear processes, but moderated by different psychosocial variables (Álvaro et al., 2015; Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011; Mathew & Levin, 2012). Among these variables, we highlight Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA), which interacts with the perception of threat in the expression of negative behaviors against the outgroup (Cohrs & Asbrock, 2009; da Costa Silva, Álvaro, Torres, & Garrido, in press; Duckitt, 2001). Consequently, Study 2 was conducted to identify whether adherence to RWA moderates the effect of perceived threat against the ingroup on the support for retributive justice, through dehumanization of the outgroup.

## STUDY 2

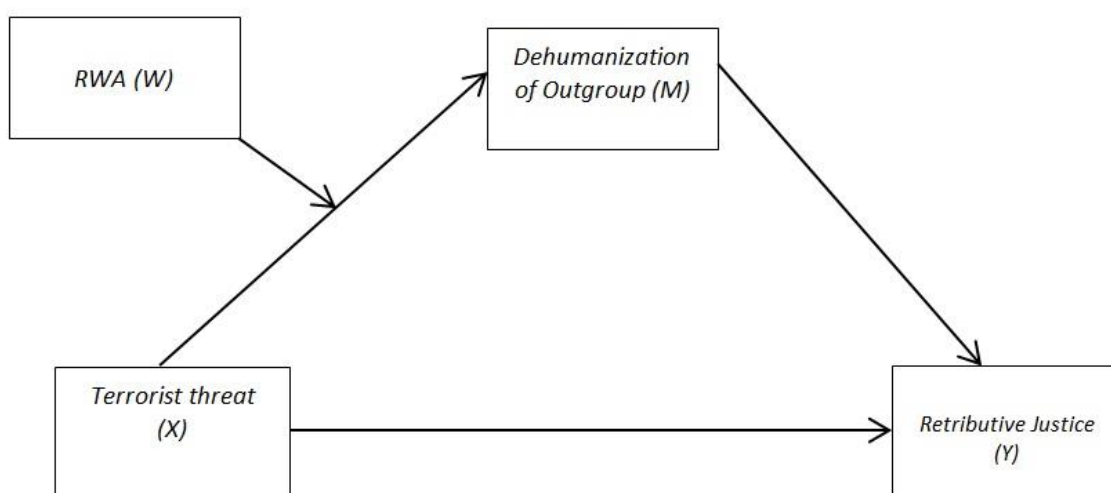
Right-wing Authoritarianism (RWA) has been repeatedly identified as an important predictor of social attitudes and behaviors (Duckitt & Sibley, 2017). Although it was initially defined as a personality measure, derived from authoritarian personality studies (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950), the RWA concept is closer to a measure of social values and attitudes than a personality trait (Duckitt, Bizumic, Krauss, & Heled, 2010). Such as defined by Altemeyer (1988), RWA is a set of social attitudes that encompasses adherence to ingroup norms and social conventions, submission to authority, and support for the use of aggression when sanctioned by authorities. Its relevance in psychosocial investigation is explained by the ability to connect different levels of explanation. At the societal level, studies demonstrate that adherence to authoritarian attitudes is prevalent during periods of heightened political and economic instability (Asbrock & Fritsche, 2013; Peterson & Gerstein, 2005).

RWA expresses a desire to maintain order, stability, and social cohesion (Duckitt & Sibley, 2017). At the intergroup level, it is seen that a higher level of adherence to RWA influences the expression of prejudice and aggressive behaviors against groups perceived as a threat to ingroup security and its core values (Asbrock, Sibley, & Duckitt, 2010; Cohrs & Ibler, 2009; Thomsen, Green, & Sidanius, 2009). In a context of heightened conflict and intergroup threat, such as the crime of terrorism, RWA was identified as an important predictor of attitudes favoring torture to defend ingroup members (Lindén, Björklund, & Bäckström, 2016, 2018). Adherence to RWA is associated not only with the perception that minority groups represent a threat, but also with the perception that they are devoid of essentially human characteristics (Jackson & Gartner, 2010). Because RWA is based on the defense of key ingroup values and on a view of the world as a threatening place, adherence to its attitudinal components leads to the perception of groups whose norms and

traditions differ from those of the ingroup, and who are identified as a threat to security and social order, as not only different but also as less human (Kteily et al., 2015).

The investigations carried out thus far present consistent evidence that RWA favors the expression of discriminatory behaviors, especially against culturally distinct groups of the outgroup, identifying them as threatening. At the same time, adherence to RWA is known to be associated with the dehumanization of minority groups. However, it has not yet been analyzed how RWA and the threat against the ingroup interact in the perception that the minority group is devoid of essentially human characteristics.

Considering that Study 1 identified that, in a terrorist threat scenario, the high threat against the ingroup (Spanish) increases the support for retributive justice through dehumanization of the outgroup (suspected of Islamic terrorism), Study 2 sought to analyze how this relationship is qualified by RWA. More specifically, this study replicated the previous one, adding RWA as a moderating variable, with the objective of identifying whether RWA adherence conditions the effect of perceived threat against the ingroup on support for retributive justice, through dehumanization of the outgroup. Figure 4 represents the theoretical model adopted in this study.



**Figure 4-** Theoretical model analyzed in Study 2

Since adherence to RWA supports the perception that the outgroup poses a threat (Cohrs & Ibler, 2009) and RWA is associated with dehumanization of the outgroup (Jackson & Gaertner, 2010; Kteily et al., 2015) it was expected that participants presenting strong adherence to RWA (+1SD), would dehumanize the outgroup (suspected of Islamic terrorism), both in the condition where the ingroup (Spanish) is the focus of terrorist threats (High Threat) and in the condition where it is not identified as the target of these crimes (Low Threat). Consequently, among these participants no differences in support for retributive justice would be observed when comparing the High Threat and Low Threat conditions (Hypothesis H1a).

On the other hand, it was expected that among the participants with low adherence to RWA (-1SD), dehumanization of the outgroup (suspected of Islamic terrorism) would be greater in the condition where the ingroup (Spanish) is the focus of the terrorist threat (High Threat), than in the condition where the ingroup is not mentioned as a target (Low Threat). Therefore, the High Threat condition would result in greater support for retributive justice than the Low Threat condition, replicating the result found in Study 1 (Hypothesis H1b).

Previous studies identified that the terrorist threat is also associated with the expression of discriminatory conduct against Muslim immigrants (Doosje et al., 2009; Echebarria-Echabe & Fernandez-Guede, 2006; Imhoff & Recker, 2012; Jost, et al., 2007). Therefore, the present study sought to broaden the contributions provided in the literature in analyzing whether the theoretical model adopted to explain support for retributive justice procedures against suspects of Islamic terrorism would explain the relationship between terrorist threat and discriminatory conduct against Muslim immigrants. More precisely, this study had an additional objective to verify whether the terrorist threat against the ingroup would influence institutional discrimination against Muslim



immigrants, operationalized through support for increased police surveillance of this specific group of immigrants as a whole. Concomitantly, this study examined whether the dehumanization of the suspected Islamic terrorist would be the underlying mechanism in the relationship between terrorist threat against ingroup and discrimination, as well as whether this relationship is also qualified by RWA.

## **Method**

### *Participants*

This study included 304 Spanish subjects (50.98% women), members of the general population, recruited by “snowball” sampling, following the same procedures and criteria adopted in Study 1, with ages ranging from 18 to 60 years ( $M = 36.19$ ;  $SD = 14.6$ ).

