# War on Crime and Drugs: Understanding Support for the Anti-Crime and Anti-Drugs Campaign

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Drawing on the vast amount of literature on right-wing authoritarianism (RWA), perception of threat, and moral foundations, the present study explores the sociopolitical and moral underpinnings of attitudes toward an anti-crime and anti-drug campaign. The present study examines the association between RWA, binding foundations, perception of threat, and support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign. Path analyses reveal the following findings: (1) RWA directly predicts support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign, (2) perception of threat predicts attitudes toward the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign via binding foundations, (3) RWA predicts the endorsement of binding foundations via perception of threat, and (3) RWA predicts support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign via binding foundations above and beyond its impact on perception of threat. The present study unfolds an integrative and comprehensive model that underlies mechanisms of different sociopolitical attitudes.

Keywords: perception, threat, RWA, binding foundations, support, crime, drugs

Since taking office in June 2016, Philippine President Rodrigo Roa Duterte has launched an immense campaign against criminality and the illegal drug trade that has resulted in the deaths of suspected drug personalities (Xu, 2016) and criminals in the country. In his administration's anti-crime and anti-drug campaign, President Duterte gave police officers an order to gun down criminals and drug dealers (Pleasance, 2017) and promised them a reward for catching drug suspects (Santos, 2017). Moreover, he encouraged vigilantes and civilians to kill the drug addicts living

among them (France-Presse, 2016; Pleasance, 2017). In just two months (i.e. from July 1 to September 5, 2016) since the anticrime and anti-drug campaign has been carried out, more than 1,000 drug personalities have been killed during police operations, over 15, 000 suspects have been arrested, more than 680,000 surrendered voluntarily to the authority, and at least 1,500 cases were classified as deaths under investigation (Hincks, 2016). The apparent surge in killings of criminals and drug suspects in the Philippines has elicited criticisms from the Catholic Church of the Philippines (Rauhala, 2017), human rights groups, and even the United Nations, European Parliament and the United States (Morallo, 2017; Saunar, 2016; Tan, 2016). These people view the Duterte administration's approach to resolving the issues of illegal drug trade and criminality in the country as not being in line with global drug control measures ("Philippines: Condemn Surge in Killings", 2016), an endorsement of extrajudicial killing, and a violation of fundamental human rights (see Tan, 2016).

Despite the increasing number of drug-related killings driven by this campaign and the criticisms it has received locally and internationally, there are still people who strongly express their support for the administration's war on drugs and criminality (Cerojano, 2016; Lozada, 2016). These people back this campaign because they view criminality as the predominant social problem in the Philippines and believe that it would be better to kill drug dealers than to let the drug problem in the country get worse (Quiano & Perry, 2016) and take a toll on the lives of innocent people. In the current study, I build on literature on Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA; Altemeyer, 1996; 1998; 2006), the Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan, Ybarra, & Morrison, 2009), and the Moral Foundations Theory (MFT; Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009) to examine the mechanisms that may explain the support for the Duterte administration's anti-crime and anti-drug campaign.

# THE UNDERLYING ROOTS OF SUPPORT FOR THE ANTI-CRIME AND ANTI-DRUG CAMPAIGN

# Right-Wing Authoritarianism→Perception of Threat→Binding Foundations

## **Right-Wing Authoritarianism**

It is well documented that punitive and threat-attenuating attitudes are deeply rooted in RWA (Altemeyer, 1996; 1998; Duckitt; 2009), a social attitude dimension that is defined as a confluence of three social attitudinal clusters: conventionalism, authoritarian aggression, and authoritarian submission (Weber & Federico, 2007). People who are high in RWA prefer order, traditional values, and conformity (Federico, Weber, Ergun, & Hunt, 2013) and this preference is expressed in the form of motivational goals of establishing and maintaining security, stability, order, and cohesion in the society (Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis, & Birum, 2002; Duckitt & Sibley, 2009; Duckitt & Sibley, 2010). Supporting extant literature that highlights the association between RWA and sociopolitical attitudes (RWA; Altemeyer, 1996; 1998; 2006; Duckitt; 2001), recent studies have shown that RWA predicts support for strict threat-attenuating policies (e.g. Craig & Richeson, 2013) and prejudice against dangerous people (e.g. criminals and drug dealers; Cantal, Milfont, Wilson, & Gouveia, 2015). Therefore, it is conceivable that people high in RWA may express support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign of the Duterte administration. Hence, I hypothesize that:

# Hypothesis 1: RWA would directly predict support for the anticrime and anti-drug campaign.

Given that empirical evidence has demonstrated the strong relationship between RWA and policy and punitive attitudes, it is of utmost importance to investigate the mechanisms that underlie this association. Thus, I explore in the present study how the association between RWA and support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign is mediated by threat and moral variables.

