

Supplementary information for *Politics or prejudice:
explaining individual-level hostilities in India's
Hindu-Muslim conflict*

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1 Pilot survey

Pilot questionnaire

1. *Demographics*

(a) **Where do you live?**

Respondents were asked to indicate the State or Union Territory of residence.

(b) **What is your age group?**

The options were “20 or younger”, “20-30”, “30-40”, “40-50”, “50-60”, and “60 or older”.

(c) **What is your gender?**

With the options “Male” or “Female”.

(d) **How many years did you spend in schools or colleges?**

Based on the Indian school system, the options “6 or less”, “10”, “12”, and “15 or more” were given.

(e) **What is your religion?**

The options were “Hindu”, “Muslim”, “Christian”, “Sikh”, “Buddhist”, “Jain”, “Other”, and “Atheist”.

2. *Elite manipulation questions*

(a) **On a scale from 1 to 5, how much do politicians and religious leaders warn against future violence by <out-group>?**

(b) **On a scale from 1 to 5, how much do politicians and religious leaders point to past misconduct by <out-group>?**

Questions 2a and 2b speak to “elite manipulation” promoting a stronger stance against the out-group. As the theory is agnostic as to whether elite point to future clashes or past injury, the question is asked in two variants and answers were given on a five point scale.

3. *Security dilemma question*

(a) **How much do you agree with the following statement: “I am concerned about violence by <out-group> in the future”?**

Question 3a probes whether or not security concerns exists on the individual level. Again, answers were provided on a five point scale.

4. *Prejudice questions*

(a) **How have your personal experiences been with <out-group>?**

(b) **Have you (or people you know personally) experienced violence by <out-group> in the past?** Questions 4a and 4b ask test a central conjecture of prejudice: generalizations from past experience with individual group

members create the basis of general sentiments. The question was asked in two variants: personally experienced violence could have a stronger effect from a theoretical angle, but very few respondents were expected to have had such experiences. Question 2d therefore casts a wider net by focusing on general interactions.

5. *Dependent questions*

- (a) **How much do you agree with the following statement: “<In-group> should take a stronger stance against <out-group>”?**
- (b) **How much do you agree with the following statement: “Violence can be used for a just cause”** Questions 5a and 5b capture the anti-group stance of individuals in two variants. Direct advocacy of violence against the out-group could lead to legal repercussions against respondents if the communication was subject to surveillance. Therefore a milder version of anti-out-group sentiments was asked and a more general and socially more acceptable version of violence approval was asked.

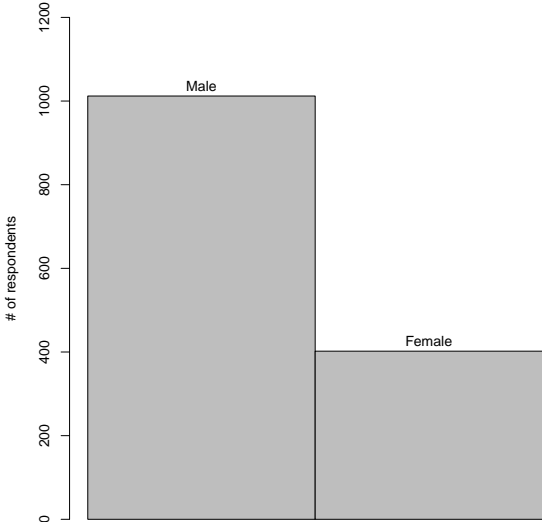
Results from the pilot

Tables 1 and 2 on page 15ff show regression results from the pilot study. Please note the large substantive overlap despite the different survey platforms and the much smaller sample size.

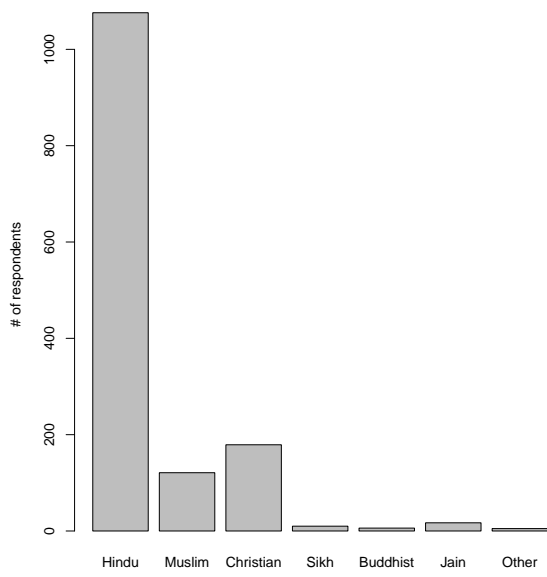
2 Full questionnaire and descriptives for the main analysis

1. Demographics

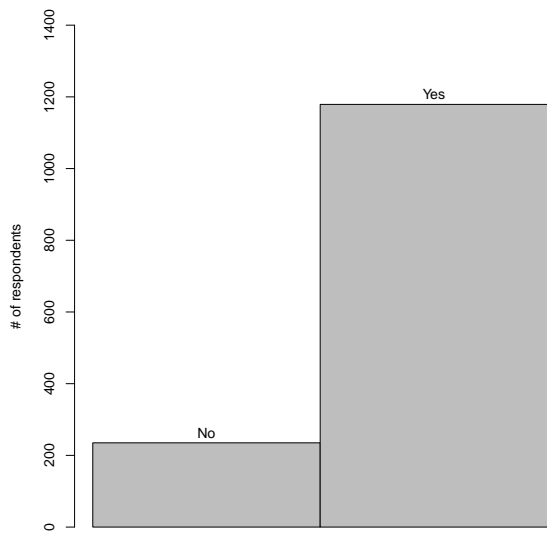
(a) What is your gender?



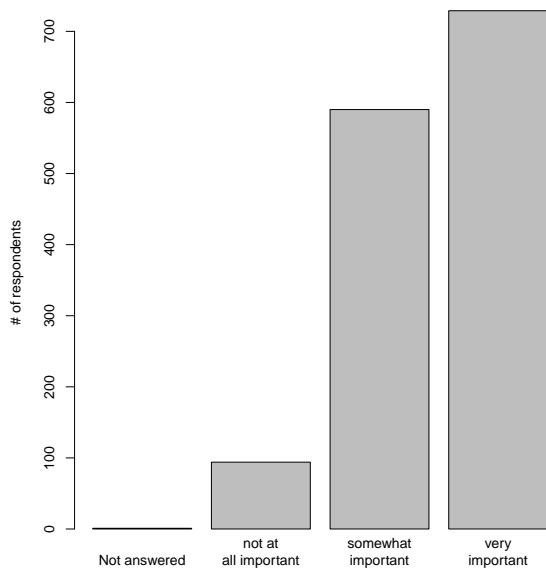
(b) What is your religion?



(c) Did your family ever have to relocate for political reasons?

