Online Appendix

Details on the representativeness of the Israeli sample

Although census data on just the 18-30 year old Jewish-Israeli population is not readily available, our subject pool closely resembles the general Jewish-Israeli population within Israel on a number of key characteristics. For example, religious identification data from the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics for 2009 suggests that roughly 45% of Jewish-Israelis identify as secular, 20% as orthodox or religious, and 35% as traditional.[1] In our survey, 51% identify as secular, 25% as orthodox or religious, and 25% as traditional. As in the general Israeli population at large, our survey contains roughly equal numbers of males and females. Moreover, education levels for participants in the survey are similar to those in the general population. Finally, the survey includes participants from every district within Israel's pre-1967 borders, representing the geographic diversity of Israel as well. Thus, to the extent that the 18-30 year old population resembles the overall population, we have fair confidence that our sample reflects the diversity of the Israeli population, improving our ability to make generalizations to the population from our experimental results.

Details on the representativeness of the Indian sample

The sample includes participants from 24 Indian states, with many of the most populous states represented heavily in the study: Maharashtra (2nd most, 9% population, 7% sample), Andhra Pradesh (5th most, 7% population, 7% sample), Tamil Nadu (7th most, 6% population, 45% sample), Karnataka (9th most, 5% population, 6% sample), Kerala (12th most, 3% population, 19% sample).

Due to the Internet-based recruitment, our Hindu participants are younger, more educated, and wealthier than the average Indian adult. However, we still find substantial variation across these traits, certainly far more than in most experimental studies. For example, although most of the sample reports living in a city, nearly 20 percent live in rural areas, in keeping with the higher levels of urbanity in the regions most prevalent in this sample.

India's per capita income is 76,000 INR per year ($1200) with a median household income of 29,000 INR ($465). In our sample, the median family income is between 100,000 and 250,000 INR ($1200 to $4000), but nearly 20 percent report less than 25,000 Indian Rupees per year (INR; $400) and an additional 27 percent report less than 100,000 INR ($1200). 15 percent report more than 250,000 INR ($4000).

Most of our participants are between 18 and 29 years old: nearly 30% are in their 30s, and over 10% are 40 or older. A large majority are college educated, but 20% attended technical school and 5% completed only secondary school. The sample's high educational attainment may actually be a methodological advantage, with participants possessing more stable social and political attitudes that are less subject to experimental change. This stability makes our tests for effects from

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[1]Israeli religious identification data available here:
http://www1.cbs.gov.il/reader/shnaton/shnatone_new.htm?CYear=2010&Vol=61&CSubject=2.

violent rhetoric more conservative. Thus, although our sample is not nationally-representative, it reflects much of the national diversity among adults in India, enabling stronger inferences from the experimental results to the population than in most experimental studies.

Tables and Figures referenced in the article text

	threat	ethnocentrism	trait aggression
threat	1.00	0.56	0.08
ethnocentrism	0.56	1.00	-0.02
trait aggression	0.08	-0.02	1.00