## Perception of Threat

The Intergroup Threat Theory (Stephan et al., 2009) emphasizes that RWA is an individual difference variable that serves as an antecedent of threat. Perception of threat is conceptualized as threat that is "existing in the person's mind" (Cohrz & Ibler, 2009, p. 82) and could be driven by threats posed by the out-group to the in-group's ideology, values, and moral and belief systems (i.e. symbolic threats; Stephan et al., 2009). In the present study, I consider high crime rate and rampant illegal drug trade as symbolic threats that motivate some people (e.g. high authoritarians) to express support for the administration's anti-crime and anti-drug campaign. perception of threat, as investigated in an extensive body of research (Laham & Corless, 2016; Park & Isherwood, 2011; van Leeuwen and Park, 2009, Wright & Baril, 2013), plays an important role in predicting the endorsement of certain moral domains.

## **Binding Foundations**

The Moral Foundations Theory (Graham et al., 2009; Graham, Nosek, Haidt, Iyer, Koleva, & Ditto, 2011) posits that moral foundations, which are innate psychological systems, give rise to moral intuitions (i.e. a kind of cognition or emotional reaction that is quick and undeliberate; Haidt, 2001; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Joseph, 2004) that drive people's judgement (Haidt, 2001) of what is acceptable or unacceptable (Hadarics & Kende, 2017). Each of these foundations produces reactions of liking or disliking when certain aspects of an issue or situation are perceived (Haidt & Graham, 2007).

Three of these moral foundations, In-group/loyalty (based on the strong attachment to groups like family, government, and church), Authority/respect (deference to established authority and respect for social hierarchy), and Purity/sanctity (based on the expression of disgust toward those who violate group norms; Haidt & Graham, 2007; Haidt & Joseph, 2004; Koleva, Graham, lyer, Ditto, & Haidt, 2012) are collectively referred to as "binding foundations" (Malka, Osborne, Soto, Greaves, Sibley, & Lelkes, 2016). These binding foundations are highly evident in a group or community's predilection to maintain loyal commitment and harmony in their actions (Malka et al., 2016) and to protect existing moral order and cohesion (Wright & Baril, 2013).

A vast amount of literature has illuminated the strong connection between RWA and perception of threat and their complementing roles (i.e. RWA as the predictor and perception of threat as the mediator) in predicting negative attitudes toward out-group members (e.g. Duckitt, 2006; Gerber, 2012; Levin, Pratto, Matthews, Sidanius, & Kteily, 2012). However, there have been no studies, to my knowledge, that explored the relationship between RWA and moral foundations as mediated by perception of threat. It is plausible that RWA is related to the endorsement of concerns about in-group loyalty, authority, and purity and perception of threat may account for this association. This presumption rests on several pillars. First, studies have explicated that RWA intensifies belief or perception of threat (e.g. McFarland, 2003; 2005). In turn, this perception predicts moral behaviors (e.g. moral exclusion; see Leighton, 2012) and activates binding foundations (van Leeuwen & Park, 2009; Wright & Baril, 2013). Second, fueled by chronic fear, authoritarians engage in moral justification of their hostility (Alterneyer, 2006) toward outgroup members. And third, in a study that extended the Dual Process Motivational model (DPM; Duckitt, 2001) to perceptions of threat and intergroup emotions, RWA has been found to be a predictor of perceptions of threat, which in turn predicted the expression of disgust (Matthews & Levin, 2012), a construct that is strongly related to binding foundations, particularly purity foundation (see Harper & Harris, 2016; Malka et al., 2016). Therefore, I predict that:

# Hypothesis 2: RWA would significantly predict perception of threat, which in turn would significantly predict the endorsement of binding foundations.

It is essential to examine the association between these variables as it serves as the foundation of the mediated

relationship between perception of threat, binding foundations, and support for anti-crime and anti-drug campaign.