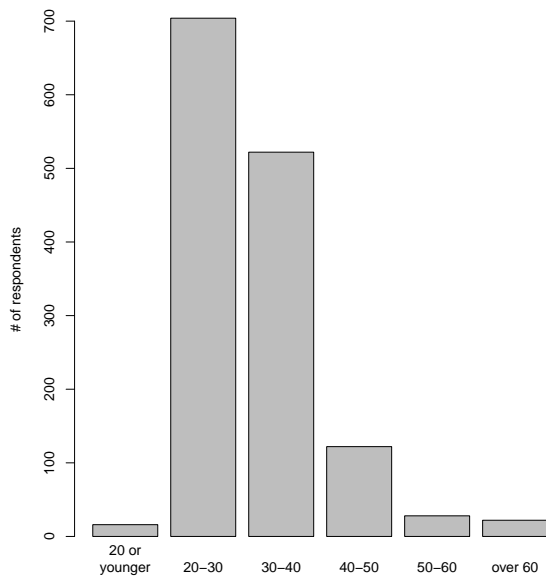


(d) How important is your religious community to you?



(e) **What is your age group?**

The options were “20 or younger”, “20-30”, “30-40”, “40-50”, “50-60”, and “60 or older”.

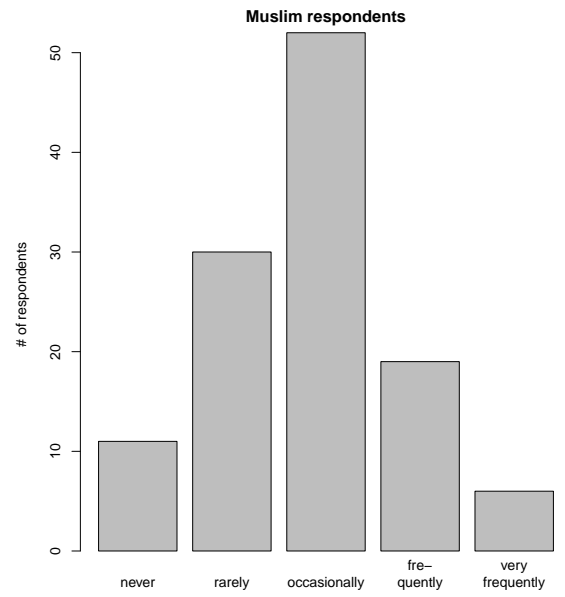
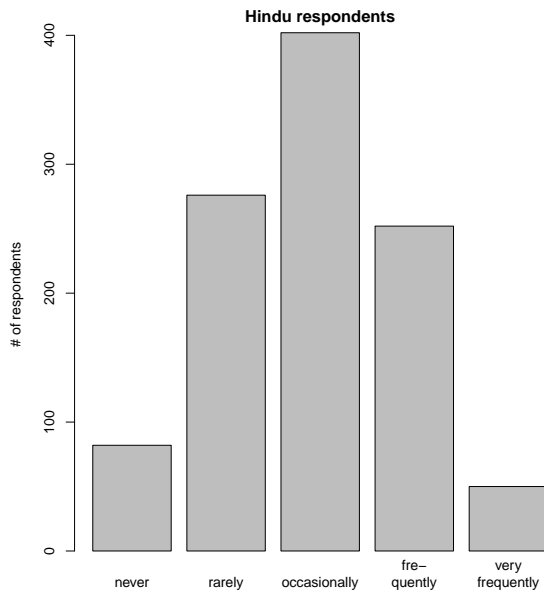


(f) **How many years did you spend in schools or colleges?**

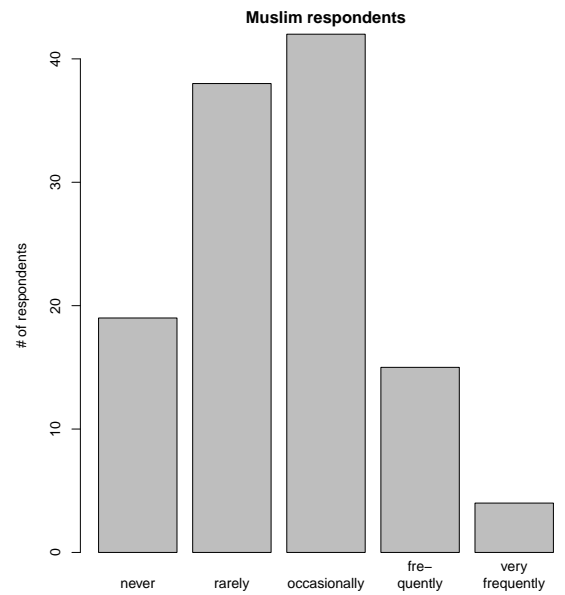
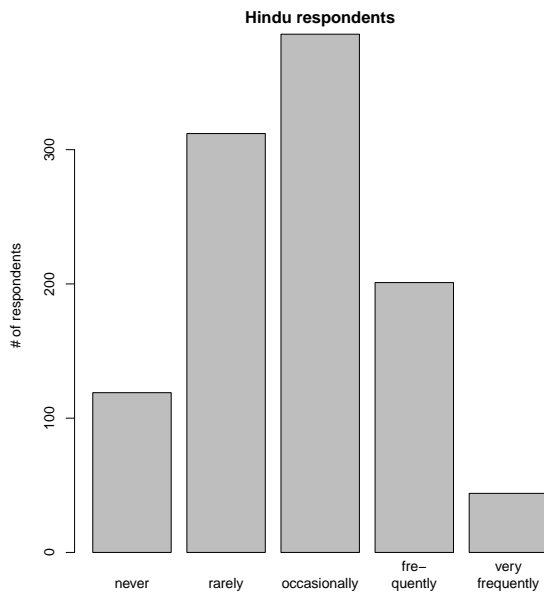
Based on the Indian school system, the options “6 or less”, “10”, “12”, and “15 or more” were given.

