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Master's Thesis

**Moralizing Cultural Dimensions:
Motivated Moral Superiority in the Intergroup Context**

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Abstract

Members of groups strive for a positive group image and differentiation from other groups. Moralization can serve as a tool to enhance the ingroup in intergroup comparison, leading to the general belief that one's ingroup is morally superior to the outgroup. The present study ($N = 141$) examined whether or not an individual would moralize any aspect differing between their cultural ingroup and a cultural outgroup in order to feel morally superior over the outgroup. Based on Social Identity Theory and existing literature, it was expected that a Dutch national would moralize a cultural difference between the Dutch and the Korean culture compared to a cultural similarity between both cultures to feel morally superior. National identification was examined as moderator and perceived threat as mediator of the relationship between condition and moral superiority. Behavioral consequences of moral superiority were assessed as well. The findings showed an initial support for the hypothesis that cultural differences lead to moralization, however, cultural similarities had a similar effect. The analysis did not reveal any significant effect of cultural differences on moral superiority. Limitations and further implications of the study are discussed, suggesting possibilities for further research on group-based morality.

Introduction

While we grow up, we usually learn that cultures differ. We might learn that while Koreans eat dogs, the Dutch, as Europeans, would never do this to the “man’s best friend”. However, the Dutch eat cows, which is unacceptable for Hindus. In Ethiopia, it is common that girls get married at a young age, while The Netherlands do not legally recognize child marriage. In contrast, Ethiopians value hospitality, while the Dutch are less attentive towards traditions of hospitality. Some of these cultural differences are moralized by (one of) the respective groups, making one group feel morally superior over the other. For example, the Dutch see themselves as more progressive and righteous for legally forbidding child marriage. Similarly, Koreans must be cruel to kill dogs, an animal that Dutch people share their houses with. In 2017, the Dutch Prime Minister Mark Rutte published a letter stating that immigrants who do not respect Dutch customs and values should leave the Netherlands (Holligan, 2017). This shows that valuing the own moral standards and values higher than the ones of other groups can have serious effects on the relationship between those groups.

As the examples show, individuals believe that they are “just, virtuous, and moral” (Tappin & McKay, 2017, p. 623), which makes their own beliefs more righteous compared to the belief of others. Judging group differences on the basis of their moral value leads to the formation of moral convictions, laying the groundwork of feeling morally superior over another group (Skitka, 2010). Yet, it is unclear whether individuals belonging to a certain group would moralize any issue differing between their ingroup and an outgroup to enhance their sense of moral superiority over an outgroup. Is an individual’s motivation to feel morally superior to another group strong enough to moralize any cultural difference stressed between two groups? The present study examines this question in more detail with the goal to broaden the knowledge on group-based moral superiority in the context of intercultural differences. In the following, relevant literature on morality, moralization and moral superiority, as well as related concepts in the intergroup context will be presented.

Theoretical Background

Morality and the moralization of attitudes

Morality has played a key role in different societies and groups throughout history (Haidt, 2008). Over time, there have been different views on the concept of morality (Haidt, 2008), accordingly, different definitions have been proposed. Turiel (1983) views morality as a concept concerning the relation of people, for which imposed rules of justice, rights and welfare exist. Haidt (2008), however, focusses on morality as a function for regulating the individual's selfishness in order to enable a social life, made possible by values, institutions and psychological mechanisms. Based on this perception of morality, the ingroup is then seen as a basis of moral values regulating the individual. But how do individuals and groups determine which values and attitudes are moralized?

According to Rozin (1999), moralization is the process of converting nothing more than a neutral preference or behavior through positive or negative value into a moral issue, which will then have implications for the self, others and society. Over the last decades, several issues have become moralized and are highly debated nowadays, such as abortion, smoking and drugs (Rozin, 1999; Skitka, Wisneski, & Brandt, 2018). Several researchers have examined what leads to attitudes being moralized. Rozin (1999) proposes moralization through either cognitive-rational or affective experiences, attitudes or knowledge, or through predisposing factors such as evaluating harming others as a moral violation (Rozin, 1999). In contrast, Skitka et al. (2018) concluded that intuition and judgements of harm are not always determinants of moralization. As a consequence of categorizing an issue in moral or immoral, an individual or a group is motivated to defend this categorization with subsequent reactions and behaviors ("It's wrong/right!"; Skitka, 2010).

Nevertheless, further research is necessary to understand the factors involved in the moralization of attitudes. The study at hand will examine whether a motivation to feel morally

superior to others is strong enough to moralize any cultural dimension. The concept of moral superiority is therefore introduced in the following paragraph.

Moral Superiority

Individuals perceive themselves as better than the average (Alicke & Govorun, 2005), thereby constantly trying to enhance the self (Tappin & McKay, 2017). Recent research has found that this characteristic is most pronounced when it is about morality (Tappin & McKay, 2017) and it is consistent over the years (Zell & Alicke, 2011). This attitude of feeling morally better, hence superior, than others, is called moral superiority. A study of Tappin and McKay (2017) found that moral superiority was inherent for basically all participants taking part in their study, resulting in the rationale that moral judgments and the concept of morality is based on a largely illusional perception of one's own moral behavior.

However, moral superiority has been found to have different effects on the behavior of individuals, and thus also on the behavior of groups if individuals behave according to their social identity. Among others, a recent study concluded that highly identifying group members were tolerant of rule-breaking of other ingroup members when reminded of the group's moral superiority (Iyer et al., 2012). A study of Täuber and van Zomeren (2012) revealed that a group did not seek help from a morally superior outgroup if the problem was related to a moral domain. Hence, moral superiority can have different consequences on different domains of intergroup relations.

Having introduced the basic ideas of morality, moralization and moral superiority, additional concepts related to the field of morality and relevant for the present study will be introduced.

The Role of Morality in Social Identity

As mentioned, morality is recognized as a central aspect of human life (Brambilla, Sacchi, Pagliaro, & Ellemers, 2013; Leach, Ellemers, & Barreto, 2007). Aspects of morality

are used in social judgements and in perceiving others, but they are also part of one's own self-concept (Brambilla et al., 2013).

However, judgements of morality are not only used on the individual level, but also in the judgment of members belonging to one social group towards the respective members of another social group. In this so-called intergroup context, judgements of morality are not only used to identify proudly with the ingroup, but also to create an impression of an outgroup. Leach et al. (2007) found that morality is actually more relevant for one's ingroup favoritism than the concepts of sociability or competence. Accordingly, based on Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), one important goal of a group is to achieve a positive identity and group image in comparison to other groups using different strategies. One strategy therefore can also be group-based moral superiority, as groups are profoundly convinced of their moral superiority over other groups. This implies that the own ingroup inherits the only correct moral judgement (Kouzakova, Ellemers, Harinck, & Scheepers, 2012), and is holding up moral values more strongly and more consistently than other groups do (Iyer et al., 2012). Consequently, an individual prefers the moral attitude of their ingroup over the moral attitude of other outgroups (Ellemers & van den Bos, 2012).

In conclusion, individuals acting as members of a group seem to have the desire to experience a sense of moral superiority towards individuals of other groups. However, research has not yet examined the extent of the group members' motivation to perceive any intergroup difference as morally important enough to fulfill the desire for moral superiority. Thus, the motivation to feel morally superior might serve as an antecedent of group-based moral superiority. Research has examined different antecedents of superiority in different contexts. Focusing on Social Identity Theory and its influence on comparisons between in- and outgroups, perceived intergroup threat appears to play a crucial role and might have important implications for group-based moral superiority as well.

According to Riek, Mania and Gaertner (2006), intergroup threat is defined by actions and beliefs of one group provoking another group to feel like their well-being is threatened. In their meta-analysis reviewing different concepts of intergroup threats, the authors found that the stronger the sense of threat was for one group, the more negative was the attitude towards outgroups (Riek, Mania, & Gaertner, 2006). Other authors agree that perceived threat in the intergroup-context can be implied by a negative social comparison with another group, leading to either ingroup favoritism or outgroup derogation (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 1999). Concerning the sense of superiority, yet not moral superiority, Doosje, van den Bos, Loseman, Feddes, and Mann (2012) found that ingroup superiority was determined by symbolic group threat and possibly resulted in the use of violence. As another implication for the present study, Jordan and Monin (2008) examined whether one can use moralization as a self-enhancement tool reacting to self-threat on the individual level. The authors found that if the positive self-image of an individual was threatened due to their behavior, the person moralized their performed behavior to justify their actions through moral superiority.

According to the reviewed literature, it can be assumed that intergroup threat also plays a role in the moralization of attitudes and possibly as an antecedent of moral superiority. Thus, it will be examined whether a sense of intergroup threat mediates the effect of seemingly non-threatening information about intergroup differences on moral superiority.

Intergroup Differentiation and Group Identification

Social groups, as presented before, engage in intergroup comparisons by evaluating relevant attributes to gain or maintain superiority over another group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, differences between groups can differ in their significance for group comparison (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Tajfel and Turner (1979) propose several factors determining the importance of intergroup differentiation: the relevance of the outgroup for comparison as well as the similarity, the proximity and the salience of the outgroup. In the present study, intergroup difference is stressed as a cultural difference. Thus, if relevance, similarity,

proximity or salience of the outgroup apply for those taking part in this study, it is expected that an individual as a member of their ingroup would engage into intergroup differentiation to gain superiority over the other group.