### *Procedures and instruments:*

Study 2 followed the procedures and instruments adopted in Study 1, in addition to the following measures:

*Discrimination against Muslim immigrants:* Using a 7-point Likert scale (from 1 = Totally agree to 7 = Totally disagree), the participants were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with the following statement: Police should maintain increased surveillance of immigrants from Muslim-majority countries.

*Right-wing authoritarianism (RWA):* A single-factor scale based on the instrument developed and validated by Cardenas and Parra (2010) was adopted. The scale consists of 10 items evaluated based on a 7-point Likert scale (from 1 = Totally disagree to 7 = Totally agree), representing beliefs compatible with RWA (Our society needs strong leaders who can eradicate the prevailing extremism; the best way to live is to follow traditions and

traditional values; society must stop the many radicals who try to spoil our coexistence). The scale had a satisfactory reliability index ( $\alpha = .738$ ). High scores on this scale indicate high adherence to RWA.

### *Data analysis*

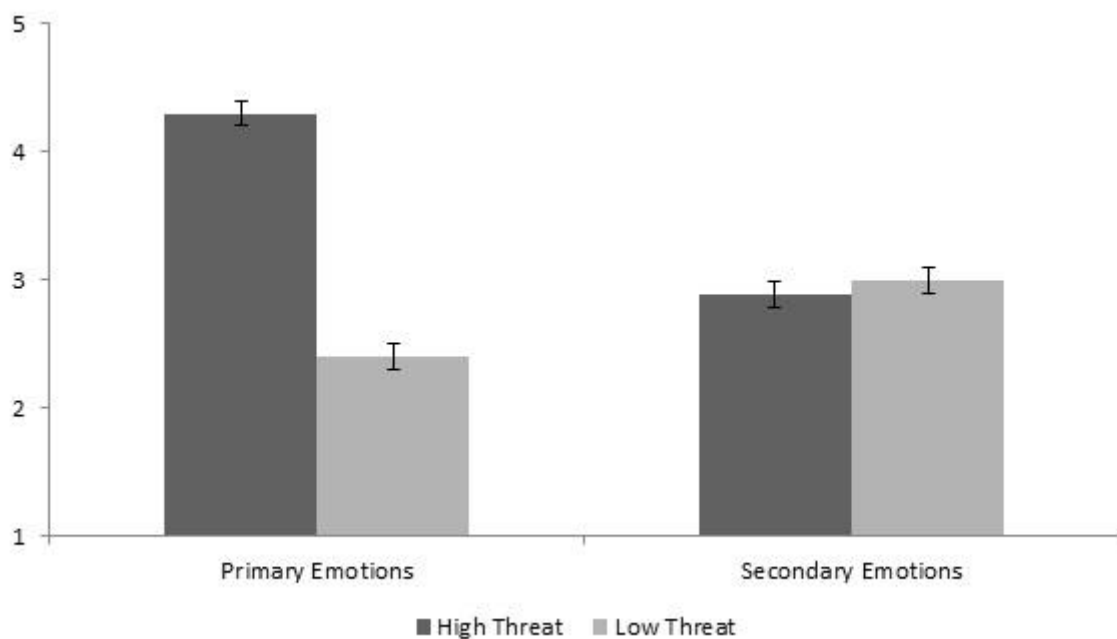
The dehumanization of terrorists was analyzed by 2 (Terrorist threat against ingroup: ingroup perceived as the target of terrorist threat - High Threat vs. terrorist threat unrelated to the ingroup - Low Threat) X 2 (Type of emotions attributed to suspects of terrorism: primary emotions vs. secondary emotions) repeated measures analysis of variance (ANOVA); terrorist threat against ingroup was an inter-subject variable, and emotions attributed to suspects of terrorism were intra-subject variables.

To test the hypotheses, a moderated mediation model was tested, taking the terrorist threat against the ingroup (High Threat X Low Threat) as a predictive variable (X), the attribution of secondary emotions to the Islamic terrorism suspect as a mediating variable (M), support for retributive justice and discrimination against Muslim immigrants as dependent variables (Y), and finally, RWA as a moderator (W) of the relationship between terrorist threat against the ingroup and attribution of feelings to the suspected Islamic terrorist. For this, the PROCESS software for SPSS (Hayes, 2013) was used. As in study 1, the bootstrap CI method (5000 samples) was adopted to evaluate the direct and indirect effects (via mediator).

## **Results**

### *Dehumanization*

The main effect of the variable, terrorist threat against the ingroup, on attribution of primary and secondary emotions to suspects of Islamic terrorism was assessed,  $F(1, 302) = 18.89, p < .001, \eta^2 = .062$ . Fewer secondary emotions were attributed to suspects of terrorism in the context in which the ingroup was perceived as the target of a terrorist threat (High Threat) ( $M = 2.86, SD = .65$ ) than in the context in which the ingroup was not the target (Low Threat) ( $M = 3.28, SD = .67$ ),  $t(302) = -5.44, p < .001$ . As can be seen in Figure 5, no significant differences in the attribution of primary emotions to terrorists as a function of terrorist threat against the ingroup were identified,  $t(285.7) = -1.69, p = .09$ .



**Figure 5-** Attribution of secondary and primary emotions to suspects of terrorism as a function of terrorist threat against ingroup.

#### *Correlations between variables*

Pearson product-moment correlation analysis was used to determine the relationships between variables (Table 1).

**Table 1-** Descriptive statistics and Pearson product moment correlation coefficient values for the study variables

Variables	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4
1. Attribution of secondary emotions to terrorist	3.05	.66	-	-.31**	-.31**	-.19**
2. RWA	3.19	.83	-.31**	-	.56**	.46**
3. Support for Retributive Justice	3.69	1.29	-.31**	.56**	-	.50**
4. Discrimination against Muslim immigrants	4.21	1.65	-.19**	.46**	.50**	-

Note: \*\*  $p < .001$

The values outlined in Table 1 indicate the occurrence of a significant and negative correlation between adherence to RWA and the attribution of secondary emotions to terrorism suspects. Significant and negative relationships were observed between attribution of secondary emotions, support for retributive justice, and discrimination against Muslim immigrants. However, RWA showed significant and positive relationships with support for retributive justice and with discrimination against Muslim immigrants.

In line with the initial predictions, support for retributive justice against the outgroup member was significantly higher in the High Threat condition ( $\hat{Y}_c = 3.97$ ) than in the Low Threat condition ( $\hat{Y}_c = 3.41$ ),  $b = .27$ ,  $t(298) = 2.06$ ,  $p = .039$ , 95% CI = .01, .54. Support for retributive justice was also explained by the lower attribution of secondary emotions to the suspected Islamic terrorist,  $b = -.21$ ,  $t(298) = -2.11$ ,  $p = .03$ , 95% CI = -.40, -.01. In addition, attribution of secondary emotions to the suspected Islamic terrorist was significantly influenced by the terrorist threat against the ingroup, such that the High Threat condition resulted in a lower attribution of secondary emotions to the suspected

Islamic terrorist ( $\hat{Y}_a = 2.82$ ) compared to the Low Threat condition ( $\hat{Y}_a = 3.28$ ),  $b = -.40$ ,  $t(298) = -6.08$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI =  $-.54, -.27$ .