2. *Elite manipulation questions*

(a) **How much do politicians and religious leaders warn against past violence by <out-group>?**

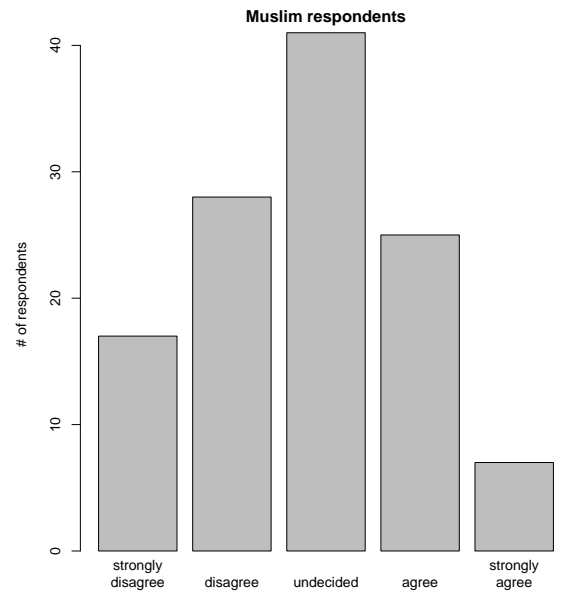
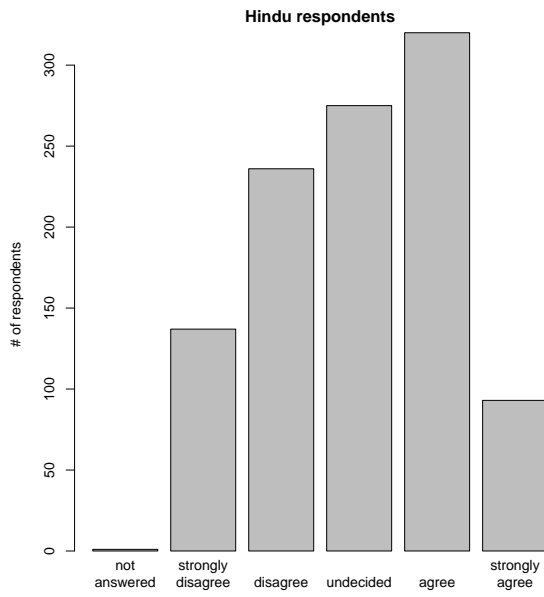


(b) How much do politicians and religious leaders warn against future violence by <out-group>?



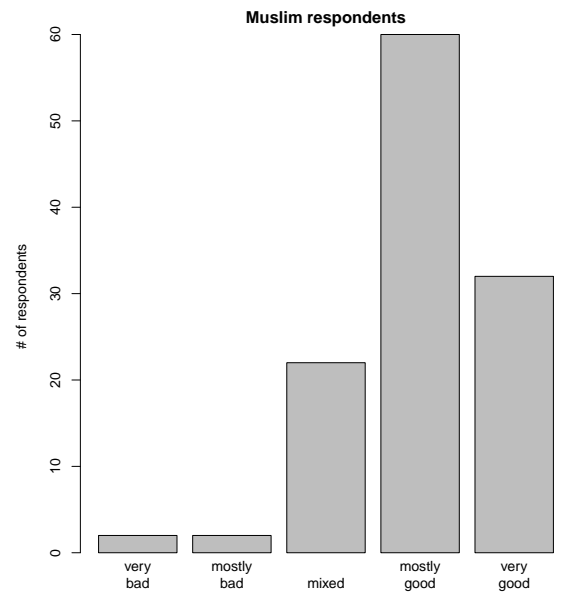
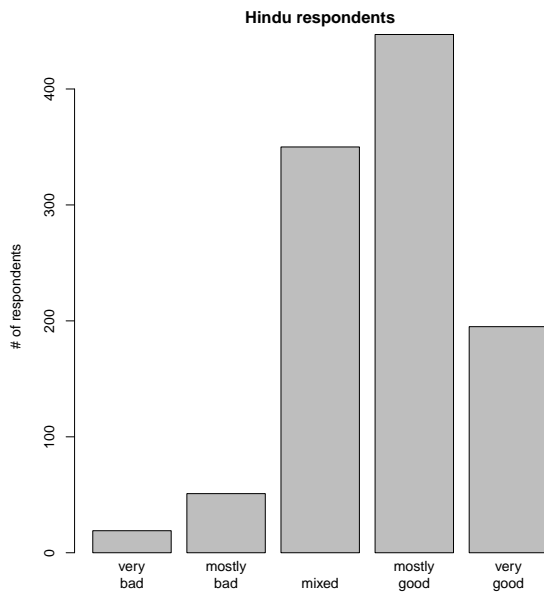
3. *Security dilemma question*

(a) How much do you agree with the following statement: “I am concerned about violence by <out-group> in the future”?

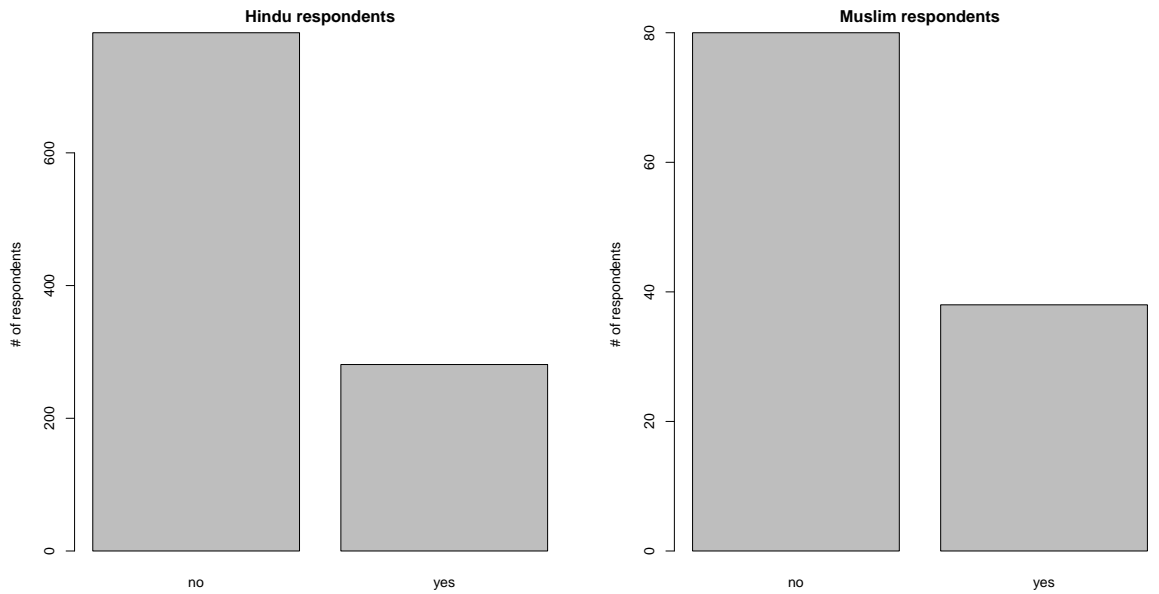


4. *Prejudice questions*

(a) How have your personal experiences been with <out-group>?