Furthermore, the motivation to distinguish oneself from another group and to engage in social comparison might be influenced by the strength of identification with the own group. In the case of national identity, being highly identified with its own nation leads to a greater importance of the national identity within the self-concept (Roccas, Klar, & Liviatan, 2006). The strength of identification can have implications for subsequent behavior, as high-identifiers respond more strongly and more pronounced to negative social group comparisons than low-identifiers, independent of the nature of the response (e.g., ingroup favoritism or outgroup derogation; Branscombe et al., 1999; Täuber & van Zomeren, 2013). Therefore, the identification with a group, commonly distinguished between high and low, is used to check for moderating effects in studies examining morality and group differences.

The Present Research

As described above, morality is important for the positive image of a group and can serve as tool enhancing the ingroup in intergroup comparisons (Brambilla et al., 2013). Thus, individuals acting as members of groups believe that the ingroup's morality is superior to the morality of others (Ellemers & van den Bos, 2012). However, moral superiority also has implications on the attitude towards the outgroup, such as outrage and strong negative emotions (Täuber & van Zomeren, 2013; Parker & Janoff-Bulman, 2013). Additionally, antecedents, such as perceived threat, might play a role for the emergence of moral superiority. Studies on threat have found that ingroup superiority was determined by group threat (Doosje et al., 2012), and on the individual level, moralization has been found to serve as a tool for self-enhancement facing self-threat (Jordan & Monin, 2008).

The current study strives to give insight into the relation of the moralization of intergroup differences and moral superiority. The goal of the present research is to examine

whether or not one would moralize any aspect differentiating between two cultural groups in order to feel morally superior over an outgroup. Having reviewed the literature, the following hypotheses have been developed:

It can be expected that an individual would moralize a cultural dimension that differs between their ingroup and an outgroup, because individuals strive for a positive group comparison and moral superiority serves as a tool for this. In comparison, it is not expected that an individual would moralize a cultural dimension that is similar between the own culture and another culture, because this cannot serve as a basis for group differentiation and thus positive social comparison. If the cultural difference is moralized between the ingroup and outgroup, the individual feels morally superior to the outgroup. Furthermore, it is expected that perceived intergroup threat mediates the relationship of the cultural differences or similarities on moral superiority and moralization, while the strength of identification with the ingroup moderates the same relationship. Concerning morality, Brambilla et al. (2013) stress that the perceived morality of the own group and the outgroup affects intentions and desires to interact with the own group or the outgroup, respectively. As superiority leads to a negative attitude towards the outgroup, it can be expected that the willingness to help the outgroup decreases if an individual feels morally superior.

Methods

Participants

To determine the sample size, an a-priori power analysis for a mixed ANOVA using G*Power (Version 3.1.9.2; Faul, Erdfelder, Lang, & Buchner, 2007) was performed. Based on a medium effect size ($f = .2$), power of $\beta = .8$, α -error of $\alpha = .05$ and a correction among the repeated measures with $.5$, an estimated sample size of $N = 120$ participants was calculated. However, this does not take into consideration the interaction of the moderation. Including the interaction, an estimated sample size of $N = 180$ participants was suggested.

Originally, 229 participants (134 females; two non-binary; ages 17-61, $M = 23.87$, $SD = 8.22$) were recruited via the online recruitment system SONA of Leiden University, on Leiden University campus and online. They completed the study in the lab or via the online questionnaire for a compensation of 3.50 Euros or 1 course credit (5 Euros and 2 credits for the three combined studies in the lab, respectively). The study at the Leiden University Lab was one part of three studies advertised together and completed right after each other. The main eligibility requirement was being a Dutch speaking participant. Participants who were not Dutch citizens, whose parents were both not Dutch, or who had a Korean parent were excluded at the beginning of the study (19 participants). This was not published beforehand not to reveal the true purpose of the study. Additionally, 49 participants were excluded because they did not answer a majority of the questions, 19 participants were excluded because of two or more wrong answers in the manipulation check, one participant was excluded because of a correct understanding of the purpose of the study, and one participant was excluded as he did not believe the behavioral questions were true.

A final sample of 141 participants (90 females; one non-binary; ages 17-61, $M = 23.66$, $SD = 7.62$) was used for statistical analysis. See Appendix A for further descriptive analyses of the participants' demographic data.

Research Design

The study consisted of a 3×2 between-subjects design with the factor "Domain of Cultural Difference" and the continuously measured moderator "Identification with the Nationality". The between-subjects factor "Domain of Cultural Difference" had three different conditions. Participants were randomly assigned to either the control ($N = 41$), the eating ($N = 51$) or the communication condition ($N = 49$), which were all integrated in a fabricated newspaper article (see Appendix B). In the control condition, participants read about two similarities of the Dutch and Korean culture concerning culinary preferences and communication style. In the eating condition, the culinary preferences of the Dutch and the

Korean culture were described as different, but the communication style was described as similar. In the communication condition, the culinary preferences were described as similar, but the communication style of the Dutch and the Korean people was described as different. The dependent variables were moralization, moral superiority and two behavioral measures of the willingness to help as an outcome measure of moral superiority. The identification with the Dutch nationality was examined as a moderator distinguishing between high- and low-identifying participants. Perceived threat was assessed as a mediator between cultural differences and moral superiority.

Measures and Materials

Manipulation. The real purpose of the study was hidden to the participants. The participants were told that the study they took part in was about current affairs in The Netherlands and their attitude towards these developments. The participants read a fabricated newspaper article about Korean immigration in The Netherlands ending with a small summary of differences and/or similarities in two cultural dimensions, according to the condition the participants were in (see Appendix B). The cover story about Korean immigration was kept throughout the study with questions about Korea and experiences with the Korean culture as distractors and fillers.

A manipulation check was presented to the participants after reading the newspaper article to examine whether they understood the article according to the condition they were assigned to (see Appendix C). Participants did not receive feedback if their answers were wrong, however, participants were excluded from the statistical analysis if at least two out of three questions were answered incorrectly.

Self-report measurements. Self-report measurements were applied for the dependent variables moralization and moral superiority, for ingroup identification as a moderator and perceived threat as a mediator.

Moralization was measured based on a questionnaire of Skitka and Morgan (2014; see Appendix D). The questionnaire consisted of 6 items, four of them measuring moral conviction (e.g., “To what extent is your position on culinary choices (or status-dependent communication styles) a reflection of your core moral beliefs and convictions?”), one item measuring attitude importance and one item measuring certainty. Participants rated their position on and attitude towards culinary choices and status-dependent communication style with these 6 items on a scale from *1 = not at all* to *7 = very much*. For the statistical analysis, only the mean score of the four items measuring moral conviction was used ($\alpha = .89$ for culinary preferences; $\alpha = .86$ for communication style).

Moral superiority was measured with ratings on group perception of the ingroup (“To what extent do you see the Dutch as...”) and outgroup (“To what extent do you see Koreans as...”; see Appendix E). The questionnaire included measures of morality with four items (e.g., honest; $\alpha = .8$ for ingroup ratings; $\alpha = .84$ for outgroup ratings), and of sociability and competence both with three items (e.g., likeable for sociability, skilled for competence), which were rated on a scale from *1 = not at all* to *7 = very much* (Leach et al., 2007). In order to obtain a score for moral superiority, only the items representing the construct of morality were used. The mean score of a participant on these items for the outgroup was deducted from the mean score for the ingroup. If the resulting value was positive, the participant experienced group-based moral superiority.

Identification with the ingroup was assessed with four items (e.g., “To what extent are you glad to be categorized as a Dutch person?”; $\alpha = .91$), which were rated on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *1 = Not at all* to *7 = very much* (see Appendix F). The higher the mean score, the higher was the identification with the Dutch nationality.

Intergroup threat was assessed with 13 items ($\alpha = .74$) adapted from Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman (1999), originally measuring realistic and symbolic threat (see Appendix G). The questions covered attitudes on Korean immigration and related topics such as “Korean

immigrants get more from this country than they contribute.”, and were rated on a 10-point Likert scale ranging from *1 = strongly disagree* to *10 = strongly agree*. If necessary, the items were reverse-coded for the statistical analysis to calculate a mean for the ratings. A higher mean score indicated more perceived threat.

Behavioral measures. Behavioral measures of the outcomes of moralization and moral superiority as willingness to help were assessed (see Appendix H). First, participants were asked whether or not they want to provide their email-address for a “Taalbuddy” (language buddy) program at Leiden University. As a second measure, participants were told that a Korean community center will open in The Hague, in which Dutch citizens with a Korean background can come together. Participants were asked to indicate their reaction to the Korean community center on a scale ranging from *1 = strongly oppose* to *7 = strongly support*. Further, participants were asked how much money they were willing to donate for the progress of the Korean community center on a slider from 0 to 150 Euros.