More relevant to our hypotheses, the effect of the saliency of the terrorist threat against the ingroup on the attribution of secondary emotions to the suspected Islamic terrorist was moderated by adherence to RWA,  $b = .19$ ,  $t(198) = 2.28$ ,  $p = .02$ , 95% CI =  $.02, .36$ , resulting in a significant indirect conditional effect only in low adherence to RWA ( $-1SD$ , 95% CI =  $.011, .30$ ), since the indirect effect did not occur in high adherence to RWA ( $+1SD$ , 95% CI =  $-.01, .14$ ). The indirect conditional effect of RWA is explained by the fact that in low adherence to RWA ( $-1SD$ ), the result was a lower attribution of exclusively human emotions to the Islamic terrorism suspect in the High Threat condition ( $\hat{Y}_a = 2.94$ ) compared to the Low Threat condition ( $\hat{Y}_a = 3.51$ ),  $b = .09$ ,  $t(300) = 2.28$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI =  $.01, .18$ , confirming Hypothesis H1b. These differences were also observed in the condition of high adherence to RWA ( $+1SD$ ), but to a less significant degree, since there is a low attribution of secondary emotions in both the High Threat condition ( $\hat{Y}_a = 2.73$ ) and the Low Threat condition ( $\hat{Y}_a = 2.98$ ),  $b = -1.22$ ,  $t(300) = -2.7$ ,  $p = .007$ , 95% CI =  $-.21, -.03$ , partially confirming Hypothesis H1a.

In addition, it was tested whether RWA also moderated the relationship between attribution of secondary emotions to the Islamic terrorism suspect and support for retributive justice. No significant relationship was found in this regard,  $b = .04$ ,  $t(298) = .45$ ,  $p = .68$ , 95% CI =  $-.16, .24$ . In addition, it was found that RWA also does not moderate the relationship between terrorist threat against the ingroup and support for retributive justice,  $b = -.125$ ,  $t(298) = -.74$ , 95% CI =  $-.45, .20$ .

The proposed theoretical model did not prove useful in explaining discrimination against Muslim immigrants, since the relationship between terrorist threat against the ingroup and discrimination against Muslim immigrants was not mediated by the attribution

of secondary emotions to the suspected Islamic terrorist, whether in the condition of low adherence to RWA ( $-1SD$ , 95% CI =  $-.24, .26$ ) or in the condition of high adherence to RWA ( $+1SD$ , 95% CI =  $-0.9, .12$ ). However, it was found that RWA moderated the relationship between terrorist threat against the ingroup and discrimination against Muslim immigrants,  $b = -.20$ ,  $t(300) = -2.09$ ,  $p = .03$ , 95% CI =  $-.39, -.01$ . This effect is explained by the fact that participants with low adherence to RWA ( $-1SD$ ) manifested higher discrimination against Muslim immigrants in the High Threat condition ( $\hat{Y} = 3.85$ ) than in the Low Threat condition ( $\hat{Y} = 3.14$ ),  $b = .35$ ,  $t(300) = 2.67$ ,  $p = .007$ , 95% CI =  $.09, .61$ . While participants with high adherence to RWA ( $+1SD$ ) manifested discrimination against Muslim immigrants in both the High Threat condition ( $\hat{Y} = 5.0$ ) and the Low Threat condition ( $\hat{Y} = 4.9$ ),  $b = .01$ ,  $t(300) = .15$ ,  $p = .87$ , 95% CI =  $-.18, .21$ .

## Discussion

The present study aimed to identify whether adherence to RWA conditions the effect of perceived threat against the ingroup on support for retributive justice, through dehumanization of the outgroup. The results confirm the observations of Study 1. It was verified that it is not the simple association of the minority group with a criminal act that explains the discrimination, analyzed here by the support for retributive justice procedures, but rather the fact that the ingroup is identified as the target of this threat. Again, it has been identified that dehumanization of the outgroup is the mechanism underlying this process. Compared to the condition of low-threat against the ingroup, the high-threat condition resulted in less attribution of secondary emotions to the suspected Islamic terrorist, which therefore increased support for retributive forms of justice.

Study 2, in addition, broadens the contribution of the former by demonstrating that the relationship between terrorist threat against the ingroup and dehumanization of the outgroup is qualified by adherence to RWA. Low adherence to RWA accentuates the differences between the conditions of high and low threat against the ingroup in the attribution of secondary emotions to the outgroup, since the condition that the ingroup is the focus of the terrorist threat is a necessary for the dehumanization of the outgroup, and the consequent support for the use of retributive procedures against it, confirming Hypothesis H1b. These differences in the attribution of secondary emotions to the outgroup were also observed among participants with high adherence to RWA, although in a less significant way, which partially confirms Hypothesis H1a.

Although previous studies have demonstrated that RWA is associated with the perception that the outgroup poses a threat (Cohrs & Ibler, 2009), this study offers an additional contribution by demonstrating that, in a context of heightened intergroup threat such as the crime of terrorism, adherence to RWA supports the perception that the outgroup is devoid of essentially human characteristics, without the need for the ingroup to be perceived as the focus of the terrorist threat for dehumanization to occur.

The results indicated, however, that RWA did not moderate the relationship between terrorist threat against the ingroup and discrimination, much less the relationship between the attribution of secondary emotions to the Islamic terrorism suspect and discrimination. It is possible that such effects did not occur because discrimination was indirectly measured by means of support for retributive justice processes, whereas RWA is commonly associated with flagrant and ostensible forms of discrimination (Duriez & Van Hiel, 2002; Fiske, 2018), an aspect that can be explored in future investigations.

This study also had the additional objective of verifying whether the proposed model adopted to explain the support for retributive justice procedures against suspected

Islamic terrorists would explain the relationship between terrorist threat and discriminatory conduct against Muslim immigrants, operationalized in the support for increased police surveillance of this specific group of immigrants as a whole. Although the dehumanization of the Islamic terrorism suspect did not explain the relationship between terrorist threat against the ingroup and discrimination against Muslim immigrants, it was observed that adherence to RWA moderated the relationship between perceived terrorist threat against the ingroup and discrimination against Muslim immigrants. High adherence to RWA favored discrimination against Muslim immigrants in both the High Threat and Low Threat contexts, demonstrating that adherence to RWA and the scenario of Islamic terrorism translate into a process of homogenization and social exclusion of the outgroup.

## **GENERAL DISCUSSION**

The overall objective of the present research was to analyze the discrimination against Islamic terrorist suspects operationalized as the support for retributive justice strategies to the detriment of the restorative strategies. Given the relevance of terrorism based on Islamic fundamentalism to the development of negative attitudes against immigrants (Doosje et al., 2009; Heath & Richards, 2016; Imhoff & Recker, 2012; Jost, et al., 2007), this study further aimed to assess whether terror threat against ingroup also influences institutional discrimination against Muslim immigrants.

Because the expression of discriminatory behavior against outgroup members is influenced by the perception that they threaten the security and integrity of ingroup members (Stephan et al., 2005; Esses, Jackson, & Bennet-AbuAyash, 2010), this research experimentally manipulated terrorist threat by creating a condition highlighting the ingroup



as the target of Islamic terrorist threats (High Threat) and by creating another condition in which the ingroup was not mentioned (Low Threat).

The results of two studies with an experimental design showed that the terrorist threat to the ingroup influenced discrimination against suspects of Islamic terror through dehumanization. Study 1 showed that the relationship between terrorist threat against ingroup and discrimination was mediated by dehumanization of suspects of Islamic terrorism. In the context in which the ingroup is perceived as the target of a terrorist threat, dehumanization of Islamic terrorism suspects increased, which in turn resulted in increased support for retributive justice.