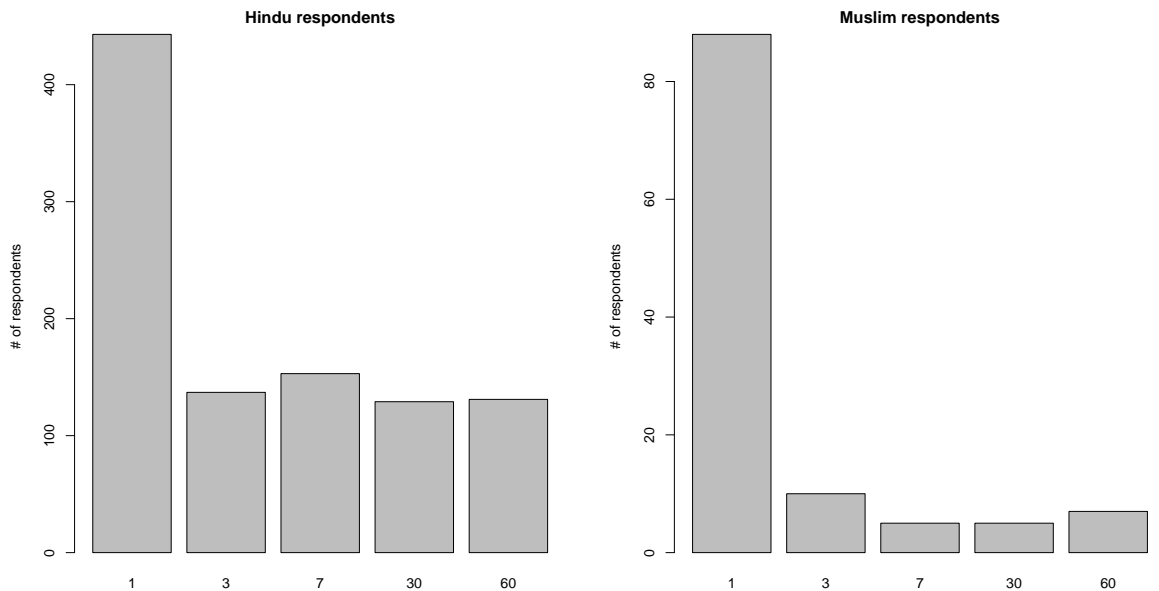


(b) Have you (or people you know personally) experienced violence by <out-group> in the past?



(c) **How often do you talk to <out-group>?**

For this question, respondents could indicate that they “don’t know” the answer. Otherwise they had to choose from these options: “less than once a month”, “once a month”, “once a week”, “twice a week”, or “every day”. The options were chosen so that respondents could give an intuitive best estimate. For the empirical analysis, they were replaced by intervals in days, i.e. 60, 30, 15, 7, 3, and 1.

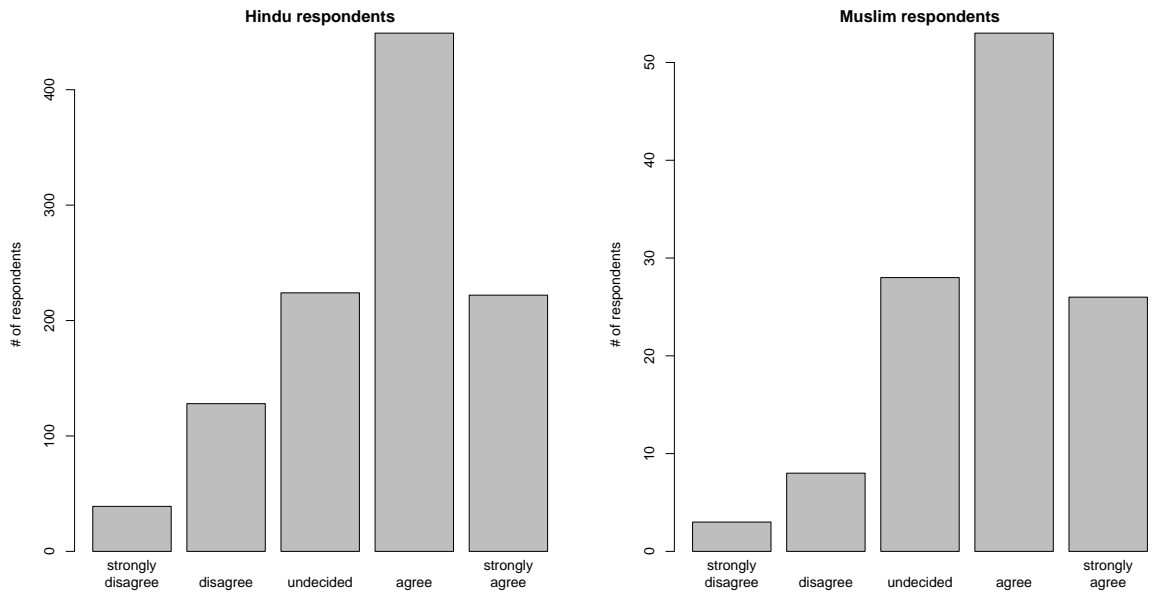


5. *Ideological controls*

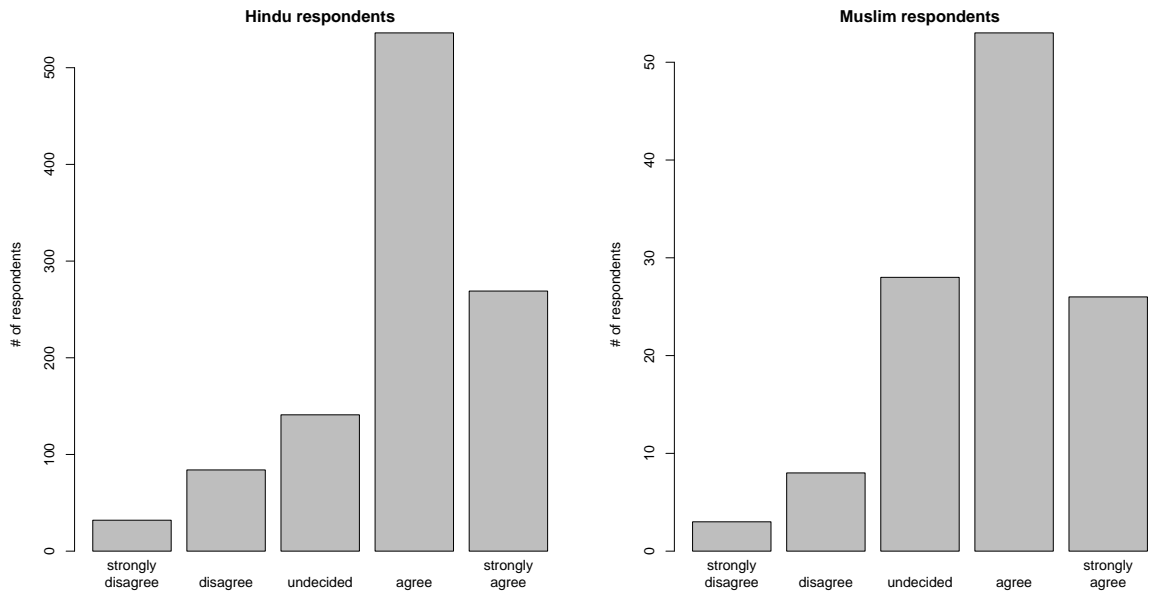
For these questions, respondents could choose from a five-point Likert scale. The options were “Strongly disagree”, “disagree”, are “Undecided”, “Agree”, or “Strongly agree”.