Table A1: Correlation between perception of threat, ethnocentrism and trait aggression: Israel
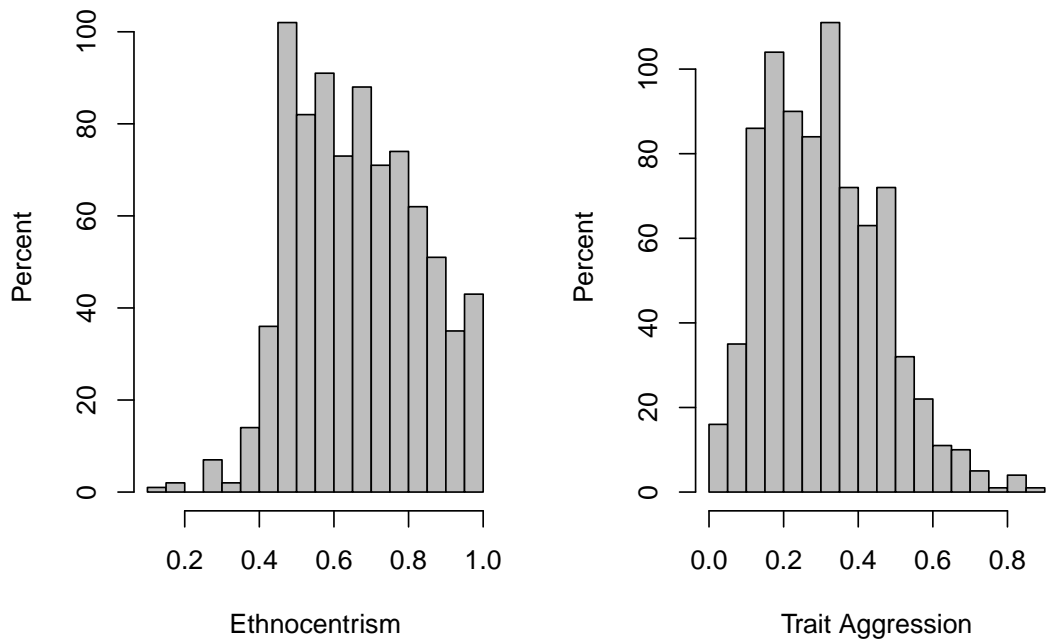
Figure A1: Ethnocentrism and Trait Aggression among Jewish-Israelis: 18-30 year olds.
Ethnocentrism Percentiles: 50th = 0.66, 75th = 0.79, 90th = 0.89, 95th = 0.95. N = 834.
TA Percentiles: 50th = 0.29, 75th = 0.41, 90th = 0.51, 95th = 0.58. N = 819.
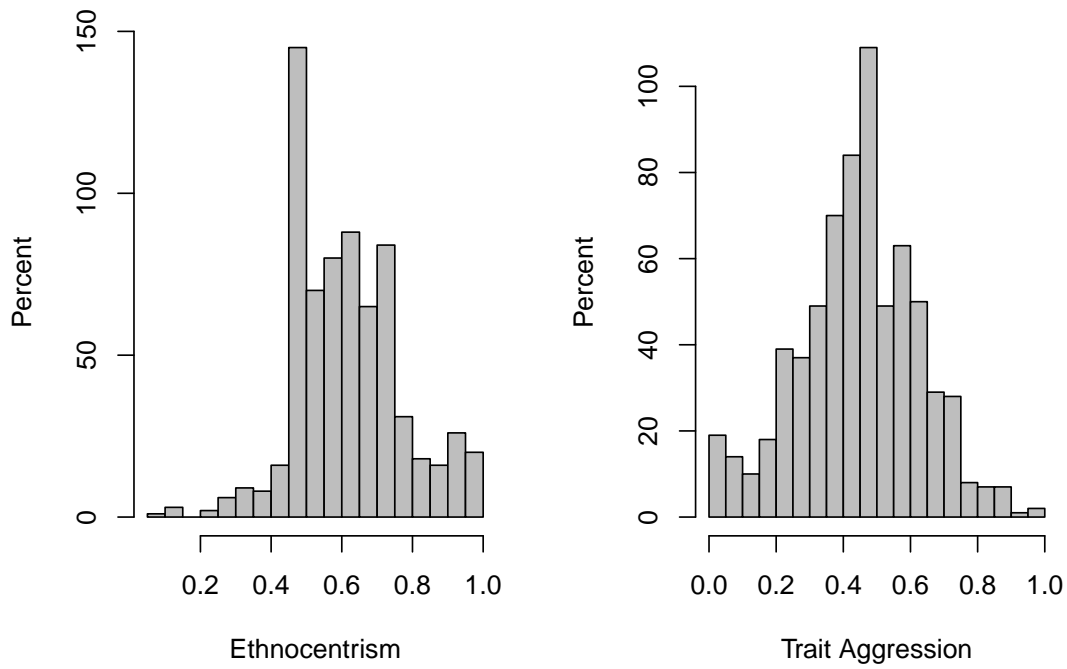*Source:* Midgam 2010.