Study 2 replicated the previous study, adding RWA as a moderating variable in the relationship between terrorist threat against the ingroup and dehumanization of the suspected Islamic terrorist. In addition, the study added discrimination against Muslim immigrants as a dependent variable. The results confirmed those obtained in the previous study and, at the same time, indicated that high adherence to RWA facilitates dehumanization of the outgroup and consequent support for the use of retributive justice, regardless of whether the terrorist threat has the ingroup as the focus.

Furthermore, Study 2 showed that terrorist threat against the ingroup interacts with RWA in the expression of institutional discrimination against Muslim immigrants. In a context of Islamic terrorist threat, adherence to RWA raises the support for increased police surveillance of this group of immigrants regardless of whether the ingroup is identified as the focus of the terrorist threat.

The studies reported here contribute to the current literature by clarifying how dehumanization and RWA act as underlying processes in the relationship between terrorist threat against ingroup and discriminatory behavior. Previous studies based on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) had already identified that the support for the use

of retributive procedures increases when the criminal action is committed by an outgroup member (Álvaro et al., 2015; da Costa Silva et al., 2018; Sommers & Ellsworth, 2009; Wenzel et al., 2008). Moreover, these minority groups are perceived as devoid of essentially human characteristics (Betancor, Rodríguez, Delgado, & Ariño, 2012; Haslam, 2006; Leyens et al., 2000) and such dehumanization increases the support for severe punishments against these groups (Goff et al., 2014), including violence (Viki et al., 2013). Nevertheless, the present research expands the explanatory scope of previous studies by indicating that outgroup dehumanization and its consequent discrimination varies based on the degree of threat it represents to ingroup members. Therefore, the present study showed that the support for retributive justice strategies is a discriminatory process because it emerges in a context of threat and insecurity where the ingroup is perceived as the target of the criminal actions attributed to the outgroup.

The moderating effect of adherence to RWA in the relationship between perceived terror threat against the ingroup and discrimination against Islamic terrorists, found in Study 2, corroborates findings from studies indicating RWA as a variable associated with negative conduct against outgroups perceived as a threat to ingroup security (Asbrock, et al., 2010; Cohrs & Asbrock, 2009; Lindén et al., 2016, 2018; Thomsen, et al., 2009) and with dehumanization of outgroups (Jackson & Gertner, 2010; Kteily et al., 2015). However, the study broadens previous contributions about the role of RWA in intergroup relations by demonstrating that adherence to its attitudinal components means that perceiving the ingroup as the target of terrorist threats is not a necessary condition for dehumanizing the outgroup, and consequently, supporting retributive mechanisms against it.

Moreover, Study 2 adds evidence that adherence to RWA is a mechanism through which the occurrence of Islamic terrorism crimes results in discrimination against

immigrants from Muslim-majority countries. Such discriminatory behavior can be assessed in the current socio-political context in which the strengthening of extreme right-wing political parties and their anti-immigrant agendas is accompanied by the growth of xenophobic and openly hostile attitudes towards immigrants from Muslim-majority countries (e.g., Doosje et al., 2009; Ekman, 2015; Imhoff & Recker, 2012).

These effects can be explained because the conservative and authoritarian attitudes of right-wing authoritarianism are based on the perception of the world as a dangerous place and express a motivation to defend the security of ingroup members and its core values and norms (Duckitt & Sibley, 2017), so adherence to RWA, in a terrorist threat context, promotes the expression of discriminatory behaviors against groups culturally different from the ingroup.

### **Limitations**

The present research has some limitations. First, the process of dehumanization analyzed here was *infrac*humanization, which is a more subtle and indirect form of dehumanization (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). Later conceptualizations of dehumanization have expanded this model by including *flagrant* dehumanization measures in which specific outgroup members are explicitly assessed as animal-like (Haslam, 2006; Viki et al., 2012) or as less evolved and civilized (Kteily et al., 2015). Therefore, the context of terror threat most likely triggers different mechanisms of dehumanization, in addition to that analyzed in the present study. Further research should analyze how subtle and *flagrant* forms of dehumanization explain different discriminatory and intergroup conflict processes.

Although the present research has examined the moderating role of RWA in the relationship between perceived terrorist threat and outgroup dehumanization, other investigations have pointed to the importance of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) for discrimination against minority groups (Asbrock et al., 2010; Duckitt & Sibley, 2017). Like RWA, SDO encompasses socio-political attitudinal components that favor support for torture and other human rights violations in terrorist threat contexts (Lidén et al., 2016, 2018). Thus, future research could address the effect of SDO on the process of dehumanization of minority groups.

The mediating effect of dehumanization on the relationship between threat against ingroup and discrimination against immigrants from Muslim-majority countries was assessed in the context of terrorist acts. Although this scenario is relevant because it involves the perception that the entire ingroup is a target of potential threats, evidence that other contexts of threat, such as economic (Meuleman, Davidov, & Billiet, 2009) and the perception of a symbolic terror threat, are also associated with discrimination against minorities, has been published. Symbolic terror threat perception is characterized by the perception that specific outgroups jeopardize the integrity of the ingroup's core values and beliefs. Future studies should examine how dehumanization and RWA explain the relationship between different types of threat and discrimination.

Finally, considering that the context analyzed here involves a group-level threat and that the degree of identification with the ingroup is related to a greater motivation to defend its status and to discriminate against the outgroup (Tajfel & Turner, 1986), future research must expand the contributions of this study by analyzing the role of identification with the ingroup in the relationship between terrorist threat and discriminatory behavior.

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### **SECTION III- DISCUSSION AND FINAL CONCLUSIONS**

## DISCUSSION

The objective of this thesis was to analyze which psychosocial factors are capable of favoring and legitimizing the relationship between the group to which the offender belongs and tolerance of police violence. The choice of police violence as the research scenario stems from the obstacle that the persistence of this phenomenon represents for the consolidation of the rule of law. Although this extrajudicial practice violates fundamental human rights, it receives support from the population in different democratic societies, being identified as a legitimate and necessary mechanism to guarantee security (Guimarães et al., 2005; Gerber & Jackson, 2017; Tyler, 2006).

Police violence against crime suspects has been addressed as a phenomenon of discrimination, since support for this procedure can vary depending on the group at which it is directed. Previous investigations have consistently shown that there is greater support for the use of this procedure when the crime suspect belongs to a minority group (Álvaro et al., 2015; Goff et al., 2014; Haslam & Loughman, 2014; Oliveira, 2013). In order to identify the psychosocial factors that favor and legitimize the relationship between the group to which the offender belongs and discrimination, this thesis was based on the production of three articles, which maintained the perspective of intergroup relations as a common thread (Tajfel, 1981). Thus, it was considered that the expression of discriminatory behavior can be explained by the following factors: a) the structure of relationships existing between dominant groups and minority groups and b) the beliefs about the social order, which confer legitimacy on the manifestation of discriminatory behaviors.

The progressive development of the articles that compose this thesis, therefore, was based on the articulation between the intergroup and ideological levels of analysis (Doise, 2002). Each of the articles presented here brought specific contributions that, in a



combined way, made it possible to meet the general objective. Based on the results obtained in Article 1 - "Racial Discrimination and Belief in a Just World: Police Violence against Teenagers in Brazil", it was possible to arrive at the following conclusions: First, previous investigations were corroborated by establishing that support for violent forms of punishment against suspects of criminal actions varies according to the type of crime committed and the identifiability of the target of the criminal action, such that there is greater support for police violence regarding crimes that result in victims (Bastian et al., 2013; Carlsmith & Darley, 2008; Sommers, 2007) and that have identifiable targets (Small & Lowenstein, 2003; Small et al., 2007).