(a) **How much do you agree with the following statement: “People who**

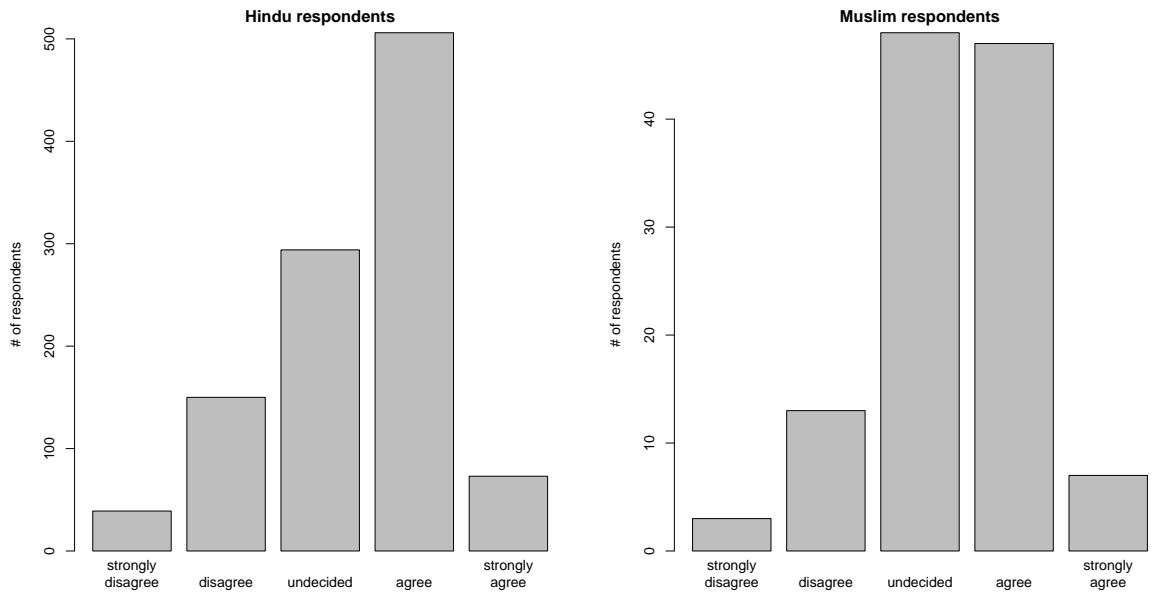
are wrong about politics should stay out of it”?



(b) How much do you agree with the following statement: “Having different opinions is important for democracy”?



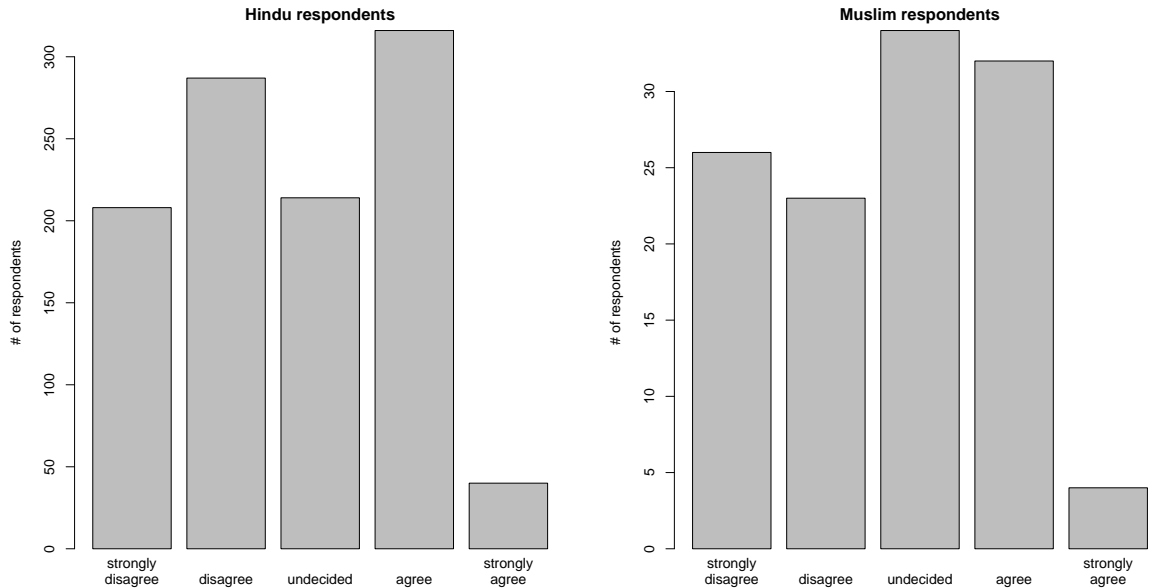
(c) How much do you agree with the following statement: “Other Hindus share my views on politics”?



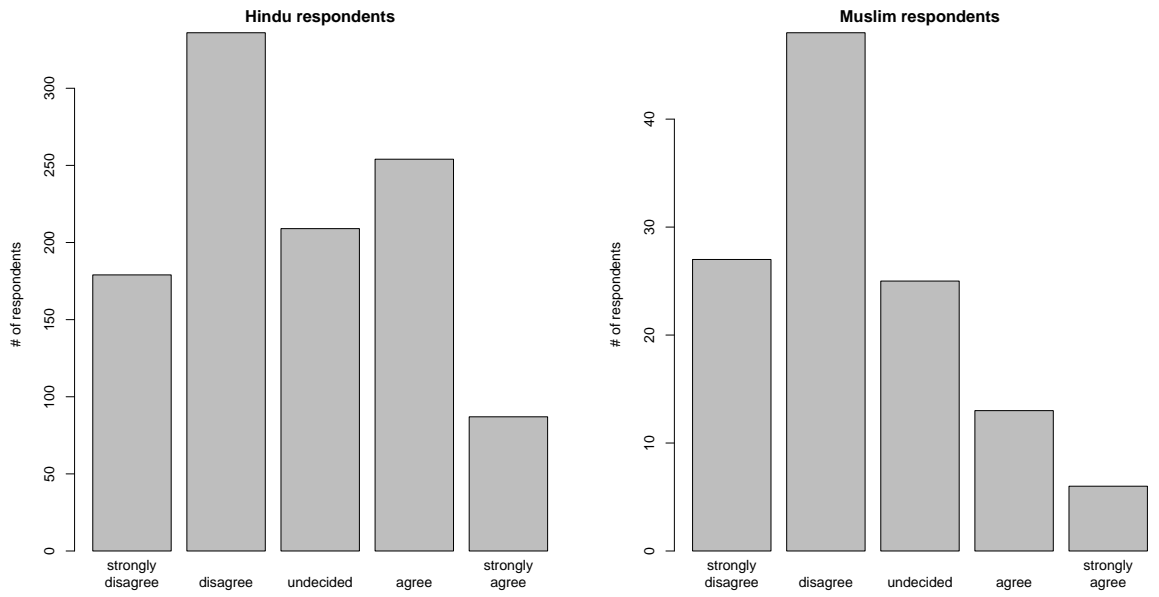
6. *Dependent questions*

For these questions, respondents could choose from a five-point Likert scale. The options were “Strongly disagree”, “disagree”, are “Undecided”, “Agree”, or “Strongly agree”.