Figure A2: Ethnocentrism and Trait Aggression among Hindus in our study.
Ethnocentrism Percentiles: 50th = 0.6, 75th = 0.71, 90th = 0.81, 95th = 0.91. N = 688.
TA Percentiles: 50th = 0.45, 75th = 0.55, 90th = 0.67, 95th = 0.73. N = 693.
Source: MTurk 2012.

Table A2: Interactive effects of ethnocentrism, trait aggression and violent rhetoric on support for policy harm: Israel. With and without random imbalance covariate adjustment

	Policy Harm	Policy Harm
Intercept	-0.111**	-0.041
	(0.041)	(0.055)
Violent Rhet.	0.224***	0.204***
	(0.059)	(0.059)
Trait Agg.	0.191***	0.183**
	(0.056)	(0.055)
Ethnocent.	0.939***	0.862***
	(0.054)	(0.059)
Violent Rhet.*Trait Agg.	-0.276***	-0.263**
	(0.081)	(0.081)
Violent Rhet.*Ethnocent.	-0.176*	-0.159*
	(0.077)	(0.077)
religious id.*		0.022
		(0.030)
secular id.*		-0.040
		(0.029)
traditional id.*		0.007
		(0.029)
N	805	803
R^2	0.389	0.401
adj. R^2	0.385	0.395
Resid. sd	0.180	0.178

Standard errors in parentheses

[†] significant at $p < .10$; *$p < .05$; **$p < .01$; ***$p < .001$

*Orthodox is the base category

Table A3: Repeated Measures Model to estimate the effect of question type on support for policy harm: Israel

	Support for Harm
Intercept	−0.300***
	(0.051)
Violent Rhet.	0.280***
	(0.073)
Ethnocent.	1.200***
	(0.067)
Trait Agg.	0.260***
	(0.069)
Question Type: help	0.310***
	(0.051)
Violent Rhet.*Trait Agg.	−0.270**
	(0.100)
Violent Rhet.*Question Type	−0.087
	(0.072)
Trait Agg.*Question Type	−0.120
	(0.068)
Violent Rhet.*Ethnocent.	−0.290**
	(0.096)
Ethnocent.*Question Type	−0.480***
	(0.066)
Violent Rhet.*Trait Agg.*Question Type	−0.010
	(0.100)
Violent Rhet.*Ethnocent.*Question Type	0.190*
	(0.095)
N	4,025
Log Likelihood	−412.000
AIC	853.000
BIC	941.000

