

## Items on the Social Dominance Orientation Scale

1. Some groups of people are simply not the equals of others.
  2. Some people are just more worthy than others.
  3. This country would be better off if we cared less about how equal all people were.
  4. Some people are just more deserving than others.
  5. It is not a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.
  6. Some people are just inferior to others.
  7. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on others.
  8. Increased economic equality.
  9. Increased social equality.
10. Equality.
  11. If people were treated more equally we would have fewer problems in this country.
  12. In an ideal world, all nations would be equal.
  13. We should try to treat one another as equals as much as possible. (All humans should be treated equally.)
  14. It is important that we treat other countries as equals.
- All items were measured on a *very negative* (1) to *very positive* (7) scale. Items 8–14 were reverse-coded. The version of Item 13 in parentheses was used in Samples 5–12. The order of items differed from above and across samples.

## Appendix B

## Items Used on Scales

## Samples 2, 3b, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9: Items Comprising the Original Legitimizing Myths Scales

*Anti-Black Racism Scale*

- A Black president.<sup>a</sup>
- Racial integration.<sup>a</sup>
- White superiority.
- Blacks are inherently inferior.
- Civil rights activists.<sup>a</sup>

*Anti-Arab Racism Scale*

- Most of the terrorists in the world today are Arabs.
- Historically, Arabs have made important contributions to world culture.<sup>a</sup>
- Iraqis have little appreciation for democratic values.
- People of the Muslim religion tend to be fanatical.
- Muslims value peace and love.<sup>a</sup>

*Cultural Elitism Scale*

- The poor cannot appreciate fine art and music.
- No amount of education can make up for the wrong breeding.
- Qualifications and not personality should determine whether a candidate gets votes.
- The ideal world is run by those who are most capable.
- Western civilization has brought more progress than all other cultural traditions.
- Someone who treats other people poorly but is very good at his job should be promoted.
- Great art is not meant for the common folk.

*Equal Opportunity Scale*

- In America, every person has an equal chance to rise up and prosper.
- Lower wages for women and ethnic minorities simply reflect lower skill and education levels.
- America is the "land of opportunity."
- Salaries are usually reflective of education, which in turn is reflective of intelligence and ambition.
- Affirmative Action prevents the more-qualified from attaining positions.
- Potential to do well should not be sufficient for admission to any program. Only those with proven competence in that field should be allowed.

*Patriotism Scale*

- Flag burning should be illegal.
- In American public schools, every day should begin with the *Pledge of Allegiance*.
- I supported the United States' actions in Iraq.
- Patriotism is the most important qualification for a politician.
- I believe in mandatory military service by all citizens of the United States in the armed forces.
- It was disloyal for people to question the President during the Iraq war.
- With few exceptions, the American government does a good and honest job.

- Other countries should be happy to have American intervention and influence.

- I am proud to be an American.
- Congressman who voted against the war should be removed from office.
- The United States suffers when patriotism wanes.
- Patriots are the ones who have made this country great.

*Nationalism Scale*

- In view of America's moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policy.
- This country must continue to lead the "Free World."
- We should do anything necessary to increase the power of our country, even if it means war.
- Sometimes it is necessary for our country to make war on other countries for their own good.
- The important thing for the U.S. foreign aid program is to see to it that the U.S. gains a political advantage.
- Generally, the more influence America has on other nations, the better off they are.

*Noblesse Oblige Scale—Form A*

- As a country's wealth increases, more of its resources should be channeled to the poor.
- The more money one makes, the greater proportion of that money should be paid in taxes.
- Those with more resources have more obligations toward their fellow human beings.
- Giving to others usually benefits the givers as well.
- The man with two coats in his closet should give one away.
- Extra food on the table belongs to those who are hungry.