# Perception of Threat → Binding Foundations → Support for the Anti-crime and Anti-drug Campaign

Perception of threat has a strong influence on moral domains (Wright & Baril, 2013) that underscore adherence to traditional and group values (Graham et al., 2009; Haidt & Graham, 2007), which in turn underlie policy and punitive attitudes (Lakoff, 2004; Silver & Silver, 2017; Weber & Federico, 2013). Grounded in this notion, I propose that support for the Duterte administration's anti-crime and anti-drug campaign has moral precursors, which in turn stem from perceptions of threat.

Several studies (Kertzer, Powers, Rathbun, & Iyer, 2014; Koleva et al., 2012; Silver & Silver, 2017; Weber & Federico, 2013) have shown that there is a strong relationship between binding foundations and a wide range of punitive and policy attitudes, such that the tendency to put a strong emphasis on upholding binding values underlies the expression of these attitudes.

In another vein of research, binding foundations have been found to be deeply rooted in perception of and sensitivity to threat and danger. For instance, Wright and Baril (2013) have found that the more sensitive a person is to threat, the more activated the binding foundations are, especially when a person is exposed to a heightened threat-salient situation. Moreover, Laham and Corless' (2016) study supports this finding, as it elucidates that sensitivity to certain kinds of threat increases the endorsement of binding values.

There are also indirect research findings that may corroborate the assertion that perception of threat is associated with binding foundations, which are in turn associated with support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign. van Leeuwen and Park's (2009) study shows that people who perceive more social dangers have a propensity to place greater importance on the binding foundations, which in turn engenders political conservatism. In relation to this, Park and Isherwood (2011) have

found that the tendency to place a greater emphasis on binding foundations mediates the association between perception of threat and prejudice. Thereby, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 3: Perception of threat would significantly predict the endorsement of binding foundations, which in turn would significantly predict support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign.

# RWA → Binding Foundations → Support for Anti-crime and Anti-drug Campaign

It is recognized that RWA is a strong predictor of binding foundations (Federico et al., 2013) and support for threatattenuating measures (e.g. McKelvie, 2013; Peterson, Doty, & Winter, 1993), above and beyond its effect on threat perceptions (McFarland, 2003). However, there are only a few studies that have paid attention to the association between RWA, binding foundations. and support for threat-attenuating policies. Therefore, I propose that RWA may indirectly (via binding foundations) predict attitudes toward the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign over and beyond the influence of perception of threat. Findings reported in some literature may indirectly support this contention. Studies that integrate the MFT and the DPM model reveal that RWA increased concerns for in-group loyalty, obedience to authority, and purity/sanctity (Federico et al., 2013) and predicted membership in moral signatures (i.e. high moralist profile) that underscore the strong reliance on binding moral foundations (Milojev et al., 2014). These binding foundations are. positively related to intergroup hostility discriminatory attitude (Kugler, Jost, & Noorbaloochi, 2014). In connection, Hadarics and Kende (2017) have found that RWA had a significant indirect effect on Hungarians' negative views about immigrants through binding morality. Thus, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 4: RWA would significantly predict binding foundations, which in turn would significantly predict support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign.

#### **METHODS**

## **Participants**

Three months after President Rodrigo Duterte's inauguration, 77 male (28.5%) and 193 female (71.5%) respondents voluntarily participated in the study and completed an online survey. Their ages ranged from 19 to 55 (M = 26.15, SD = 5.45) and the majority of them were four- or five-year course graduates (n = 195, 72.2%).

#### **Procedures**

Participants were recruited through Facebook and Messenger and were provided with the link to the online survey form. Informed consent was presented in the first section of the survey form, which contained a disclaimer informing the participants that completion and submission of the online survey implied that they took part in the study voluntarily. Scales or items in the following order: presented Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA), Perception of Threat items, Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ), Support for Anti-crime and Anti-drug Campaign (SAAC) items, and a demographic questionnaire.

#### Measures

# Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)

RWA was assessed using the short, 15-item version of Altemeyer's (1998) RWA Scale that was constructed by Zakrisson (2005). A sample item is "Our country needs a powerful leader, in order to destroy the radical and immoral currents prevailing in society today." Items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale that ranged from I (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree) and were averaged so that higher scores would represent higher levels of RWA (Perry & Sibley, 2012). The scale reflected reliabilities (Cronbach's a) that varied between 0.72 and 0.80 across three sets of normative samples (Zakrisson, 2005). In the present study, RWA scale's coefficient  $\alpha = .65$ .