*p < .05; **p < .01; ***p < .001
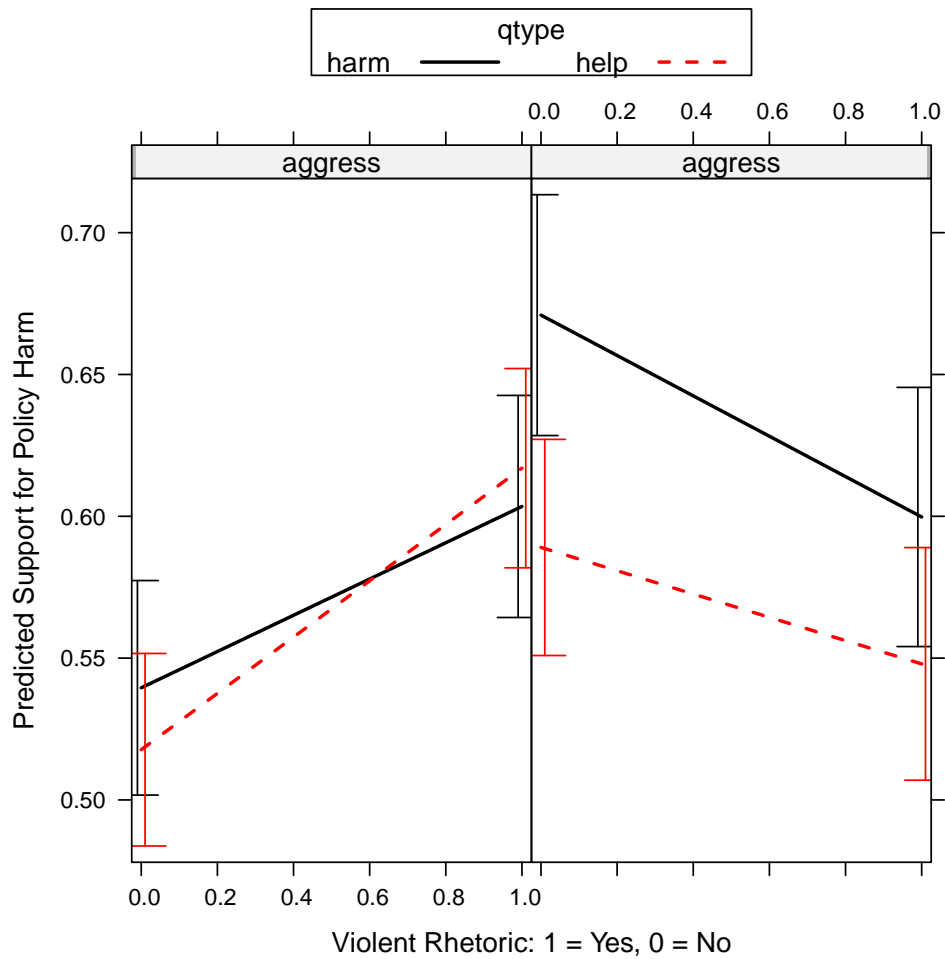Random effects model by individuals

Figure A3: Predicted Values Plot of Support for Policy Harm by Trait Aggression Level (the left panel is for low trait aggression individuals (5th percentile), the right panel is for high trait aggression individuals (95th percentile)) and Question Type (dotted line for policies designed to help the outgroup, solid line for policies designed to harm the outgroup). Study 1: Israel. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.
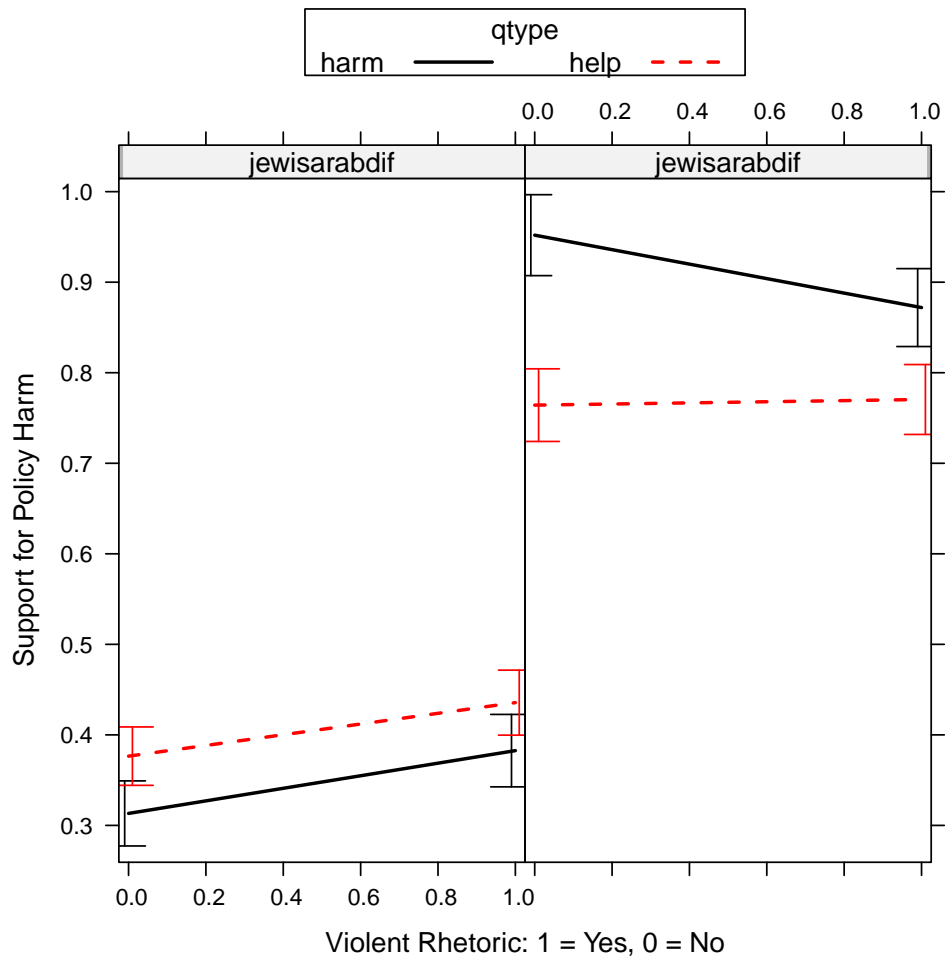
Figure A4: Predicted Values Plot of Support for Policy Harm by Ethnocentrism Level (the left panel is for low ethnocentric individuals (5th percentile), the right panel is for high ethnocentric individuals (95th percentile)) and Question Type (dotted line for policies designed to help the outgroup, solid line for policies designed to harm the outgroup). Study 1: Israel. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals.