Nevertheless, the research also identified that the type of crime and the identifiability of the target of the criminal action are factors that influence the relationship between the social group of the suspect of a criminal act and support for police violence. Differences in the support for police violence between a suspect belonging to the dominant group and another belonging to a minority group were accentuated in the condition involving a crime that resulted in victims and at the same time had an identifiable target. Such circumstances increase support for the use of police violence against the minority group

Finally, the article considered how the effect of the offender's social group, the type of crime, and the identifiability of the target of the crime, on discrimination is shaped by ideological factors. More precisely, it was found that support for police violence against social minorities is also influenced by the Belief in a Just World. The results indicated that adherence to the belief that the world is a fair place, where people get what they deserve and deserve what they get (Lerner, 1980) raises support for the use of police violence against the minority group, especially when the member of that group is suspected of

committing a crime that results in victims and when committing a crime with an identifiable target.

In summary, the results presented in Article 1 confirm that support for police violence represents a phenomenon of discrimination, while adding that the relationship between the group the offender belongs to and tolerance for the use of police violence can be explained by the following psychosocial factors: type of crime, identifiability of the target of the crime, social group of the offender, and Belief in a Just World. Nevertheless, Article 2 - "Discrimination Against Suspects of Islamic Terrorism: Nationality, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, and Perception of Threat as Predictors of Support for Torture" presented additional contributions regarding the influence that intergroup and ideological factors exert on the relationship between group to which the offender belongs and tolerance of police violence. In this case, the article considered a specific type of extrajudicial procedure, torture.

Regarding the intergroup aspect, the results of this article show that tolerance for the police's use of torture against a member of the minority group can be explained by the group affiliations that stand out in certain contexts (Tajfel, 1982) and by the perception of threat (Shamir & Sagiv-Schifter, 2006; Sherif, 1966). More specifically, it was found that both the social group of the victims of the criminal action as well as that of the police can influence tolerance for the use of torture against minority groups. There is greater support for this type of procedure when practiced by police belonging to the ingroup and when it is emphasized that the ingroup is a victim of the outgroup's criminal actions.

This article, moreover, elucidated how the perception of intergroup threat and beliefs about the social order interact in the expression of support for the use of police violence against minority groups. Among the various beliefs that shape the relations between dominant and minority groups, the article focused on Right-wing

Authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1981), since besides being an important predictor of violent and antidemocratic attitudes (Duckitt & Sibley, 2017), it maximizes the differences between the groups and encompasses beliefs that propose regulation of the social order through disciplinary sanction and repression against those who threaten the ingroup (Staerklé, 2012).

Although previous investigations had indicated that adherence to RWA favors the expression of discrimination against minority groups (Cohrs & Ibler, 2009; Dunwoody & McFarland, 2018), there were controversies about the effects of the interaction between Right-wing Authoritarianism and perceived threat on discrimination. The research presented in this article, however, concludes that the perception that the ingroup is threatened by the outgroup raises support for the use of torture regardless of the levels of adherence to Right-wing Authoritarianism.

Finally, the influence exerted by the perception that the ingroup is under threat from the outgroup, on tolerance for police violence was also analyzed by Article 3 - "Perception of Terrorist Threat, Dehumanization, and Right-wing Authoritarianism as Predictors of Discrimination". In this article, however, tolerance for police violence has been placed within a broader variable, retributive justice, characterized by emphasis on the punishment of those who commit criminal acts, based on the principle that people should receive a punishment based on the severity of the crime committed.

The results obtained in Article 3 added a new psychosocial factor to the relationship between the social group of the offender and support for the use of violence: dehumanization. Despite previous investigations having consistently shown that the perception that minority groups lack essentially human qualities (e.g., feelings) is the mechanism that legitimizes the use of violence against them (Goff et al., 2014; Viki et al., 2013), the studies presented in Article 3 demonstrated that the perception that the ingroup

is a victim of the outgroup's criminal actions accentuates the phenomenon of dehumanization of the minority group, which in turn increases support for retributive justice.

From the results obtained in Article 3 it was also possible to conclude that the relationship between perceived threat against the ingroup and Right-wing Authoritarianism interacts on the dehumanization of the outgroup. Confirming previous studies, it was verified that adherence to Right-wing Authoritarianism increases dehumanization of the outgroup (Jackson & Gertner, 2010; Kteily et al., 2015). Nevertheless, the research presented in this article indicated that the perception that the ingroup is a victim of the outgroup's criminal actions favors dehumanization of the latter and the subsequent support for retributive justice, even in the condition of low adherence to Right-wing Authoritarianism.

Finally, it should be noted that Article 3 presented an additional contribution to the previous ones. Articles 1 and 2 examined discrimination against members of minority groups suspected of committing an offense. This last article, however, showed that adherence to Right-wing Authoritarianism explains the relationship between perceived threat and the expression of hostility against all members of the outgroup, regardless of their participation in these criminal acts.

## **FINAL CONCLUSIONS**

In addressing the psychosocial factors that favor and legitimize the relationship between the group to which the offender belongs and tolerance for police violence, this thesis offers elucidation of a social phenomenon that has gained current prominence: the explicit endorsement of behaviors that violate fundamental human rights. Although the

hostility between different human groups has recurred throughout history, the flagrant manifestation of this conduct violates normative principles hitherto dominant in democratic societies.

Since the end of World War II, democratic societies have experienced social and political changes that culminated in the consolidation of normative principles based on the values of equality and justice, restraining the expression of discriminatory treatment among social groups. Such normative change resulted in more subtle and indirect forms of expression of prejudice and discrimination, which were analyzed, for example, by the theories of modern racism (McConahay & Hough, 1976), symbolic racism (Sears & Kinder, 1971), aversive racism (Gertner & Dovidio, 1986), ambivalent racism (Katz & Hass, 1988), and subtle prejudice (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). These theories, although distinct, evolved from the need to develop new conceptual and methodological parameters capable of identifying expressions of prejudice and discrimination that did not blatantly threaten the norm of equality.

In recent years, however, a number of countries have experienced the strengthening of political movements that manifest hostility toward minority groups in an ostensive manner, identifying the defense of their interests with economic instability, corruption, and terrorism (Greven, 2016; Verkuyten & Noottegeadt, 2018). While they challenge the norm of equality, these movements normalize the expression of flagrant prejudice by making their expression, hitherto morally condemned, be perceived as something acceptable and normative (Crandall, Miller, & White, 2018).

Based on two fundamental variables in the study of intergroup relations, namely the relationship between dominant groups and minority groups, and adherence to beliefs that justify relations of inequality and injustice (Tajfel, 1981), the articles developed here analyzed support for police violence against minority groups, flagrant conduct of

discrimination. Taken together, the studies brought additional contributions about the influence these variables exert on the expression of this conduct. Each of the experiments carried out expanded the complexity of the relationship between the variables of group membership and adherence to beliefs about the social order, seeking to fill gaps left in previous investigations.

Finally, it is pointed out that the experiments developed here considered the social context of two distinct countries: Brazil and Spain, adopting, respectively, urban violence as a scenario of discrimination against Blacks, and terrorist threat as a context of discrimination against Muslim immigrants. Thus, the thesis addresses another fundamental point of the study of intergroup relations: the articulation between explanations formulated on the basis of generalizable concepts and the social and historical singularity of intergroup conflicts. Future research could adopt this framework to deepen the understanding about the practice, interpretation, and response to explicit forms of violence.