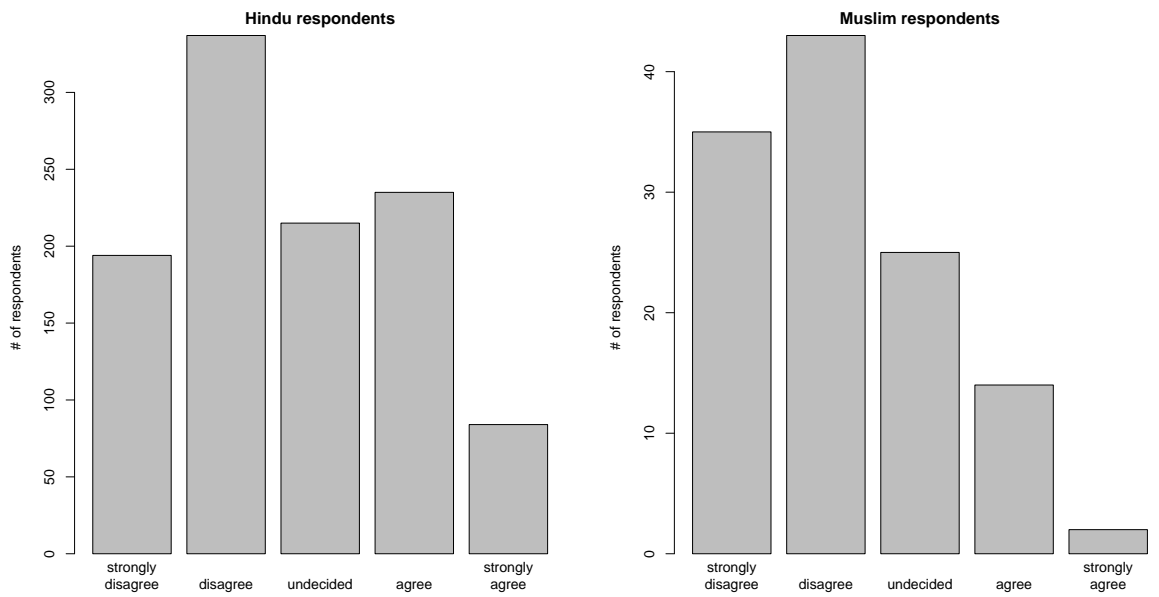
- (a) How much do you agree with the following statement: “Violence can be used for a just cause”



- (b) How much do you agree with the following statement: “How much do you agree with the following statement: “<out-group>” always create a lot of problems”?



(c) How much do you agree with the following statement: “<in-group> should take a stronger stance against <out-group>”?



3 Descriptive statistics for the independent variables

Table 3 on page 17 shows descriptive statistics for the independent variables.

4 Correlations for the independent variables

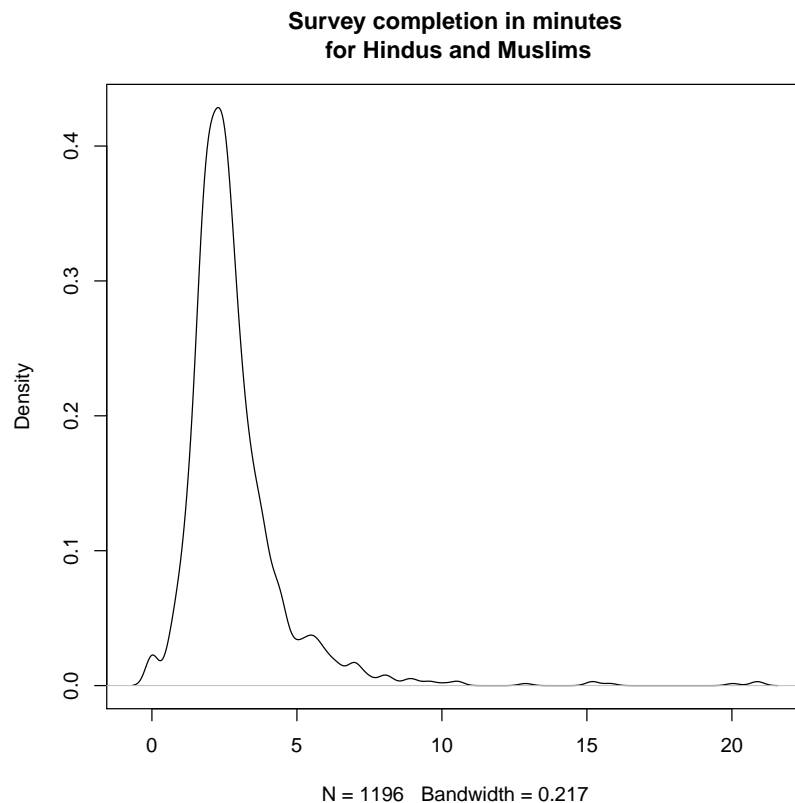
Table 4 on page 18 shows correlations between the independent variables.

5 Effects of question ordering

Table 5 on page 19 shows T-tests for effect of question order randomization.

6 Duration of survey completion

Survey durations until completion yields little variance across respondents. Of the 1,196 Hindus and Muslims, 50 completed the survey in under one minute and 93 took more than five minutes. Omission of these 143 observations does not change results substantively. A tight distribution of timings centered around three minutes suggests that respondents took comparable amounts of time to read, comprehend and answer the survey questions.



7 Robustness checks for the main analysis

Table 7 on page 21 communicates the results from Ordered Logistic Regression models. In order to rule out that the substantive results are entirely driven by respondents from Tamil Nadu, I reran the analysis on a subset of the data excluding respondents from that state (see table 11 on page 25). To illustrate that responses are not fully endogenous to city-level violence, I regressed support for a stronger stance on previous city riots and results are shown on page 23. Finally, I estimated a simple interaction between personal experiences and elite messaging to justify the FMM assumption that component models jointly “generate” the empirical sample. Corresponding results are shown on page 22.

8 Non-response by question

Table 8 on page 24 shows non-responses for the main independent variables.

9 Replication

Replication data and code are available at <http://sebastianschutte.net>.