Table A4: Interactive effects of ethnocentrism, trait aggression and violent rhetoric on disagreement with policy help: India, first block

	Muslim Harm
Intercept	0.018
	(0.055)
Violent Rhet.	0.233**
	(0.079)
Trait Agg.	−0.049
	(0.062)
Ethnocent.	0.722***
	(0.079)
Violent Rhet.*Trait Agg.	−0.191*
	(0.092)
Violent Rhet.*Ethnocent.	−0.249*
	(0.109)
N	688
R^2	0.166
adj. R^2	0.160
Resid. sd	0.213

Standard errors in parentheses

[†] significant at $p < .10$; $^*p < .05$; $^{**}p < .01$; $^{***}p < .001$

Table A5: Interactive effects of ethnocentrism, trait aggression and violent rhetoric on support for policy harm: India, both blocks combined

	Muslim Harm
Intercept	0.144***
	(0.038)
Violent Rhet.	0.155*
	(0.064)
Trait Agg.	0.137**
	(0.045)
Ethnocent.	0.406***
	(0.056)
Violent Rhet.*Trait Agg.	−0.071
	(0.075)
Violent Rhet.*Ethnocent.	−0.201*
	(0.089)
N	688
R^2	0.148
adj. R^2	0.142
Resid. sd	0.124

Standard errors in parentheses

[†] significant at $p < .10$; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