## Perception of Threat

Perception of threat was assessed using three items (i.e. Crime is a threat to everything I feel is good, normal and decent in society; Crime seriously threatens order, security and stability in society; I am afraid that crime makes society more dangerous for ordinary people) that Gerber (2012) constructed for her survey to measure perception of crime as a threat to collective security. The respondents indicated the degree to which they agree or disagree with each item on a 6-point Likert-type scale (I = Strongly disagree; 6 =Strongly agree) with higher scores indicating higher levels of perception of crime as social threat. The Cronbach's  $\alpha$  of this scale in Gerber's (2012) study is 0.84. In the present study, coefficient  $\alpha = .90$ .

## **Binding Foundations**

Participants' endorsements of binding foundations were measured using the 30-item Moral Foundations Questionnaire (MFQ; Graham et al., 2011). MFQ is a self-report questionnaire consisting of two sections with 16 items each. In the first section, participants were requested to rate how relevant the 16 items were to them whenever they make moral judgements on a 6point scale (0 = Not at all relevant; 6 = Extremely relevant). In the second section, they were requested to indicate the level of their agreement/disagreement with each statement on a 6-point Likerttype scale (0 = Strongly disagree; 6 = Strongly agree). contains two items (i.e. "Whether or not someone was good at math" and "It is better to do good than to do bad") that were used to flag those participants who were not paying attention to each item. The MFQ has been found to have high test-retest reliabilities that range from .68 to .82 across the five moral foundations (i.e. Harm, Fairness, In-group, Authority, and Purity; all p < .001) in an average interval period of 37.4 days (range = 28-43 days) (Graham et al., 2011). As a preliminary step in demonstrating the role of binding foundations in the association between RWA, perception of threat, and SAAC, a composite of binding foundations was computed by averaging the Ingroup/loyalty, Authority/respect, and Purity/sanctity subscales scores (Malka et al., 2016). In the present study, these three subscales have been found to be highly correlated with each other (r = 0.62 - 0.71; all p = .01); thus, a confirmatory factor analysiswas conducted. It was found that these three subscales loaded on a single factor (i.e. binding foundations) after extracting principal components based on eigenvalues higher than one (with no specified number of factors) and applying varimax rotation (Niemi & Young, 2016).

# Support for Anti-Crime and Anti-Drug Campaign (SAAC)

Support for anti-crime and anti-drug campaign (SAAC). This variable was measured using two items—"I support Duterte's anti-drug and anti-crime campaign" and "I am satisfied with the present administration's campaign against illegal drugs and criminality"—that have been found to have a positive correlation (r = 0.75; p = .01). These items were mixed with eight fillers or irrelevant items that were not included in the statistical analysis (e.g. The Philippines will survive without foreign aid) to mask the main objectives of the study. These items were rated on a 4-point Likert-type scale (I = Strongly disagree; 4 =Strongly agree).

# **Demographic Questionnaire**

Ouestions about participants' non-identifiable demographic information (i.e. age, gender, and educational attainment) were presented in the last section of the online survey form.

# **Data Analytic Procedures**

Path analyses were conducted using Analysis of Momentary Structure (AMOS 24.0), which utilizes the maximum likelihood (ML) estimation method to assess the fit of models to their corresponding matrices (see Dunkley & Grilo, 2007; Matthews & Levin, 2012). In keeping with Hoyle and Panter's (1995) recommendations, the present study used multiple indexes of fit to assess overall model fit. A good fit to the data would be best indicated by the following: a non-significant  $\chi^2$ , a  $\chi^2$ /df value of 2 or less (Shumacker & Lomax, 1996), values equal to or above 0.95 for comparative fit index (CFI), normed fit index (NFI), and goodness-of-fit index (GFI; Steiger, 1989), a value of lower than 0.05 for SRMR (standardized root mean square residual; Kline, 2011), and a value of 0.08 or less for root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Hu & Bentler, 1999). Alternative measurement models were also tested and compared with the model in Figure 1 (Hoyle & Panter, 1995).