Procedure

Participants arrived to the Leiden University Laboratory, were welcomed by the experimenter and seated. The questionnaire including all three experiments took 45 minutes, with the present study solely taking 15-20 minutes. The experimenter started the questionnaire on the computer, participants completing the study via an online link outside of the laboratory started the survey individually by clicking on the study link. Participants read through the information letter and the informed consent (see Appendix I). If they agreed on participating in the study, they could move on to the online questionnaire. First, participants had to provide demographic data, including their gender, age, education, ideology, nationality, and the nationality of both their parents (see Appendix J). The demographic section comprised questions concerning both the participants’ and their parents’ nationality to implement exclusion criteria. Participants had to terminate the study immediately if they either had minimum one Korean parent, or both parents were not Dutch, or the participant was not

Dutch. If any of these criteria applied, participants received an explanation (see Appendix K) and were redirected to the next study in the lab, or were debriefed and still received full compensation if the questionnaire was completed online. All other participants went on by answering questions regarding their identification with the Dutch nationality. Then, participants read the fabricated newspaper article and subsequently answered questions on the text. Next, participants answered the questionnaires regarding moral conviction, moral superiority and perceived threat. Subsequently, participants had to fill out the behavioral intention measures. At the end of the questionnaire, participants had to provide their culinary preferences (see Appendix L) and they were asked to write a short comment on what they thought the purpose of the study was. Participants were then debriefed (see Appendix M), received the monetary compensation and left the online questionnaire, or they were redirected to the next study if they participated in the lab.

Statistical Analysis

Data was analyzed using the statistical software SPSS version 25.0 (IBM Corp, 2017), furthermore, the process model 1 and 4 was used (Hayes, 2017). The following hypotheses based on the theoretical background presented above were tested.

Hypothesis 1. *The cultural domain stressing a difference between Korean and Dutch culture is moralized in contrast to a cultural domain stressing a similarity.*

The mean scores of moral conviction were analyzed with a mixed one-way ANOVA, the cultural domains served as within-subject factor and the conditions as between-subjects factor.

Hypothesis 2. *Dutch participants who moralize differences on a cultural dimension feel morally superior to the Korean outgroup.*

Moral superiority was analyzed with an independent (between-subjects) one-way ANOVA.

Hypothesis 3. *Participants, who moralize the cultural dimension and hence feel morally superior, are less willing to engage in any activity related to the outgroup and less willing to help.*

The behavioral measures were analyzed the following: To check for differences between the conditions in the sign-up as a taalbuddy, a logistic regression was conducted. To examine the support for both the Korean community center and the donation amount for all three conditions, an independent one-way ANOVA with three levels was conducted for both of the measures.

Hypothesis 4. *Participants identifying highly with the Dutch identity feel more morally superior than participants identifying low with the Dutch identity.*

For national identification, the moderation was examined with an interaction in the performed regression analysis using the process model 1 (Hayes, 2017).

Hypothesis 5. *Participants feeling threatened due to the Korean outgroup, feel more morally superior than participants not feeling threatened.*

For perceived threat, the mediation was examined with the process model 4 (Hayes, 2017).

Results

The Effect of Condition Type on Moralization

To examine the effect of all three conditions on moralization, a mixed one-way ANOVA was conducted. For within-subjects effects, there was a significant main effect of cultural domain, $F_{(1, 138)} = 32.01, p < .001$. Across all conditions, moralization was higher for communication styles ($M = 4.02, SD = 1.36$) than for culinary preferences ($M = 3.2, SD = 1.147$). The interactive effect of cultural domain and condition type on moralization reached marginal significance, $F_{(2, 138)} = 2.47, p = .088$. Pairwise comparisons were conducted to analyze the mean differences between culinary preferences and communication styles for all three conditions (see Figure 1). The control condition showed a significant mean difference

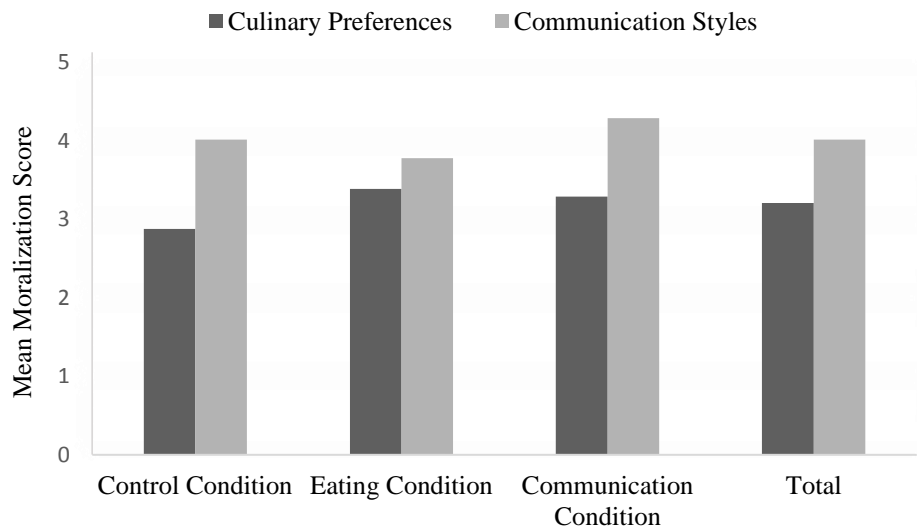


Figure 1. Means and standard deviations of moralization as a function of condition type and cultural domain (culinary preferences vs. communication styles).

($M_{Diff} = -1.15$, $SE = 0.28$, $p < .001$) between the moralization score for culinary preferences ($M = 2.88$, $SD = 1.46$) and the moralization score for communication styles ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.48$). Likewise, there was a significant mean difference ($M_{Diff} = -1$, $SE = 0.25$, $p < .001$) between the moralization score for culinary preferences ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 1.51$) and the moralization score for communication styles ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.28$) in the communication condition. In contrast, the mean difference ($M_{Diff} = -0.39$, $SE = 0.25$, $p = .117$) between the moralization score for culinary preferences ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.42$) and the moralization score for communication styles ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.32$) did not reach significance in the eating condition. For between-subjects effects, there was no significant main effect for condition type, $F_{(2, 138)} = 1.1$, $p = .337$. Thus, these results partially support Hypothesis 1. The significantly higher moralization scores for communication style compared to culinary preference in the communication condition support the hypothesis that the cultural domain stressing a difference between the Koran and the Dutch culture is moralized in contrast to the cultural domain stressing a similarity. However, the eating condition does not show such an effect and in contrast to a-priori formulated expectations, the moralization score is higher for

the communication style compared to culinary preferences. Also in contrast to Hypothesis 1, there was significant mean difference for moralization scores in the control condition, which states similarities in both cultural domains.

The Effect of Condition Type on Moral Superiority

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to check whether Dutch participants moralizing differences on a cultural dimension would feel morally superior to the Korean outgroup. There were no significant differences between the three conditions concerning their mean moral superiority score, $F_{(2, 138)} = 0.63, p = .536$. However, the moral superiority scores in the eating condition ($M = 0.45, SD = 0.86$) and the communication condition ($M = 0.39, SD = 1.1$) were higher than the moral superiority score in the control condition ($M = 0.2, SD = 1.26$). Even though not significant, this follows the pattern suggested in Hypothesis 2, as moral superiority is higher in both conditions describing cultural differences, and lower in the control condition presenting cultural similarities.

The Effect of Condition Type on Behavior Related to the Outgroup

To test the hypothesis that participants in the communication and eating condition would be less willing to sign up as taalbuddy than participants in the control condition, a logistic regression was performed. Participants indicated whether they were interested in the taalbuddy system (13.48%) or not (84.4%). To deal with the three-level predictor, two dummy variables were coded, one comparing the eating condition to the control condition and one comparing the communication condition to the control condition. The Chi-Square test comparing the baseline model with the new model did not reach significance, $X^2 = 3.31, df = 3, p = .346$, indicating that there was no increase in explained variance. There was an overall change in Nagelkerke R^2 of 4.3%. The overall effect of condition type was not significant, $Wald = 0.42, df = 1, p = .11$. Thus, neither the difference between the control and the eating condition ($b = -0.11, df = 1, p = .864$), nor the difference between the control and the communication condition ($b = 0.28, df = 1, p = .649$), made an uniquely statistical

contribution to the model and did not influence the willingness to sign up as a taalbuddy. To conclude, participants, who felt morally superior due to cultural differences, were not less willing to sign up as a taalbuddy, which is in opposition to Hypothesis 3.

A one-way ANOVA with three levels was conducted to check whether participants in the eating and the communication condition were less willing to support a Korean community center and donated a lower amount of money than participants in the control condition. There was no significant difference between the conditions concerning both the support of the Korean community center, $F_{(2,133)} = 1.13, p = .327$, and the monetary amount of donation, $F_{(2,112)} = 2.05, p = .134$. Despite the statistical non-significance of mean differences, the means of all three conditions show the direction of support proposed in Hypothesis 3. The support for the Korean Community Center was higher in the control condition ($M = 5.7, SD = 1.2$) than in the eating ($M = 5.55, SD = 1.21$) and the communication condition ($M = 5.32, SD = 1.18$). Likewise, the donation amount (in Euros) was highest in the control condition ($M = 2.74, SD = 5.13$) compared to the eating ($M = 1.95, SD = 4.23$) and the communication condition ($M = 0.82, SD = 2.47$).