Tests for random imbalance in studies 1 and 2

To explore the possibility that chance generated an imbalance across the treatment and control condition for one or more covariates that might be associated with support for policies that harm the outgroup, we use the omnibus test created by **?**, based on work by Rosenbaum and Rubin (1984). As recommended by these authors, we use the $< .2$ standard difference cutoff: values between $-.2$ and $.2$ suggest no significant random imbalance. Figure A5 presents the results for study 1; figure A6 presents the results from study 2. As the figures indicate, we find quite good balance across treatment and control, with only religious identity showing a slight imbalance in study 1. As the the tables in the following section show, including this covariate in our models does not change the results.
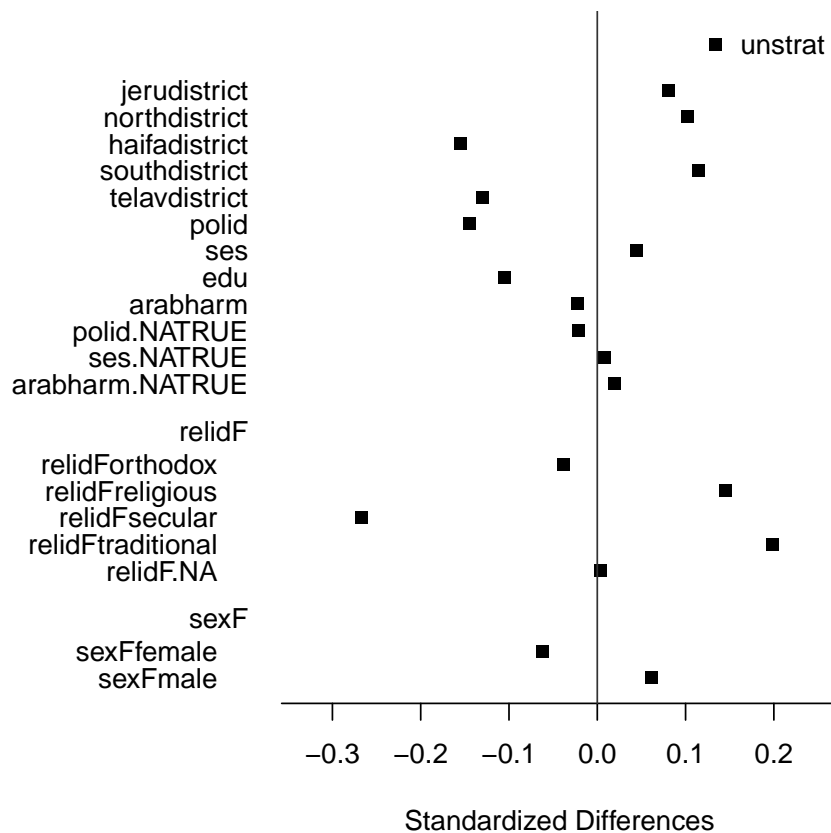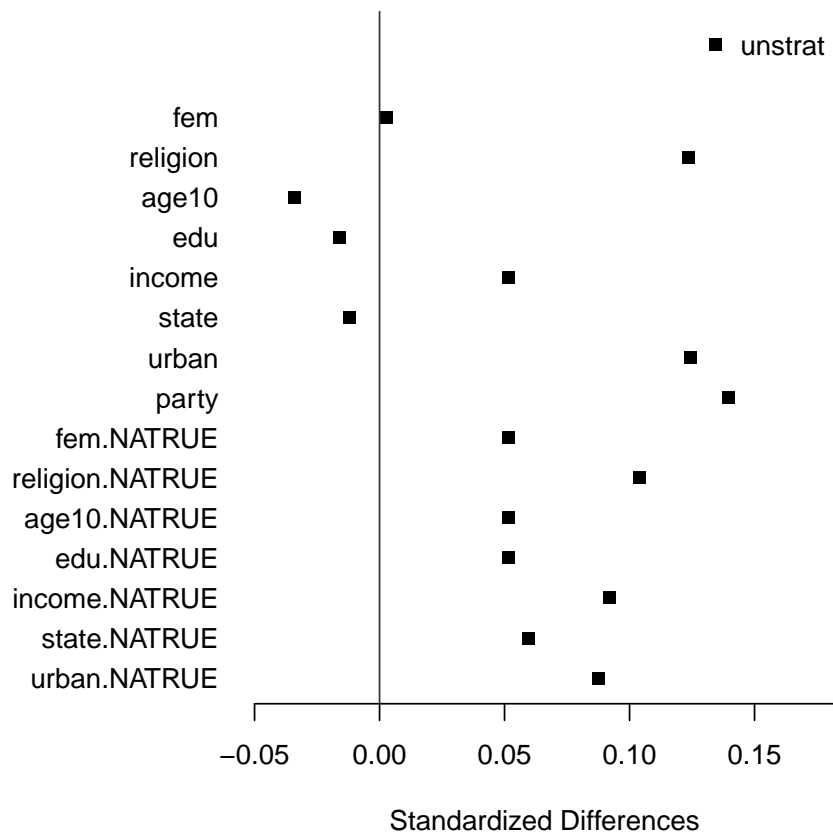