Drawing on Cohen, Cohen, West, and Aiken's (2003) recommendations, variables of interest (i.e. RWA, perception of threat, binding foundations, and SAAC) were centered to prevent multicollinearity. To examine the significance of total, direct, and indirect effects among the variables in the model, a bias-corrected bootstrapping method that allows an estimation of effects from 1,000 bootstrap samples (cf. Edwards & Lambert, 2007) was used. Moreover, an indirect effect is treated as significant if the computed unstandardized 95% confidence interval (CIs) around the estimate doesn't include 0.

#### **RESULTS**

Data were originally collected from 270 participants. However, data from 12 participants were not analyzed due to following reasons: They did not pass the MFQ manipulation check (n = 9) and they are multivariate outliers (as evidenced by Mahalanobis Distance scores greater than 18.46, p < .001, n = 3; see Levant, Wong, Karakis, & Welsh, 2015). Consequently, analyses were conducted for the data collected from the remaining 258 participants.

Variable	Mean (SD)	I	2	3	4
I. RWA	4.38 (.54)	.648			
2. Perception of Threat	4.93 (1.3)	.153ª	.901		
3. Binding Foundations	3.53 (.71)	.207 <sup>b</sup>	.425 <sup>b</sup>	.851°	
4. SAAC	3.23 (.80)	.109°	.320 <sup>b</sup>	.368⁵	

Table I. Descriptive Statistics, Alpha Coefficients, and Correlations among Key Variables

Note: N = 258. Coefficient alpha reliabilities are reported in boldface along the diagonal. RWA = Right-Wing Authoritarianism; SAAC = Support for Anti-crime and Anti-drug Campaign.  $^{a}p = .05$ .  $^{b}p = .01$ .

Means, standard deviations, internal consistency reliability coefficients, and intercorrelations among the variables of interest are presented in Table 1. The predictor variables (i.e. RWA, perception of threat, and binding foundations) have been found to be correlated with SAAC. Standardized regression coefficients for the path model are shown in Figure 1. Multiple fit indices indicated that the model was a good fit to the data  $(\chi^2/df = 0.131, df = 1,$ p = 0.72, CFI = 1.00, NFI = .99, GFI = 1.00, SRMR = .006, RMSEA = .03). Assessment of model fit was done after trimming off nonsignificant paths.

Results showed that higher levels of RWA predicted higher perception of threat ( $\beta = 0.15$ ; 95% CI = [0.03, 0.28]; p < 0.05), which in turn predicted greater endorsement of binding foundations. The total effect of RWA was significant ( $\beta = 0.43$ ; 95% CI = [0.31, 0.52]; p < 0.01). The indirect path through perception of threat significantly predicted binding foundations (β = 0.02; 95% CI = [0.00, 0.07]; b < 0.05) and the direct path was also significant ( $\beta = 0.40$ ; 95% CI = [0.29, 0.50]; p < 0.01). These results are in keeping with Hypothesis 2.

The model also revealed that higher perception of threat predicted greater endorsement of binding foundations ( $\beta = 0.15$ ; 95% CI = [0.02, 0.29]; p < 0.05), which in turn predicted support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign ( $\beta=0.28$ ; 95% CI = [0.15, 0.42]; p=.001). The indirect effect of perception of threat on SAAC through binding foundations was significant ( $\beta=0.04$ ; 95% CI = [0.01, 0.10]; p<.05). However, the direct path was not significant ( $\beta=0.02$ ; 95% CI = [-0.09, 0.12]; p>0.05). This path was trimmed off the model to facilitate the assessment of model fit. Nevertheless, the result provides support for Hypothesis 3, highlighting the mediating effect of binding foundations on the association between perception of threat and SAAC.

In the model, higher levels of RWA predicted support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign via two paths: One direct path and one indirect path mediated through binding foundations. The total effect of RWA was significant ( $\beta=0.32$ ; 95% CI = [0.20, 0.44]; p<0.01). The indirect path through binding foundations significantly predicted support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign ( $\beta=0.12$ ; 95% CI = [0.06, 0.20]; p=0.01) and the direct path was also significant ( $\beta=0.20$ ; 95% CI = [0.10, 0.30]; p<0.05). Overall, these results significantly corroborated Hypothesis I and Hypothesis 4.