The Moderating Effect of National Identification on the Relationship between Condition Type and Moral Superiority

To check for a possible moderating effect of national identification on the relationship between condition type and moral superiority, interaction effects within a regression analysis using process model 1 (Hayes, 2017) were examined. As with the logistic regression, dummy variables were coded comparing the control condition with the eating condition (X_{CONEAT}) and the control condition with the communication condition (X_{CONCOMM}). The overall moderation model was not significant, $F_{(5, 135)} = 1.51, p = .191, R^2 = .05$. Additionally, both predictors did not reach significance for the difference of control condition and eating condition ($X_{\text{CONEAT}}; b = 0.17, t_{(135)} = 0.75, p = .458$) or control and communication condition respectively ($X_{\text{CONCOMM}}; b = 0.08, t_{(135)} = 0.33, p = .741$). However, national identification

was predictive for moral superiority, as superiority increased with stronger national identification, $b = 0.33$, $t_{(135)} = 2.4$, $p = .018$. Interaction 1 ($X_{\text{CONEAT}} * \text{Identification}$) was marginally significant, $b = -0.34$, $t_{(135)} = -1.73$, $p = .087$, indicating a moderation such as the differences between the control and the eating condition were lower with higher levels of identification (see Figure 2). Interaction 2 ($X_{\text{CONCOMM}} * \text{Identification}$) was not significant, $b = -0.21$, $t_{(135)} = -0.99$, $p = .324$. Concerning slopes, the comparison between the control condition and the eating condition marginally significantly predicted moral superiority given a low level of national identification (-1.09), $b = -0.54$, $t_{(135)} = 1.87$, $p = .064$. This means, a one unit smaller difference between the control condition and the eating condition predicted a 0.54 unit increase in moral superiority. No other slope reached significance, $p > .367$. Figure 2 shows the moral superiority scores of all three conditions for low, medium and high national identification.

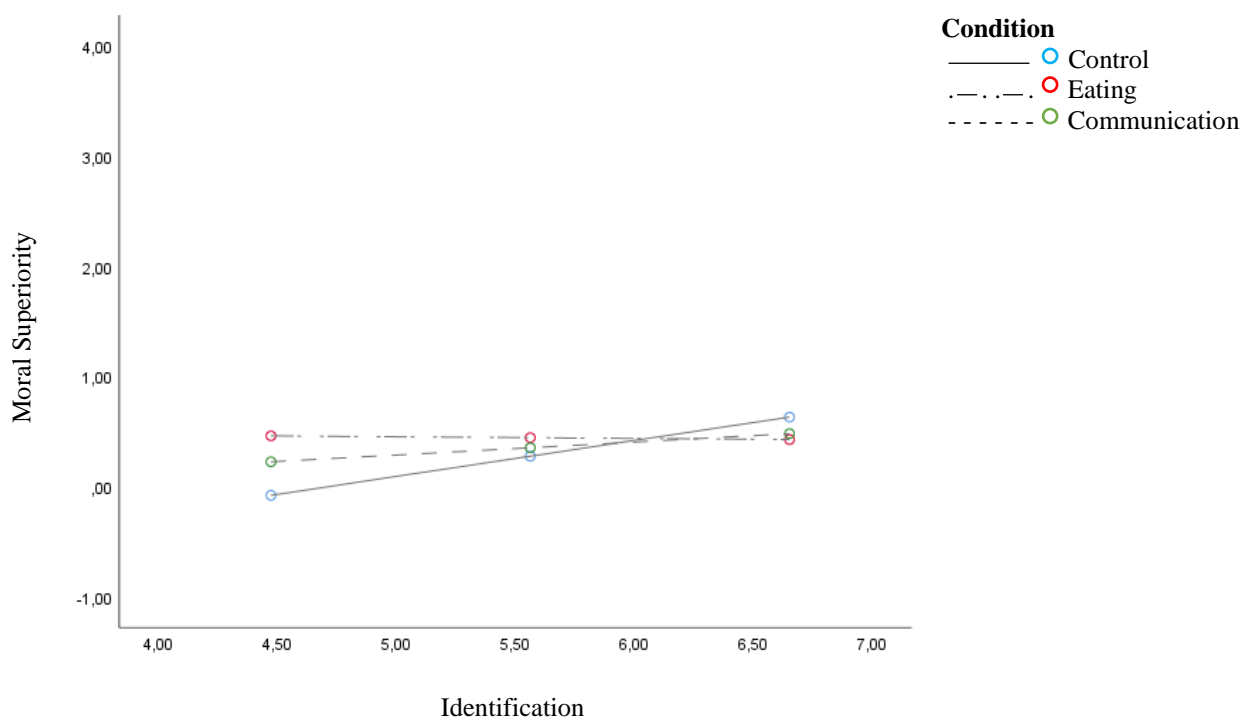


Figure 2. Slopes for all three conditions showing the score on moral superiority given either low, medium or high national identification.

At low and at medium national identification, the control condition had the lowest score of moral superiority (low = -0.08; medium = .28), then followed by the communication condition (low = 0.23; medium = 0.35) and the eating condition with the highest score of moral superiority (low = 0.46; medium = 0.44). In contrast, at high national identification the eating condition had the lowest score of moral superiority (0.43), followed by the communication condition (0.48) and the control condition (0.63), which scored highest on moral superiority. In conclusion, this analysis partially supports Hypothesis 4, as a significant interaction between the difference of the control and eating condition and national identification was found, marginally significantly predicting moral superiority if low national identification was given. However, no such effect was found for the difference between control and communication condition.

The Mediation Effect of Perceived Threat on the Relationship between Condition Type and Moral Superiority

Threat was examined as a mediator of the relationship between condition type and moral superiority by means of a regression analysis using process model 4 (Hayes, 2017) and a bootstrap approach with 5000 samples. As with the logistic regression, dummy variables were coded comparing the control group with the eating (X_{CONEAT}) and with the communication condition (X_{CONCOMM}). The analysis showed that both comparisons with the control group did not significantly predict mean threat ($b_{X_{\text{cneat}}} = 0.13$, $t_{X_{\text{cneat}}(134)} = 0.67$, $p_{X_{\text{cneat}}} = .507$; $b_{X_{\text{concomm}}} = 0.09$, $t_{X_{\text{concomm}}(134)} = 0.47$, $p_{X_{\text{concomm}}} = .638$), which makes further testing for mediation redundant. Hence, there was no mediation effect of perceived threat on the relationship between condition type and moral superiority, rejecting Hypothesis 5.

Discussion

The present study's goal was to broaden the knowledge on group-based moral superiority in the context of intercultural differences. Therefore, the study examined whether an individual's motivation to feel morally superior over another group would be strong

enough to moralize any cultural difference between those two groups. Dutch nationals were provided with a fabricated newspaper article stressing either two similarities concerning culinary preference and communication style between the Dutch and the Korean culture, or stressing a difference in the culinary preference but a similarity in the communication style of both cultures and vice versa. According to literature, it was hypothesized that learning about a cultural difference (compared to a cultural similarity) between Dutch and Koreans would lead to the moralization of the cultural difference, resulting in a greater feeling of moral superiority towards the Korean outgroup. Additionally, this study investigated behavioral consequences of moral superiority, assuming that the stronger the feeling of moral superiority, the weaker is the urge to help and support the outgroup. A possible moderation effect of national identification, that is the stronger the identification the stronger the feeling of moral superiority, and a possible mediation effect of perceived threat, that is the stronger the feeling of threat, the stronger the feeling of moral superiority, were examined as well.

The results showed an initial support for the hypothesis that cultural differences lead to moralization. As predicted, the communication condition showed significantly higher moralization ratings for communication style than for culinary preference. However, the same result was found in the control condition in which two cultural similarities were presented, thus contradicting the hypothesis. Also in contrast to the hypothesis, moralization scores were higher for communication style than for culinary preference in the eating condition, and the difference was not significant. Hence, in all three conditions the moralization score of communication style was higher than the moralization score of culinary preference.

The three conditions did not significantly differ from each other in their ratings of moral superiority. Likewise, both the eating condition and the communication condition did not have a significantly different influence on behavioral consequences of moral superiority compared to the control condition. Participants in both conditions neither showed a lower

willingness to sign up as a taalbuddy, nor a lower willingness to support the Korean Community Center, nor did they donate less money.

The moderator analysis with national identification showed a marginally significant interaction between the difference of control and eating condition and national identification. Additionally, Figure 2 indicated that participants identifying low with their national identity moralize a cultural difference and use it as a mean to feel morally superior. The mediation analysis examining whether perceived threat mediates the relationship between condition type and moral superiority did not yield any results, as condition type did not significantly predict perceived threat.

Theoretical Implications

This study provides several theoretical implications for research on moralization, group-based morality and intergroup differentiation. However, it also poses several questions that should be addressed in future research.