Figure A5: Omnibus Test Results for Study 1

Figure A6: Omnibus Test Results for Study 2

Trait Aggression questions from Study 1 (Israel; presented in Hebrew):

***Note: we ask the same questions (in English) in Study 2 (India)**

For each of the following questions, answer whether the statement is true for you or false for you, and how much. (5 = very true for me, 4 = somewhat true for me, 3 = neither true nor false, 2 = somewhat false for me, 3 = very false for me):

עבור כל אחד מהשאלות הבאות, ענה אם המשפט נכון או לא נכון לגבך, ועד כמה: 5= מאוד נכון לגבי, 4= די נכון לגבי, 3= נכון ולא נכון, 2= די לא נכון, 1= מאוד לא נכון לגבי.

- Q97: Given enough provocation, I may hit another person.

- Q98: I often find myself disagreeing with people.

- Q99: At times I feel I have gotten a raw deal out of life.

- Q101: There are people who have pushed me so far that we have come to blows.

- Q102: I can't help getting into arguments when people disagree with me.

- Q105: I have threatened people I know.

- Q106: My friends say that I'm somewhat argumentative.

- Q107: I have trouble controlling my temper.

- Q108: I wonder why sometimes I feel so bitter about things.

- Q109: I sometimes feel like a powder keg ready to explode.

- Q110: Sometimes I fly off the handle for no good reason.

- בתנאי פרובוקציה אני עלול להכות בן אדם.

- לעיתים אני מוצא את עצמי לא מסכים עם אנשים.

- לעיתים אני מרגיש שאני מקבל יחס לא הוגן בחיי.

- ישנם אנשים שדחפו אותי כל כך רחוק שהגענו עד למכות.

- אינני יכול לא להיכנס לויכוחים כאשר אנשים אינם מסכימים איתי.

- איימתי על אנשים שאני מכיר.

- חבריי אומרים שאני מעט פולמוסי.

- אני מתקשה לשלוט במזג שלי.

- אני תוהה למה לעיתים אני מרגיש מרירות כל כך גדולה.

- לפעמים אני מרגיש כמו חבית חומר נפץ שמוכנה להתפוצץ.

- לפעמים אני יוצא מהכלים ללא סיבה טובה.

Policy Questions/Violent Rhetoric experimental manipulation in Study 1 (Israel; presented in Hebrew):

Please rate how much you agree with the following statements on a scale from 1–5 (5 = Strongly agree, 4 = agree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 2 = Disagree, 1 = Strongly Disagree).

לפי הסולם, אנא דרג עד כמה אתה מסכים עם המשפטים הבאים [5= מסכים מאוד, 4= מסכים, 3= לא מסכים ולא מתנגד, 2= מתנגד, 1= מתנגד מאוד]

Participants in the TREATMENT ("fighting words") condition saw the following questions, in Hebrew:

Q137: As part of the fight to provide equal opportunities for Israeli citizens, the government should spend more money to improve schools for Arab-Israelis.

במסגרת המאבק לספק הזדמנויות שוות עבור כלל אזרחי ישראל, הממשלה צריכה להשקיע יותר כסף כדי לשפר את בתי הספר במגזר הערבי.

Q138: The government should fight inequality in Israel by making it illegal to require past military service for jobs that are not related to security.

הממשלה צריכה להילחם באי שוויון בישראל, על ידי הוצאת התנאי בשירות צבאי עבור קבלה לעבודות שאינן קשורות לביטחון.

Q139: The government should fight inequality in Israel by doing more to prevent housing discrimination against Arab-Israelis.

הממשלה צריכה להילחם באי שוויון על ידי כך שתוציא מחוץ לחוק כל אפליה בדיור נגד ערבים-ישראלים

Q140: In the fight to maintain a Jewish state, Arab-Israelis should be prevented from holding important jobs in government.

במאבק לשמור על מדינה יהודית, צריכים למנוע מערביי ישראל מלהחזיק במשרות חשובות בממשלה

Q141: In the fight to maintain a Jewish state, the government should give priority to Jewish-owned businesses when awarding contracts in Israel.