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## **ANNEXES**

**ANNEX A- Instrument used in the studies described in Chapter 1**

UFPB



Grupo de Pesquisa em  
Comportamento Político  
GPCP

**Caro Estudante,**

Este questionário faz parte de uma pesquisa a respeito da sua opinião acerca da ação policial frente a crimes cometidos por adolescentes no Brasil. Gostaríamos de contar com a sua colaboração respondendo sinceramente às questões sobre um fato verídico que será descrito a seguir. Os nomes dos indivíduos foram substituídos para manter suas identidades protegidas, lembrando ainda que:

- Você poderá expressar livremente a sua opinião, pois suas respostas serão mantidas em sigilo absoluto. Não há respostas certas ou erradas, responda rapidamente e não passe à questão seguinte sem ter respondido a anterior.
- Por favor, não deixe nenhuma questão em branco.
- Em caso de dúvida responda do modo que mais se aproxime de sua opinião.
- Se desejar poderá desistir de responder o questionário quando bem entender.

Na certeza de poder contar com a sua colaboração, **agradecemos antecipadamente.**

Por favor, Leia o artigo abaixo, publicado por um importante jornal da Paraíba e na sequência veja o que foi declarado pelo boletim de ocorrência.

Quarta-feira, 1/2/2015, 15:11 h



**CORREIO DA PARAÍBA**  
 Paraíba com vida e poder.



## A Polícia Militar de João Pessoa prendeu esta noite um adolescente por assaltos

Em nota oficial do dia 31-01-2015, a Polícia Militar da capital paraibana informou que foi preso um jovem *branco/ negro* de 16 anos por *realizar assaltos / traficar drogas* na grande João Pessoa/ *assaltar / vender drogas* para *outro adolescente* que

O adolescente foi afirmado que o detido por dois efetivo será policiais. De aumentado para acordo com a combater a ação polícia, o de assaltantes na indivíduo atuava Grande João em Pernambuco, Pessoa. Rio Grande do Norte e Paraíba. Depois de lograr essa prisão com sucesso, a polícia

correo electrónico

**ENTRAR** Recuperar

senha

Serviços

Últimas Notícias

Deputado paraibano solicita pensão privilegiada na Câmara dos Deputados

**Agora, por favor, leia o que o boletim de ocorrência declarou sobre a notícia acima e responda o que se pede:**

Segundo o boletim de ocorrência, a polícia havia recebido informações de que, um adolescente *branco/negro* chamado Jair Ramalho de aproximadamente 16 anos, magro com mais ou menos um metro e setenta de altura, estaria *realizando assaltos/ traficando drogas* no bairro de *Tambaú em João Pessoa / assaltando outro jovem que aparentava ter a mesma idade/ vendendo drogas para outro jovem que aparentava ter a mesma idade*. Na noite do dia 30-01-2015, os policiais estiveram no local informado, para averiguarem o caso.

Na informação recebida pela polícia os assaltos estavam ocorrendo por volta das 23hs. Os policiais foram imediatamente ao local de arma em punho e esperaram escondidos o desdobramento dos fatos. Havia apenas um adolescente aparentando ter por volta de 16 anos que correspondia mais ou menos à descrição dada pelo informante, com uma maleta. Os policiais se aproximaram dando voz de prisão. O jovem tentou escapar e começou a correr, mas um dos policiais colocou o pé na frente impedindo que ele fugisse e o outro policial imediatamente o golpeou na cabeça e em outras partes do corpo, causando vários tipos de lesões.

Um dos policiais manteve o adolescente sob a mira do revólver enquanto o outro o revistava. Depois de verificar que o jovem estava armado, eles o algemaram numa grade e começaram a revistar a maleta. Eles encontraram uma série de objetos que correspondiam às descrições de itens que haviam sido roubados. Os policiais prenderam o adolescente e deixaram o local após 25 minutos. O jovem preso era *Jair Ramalho*.

Você poderia, por favor, considerar as seguintes afirmações, indicando o quanto concorda ou discorda sobre cada uma delas. Uma escala de seis pontos é usada para que você escolha o número que esteja de acordo com o seu posicionamento frente ao caso.

Leia com atenção as afirmativas abaixo e marque com um círculo o número que melhor expresse o seu grau de concordância ou discordância com relação a cada uma delas. Os números funcionam da seguinte maneira:

<b>Discordo totalmente</b>	<b>Discordo moderadamente</b>	<b>Discordo</b>	<b>Concordo</b>	<b>Concordo moderadamente</b>	<b>Concordo totalmente</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>

**Por favor, marque o ponto na escala que está mais próximo de sua opinião**



**Você concorda com a ação da polícia neste caso?**

<b>Discordo Totalmente</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>Concordo Totalmente</b>
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*Jair Ramalho* foi preso e aguarda julgamento. No entanto, seu advogado entrou com uma ação pedindo uma indenização pelo fato de ele ter sido ferido gravemente durante a ação policial.

**Você concorda que ele receba a indenização?**

<b>Discordo Totalmente</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>Concordo Totalmente</b>
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**Você está de acordo de que deve haver uma redução da maioridade penal de 18 para 16 anos?**

<b>Discordo Totalmente</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>Concordo Totalmente</b>
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### Crença no Mundo Justo

**Por favor, leia com atenção cada uma das frases apresentadas abaixo e indique o seu grau de concordância circulando o número que melhor expressar a sua opinião. Quanto maior for o número, maior será a sua discordância, sendo 1 o número que indica a sua discordância total e 5 o número que indica a sua concordância total.**

Concordo totalmente					
Concordo ligeiramente					
Nem concordo nem discordo					
Discordo ligeiramente					
Discordo totalmente					
1-Quem com ferro fere, com ferro será ferido	1	2	3	4	5
2-Quem semeia ventos, colhe tempestade	1	2	3	4	5
3-Depois da tormenta, vem a bonança	1	2	3	4	5
4-A justiça da vida tarda, mas não falha	1	2	3	4	5
5-Quem boa cama fizer, nela se deitará	1	2	3	4	5
6-Recebe-se o frio conforme o cobertor	1	2	3	4	5
7-Quem espera sempre alcança	1	2	3	4	5

### **Dados Sociodemográficos**

Qual é o seu sexo: [ ] Masculino [ ] Feminino

Qual sua idade: \_\_\_\_\_

Qual seu curso: \_\_\_\_\_

Qual sua cor: ( ) Branco ( ) Pardo ( ) Negro ( ) Indígena ( ) Amarelo

## **ANNEX B- Instrument used in the studies described in Chapter 2**

Este cuestionario forma parte de una investigación sobre la opinión que la población tiene de las actuaciones policiales frente a las personas involucradas en actos terroristas.

Le agradeceríamos que colaborare en esta investigación respondiendo con sinceridad a las preguntas que vamos a hacerle sobre un hecho real que se describe a continuación.

Los nombres de las personas han sido sustituidos para mantener sus identidades protegidas. Le recordamos que:

- Usted puede expresar libremente su opinión, pues sus respuestas serán absolutamente confidenciales. No hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas, responda rápidamente y no pase a la pregunta siguiente sin haber respondido a la anterior.
- No deje ninguna pregunta en blanco.
- Si lo desea, puede dejar de responder al cuestionario en cualquier momento.
- En caso de duda, responda del modo que más se aproxime a su opinión personal.