First, this study contributes to our knowledge on the process of moralization elicited by the experience of cultural differences. With a significant difference between the moralization scores for communication style and culinary preference in the communication condition, there was initial support for the hypothesis that cultural differences are moralized. The paradigm used in this study has not been tested before in scientific research on moralization and moral superiority, thus, having initial support for moralization through cultural differences also supports the use of this paradigm in future research. As stated in the introduction of this paper, there is still a significant lack of scientific knowledge on moralization and moral superiority especially in the context of groups. With this initial confirmation that differences between two cultural groups play a role in moralization, the need for future research on group-based moralization and moral superiority to enhance the body of knowledge has been confirmed.

Second, this study provides additional insight in the moralization of communication and food due to the two cultural domains used in this study (communication style and culinary preference). As discussed, participants in all three conditions of the study had higher moralization scores for communication style than for culinary preference. Hence, communication might be more moralized than food. Reviewing existing literature, the moralization of different communication styles and power distances between generations has not been thoroughly examined yet. Hence, this study provides knowledge on the moralization of communication and thereby offers further support for the cultural psychology approach. As an important advocate of cultural psychology, Richard Shweder's (1999) theory of the moral domain defines three main ethics of morality. One of these is the "ethic of community", matching the use of communication styles in this study, as it approaches hierarchical structures in a society and one's own role in this society as part of the identity (Shweder, 1999). A Dutch ingroup moralizing communication styles after being presented with differences and similarities on power distance through communication and in-/formal language in Korean society, supports the theory of having an "ethic of community". This specific ethic of morality might have a stronger influence on moralization than what is assumed according to literature at the moment.

Concerning the moralization of food, this study's results highlight the importance of assessing emotions, especially disgust, as possible reinforcing factor of morality (e.g., Rozin, 1999; Skitka et al., 2018), in studies on morality and moralization. Eating dogs has often been used as an example of culinary differences between Western and Asian food culture and should be associated with a feeling of disgust by Western people (Schnall, Haidt, Clore, & Jordan, 2008). However, in their study on disgusting actions and moral violations, Haidt, Koller and Dias (1993) found that Americans with a high social economic status (SES) did not moralize disgusting actions which were perceived as harmless for interpersonal consequences, compared to low SES Americans and Brazilians. Thus, disgust can differ in its

consequences depending on the cultural and economic background of the sample of a study, underlining that disgust cannot simply be classified as underlying factor of moralization. This reasoning is in line with the conclusion drawn before that there is still a lot unknown about the factors influencing moralization, including factors which seem well-studied. This also reflects in the results of this study in which food was not as strongly moralized as communication, even though the information of Koreans eating dogs should have led to feelings of disgust and accordingly to moralization, as suggested by scientific literature. Future studies should include measures of emotions such as disgust to gain a better insight on the effect of emotions on moralization.

The moralization of culinary preferences might also be lower than the moralization of communication styles, because of a lack of association of the manipulation with the participants' "fundamental and core beliefs about morality and immorality, right and wrong" (Skitka et al., 2013, p. 324) and a lack of threat towards the participants' worldview. Our manipulation had not been tested before with a pilot, thus, the manipulation might not have been successful itself. With highly debated recent changes in dietary preferences (e.g., veganism, vegetarianism, eating insects, etc.), the idea of Koreans eating dogs might not be challenging to Western beliefs anymore. Future studies can help in (re-)evaluating current subjects of moralization and are needed to be able to draw final conclusions on moralization. As stated in the introduction of this paper, there is a lack of theoretical background on the moralization of attitudes so far, which is fully supported by the inconsistent findings of this study.

Third, this study's goal was to examine whether one would moralize a cultural difference to feel morally superior over another group. Even though the statistical analysis did not reveal any differences between conditions concerning ratings of moral superiority, several conclusions can be drawn from these results. First of all, even though the statistical analysis provided initial support for the hypotheses that cultural differences lead to moralization in the

communication condition, this did not lead to a significantly higher score for moral superiority in the communication condition compared to the other two conditions, rejecting Hypothesis 2. Actually, the mean difference in moral superiority ratings were very low for each condition, meaning that participants of the study did not feel morally superior in any of the conditions. In addition, there was no effect of moralization on behavioral consequences, such as a lower willingness to sign up as taalbuddy, less support and less donations for a Korean Community Center. One factor that can be excluded as a reason for not engaging in intergroup differentiation is the belongingness to a group. National identification with the Dutch ingroup was high among the participants ($M = 5.56$, $SD = 1.09$), thus, participants did identify with the Dutch ingroup, indicating that their own group membership was salient to them. This is in line with the Minimal Group Paradigm (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, & Flament, 1971), which states that already minimal and trivial group criteria lead to the categorization of individuals into groups and intergroup discrimination.

Beside the basic need of feeling belonging to the ingroup, Tajfel and Turner (1979) have proposed several other factors which can engage an individual in intergroup differentiation. Among others, these factors include the relevance of the outgroup for comparison and the similarity, proximity and salience of the outgroup. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), situational cues can make the characteristics of the intergroup relation relevant. One assumption explaining a non-significant difference between the conditions in moral superiority is that none of the factors listed above were salient for the ingroup during the study, thus, the need for intergroup distinctiveness did not become relevant. Consequently, the participants did not feel the need to stress intergroup differentiation and to feel morally superior. These factors have not been assessed in this studies, hence, we cannot draw a final conclusion whether these factors were indeed missing. Future research might look into how to create a paradigm that triggers the need of intergroup differentiation through underlying

factors of intergroup relations, building the fundamental basis of the motivation to achieve a positive group comparison over the outgroup through moral superiority.

Fourth, these findings also shed a light on the connection between intergroup similarity and moralization. Two explanatory approaches will be presented in the following. On one hand, these findings might contribute to the framework of Social Identity Theory and its ideas on intergroup differentiation and distinctiveness in connection with group-based morality. Having reviewed the theoretical background of morality and moralization and their connection with Social Identity Theory, it was concluded that a cultural difference would lead to its moralization, because people strive for a positive group comparison in intergroup differentiation. However, the moralization ratings of participants in the control condition were similar to the other two conditions, which means that also the similarities between cultures were moralized. The reactive distinctiveness hypothesis states that differentiation happens as a reaction to outgroup threat due to intergroup similarity (Jetten, Spears, & Postmes, 2004). Hence, also the individual's group self-esteem is threatened (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Research has found that to restore self-esteem in the case of group similarity, individuals tend to engage in ingroup favoritism by evaluating the ingroup positively (Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1996; Roccas & Schwartz, 1993). Thereby, morality is one of the most relevant concepts for ingroup favoritism (Leach et al., 2007). Even though the Korean outgroup is presented to be engaged in the same eating and communication behavior as the Dutch ingroup, the cultural dimension is moralized by the Dutch participants to achieve a positive group evaluation. Moralizing the cultural dimension transform the actions into righteous and legitimate behavior. In this case, it is of less importance that the outgroup is actually engaging in the same behavior, as the primary goal of moralization is to restore the self-esteem of the individual in the group through ingroup favoritism.

The moderation effect of national identification adds additional value on the effect of cultural similarities and differences on morality. As Figure 4 has shown, cultural differences

were used for moralization and the feeling of moral superiority in the case of low identifiers. Thus, participants with a low national identification and therefore a low ingroup self-esteem needed a strong cultural difference to achieve intergroup distinctiveness. Cultural similarities, however, led to a higher score on moral superiority for high identifiers. As high identifiers also have a stronger ingroup self-esteem, threat might not have been imposed by cultural differences, but by intergroup similarities. This finding is supported by previous studies, such as the research of Jetten and Spears (2003), who conclude that more group similarity resulted in more differentiation for high identifiers, while higher group difference resulted in more differentiation for low identifiers.

On the other hand, having a significant difference of moralization ratings in the control condition might indicate that both cultural domains have already been moralized by the participants before actually taking part in the study. This is supported by a non-significant main effect of condition type for between-subjects effect in the mixed one-way ANOVA examining the effect of all three conditions on moralization. Thus, neither similarities nor differences between both cultures resulted in a significant difference in ratings on moralization.

In conclusion, several factors might be involved in the process of intergroup differentiation. Whether or not a member of a group feels the need of differentiating from the outgroup might not only depend on the distinctiveness of the outgroup, but also on other (moderating) factors such as group identification. A lot of research has been conducted on intergroup relations so far, however, it does not always seem to be as simple as theories such as the Social Identity Theory propose. Especially, if factors such as morality play a role in intergroup relations, current “standardized” patterns of intergroup differentiation have to be reevaluated by future research. This can be achieved by examining various intergroup differentiations with the same set of paradigms to ensure a broad investigation of intergroup relations with a range of paradigms to make sure that results do not depend on a single

paradigm. Additionally, these studies should include related variables and moderating as well as mediating factors to gain insight into the mechanisms engaged in intergroup relations.