In summary, the mediated relationship between RWA, perception of threat and binding foundations accounts for the significant mediated relationship between perception of threat, binding foundations, and SAAC. Furthermore, RWA is significantly related to SAAC via two paths: The direct and the indirect path, over and beyond the effect of RWA on perception of threat.

# **Testing Alternative Models**

Two alternative measurement models were also assessed, in which the four key variables of the hypothesized model (i.e. RWA, perception of threat, binding foundations, and SAAC) were rearranged to examine other possible causal directions of effects and to determine which model would best explain people's attitudes towards war on crime and drugs. Driven by recent evidence that threat perception is a strong predictor of right-wing attitudes (Manzi, Roccato, & Russo, 2015;

Onraet, Van Hiel, Dhont, & Pattyn, 2013), the first alternative model tested perception of threat as a predictor of RWA, which in turn predicts binding foundations and SAAC. Although the value of GFI is above 0.95, this alternative model resulted in a significantly poor fit to the data ( $\chi^2 = 16.607$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 5.536$ , df = 3, p = .001, CFI = .87, NFI = .85, SRMR = .07, RMSEA = .13). In the second alternative model, the possibility that moral foundations may activate certain kinds of perceptions and sociopolitical attitudes (e.g. RWA; Federico, et al., 2013) was examined. Binding foundations was tested as a predictor of perception of threat, activating RWA which in turn predicts SAAC. Similar to the first alternative model, the second alternative model also resulted in a significantly unacceptable fit to the data ( $\chi^2$  = 66.162,  $\chi^2/df = 22.054$ , df = 3,  $\rho$  < .001, CFI = .40, NFI = .41, GFI = .90, SRMR = .17, RMSEA = .29).

Model comparisons were performed using the Akaike Information Criterion (AIC; see Federico et al., 2013); the model with lower AIC value is the more parsimonious (see Snipes & Taylor, 2014), and the better fitting model and models with higher AIC values are a worse fit to the data (Burnham & Anderson, 2004). The AIC differences ( $\Delta$ ) between the alternative models and the best fitting model (i.e. hypothesized integrative model) were also calculated (see Federico et al., 2013) and the interpretation of yielded  $\Delta$  values was based on Burnham and Anderson's (2004) suggestion: The larger the  $\Delta$  value of a model, the less plausible it is to be the best approximating model among all the models tested. The results of model comparison demonstrated that the model in Figure 1 provided a better fit to the data (First alternative model: AIC = 30.607; Second alternative model: AIC = 80.162; Hypothesized integrative model: AIC = 18.131). Moreover, the  $\Delta$  value of 12.476 and 62.031 for the first and second alternative models, respectively, are beyond the recommended  $\Delta$  value of 10 to consider a certain model as a worsened fit (see Burnham & Anderson, 2004; Federico et al., 2013). This result implies that the  $\Delta$  value of 0 of the model illustrated in Figure 1 provides evidence or substantial

support that this model is the best fit for the data (see Burnham & Anderson, 2004).

Overall, these findings elucidated that the present data was more statistically compatible with the hypothesized model with SAAC directly and indirectly predicted by RWA through perception of threat and binding foundations than with the alternative models.

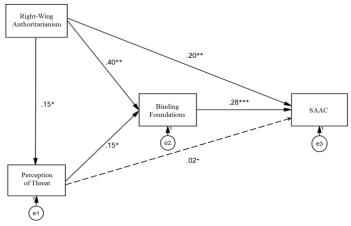


Figure 1. Standardized regression coefficients for the integrative model of SAAC. SAAC = Support for Anti-crime and Anti-Drug Campaign.

Bold lines represent significant paths (\*p < .05; \*\*\*p < .01; \*\*\*\*p < .001) and broken line represents nonsignificant path (\*p > .05).

#### DISCUSSION

Guided by the extant literature and fledgling line of research on RWA, moral foundations, and intergroup threat perceptions, the present study highlighted significant direct and indirect effects of RWA, perception of threat, and binding foundations (i.e. In-group/loyalty, Authority/respect and Purity/sanctity) on support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign. Integrating studies on RWA and perception of threat with those on MFT (Graham et al., 2011), it was found that the mediated relationship between RWA, perception of threat, and

binding foundations accounted for the mediated relationship between perception of threat, binding foundations, and support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign. Moreover, findings revealed that RWA has a direct and indirect (via the endorsement of binding foundations) effect on support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign.