Table 1: Results from the multivariate analysis of Hindu sentiments in the pilot study.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Experiences with Muslims	-0.368*** (0.080)			-0.262*** (0.080)	-0.252*** (0.083)	
Experienced violence by Muslims	0.752*** (0.204)			0.510** (0.202)	0.499** (0.210)	
Concerned about violence by Muslims		0.433*** (0.064)		0.282*** (0.069)	0.283*** (0.073)	-0.156* (0.087)
Leaders point to past problems			-0.062 (0.123)		-0.077 (0.109)	
Leaders point to future problems			0.181* (0.106)		0.099 (0.093)	
Years in school (6)					0.170 (0.613)	
Years in school (12)					-0.110 (0.473)	
Years in school (15)					-0.105 (0.412)	
Stronger stance against Muslims						0.289*** (0.093)
Preceding riots in city					0.138* (0.073)	
Constant	3.676*** (0.314)	1.197*** (0.227)	2.219*** (0.371)	2.371*** (0.423)	2.347*** (0.591)	2.284*** (0.295)
Observations	168	168	168	168	168	168
R ²	0.228	0.214	0.019	0.314	0.320	0.056
Adjusted R ²	0.218	0.209	0.008	0.297	0.282	0.044
Residual Std. Error	1.137	1.144	1.281	1.078	1.090	1.374
F Statistic	24.313***	45.097***	1.636	18.638***	8.280***	4.873***

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 2: Results from the multivariate analysis of Muslim sentiments in the pilot study.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Stronger stance against Hindus			Violence justified		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Experiences with Hindus	-0.518* (0.247)			-0.523** (0.201)	-0.391 (0.232)	
Experienced violence by Hindus	0.393 (0.463)				-0.759 (0.597)	-1.160* (0.534)
Concerned about violence by Hindus		0.539** (0.217)			0.478 (0.290)	0.576* (0.262)
Leaders point to past problems			0.655** (0.267)	0.573** (0.222)	0.703* (0.305)	0.308* (0.163)
Leaders point to future problems			-0.593** (0.263)	-0.587** (0.217)	-0.748** (0.289)	
Years in school (15)					-0.003 (0.431)	-1.173** (0.411)
Preceding riots in city					0.152 (0.153)	0.210 (0.123)
Constant	4.071*** (1.022)	0.655 (0.656)	1.981*** (0.571)	4.227*** (0.984)	2.453 (1.468)	0.270 (0.864)
Observations	15	15	15	15	15	15
R ²	0.339	0.322	0.347	0.595	0.723	0.697
Adjusted R ²	0.229	0.269	0.238	0.485	0.447	0.529
Residual Std. Error	0.826	0.804	0.821	0.675	0.700	0.680
F Statistic	3.077*	6.162**	3.191*	5.395**	2.614	4.147**

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	Var.	Mean	SD	Min.	Max.
Hindu sample	Age	2.69	0.89	1.00	6.00
	Gender	0.28	0.45	0.00	1.00
	Years in school	14.30	1.92	6.00	15.00
	Family relocation	0.83	0.38	0.00	1.00
	Rel. identification	2.40	0.62	1.00	3.00
	Political intolerance	3.65	1.05	1.00	5.00
	Democratic values	3.87	0.98	1.00	5.00
	Hindus share view	3.40	0.94	1.00	5.00
	Muslims create problems	2.75	1.22	1.00	5.00
	Personal security concerns	2.99	1.18	0.00	5.00
	Leaders warn (future)	2.76	1.02	1.00	5.00
	Leaders warn (past)	2.92	0.99	1.00	5.00
	Personal experiences	3.70	0.88	1.00	5.00
	Experienced violence	0.26	0.44	0.00	1.00
	Contact with Muslims	13.71	20.28	1.00	60.00
	City riots (ACLED)	0.79	1.67	0.00	7.00
Muslim sample	Age	2.37	0.56	1.00	4.00
	Gender	0.26	0.44	0.00	1.00
	Years in school	14.34	1.53	6.00	15.00
	Family relocation	0.78	0.42	0.00	1.00
	Rel. identification	2.61	0.64	1.00	3.00
	Political intolerance	3.77	0.96	1.00	5.00
	Democratic values	3.70	1.05	1.00	5.00
	Muslims share view	3.35	0.85	1.00	5.00
	Hindus “create problems”	2.35	1.10	1.00	5.00
	Personal security concerns	2.80	1.12	1.00	5.00
	Leaders warn (future)	2.55	1.02	1.00	5.00
	Leaders warn (past)	2.82	0.99	1.00	5.00
	Personal experiences	4.00	0.83	1.00	5.00
	Experienced violence	0.33	0.47	0.00	1.00
	Contact with Hindus	6.33	15.04	1.00	60.00
	City riots (ACLED)	0.55	1.38	0.00	7.00

Table 3: Descriptive statistics for the main independent variables. “Age” designates the approximate age group in decades, where 1 means 20 to 30 and 6 means 60 or older. Note that “contact” refers to the estimated number of days between contacts with out-group members. Variables five numerical response options refer to Likert items, i.e. indicated levels of agreement to associated statements ranging from “strong disagreement” to “strong agreement”.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
Age (1)	1.00														
Gender (2)	0.12	1.00													
Years in school (3)	0.06	-0.01	1.00												
Family relocation (4)	0.12	0.04	0.17	1.00											
Rel. identification (5)	0.07	0.07	0.02	-0.05	1.00										
Political intolerance (6)	0.04	0.01	0.10	0.02	0.05	1.00									
Democratic values (7)	-0.01	-0.01	0.11	0.04	-0.01	0.14	1.00								
In-group shares view (8)	-0.04	0.01	0.03	-0.08	0.17	0.14	0.14	1.00							
Out-group "creates problems" (9)	0.03	0.01	-0.03	-0.15	0.16	0.03	0.01	0.20	1.00						
Personal concerns (10)	0.01	-0.00	0.01	-0.09	0.14	0.09	0.06	0.18	0.58	1.00					
Leaders warn (future) (11)	-0.04	0.03	0.02	-0.08	0.07	0.15	0.09	0.16	0.23	0.27	1.00				
Leaders warn (past) (12)	-0.05	0.00	0.05	-0.04	0.01	0.13	0.13	0.12	0.18	0.26	0.62	1.00			
Personal experiences (13)	0.06	-0.01	0.13	0.12	-0.10	0.13	0.12	-0.03	-0.47	-0.36	-0.10	-0.08	1.00		
Experienced violence (14)	-0.06	-0.03	-0.07	-0.24	0.11	0.04	0.02	0.10	0.35	0.31	0.18	0.15	-0.32	1.00	
Contact with out-group (15)	0.04	0.03	-0.02	0.01	-0.01	-0.06	-0.03	-0.01	0.17	0.09	0.02	0.01	-0.25	0.01	1.00
Age (1)	1.00														
Gender (2)	0.02	1.00													
Years in school (3)	-0.03	0.04	1.00												
Family relocation (4)	0.07	0.04	0.25	1.00											
Rel. identification (5)	0.01	0.09	0.14	0.11	1.00										
Political intolerance (6)	-0.16	0.03	0.12	0.14	0.20	1.00									
Democratic values (7)	0.07	0.03	0.10	0.23	0.01	0.25	1.00								
In-group shares view (8)	-0.06	0.07	0.06	-0.01	0.08	0.30	0.25	1.00							
Out-group "creates problems" (9)	-0.00	-0.07	-0.24	-0.16	0.14	0.02	-0.17	0.02	1.00						
Personal concerns (10)	-0.07	0.14	0.00	-0.15	0.17	0.27	-0.07	0.08	0.38	1.00					
Leaders warn (future) (11)	-0.21	0.11	-0.02	-0.12	0.02	0.15	0.10	0.19	0.31	0.38	1.00				
Leaders warn (past) (12)	-0.25	0.12	-0.02	-0.27	-0.10	0.10	0.01	-0.05	0.11	0.30	0.53	1.00			
Personal experiences (13)	-0.13	0.05	0.04	0.17	-0.05	0.11	0.16	0.04	-0.37	-0.19	0.06	0.05	1.00		
Experienced violence (14)	-0.01	-0.13	0.02	-0.27	-0.01	-0.06	-0.10	-0.01	0.20	0.19	0.09	0.18	-0.40	1.00	
Contact with out-group (15)	0.14	-0.02	0.06	-0.16	0.11	-0.10	-0.20	-0.02	0.10	0.05	-0.00	-0.02	-0.29	0.15	1.00