Applied Implications

The presented findings are not only of theoretical, but also of applied significance. Morality is an important issue affecting opinions between all different kinds of groups. This not only affects cultural groups, as considered in this study, but also other opposing groups such as abortion advocates versus abortion adversaries, vegetarians versus meat lovers, climate protection activists versus deniers of climate change, or Catholics versus atheists. Often, these topics are of relevance for society and thus also affect politicians and policy makers. Having a thorough understanding of the underlying processes of moralization and moral superiority can help frame and formulate future policies. As supported by this study, group differences, but also similarities, can increase the need for differentiation from another group. This can lead to gaps within society due to intolerance towards people with a different opinion and the urge to, for example, live in different neighborhoods and to avoid everyday contact with “those people” (Skitka, Baumann, & Sargis, 2005). It should be the responsibility of today’s societies to counter an increase of cultural gaps by minimizing them step by step. If we can understand why people choose to moralize certain, especially neutral, issues to feel morally superior, as a next step we have to think about how this can be prevented.

Limitations and Future Directions

The present study holds several limitations, which shall be discussed in the following. As previously mentioned, no pilot study was conducted to check if the manipulation used in this study, the fabricated article presenting differences and/or similarities between Dutch and Korean culture on communication styles and culinary preferences, was actually leading to moralization. Future researchers are strongly recommended to conduct a pilot study investigating whether their manipulation will actually lead to the desired moralization of the implemented differences or similarities. Thereby, we encourage to use the paradigm

implemented in this study. Thus, it would be of interest to know if certain manipulation used in this paradigm can actually lead to further insights on moralization and moral superiority. This study showed mixed results on moralization and its effects on moral superiority, which makes it difficult to draw unanimous conclusions on whether participants moralized a cultural difference to feel morally superior. Knowing the manipulation will actually lead to the desired moralization makes it easier to examine the effect of moralization on moral superiority in the study.

Second, the data was a combined sample of participants who filled out the questionnaire in the lab and participants who filled out the data on their phone or their laptop in a less controlled environment. Thus, we had to exclude many participants before data analysis, because they did not complete the majority of the questionnaire when completed individually on a phone or laptop. Additionally, for those participants completing the study on their phone or laptop and included into data analysis, we do not know if participants took breaks in between or were distracted while filling out the questionnaire. However, distributing the questionnaire online led to a more heterogeneous sample, as most participants in the lab were students. It is suggested that future research uses lab studies for further insights on moralization and moral superiority. As mentioned before, little is known about factors influencing moralization and moral superiority in intergroup relations, which is why a standardized procedure and a controlled environment is preferred over a more heterogeneous sample at the moment. Field studies or less controlled studies can later on be conducted to confirm results and knowledge gained through more controlled studies and to increase external validity as well as generalizability, as suggested by Kerr, Aronoff and Messé (2000).

Furthermore, it is useful to assess emotions, and specifically disgust as it is one of the emotions strongly connected to moralization, as a variable within the questionnaire if the moralization of food is involved. This gives further insight into the process of moralization driven by emotions and might help explain findings of the studies. Thus, it is strongly

recommended for further research to broaden the scope of assessment in studies on morality, as a range of factors might be involved. Additionally, a measure of social desirability was missing in this study. Even though the better-than-average effect is scientifically proven (Alicke & Govorun, 2005), the moral superiority scores in the present research were very low. One reason might be participants' answers reflecting social desirability. Meehan, Woll and Abbott (1979) confirmed in their study that especially in the domain of morality, participants answered questions in favor of their own self-image and not in reflection of their personality, leading to a confounding effect on the results. Thus, questionnaires assessing feelings of superiority, and especially of moral superiority, should include an additional check for social desirability to be able to exclude or include it as a possible reason for confounding the results.

Conclusion

Generally, people perceive themselves positively as moral and just, and often as more moral than others. Moral superiority makes people feel more righteous in what they stand for and thus can influence their relation to others. As moral superiority can appear on group level as well, it influences intergroup relations. The presented research was the first to look into whether or not a person's motivation to feel morally superior towards another group would be strong enough to moralize any difference between two cultural groups. Even though this cannot be fully confirmed, the findings suggest that cultural differences and similarities between two groups are moralized, but did not lead to moral superiority over the outgroup. The study used a novel paradigm to approach its research question, and even though the results did not fully support the hypothesis, there was an initial support for the argument that cultural differences lead to the moralization of these differences. Furthermore, the findings showed that there is still a lack of knowledge concerning group-based moralization and moral superiority, but also offered theoretical implications that suggest the need of further research in this domain. If research can further enhance the knowledge on group-based moralization and morality, we will be able to think about how to solve moralized intergroup conflict.

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Appendix

Appendix A Demographic Data

Table 1

Frequency of parents' nationality for all participants.

Nationality	Frequency
Dutch	270
Belarusian	1
Belgian	1
British	1
Dominican	1
German	2
Filipino	1
Iranian	1
Surinamese	1
Thai	1
South-African	1
Swiss	1
Total	282

Table 2

Frequency of ratings concerning ideology

Ideology	Extreem sociaal/ progressief/ links	2	3	Noch/ Noch	5	6	Extreem liberaal/ conservatief/ rechts
Social to Liberal	4.3%	12.8%	29.8%	22%	20.6%	8.5%	2.1%
Conservative to Progressive	0%	1.4%	7.1%	22.7%	27.7%	31.2%	9.9%
Left-wing to right-wing	4.3%	20.6%	25.5%	28.4%	19.9%	1.4%	0%

Table 3

Support (in %) for Dutch political parties in on scale from 1 = sterk tegen to 7 = sterk steun.

Party	Sterk tegen	Gemiddeld tegen	Beetje tegen	Noch tegen noch steun	Beetje steun	Gemiddeld steun	Sterk steun
Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie (VVD)	4.3%	14.2%	17.7%	20.6%	22%	15.6%	5.7%
Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV)	58.2%	17%	5.7%	9.2%	7.8%	2.1%	0%
Christen-Democratisch Appèl (CDA)	8.5%	19.1%	15.6%	29.8%	13.5%	12.1%	1.4%
Democraten 66 (D66)	2.8%	8.5%	7.8%	14.9%	22.7%	29.1%	14.2%
GroenLinks (GL)	2.8%	9.9%	5.7%	15.6%	14.9%	29.8%	21.3%
Socialistische Partij (SP)	7.8%	22%	12.1%	25.5%	18.4%	12.1%	2.1%
Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA)	1.4%	12.1%	8.5%	29.1%	27.7%	17.7%	3.5%

Table 4

Frequency of ratings concerning religiosity

Religiosity	Frequency
Atheist	24.8%
Niet religieus	50.4%
Beetje religieus	15.6%
Religieus	7.8%
Zeer religieus	1.4%

Table 5

Indication of Income (in %)

Income	Frequency
Veel minder dan gemiddeld	23.4%
Minder dan gemiddeld	22%
Gemiddeld	21.3%
Meer dan gemiddeld	27%
Veel meer dan gemiddeld	6.4%

Table 6

Indication of Education (in %)

Education	Frequency
Een certificaat of een cursus behaald na afronding van de middelbare school	5%
HBO of universiteit (niet afgerond)	46.1%
Bachelordiploma (HBO of universiteit)	32.6%
Masterdiploma of hoger (universiteit)	16.3%

Appendix B Newspaper Article

Eating condition.

Actuele zaken in Nederland: Koreaanse immigratie

In de afgelopen jaren is er een nieuwe migratietrend ontstaan die de aandacht trok van de Nederlandse overheid: Toename van immigratie vanuit Zuid-Korea naar Nederland. Er is recent een rapport gepubliceerd vanuit het Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid om de unieke gelijkenissen en verschillen tussen de Nederlandse en Koreaanse cultuur in kaart te brengen.

Interessante gelijkenissen en verschillen

Bijvoorbeeld, de Koreanen hebben culinaire voorkeuren die door de Nederlandse tegenhanger als ongewoon beschouwd kunnen worden. Sommige Koreaanse delicatessen zijn o.a. levende octopussen gekruid met sesamolie en Boshintang, een stoofpot gemaakt met hondenvlees. Echter, Nederlanders en Koreanen hebben gelijkenissen in hun communicatiestijlen. Zij gebruiken allebei in hun taal een ander woord in formele en informele situaties, bijvoorbeeld zij hebben allebei een speciaal vocabulaire om ouderen aan te spreken (vousvoyeren). Dit rapport wordt nu geëvalueerd door verscheidene overheidsinstanties, zodoende cultureel gevoelige programma's te ontwikkelen die zijn afgestemd op de kenmerken van de Koreaanse minderheid in Nederland.

Communication condition.

Actuele zaken in Nederland: Koreaanse immigratie

In de afgelopen jaren is er een nieuwe migratietrend ontstaan die de aandacht trok van de Nederlandse overheid: Toename van immigratie vanuit Zuid-Korea naar Nederland. Er is recent een rapport gepubliceerd vanuit het Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid om de unieke gelijkenissen en verschillen tussen de Nederlandse en Koreaanse cultuur in kaart te brengen.