#### **Theoretical Contributions**

The most important contribution of the present study to the current body of knowledge about sociopolitical attitudes, intergroup behaviors, threat perceptions, and moral foundations is that it unfolds an integrative model that underlies three mechanisms of support for a threat-attenuating policy: (1) the direct effect of RWA on support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign; (2) the indirect effect of RWA on binding foundations via perception of threat; (3) the indirect effect of perception of threat on support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign via binding foundations, and the (4) indirect effect of RWA on support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign via binding foundations above and beyond its influence on perception of threat.

The present results provide evidence that RWA predicts support for the Duterte administration's anti-crime and anti-drug campaign. This implies that support for the administration's war on crime and drugs is highly evident among authoritarian followers who express a high degree of submission to President Duterte and may have a belief that citizens must strictly adhere to how people ought to act in a society (e.g. do not commit crime and use illegal drugs; Altemeyer, 2006). Also, these people tend to exhibit aggression toward deviant individuals (e.g. criminals and drug dealers), as manifested by their support for President Duterte's punitive solutions against those who break the law—the anticrime and anti-drug campaign. In addition, Altemeyer's (2006) statement that "authoritarian followers seem to have a 'Daddy and mommy know best' attitude toward the government" (p. 18) may shed light on why some Filipinos call President Rodrigo Duterte "Tatay Digong" (see Francisco, 2017). By and large, the present result lends credence to previous studies that

demonstrated that authoritarianism is associated with policy support (Craig & Richeson, 2013) and punitive solutions to the problems of drugs (Peterson et al., 1993).

Furthermore, the present study revealed that RWA predicts support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign as a function of perception of threat and binding foundations. The association between these variables unfolded three separate mediating models that give rise to comprehensive model of support for anti-crime and anti-drug campaign presented in Figure I. The unfolding of these mediating models is discussed in the subsequent sections.

Firstly, the study extended and contributed to the literature that integrated the MFT and the DPM model (Federico et al., 2013; Kugler, et al., 2014; Milojev et al., 2014) through the present finding that demonstrated that RWA predicts the endorsement of binding foundations via perception of threat. This finding suggests that once they perceive that crime and rampant illegal drug trade are threatening their social values and making the country dangerous for decent, innocent, and ordinary people, those high in RWA, intensely driven by their strong preference to live in a safe, secure, and stable society, showed increased tendency to formulate moral judgements based on the binding values that underscore the expression of disgust towards individuals who violate the law and contaminate the established social values (purity; see Matthews & Levin, 2012), trust and cooperation with those who share the same attitudes towards deviant people (in-group loyalty), and deference to a leader (e.g. President Rodrigo Duterte) viewed as a legitimate authority who has the power to eradicate the main source of threat (e.g. criminal and drug dealers) through his/her threat-attenuating policy (i.e. the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign). This result is indirectly supported by Matthews & Levin's (2012) study that showed that people high in RWA feel disgust toward a threatening group that undermines social values. This association between RWA. perception of threat, and binding foundations established the mediated path that underlies the mediated relationship between

perception of threat, binding foundations, and support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign.

Secondly, the hypothesis that perception of threat has an indirect effect on support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign via binding foundations was directly supported by the present findings and indirectly by the evidence presented in a strand of research (e.g. Park & Isherwood, 2011; van Leeuwen & Park, 2009) that examined the mediating role of moral foundations in the association between threat perception and social attitudes. It can be inferred from the present findings that those who highly perceived crime as a threat that undermines social values are more likely to place strong emphasis on the endorsement of binding foundations by showing respect to the Duterte administration (Respect/authority), having positive attitudes toward those who trust and believe in him and in his administration's war on crime and drugs (In-group/loyalty), and feeling disgust toward criminals and drug users (Purity/sanctity). In turn, the endorsement of binding foundations elicits support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign.