במאבק לשמור על מדינה יהודית, צריכה הממשלה לתת עדיפות לעסקים בבעלות יהודית בעת הענקת חוזים ומכרזים מטעם המדינה

Participants in the CONTROL condition saw the following questions:

Q137: As part of the effort to provide equal opportunities for Israeli citizens, the government should spend more money to improve schools for Arab-Israelis.

כחלק מהמאמץ לספק הזדמנויות שוות עבור כלל אזרחי ישראל, הממשלה צריכה להשקיע יותר כסף כדי לשפר את בתי הספר במגזר הערבי.

Q138: The government should oppose inequality in Israel by making it illegal to require past military service for jobs that are not related to security.

הממשלה צריכה להתנגד לאי שוויון בישראל, בכך שזה לא יהיה חוקי לדרוש שירות צבאי עבור עבודות שאינן קשורות לביטחון.

Q139: The government should oppose inequality in Israel by doing more to prevent housing discrimination against Arab-Israelis.

הממשלה צריכה להתנגד לאי שוויון בישראל בכך שהיא תמנע אפלית דיור נגד ערבים-ישראלים

Q140: In the effort to maintain a Jewish state, Arab-Israelis should be prevented from holding important jobs in government.

במאמץ לשמור על מדינה יהודית, צריכים למנוע מערביי ישראל מלהחזיק במשרות חשובות בממשלה

Q141: In the effort to maintain a Jewish state, the government should give priority to Jewish-owned businesses when awarding contracts in Israel.

במאמץ לשמור על מדינה יהודית, צריכה הממשלה לתת עדיפות לעסקים בבעלות יהודית בעת הענקת חוזים ומכרזים בישראל

Policy Questions/Violent Rhetoric experimental manipulation in Study 2 (India):

Participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following policy statements (1 = strongly agree, 5 = strongly disagree):

First Block: Policies that would help Muslims

Participants in the TREATMENT ("fighting words") condition saw the following statements:

- As part of the fight to promote peaceful relations, the government should help to build and maintain mosques for Muslims in India.

- As part of the fight to provide equal opportunities for Indian citizens, the government should spend more money to improve schools for Muslims in India.

- As part of the fight to to provide better opportunities for Indian citizens, the government should do more to help Muslims move into Hindu neighborhoods.

- As part of the fight to provide equal opportunities for Indian citizens, the government should increase the number of reservations in jobs given to Muslims.

- As part of the fight to provide better opportunities for all Indian citizens, the government should stop making so many reports and recommendations about Muslims.

Participants in the CONTROL condition saw the following statements:

- As part of the effort to promote peaceful relations, the government should help to build and maintain mosques for Muslims in India.

- In order to provide equal opportunities for Indian citizens, the government should spend more money to improve schools for Muslims in India.

- In order to provide better opportunities for Indian citizens, the government should do more to help Muslims move into Hindu neighborhoods.

- In order to provide equal opportunities for Indian citizens, the government should increase the number of reservations in jobs given to Muslims.

- In the effort to provide better opportunities for all Indian citizens, the government should stop making so many reports and recommendations about Muslims.

Second Block: Policies that would harm Muslims

Participants in the TREATMENT ("fighting words") condition saw the following statements:

- In the battle to preserve India's Hindu heritage, the government should give priority to Hindu-owned businesses when awarding contracts in India.

- In the battle to preserve India's Hindu heritage, government should make it harder for Muslims to vote.

- In the battle to preserve India's Hindu heritage, Parliament should make it harder for Muslims to hold important jobs in government.

Participants in the CONTROL condition saw the following statements:

- As part of an effort to preserve India's Hindu heritage, the government should give priority to Hindu-owned businesses when awarding contracts in India.

- As part of an effort to preserve India's Hindu heritage, government should make it harder for Muslims to vote.

- As part of an effort to preserve India's Hindu heritage, Parliament should make it harder for Muslims to hold important jobs in government.