Interessante gelijkenissen en verschillen

Bijvoorbeeld, Koreanen hebben communicatiestijlen dat als ongewoon beschouwd kan worden door de Nederlandse tegenhanger. Koreanen hebben een grotere machtsafstand en buigen naar mensen die ouder en senior zijn voor hen. Echter, Nederlanders en Koreanen delen een gelijkenis in hun culinaire voorkeuren. Beide culturen smullen van rauwe vis, de Nederlanders genieten van rauwe "haring" met gehakte uitjes terwijl Koreanen smikkelen van rauwe vis. Dit rapport wordt geëvalueerd door verscheidene overheidsinstanties, zodoende cultureel gevoelige programma's te ontwikkelen die zijn afgestemd op de kenmerken van de Koreaanse minderheid in Nederland.

Control condition.**Actuele zaken in Nederland: Koreaanse immigratie**

In de afgelopen jaren is er een nieuwe migratietrend ontstaan die de aandacht trok van de Nederlandse overheid: Toename van immigratie vanuit Zuid-Korea naar Nederland.

Er is recent een rapport gepubliceerd vanuit het Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid om de unieke gelijkenissen en verschillen tussen de Nederlandse en Koreaanse cultuur in kaart te brengen.

Interessante gelijkenissen

Nederlanders en Koreanen hebben gelijkenissen in hun communicatiestijlen. Zij gebruiken allebei in hun taal een ander woord in formele en informele situaties, bijvoorbeeld zij hebben allebei een speciaal vocabulaire om ouderen aan te spreken (vousvoyeren).

Nederlanders en Koreanen delen gelijkenissen in hun culinaire voorkeuren. Beide culturen smullen van rauwe vis, Nederlanders genieten van rauwe “haring” met gehakte uitjes terwijl Koreanen smikkelen van rauwe vis.

Dit rapport wordt geëvalueerd door verscheidene overheidsinstanties, zodoende cultureel gevoelige programma's te ontwikkelen die zijn afgestemd op de kenmerken van de Koreaanse minderheid in Nederland.

Appendix C Manipulation Check

1. Wat is de belangrijkste immigratiegroep die in dit artikel wordt besproken?
 - Koreanen
 - Indonesiërs
 - Turken
 - Marokkanen

2. Welke verschillen of overeenkomsten tussen de Nederlandse en Koreaanse culturen worden in het artikel aangegeven?
 - Culinaire voorkeuren
 - Communicatiestijlen
 - Educatie systeem
 - Winkelen
 - Geen van de bovengenoemde

3. Welke gelijkenissen of overeenkomsten tussen de Nederlandse en Koreaanse culturen worden in dit artikel aangegeven?
 - Culinaire voorkeuren
 - Communicatiestijlen
 - Educatie systeem
 - Winkelen
 - Geen van de bovengenoemde

Appendix D Moral Conviction

De volgende vragen hebben betrekking op uw standpunt ten opzichte van de **culinaire voorkeuren**, die kunnen verschillen tussen culturen:

	Helemaal niet 1	2	3	Enigszins 4	5	6	Heel erg 7
In hoeverre is uw positie op culinaire keuzes een weerspiegeling van uw belangrijkste morele overtuigingen en standpunten?							
In hoeverre is uw positie op culinaire keuzes verbonden met uw overtuigingen over fundamenteel goed en slecht?							
In hoeverre is uw positie op culinaire keuzes persoonlijk belangrijk voor u?							
In hoeverre is uw positie ten aanzien van culinaire keuzes gebaseerd op moreel principe?							
In hoeverre is uw positie op culinaire keuzes een morele houding?							
In hoeverre bent u zeker van uw positie in culinaire keuzes?							

De volgende vragen hebben betrekking op uw positie ten aanzien van **statusafhankelijke communicatiestijlen**, die kunnen verschillen tussen culturen:

	Helemaal niet 1	2	3	Enigszins 4	5	6	Heel erg 7
In hoeverre is uw standpunt over statusafhankelijke communicatiestijl een weerspiegeling van uw belangrijkste morele overtuigingen en standpunten?							
In hoeverre is uw positie op statusafhankelijke communicatiestijl verbonden met uw overtuigingen over fundamenteel goed en slecht?							
In hoeverre is uw positie op statusafhankelijke communicatiestijl persoonlijk belangrijk voor u?							
In hoeverre is uw positie ten aanzien van statusafhankelijke communicatiestijl gebaseerd op moreel principe?							
In hoeverre is uw positie op statusafhankelijke communicatiestijl een morele houding?							
In hoeverre bent u zeker van uw positie in statusafhankelijke communicatiestijl?							

Appendix E Moral Superiority

In welke mate ziet u Nederlanders als ...

(randomize)	1 – Helemaal niet	2	3	4	5	6	7 – Helemaal wel
Aardig							
Eerlijk							
Competent							
Warm							
Oprecht							
Intelligent							
Vriendelijk							
Betrouwbaar							
Opgeleid							
Moreel							

In welke mate ziet u Koreanen als:...

(randomize)	1 – Helemaal niet	2	3	4	5	6	7 – Helemaal wel
Aardig							
Eerlijk							
Competent							
Warm							
Oprecht							
Intelligent							
Vriendelijk							
Betrouwbaar							
Opgeleid							
Moreel							

Appendix F Ingroup Identification

Beantwoord de volgende vragen:

	1 – helemaal niet	2	3	4	5	6	7 – heel erg
In welke mate identificeert u zich met Nederland?							
In hoeverre bent u tevreden om gecategoriseerd te worden als een Nederlander?							
In hoeverre voelt u een sterke band met Nederland?							
In hoeverre ziet u zichzelf als een Nederlander?							

Appendix G Intergroup threat

Wij willen graag uw mening over de Koreaanse immigranten in Nederland. Op een 10-punt Likert-schaal van *1 = helemaal mee oneens* tot *10 = helemaal mee eens* geeft u uw antwoord aan.

1. Koreaanse immigranten ontvangen meer van dit land dan dat zij bijdragen.
2. Koreaanse immigratie heeft de belastingdruk op de Nederlanders verhoogd.
3. Koreaanse immigranten verdringen Nederlandse werknemers niet van hun baan.
4. Sociale voorzieningen zijn minder geworden voor Nederlanders vanwege de Koreaanse immigratie.
5. De kwaliteit van sociale voorzieningen die beschikbaar zijn voor Nederlanders is hetzelfde gebleven ondanks de Koreaanse immigratie.
6. Koreaanse immigranten hebben recht op gesubsidieerde huisvesting of gesubsidieerde voorzieningen (bijvoorbeeld: water, riolering, elektriciteit) zoals de arme Nederlanders.
7. Koreaanse immigranten zouden moeten leren om zich zo snel mogelijk na hun aankomst te conformeren aan de regels en normen van de Nederlandse samenleving.
8. Immigratie vanuit Korea ondermijnt de Nederlandse cultuur.
9. De waarden en overtuigingen van de Koreaanse immigranten met betrekking tot werk komen in grote lijnen overeen met die van de meeste Nederlanders.
10. Koreaanse immigranten zouden de Nederlandse manieren niet hoeven te accepteren.
11. De normen en waarden van de Koreaanse immigranten met betrekking tot morele en religieuze kwesties komen niet overeen met de normen en waarden van Nederlanders.
12. De waarden en overtuigingen van Koreaanse immigranten met betrekking tot gezin aangelegenheden en sociale contacten zijn vergelijkbaar met die van de meeste Nederlanders.
13. De waarden en normen van de Koreaanse immigranten met betrekking tot sociale relaties komen niet overeen met de normen en waarden van de meeste Nederlanders.

Appendix H Behavioral measures

Om de overheid te faciliteren met de verbetering van de aanpassing van de Koreaanse immigranten in de Nederlandse maatschappij, biedt Universiteit Leiden een “Taalbuddy” programma aan om de Koreaanse immigranten te helpen om de Nederlandse taal te leren. Bent u geïnteresseerd om een “Taalbuddy” te worden? Er zijn geen vereisten of syllabus vereisten. U wordt gevraagd om alledaagse gesprekken te voeren in het Nederlands met uw toegewezen buddy op Skype. De uren zijn ook flexibel!

Als u interesse heeft, markeer s.v.p. het onderstaande vak en geef uw emailadres op zodat wij met u contact kunnen opnemen.

Ik ben **niet** geïnteresseerd

Ik ben **wel** geïnteresseerd. E-mail: _____

Een Koreaans buurthuis wordt geopend in Den Haag voor Nederlandse burgers met een Koreaanse achtergrond. Zij komen tweemaal per maand samen om Koreaans gerelateerde onderwerpen te bespreken en samen Koreaanse traditioneel gerechten te bereiden.

Wij willen graag uw mening weten over de ontwikkelingen van dit buurthuis.

Geef aan op de onderstaande schaal, variërend van 1 = *sterk tegen* tot 7 = *sterk voor* op een Koreaans buurthuis.

Ik ben... ..de opening van het Koreaanse buurthuis in Den Haag.

Sterk tegen	Gemiddeld tegen	Beetje tegen	Noch tegen noch voor	Beetje voor	Gemiddeld voor	Sterk voor
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Omdat het centrum net is geopend, hebben zij een financiële bijdrage nodig om door te kunnen groeien. Hoeveel zou u willen doneren om de voortgang van het Koreaanse buurthuis te bevorderen? Geef het bedrag hieronder op tussen 0 en 150,- EURO.