*Noblesse Oblige Scale—Form B*

- As a country's wealth increases, more of its resources should be channeled to the poor.
- Giving to others usually benefits the givers as well.
- Those with more resources have more obligations toward their fellow human beings.
- It is beneficial to all to spend money on the public sector such as education, housing, and health care.
- Those who are well off can't be expected to take care of everyone else.<sup>a</sup>
- Social charities just create dependency.<sup>a</sup>

## Samples 2, 3b, 5, 6, 8, 9: Items on the Policy Scales

*Law and Order Policies*

- Death penalty for drug kingpins.
- Death penalty.
- Prisoner's rights.<sup>a,b,c</sup>
- Longer prison sentences.<sup>d</sup>

*Gay Rights*

- Gay or lesbian marriage.
- Gay and lesbian rights.

(Appendixes continue on next page)

*Women's Rights*

Guaranteed job security after maternity leave.  
 Stiffer penalties for wife beating.<sup>c</sup>  
 Equal pay for women.  
 More women judges.

*Social Programs*

Government sponsored health care.  
 Better support for the homeless.  
 More support for early education.<sup>c,d</sup>  
 Free school lunches.<sup>c,d</sup>  
 Low income housing.<sup>c,d</sup>  
 Arresting the homeless.<sup>a,c</sup>  
 Guaranteed jobs for all.  
 Reduced benefits for the unemployed.<sup>a</sup>  
 Greater aid to poor kids.  
 Increased taxation of the rich.

*Racial Policy*

Racial quotas.  
 Affirmative action.  
 School busing.<sup>e</sup>  
 Civil rights.  
 Helping minorities get a better education.  
 Government helping minorities get better housing.  
 Government has no business helping any particular ethnic group in the job market.<sup>a</sup>

*Military Programs*

Decreased defense spending.<sup>a</sup>  
 Strategic Defense Initiative.  
 B-2 (Stealth) bomber.  
 Going to war.<sup>e</sup>

*Environmental Policies*

Drilling for oil off the California coast.<sup>a</sup>  
 Government-mandated recycling programs.  
 Taxing environmental polluters to pay for superfund clean ups.  
 More government involvement on clean air and water.  
 Drilling for oil under the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.<sup>a</sup>

*Chauvinism Scale*

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).  
 English as the official language.  
 Decreased immigration to the U.S.  
 National security.  
 American way of life.  
 No welfare for new immigrants.  
 America first.  
 America as world's policeman.

## Sample 4: Iraq War Scales (January, 1991)

*Favors Military Action by U.S.*

The U.S. really had no choice but to use military force against Iraq.  
 The U.S. should not be using military force against Iraq.<sup>a</sup>  
 Saddam Hussein must be stopped by any means necessary—including nuclear weapons.

The U.N. coalition should not participate in any military action that will kill civilians no matter how few.<sup>a</sup>

The U.N. coalition should cease bombing Iraq and offer to negotiate.<sup>a</sup>

*Willing to Make Sacrifices for War*

It would be worth our country's having a lower standard of living to maintain world peace.<sup>a</sup>

I would be willing to pay double the current prices of gasoline to avoid similar conflicts over oil in the future.<sup>a</sup>

I am willing to risk my life to help with the war effort in the Persian Gulf.

I'd be willing to pay higher taxes to finance the war in the Gulf.

*Favors Suspending Liberties for War*

President Bush should be given whatever power he needs to conduct war.

Sometimes political leaders must be unencumbered by legislatures so that they can govern effectively.

It is appropriate to reinstitute the military draft to help with the conflict with Iraq.

Military censorship of the press is appropriate in times of war.

*Concerned About Environment in War*

Iraq should be held entirely responsible for cleaning up the oil spills in the Persian Gulf.

The U.S. is partly to blame for the environmental damage to the Persian Gulf region.<sup>a</sup>

Potential environmental damage should have been considered in the decision to go to war.<sup>a</sup>

## Sample 8: Post-War Pro-Iraq War Items (February, 1992)

The U.S. had no choice but to begin bombing Iraq on January 16, 1991.

The U.S. should have tried political and economic pressure for a longer time before bombing Iraq.<sup>a</sup>

Bombing the cities of Iraq was justified.