Lastly, supporting a deluge of research (e.g. Craig & Richeson, 2013, Duckitt, 2006; Gerber, 2012; Peterson et al., 1993) that explored the association between RWA and a wide range of sociopolitical attitudes (e.g. punitive policy attitudes), the integrative model demonstrated that RWA predicts support for the Duterte's administration's campaign against crime and illegal drug trade via two paths: one direct path and one indirect path mediated through binding foundations. On the one hand, the indirect path suggests that RWA predicts increased concerns for in-group loyalty, respect for authority, and purity, which in turn predicts support for this campaign. On the other hand, the direct path implies that regardless of whether right-wing authoritarians place a strong emphasis on binding values when making moral judgements, they would still express support for the Duterte's administration's war on crime and drugs because they are immensely driven by their motivational goal of establishing and maintaining societal stability, security, order, and cohesion (Duckitt & Sibley, 2009). Overall, the present study corroborated

previous findings that showed that RWA predicts increased concerns for binding foundations (Federico et al., 2013; Milojev et al., 2014) and these moral foundations are in turn associated with policy and punitive attitudes (e.g. Kertzer, Powers, Rathbun, & Iyer, 2014; Koleva et al., 2012; Silver & Silver, 2017; Weber & Federico, 2013).

## **Practical Implications**

I emphasize in the current study that RWA, perception of threat, and binding foundations play a critical role in predicting people's attitudes toward threat-attenuating policy. It is important to understand the roles of these variables because their associations may provide a possible explanation as to why some people express support for the Duterte administration's war on crime and drugs notwithstanding the alarming surge in drug-related deaths and strong criticisms from religious groups and human rights advocates toward this campaign. That is, people's positive attitudes toward this threat-attenuating measure may be rooted in their moral judgments, behaviors, or actions that are largely determined by their perceptions of threat (e.g. Leighton, 2012; van Leeuwen & Park, 2009) and individual difference variables (e.g. Hadarics & Kende, 2017).

Findings suggest that policy-makers must be aware that people differ in their levels of authoritarianism, perception of threat, and endorsement of moral values and thereby, in the extent to which they support the implementation of certain threat-attenuating policies, and consequently, place a greater weight on what they perceived to be the beneficial effects of these policies on society relative to their negative impact on the lives of innocent people (i.e. who may become collateral damage of these policies) and their families. This recognition may guide policy-makers to tailor their policies to specific ideological, threat, and moral-based attitudes of their constituents. Furthermore, we, citizens who directly experience the impact of these policies may also benefit from knowing these individual differences because by understanding and accepting them, we may be able to resolve

various conflicts and meet halfway in terms of expressing our attitudes toward the implementation of certain policies.

#### **Limitations and Future Directions**

Though the present study offered significant findings about the associations between RWA, perception of threat, binding foundations, and attitudes toward a threat-attenuating policy, it is also bounded by limitations that point to future research endeavors. First, the perceived effectiveness of the observed policy was not investigated in the present model. Empirical evidence revealed that perceived fairness effectiveness of a policy predicted policy acceptance and support (Walker, Leviston, McCrea, Price, & Greenhill, 2017). Thus, it can be argued that this perception may also affect people's decisions whether to support different policies that may address current sociopolitical issues. Researchers may incorporate this perception in their analysis of the differences in sociopolitical attitudes. the association between RWA. individualizing foundations, and punitive policy attitudes was not explored in the present study. This association may account for the possible reasons why certain groups of people (e.g. human rights advocates) vehemently condemn the Duterte administration's war on crime and drugs, since individualizing foundations put strong emphasis on the rights and welfare of individuals (Graham et al., 2009). This association was not investigated in the present study, as it only focused on understanding support for, and not the opposition to, the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign. Future researchers may try to explore the significant impact of individualizing foundations on the effects of perception of threat and RWA on threat-attenuating. Third, caution must be exercised in generalizing the findings presented in this study because of the large composition of female participants (71.5%). As suggested by Crowson, Debacker, and Thoma (2006), when studying the bases of different attitudes and beliefs, future researchers should recruit gender-balance participants. Fourth, analyses were conducted using cross-sectional data which make it statistically challenging to observe substantial changes in the levels of key variables over a period of time and to do causal inference using the present

findings. Thus, I suggest replicating the present investigation of the observed phenomenon (i.e. the war on crime and drugs) by conducting longitudinal and experimental studies.

#### CONCLUSION

This study presented evidence of an integrative model of support for the anti-crime and anti-drug campaign. Overall, the integrative model depicted in the present study revealed that there are interrelated mechanisms of threat-attenuating policy attitudes. Having said that, I recommend to other researchers that they explore more variables related to those accentuated in the present study, to further our understanding and knowledge about a wide range of sociopolitical attitudes.

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