0€

150€

Als u wilt bijdragen, kunt u uw donatie bij de onderzoekers achterlaten als u klaar bent.

Als u dit experiment online uitvoert, vermeldt u hier alstublieft uw e-mailadres zodat wij met u contact kunnen opnemen om uw bankgegevens op te vragen:

Appendix I Information letter and informed consent

Enquête over de Actuele zaken

U bent uitgenodigd om deel te nemen aan een enquête die gaat over uw houding ten opzichte van de actuele zaken. Dit onderzoek is opgezet met als doel om inzicht te krijgen in de opvattingen van de Nederlandse burger omtrent de recente ontwikkelingen in het nieuws. Dit onderzoek wordt overzien door Dr. Ruthie Pliskin van de afdeling Social, Economic and Organizational Psychology.

Als u instemt om deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek, wordt u verzocht om een kort nieuwbericht te lezen en een enquête in te vullen waarbij u o.a. vragen beantwoord omtrent uw attitudes en overtuigingen. Dit onderzoek zal ongeveer 15 - 20 minuten van uw tijd in beslag nemen. De totale duur van de drie onderzoeken samen is ongeveer 50 minuten. Na de afronding van de drie onderzoeken ontvangt u een vergoeding van 2 SONA-credits of 5,- EURO. U heeft de recht om vroegtijdig te stoppen met het onderzoek. De uitbetaling van de vergoeding of SONA-credits is afhankelijk van hoeveel onderzoeken u heeft deelgenomen.

Bovendien zal er een grondig schriftelijke uitleg verstrekt worden aan het einde van dit onderzoek.

Er zijn geen bekende risico's verbonden aan uw deelname aan dit onderzoek. De vertrouwelijkheid van uw antwoorden zal strikt gehandhaafd worden door bij de antwoorden willekeurig codes te gebruiken. Deelname is vrijblijvend en er zijn geen negatieve consequenties aan verbonden als u besluit om niet meer te willen deelnemen aan dit onderzoek

Desalniettemin, hebben wij voor dit onderzoek persoonlijke data nodig. Om deze data te gebruiken hebben wij uw toestemming nodig.

Welke data wordt er gebruikt?

Wij gebruiken uw demografische informatie zoals uw geslacht en leeftijd. U hoeft uw naam niet op te geven. U mag uw e-mailadres opgeven als u dat wilt. Hierbij wordt het email-adres permanent gesepareerd van uw vragenlijst. De data wordt gecodeerd door middel van een anoniem participantnummer.

Wat als ik van gedachten verander?

Als u van gedachten verandert, dan kunt u contact opnemen met de hoofdonderzoeker Ruthie Pliskin, via r.pliskin@fsw.leidenuniv.nl. Geef een korte beschrijving dat u wilt dat wij uw persoonlijke gegevens niet gebruiken en benoem ook uw participantnummer. Uw persoonlijke details worden permanent verwijderd uit ons systeem. Alle informatie omtrent uw deelname wordt permanent verwijderd.

Wat gebeurt er met de data wanneer het onderzoek is afgerond?

Alle persoonlijke gegevens worden permanent verwijderd 1 maand na de afronding van het onderzoek.

Als u vragen of opmerkingen heeft over dit onderzoek of er zijn enige onduidelijkheden dan kunt u contact opnemen met de hoofdonderzoeker, Dr. Ruthie Pliskin, via r.pliskin@fsw.leidenuniv.nl

- Ik heb de informatiebrief die gericht is aan de participant doorgelezen. Ik mag vragen stellen. Mijn vragen zijn adequaat beantwoord. Ik heb voldoende tijd om te beslissen om wel of niet deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek.
- Ik ben me ervan bewust dat participatie vrijblijvend is. Ik weet dat ik op elk moment mag beslissen om wel of niet deel te nemen aan dit onderzoek. Ik ben niet verplicht om een reden op te geven.
- Mijn antwoorden worden anoniem verwerkt of gecodeerd.
- Ik geef toestemming om mijn gegevens te gebruiken voor de doeleinden die worden vermeld in de informatiebrief.

Appendix J Demographics

Ten eerste, willen wij u vragen om achtergrondinformatie te geven over uzelf.

Geslacht: 1. Man 2. Vrouw 3. Anders: _____

Leeftijd: _____

Nationaliteit [with drop down menu]

Nationaliteit van de ouders:

Ouder 1 [with drop down menu]

Ouder 2 [with drop down menu]

Opleidingsniveau:

1. Een certificaat of een cursus behaald na afronding van de middelbare school
2. HBO of universiteit (niet afgerond)
3. Bachelordiploma (HBO of universiteit)
4. Masterdiploma of hoger (universiteit)

Het gemiddelde inkomen per huishouden in Nederland ligt rond 4.100, - Euro. Het inkomen in jouw huishouden is in vergelijking:

1. Veel minder dan gemiddeld
2. Minder dan gemiddeld
3. Gemiddeld
4. Meer dan gemiddeld
5. Veel meer dan gemiddeld

Hoe omschrijft u uw niveau van religiositeit?

1. Atheïst
2. Niet religieus
3. Beetje religieus
4. Religieus
5. Zeer religieus

Hoe zou u uw politieke oriëntatie omschrijven op een links- en rechtspolitieke spectrum?

1. Extreem Links	2	3	4. Gemidde ld	5	6	7. Extreem Rechts
------------------------	---	---	---------------------	---	---	-------------------------

Op de volgende schaal, hoe conservatief of progressief bent u in uw politieke mening?

1. Zeer progressief	2	3	4. Noch progressief noch conservatief	5	6	7. Zeer conservatief
---------------------------	---	---	---	---	---	----------------------------

Op de volgende schaal, hoe liberaal of sociaal bent u in uw politieke mening?

1. Zeer sociaal	2	3	4. Noch sociaal noch liberaal	5	6	7. Zeer liberaal
-----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	------------------------

Geef aan in hoeverre u de volgende partijen van het Nederlandse parlement steunt of tegen hen verzet:

		Sterk tegen	Gemiddeld tegen	Beetje tegen	Noch tegen noch steun	Beetje steun	Gemiddeld steun	Sterk steun
<i>Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie</i>	VVD							
<i>Partij voor de Vrijheid</i>	PVV							
<i>Christen- Democratisch Appèl</i>	CDA							
<i>Democraten 66</i>	D66							
<i>GroenLinks</i>	GL							
<i>Socialistische Partij</i>	SP							
<i>Partij van de Arbeid</i>	PvdA							

Appendix K Explanation to participants not allowed to participate in the study

Bedankt voor uw deelname - wij waarderen uw bereidheid om mee te doen aan dit onderzoek. Helaas laat één of meerdere van uw antwoorden op de demografische vragen zien dat u buiten de populatie valt die we zoeken voor dit onderzoek. U wordt direct doorverwezen worden naar het volgende onderzoek. Een complete uitleg over het doel van dit onderzoek wordt gegeven aan het einde en verklaart waarom we een specifieke populatie zoeken.

Wees gerust - dit heeft natuurlijk geen effect op uw compensatie. U wordt, zoals beloofd, volledig gecompenseerd voor uw deelname met credits of een vergoeding. Druk hieronder op de knop "Volgende", om te beginnen met het volgende onderzoek.

Appendix L Question about eating habits

Omdat een deel van dit onderzoek betrekking heeft op eetgewoonten, verzamelen wij demografische informatie over individuele voorkeuren. Markeer elke culinaire voorkeur of beperking die op u van toepassing is:

- Ik ben vegetarisch.
- Ik ben een veganist.
- Ik ben lactose-intolerant.
- Ik ben gluten-intolerant.
- Ik eet alleen kosher.
- Ik eet alleen halal.
- Ik ben allergisch voor noten en pinda's (alle soorten).
- Ik ben allergisch voor vis.
- Ik houd niet van vis.
- Ik heb geen allergie of voorkeur.
- Ik heb een andere allergie, namelijk: _____

Appendix M Debriefing

Lab study.

Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname!

Ga door naar het volgende experiment door op de URL koppeling op de volgende pagina te klikken.

Online study.

Hartelijk dank voor uw deelname!

In dit experiment hebben wij onderzocht of mensen de neiging hebben om kenmerken te moraliseren die verschillen van andere culturen en of het moraliseren van zulke kenmerken leidt tot het gevoel van morele superioriteit. Om deze vraag te beantwoorden, hebben wij deelnemers willekeurig toegewezen aan verschillende experimentele condities, die allemaal gedeeltelijk verzonden informatie bevatten over de Koreaanse migratie naar Nederland. Twee van deze condities waren gericht op culturele verschillen op één van de twee culturele dimensies. De hypothesen die wij opstelden is dat een verschil (in plaats van een gelijkens) met een out-group op een bepaalde dimensie de neiging vergroot om die dimensie te moraliseren, waardoor men toestaat morele superioriteit van zijn of haar in-group te bevestigen. Als u nog vragen heeft over het onderzoek, neem dan contact op met de hoofdonderzoeker, Ruthie Pliskin, via r.pliskin@fsw.leidenuniv.nl.