The President went to war to increase his popularity.<sup>a</sup>

The U.S. could have prevented more civilian casualties in Iraq.<sup>a</sup>

The Gulf War wasn't worth the human cost.<sup>a</sup>

The U.N. Coalition really taught Hussein a lesson.

We should spend as much money and effort on solving domestic problems as we did on the Iraq war.<sup>a</sup>

Once there was 250,000 U.S. troops in the Persian Gulf region, it would have been embarrassing not to "use" them in war.

President Bush should not have set a date for Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait.<sup>a</sup>

Strict control of the press coverage of the Iraq war was necessary.

If we understood the Iraqis better, we might have been able to avoid the war.<sup>a</sup>

In all, the press reports we received about the war were fair and impartial.

The military response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait will probably discourage others from invading countries.

The Gulf War wasn't worth the environmental cost.<sup>a</sup>

*Wars of Dominance*

To insure our influence is felt in that nation.

To protect our economic interests.

To protect our citizens being held hostage.

For U.S. national security purposes.

To restore a freely elected government which had been overthrown by a military coup.  
 To keep an enemy from acquiring chemical or nuclear weapons.  
 If we started disarming, it would only lead to more war.  
 A U.S. Military presence helps maintain peace.

#### *Support for Painful Executions*

Murderers should suffer when they are executed.  
 I might support the use of burning alive to execute those who commit the most heinous crimes.  
 If people have to be executed, they should be executed in the most painless way possible.<sup>a</sup>

The electric chair should be quick and painless.<sup>a</sup>  
 Executions should be as bloodless as possible.<sup>a</sup>

The crime problem has gotten so bad that maybe we should bring back public hangings.

We should use more graphic forms of executions (such as a firing squad).

When using the electric chair for executions, the voltage should be applied slowly so the criminal suffers before dying.

#### *Belief in Retribution*

Society does not have the right to get revenge for murder.<sup>a</sup>  
 For a terrible crime, there should be a terrible punishment.  
 Even the worst criminal should be considered for mercy.<sup>a</sup>  
 Those who hurt others deserve to be hurt in return.  
 Punishment should fit the crime.

*Note.* Response scale for all items was *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7) except for the nationalism, anti-Black racism, and chauvinism items, which were *very negative* (1) to *very positive* (7). The instructions for the Wars scales were to indicate how much the subject agreed or disagreed that his or her country would be justified in using military force (for the items beginning with "to" or "for") or agreement or disagreement with support for military use of force in general (for items that are complete sentences).

<sup>a</sup> Item was reverse-coded. <sup>b</sup> Item was omitted in Sample 6. <sup>c</sup> Item was omitted in Sample 8. <sup>d</sup> Item was omitted in Sample 9. <sup>e</sup> Item was omitted in Sample 2.

To ensure that human rights were respected in that country.  
 To ensure that emergency food supplies could reach civilians.  
 To protect unarmed civilians from battles.  
 Ultimatums usually lead to war, rather than diplomatic solutions.  
 By selling arms to other countries, we increase the likelihood of war.  
 War should always be considered a last resort.

#### *Humanitarian Wars*

#### Sample 10: Items on Death Penalty Survey

##### *Favored Executing Harris*

I felt that Robert Alton Harris' death sentence should have been commuted to life in prison without possibility of parole.<sup>a</sup>  
 I felt that Robert Alton Harris should have been executed.

##### *Believes in Specific Deterrence*

If not executed, murderers will commit more crimes in the future.  
 We don't need the death penalty to insure that a murderer never repeats his crime.<sup>a</sup>  
 If not executed, a murderer will be on the street in a few years.

## Appendix C

### Items on the 16-Item Social Dominance Orientation Scale

1. Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
  2. In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
  3. It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
  4. To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
  5. If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
  6. It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
  7. Inferior groups should stay in their place.
  8. Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
  9. It would be good if groups could be equal.
  10. Group equality should be our ideal.
  11. All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
  12. We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
  13. Increased social equality.
  14. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.
  15. We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
  16. No one group should dominate in society.
- Items 9–16 should be reverse-coded. The response scale was *very negative* (1) to *very positive* (7).

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