Le agradecemos de antemano su colaboración en este estudio.

***La Policía Egipcia / El Grupo Especial de Operaciones (GEO) de la Policía Española***  
detiene a 9 terroristas en un enfrentamiento en un barrio de El Cairo

Nueve terroristas fueron detenidos este viernes en un enfrentamiento con la ***Policía Egipcia/ el Grupo Especial de Operaciones de la Policía Española***, especializado en operaciones de alto riesgo, en la zona Oeste de la región metropolitana de El Cairo, según informó el Ministerio del Interior de dicho país.

En un comunicado oficial, el portavoz de dicho Ministerio, Hamadi Abbukar, informa que los terroristas comenzaron a disparar ante la llegada de la policía. Las fuerzas de seguridad españolas respondieron al ataque, iniciándose un enfrentamiento que duró varias horas y que acabó con la detención de nueve terroristas.

Después de la operación, ***los GEO/ los policiales egipcios*** fueron acusados de haber torturado a los detenidos durante el traslado que efectuaron a las dependencias policiales a las que fueron conducidos los terroristas. Un informe de la organización internacional de Derechos Humanos *Amnistía Internacional* así lo atestigua.

Según el comunicado, 3 de los extremistas utilizaron granadas durante el ataque a la policía española, encontrándose en su poder armas y fusiles automáticos, granadas y municiones, así como un vehículo 4X4.

Finalmente, el comunicado indica que los extremistas preparaban atentados terroristas durante la festividad musulmana de *Eid Al-Adha* (fiesta del Sacrificio) que comenzó esta semana.

Desde que el ejército destituyó al ex-presidente Mohamed Morsi, apoyado por la hermandad musulmana, Egipto ha sido escenario de diversos atentados. Estos acontecimientos han hecho que las autoridades locales adviertan que los turistas extranjeros pueden ser objetivos de los terroristas. El Pasado día 11 de Agosto, 29 personas fueron sorprendidas por una explosión de un coche en las proximidades de la Embajada Española en el Cairo. De entre los heridos, ***14 eran turistas españoles/ 14 eran turistas.***

¿Podría usted, por favor, leer las siguientes afirmaciones, indicando en qué medida está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con cada una de ellas? Se le propone una escala de seis puntos para que usted elija el número que mejor refleje su posición en relación con el caso.

**¿Está usted de acuerdo con la actuación de la policía en este caso?**

(1) Totalmente en desacuerdo	(2) Muy en desacuerdo	(3) En desacuerdo	(4) De acuerdo	(5) Muy de acuerdo	(6) Totalmente de acuerdo
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Los abogados de los terroristas detenidos sostienen que la acción policial fue abusiva y fueron a juicio para solicitar una indemnización. ¿Está usted de acuerdo en que debe recibir una indemnización?

(1) Totalmente en desacuerdo	(2) Muy en desacuerdo	(3) En desacuerdo	(4) De acuerdo	(5) Muy de acuerdo	(6) Totalmente de acuerdo
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### Amenaza Real

(1) Totalmente en desacuerdo	(2) Muy en desacuerdo	(3) En desacuerdo	(4) De acuerdo	(5) Muy de acuerdo	(6) Totalmente de acuerdo
---------------------------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------------	----------------------	--------------------------	------------------------------------

Como usted sabe España tiene inmigrantes de distintas nacionalidades. Un grupo importante son inmigrantes procedentes del Norte de África, más específicamente magrebíes. En relación a la presencia de inmigrantes en España díganos su grado de acuerdo o desacuerdo con las siguientes cuestiones:

1. *Los problemas asociados a la delincuencia se han incrementado en los últimos años en parte por la llegada de ciertos grupos de inmigrantes de otros países*
2. *Los salarios, en general, han disminuido por causa de los extranjeros que viven aquí a quienes se paga menos y aceptan salarios menores*
3. *Los extranjeros que vienen a vivir y trabajar aquí ocupan puestos de trabajo donde hay escasez de trabajadores.*
4. *Los inmigrantes que vienen a vivir a nuestro país quitan puestos de trabajo a los españoles*

5. *Los extranjeros que vienen a vivir a nuestro país reciben más beneficios en salud y educación que los propios españoles que pagan por esos servicios a través de sus impuestos*

**Amenaza Simbólica**

(1) Totalmente en desacuerdo	(2) Muy en desacuerdo	(3) En desacuerdo	(4) De acuerdo	(5) Muy de acuerdo	(6) Totalmente de acuerdo
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1. *De manera general, la identidad cultural del país se enriquece con la llegada de inmigrantes de otros países*

**Autoritarismo de Derechas**

(1) Totalmente en desacuerdo	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7) Totalmente de acuerdo
---------------------------------------	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	------------------------------------

1. *Nuestra sociedad necesita líderes fuertes que puedan erradicar el extremismo y la inmoralidad que prevalecen actualmente.*
2. *Las tradiciones y valores tradicionales aún nos indican la mejor forma de vivir.*
3. *Las leyes que castigan el aborto y la pornografía, y que contribuyen a proteger el matrimonio deben ser acatadas. Las transgresiones deben castigarse severamente.*
4. *Las generaciones anteriores a la nuestra deben ser más admiradas y respetadas por su contribución a la construcción de nuestra sociedad, sobre todo en esta época en que existen fuerzas que tratan de destruirla.*
5. *Todo buen ciudadano debería ayudar a eliminar la maldad que envenena nuestro país desde dentro si la sociedad así lo requiere.*
6. *Hay muchas personas radicales que tratan de echar a perder las cosas; la sociedad debe frenarlos.*

**Datos sociodemográficos**

En una escala de 1 a 10, siendo 1 extrema izquierda y 10 extrema derecha, ¿dónde se situaría usted?

<b>(1)</b> <b>Extrema</b> <b>Izquierda</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(3)</b>	<b>(4)</b>	<b>(5)</b>	<b>(6)</b>	<b>(7)</b>	<b>(8)</b>	<b>(9)</b>	<b>(10)</b> <b>Extrema</b> <b>Derecha</b>
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¿Cuál es su edad? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cuál es su nacionalidad? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cuál es su sexo? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cuál es su religión? \_\_\_\_\_

### **ANNEX C- Instrument used in the studies described in Chapter 3**

Este cuestionario forma parte de una investigación sobre la opinión que la población tiene de las actuaciones policiales frente a las personas involucradas en actos terroristas.

Le agradeceríamos que colaborare en esta investigación respondiendo con sinceridad a las preguntas que vamos a hacerle sobre un hecho real que se describe a continuación.

Los nombres de las personas han sido sustituidos para mantener sus identidades protegidas. Le recordamos que:

- Usted puede expresar libremente su opinión, pues sus respuestas serán absolutamente confidenciales. No hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas, responda rápidamente y no pase a la pregunta siguiente sin haber respondido a la anterior.
- No deje ninguna pregunta en blanco.
- Si lo desea, puede dejar de responder al cuestionario en cualquier momento.
- En caso de duda, responda del modo que más se aproxime a su opinión personal.

Le agradecemos de antemano su colaboración en este estudio.



## **Un centenar de muertos en varios atentados del ISIS en Siria**

La guerra en Siria ya tiene cinco años. Diversos países están en alerta para la creación de mecanismos de combate al terrorismo. España está entre los países más amenazados por el terrorismo yihadista.

Una serie de atentados terroristas han causado este lunes al menos 78 muertos y más de un centenar de heridos en la ciudad costera siria de Tartous. El Estado Islámico (ISIS por sus siglas en inglés) ha reivindicado poco después la autoría de esta cadena de ataques.

El Observatorio Sirio para los Derechos Humanos, ha cifrado el número de víctimas en 142, en el que se considera el ataque terrorista más sangriento desde que el pasado 27 de febrero se selló en Ginebra un alto el fuego parcial con la mediación de la ONU.

Una explosión de un coche bomba en Tartous, seguida otras dos provocadas por suicidas causó la muerte de numerosos niños y jóvenes, que se dirigían a los colegios y universidades en época de exámenes. La televisión estatal siria mostraba imágenes en bucle de coches y autobuses calcinados en el lugar del ataque.

El ISIS es hoy uno de los principales grupos yihadistas y los analistas le consideran como uno de los más peligrosos del mundo. Este grupo ha sido acusado de diversas atrocidades como secuestros, asesinatos de civiles y torturas. Se estima que el Estado Islámico tiene en sus filas entre 3 y 5 mil combatientes musulmanes que se adhirieron a la lucha armada y que se encuentran a la espera de recibir órdenes para entrar en acción en distintos países europeos.

## **ESPAÑA BAJO LA AMENAZA DEL ISLAMISMO RADICAL**

**Este miércoles, por ejemplo, un ciudadano marroquí, identificado con las iniciales M. B., ha sido detenido este en Calahorra (La Rioja) por adoctrinamiento y enaltecimiento del Estado Islámico.**

**La Guardia Civil le acusa de apoyar explícitamente los atentados reivindicados por el ISIS y a los militantes que viajan a Siria e Irak para sumarse a la organización terrorista.**

**Según ha informado el Ministerio del Interior, M.B., participaba en actividades de enaltecimiento y difusión de propaganda del ISIS através da Internet. Al analizar la información contenida en su ordenador, la Guadia Civil verifico que M. B. también poseía lazos con el grupo Islámico combatientes por el Islam (GICM), ligado a la red de atentados del 11 M que causo cerca de 200 muertos y centenares de heridos en la estación de Atocha, en 2004.**

**El Ministerio del Interior considera que aunque han pasado más de 10 años desde los atentados de Atocha en Madrid, España tiene un alto nivel de amenaza de grupos de terroristas islamistas y que después de Francia y Bélgica somos el país más insistentemente mencionado como objetivo de estos grupos.**

### Infrahumanización

**¿Hasta qué punto considera que un presunto terrorista islámico, en general, experimenta las siguientes reacciones emocionales en su vida cotidiana?**

<b>(1)</b> <b>Nada</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(3)</b>	<b>(4)</b>	<b>(5)</b> <b>Totalmente</b>
---------------------------	------------	------------	------------	---------------------------------

1. Amor,
2. Esperanza,
3. Optimismo,
4. Fascinación,
5. Amargura,
6. Infelicidad,
7. Preocupación,
8. Vergüenza,
9. Alegría,
10. Diversión,
11. Tranquilidad,
12. Entusiasmo,
13. Alarma,
14. Malestar,
15. Miedo,
16. Tristeza,

### Justicia Retributiva

**Considerando la creciente adhesión al yihadismo islámico, exprese su grado de acuerdo o desacuerdo con las siguientes afirmaciones**

<b>(1)</b> <b>Totalmente en desacuerdo</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(3)</b>	<b>(4)</b>	<b>(5)</b>	<b>(6)</b>	<b>(7)</b> <b>Totalmente de acuerdo</b>
---	------------	------------	------------	------------	------------	--

1. *El uso de la violencia policial contra sospechosos de preparar acciones de terrorismo yihadista está, en ciertos casos, justificada.*
2. *El gobierno debería invertir en programas de rehabilitación y reintegración social de terroristas islámicos*
3. *La forma más efectiva y humana de solucionar el problema del terrorismo islámico es emprender acciones para rehabilitar a los yihadistas*
4. *El castigo de las acciones terroristas es más urgente que su prevención*
5. *Debemos dejar de ver a los yihadistas como víctimas de la sociedad que merecen ser rekabilitados y prestar más atención a las verdaderas víctimas del terrorismo islámico*
6. *Sería favorable a apoyar programas de rehabilitación de yihadistas que están presos actualmente*

7. *Un programa de rehabilitación para terroristas favorece que los terroristas que deberían ser castigados no reciban todo el castigo que merecen*
8. *Rehabilitar a un terrorista islámico es tan importante como hacerle pagar por los crímenes que haya cometido*
9. *La rehabilitación de un terrorista islámico es una quimera*
10. *Los programas para rehabilitar a posibles terroristas islámicos es una pérdida de tiempo y dinero*

### **Discriminación contra inmigrantes musulmanes**

1. *La policía debe mantener mayor vigilancia sobre inmigrantes musulmanes*

<b>(1) Totalmente en desacuerdo</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(3)</b>	<b>(4)</b>	<b>(5)</b>	<b>(6)</b>	<b>(7) Totalmente de acuerdo</b>
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### **Autoritarismo de Derechas**

<b>(1) Totalmente en desacuerdo</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(3)</b>	<b>(4)</b>	<b>(5)</b>	<b>(6)</b>	<b>(7) Totalmente de acuerdo</b>
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1. *Nuestra sociedad necesita líderes fuertes que puedan erradicar el extremismo y la inmoralidad que prevalecen actualmente.*
2. *Las tradiciones y valores tradicionales aún nos indican la mejor forma de vivir.*
3. *Las leyes que castigan el aborto y la pornografía, y que contribuyen a proteger el matrimonio deben ser acatadas. Las transgresiones deben castigarse severamente.*
4. *Las generaciones anteriores a la nuestra deben ser más admiradas y respetadas por su contribución a la construcción de nuestra sociedad, sobre todo en esta época en que existen fuerzas que tratan de destruirla.*
5. *Todo buen ciudadano debería ayudar a eliminar la maldad que envenena nuestro país desde dentro si la sociedad así lo requiere.*
6. *Hay muchas personas radicales que tratan de echar a perder las cosas; la sociedad debe frenarlos.*
7. *En defensa de la libertad de expresión deberíamos permitir la publicación de literatura que incluso podemos considerar mala o contraria a nuestras ideas.*
8. *La situación de la sociedad actual mejoraría si los agitadores fueran tratados con humanidad e intentando hacerlos entrar en razón.*

9. *Muchas personas desafían al Estado, critican a la Iglesia e ignoran las formas normales de vida, sin que por ello dejen de ser buenas.*
10. *La sociedad necesita mostrar una mayor apertura hacia las personas que piensan por sí mismas y diferente de las autoridades, más que apoyar el que dichas autoridades decidan por nosotros.*

### **Datos sociodemográficos**

En una escala de 1 a 10, siendo 1 extrema izquierda y 10 extrema derecha, ¿dónde se situaría usted?

<b>(1)</b>	<b>(2)</b>	<b>(3)</b>	<b>(4)</b>	<b>(5)</b>	<b>(6)</b>	<b>(7)</b>	<b>(8)</b>	<b>(9)</b>	<b>(10)</b>
<b>Extrema Izquierda</b>									<b>Extrema Derecha</b>

¿Cuál es su edad? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cuál es su nacionalidad? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cuál es su sexo? \_\_\_\_\_

¿Cuál es su religión? \_\_\_\_\_