Table 4: Correlations between the independent variables. The upper section of the table shows the correlations for the Hindus sample, and Muslims are represented in the lower section. Several measured concepts are positively correlated, such as reporting of leaders that point to past and future atrocities. Apart from that, strong multicollinearity between the independent variables can be ruled out for the multivariate analysis.

Variable	Mean of A	Mean of B	P-Value	CI low	CI high
1 Leaders warn about Muslims (future)	2.81	2.70	0.07	-0.01	0.24
2 Leaders warn about Muslims (past)	2.97	2.87	0.12	-0.02	0.22
3 Personal concerns about Muslims	3.09	2.90	0.01	0.04	0.33
4 Personal experiences with Muslims	3.67	3.74	0.23	-0.17	0.04
5 Experienced violence by Muslims	1.28	1.25	0.31	-0.03	0.08
6 Contact with Muslims	4.41	4.39	0.80	-0.18	0.23
7 Political intolerance (amongst Hindus)	3.68	3.61	0.23	-0.05	0.20
8 Democratic values (amongst Hindus)	3.89	3.86	0.63	-0.09	0.15
9 Hindus share view	3.46	3.34	0.03	0.01	0.24
10 Hindus stronger against Muslims	2.74	2.65	0.23	-0.06	0.24
11 Violence justified (for Hindus)	2.71	2.71	0.97	-0.14	0.15
12 Muslims “create problems”	2.87	2.64	0.00	0.09	0.38
13 Leaders warn about Hindus (future)	2.59	2.53	0.77	-0.34	0.46
14 Leaders warn about Hindus (past)	2.85	2.80	0.80	-0.34	0.45
15 Personal concerns about Hindus	2.88	2.76	0.60	-0.32	0.55
16 Personal experiences with Hindus	4.15	3.92	0.14	-0.08	0.53
17 Experienced violence by Hindus	1.32	1.33	0.90	-0.19	0.17
18 Contact with Hindus	5.61	5.18	0.06	-0.02	0.88
19 Political intolerance (amongst Muslims)	4.02	3.63	0.03	0.05	0.74
20 Democratic values (amongst Muslims)	3.78	3.66	0.56	-0.29	0.54
21 Muslims share view	3.37	3.34	0.88	-0.28	0.33
22 Muslims stronger against Hindus	2.09	2.25	0.43	-0.56	0.24
23 Violence justified (for Muslims)	2.37	2.88	0.03	-0.97	-0.05
24 Hindus “create problems”	2.35	2.35	0.99	-0.42	0.42

Table 5: This table shows T-tests for randomized question ordering. Note that several significant test results are expected under the null hypothesis, as the test is repeated for all 24 variables. “Mean of A” being higher than “mean of B” suggests that respondents who were asked about experiences first yield higher agreement. Table 5 on the next page shows results were question ordering is included as an explanatory variable.

Table 6: Results from the multivariate analysis of sentiments and violence approval with control for question ordering.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>						
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Stronger stance against outgroup							
Age	-0.038 (0.033)	-0.035 (0.033)	0.187*** (0.029)				0.209*** (0.038)
Gender	0.090 (0.062)	0.080 (0.063)	0.456*** (0.055)				-0.131*** (0.041)
Years in school	-0.016 (0.015)	-0.012 (0.015)	0.005 (0.008)				-0.078 (0.078)
Family relocation	-0.258*** (0.075)	-0.270*** (0.076)	-0.595*** (0.078)				-0.034* (0.019)
Religious identification	0.104** (0.046)	0.112** (0.047)	-0.159*** (0.048)				-0.139 (0.094)
Political tolerance	0.049* (0.028)	0.041 (0.028)	0.007 (0.031)				0.040 (0.058)
Democratic values	-0.007 (0.029)	-0.003 (0.029)	0.061** (0.031)				-0.020 (0.035)
Ingroup shares view	0.147*** (0.031)	0.143*** (0.032)	0.062 (0.038)				-0.017 (0.036)
Outgroup "creates problems"	0.423*** (0.031)	0.412*** (0.031)	0.392*** (0.032)				0.101** (0.039)
Personal concerns	0.148*** (0.030)	0.159*** (0.031)	0.285*** (0.030)	0.390*** (0.024)			0.064 (0.041)
Leaders warn (future)	0.043 (0.035)	0.046 (0.035)	0.192*** (0.029)		0.225*** (0.034)		-0.026 (0.038)
Leaders warn (past)	-0.058* (0.035)	-0.058 (0.036)	-0.048 (0.035)		-0.075 (0.046)		0.029 (0.043)
Personal experiences	-0.115*** (0.038)	-0.112*** (0.039)	-0.181*** (0.039)			-0.584*** (0.040)	-0.048 (0.044)
Experienced violence	0.104 (0.070)	0.121* (0.072)	-0.138* (0.072)			0.405*** (0.082)	0.053 (0.087)
Contact with outgroup	0.003* (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.005*** (0.001)			-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
City riots	0.020 (0.017)	0.014 (0.023)	0.009 (0.017)				-0.012 (0.021)
Religions group	-0.315*** (0.094)	-0.321*** (0.097)	0.145 (0.204)	0.018 (0.297)	0.004 (0.324)	0.258 (0.287)	-0.003 (0.118)
Question ordering	0.078 (0.056)	0.067 (0.056)	0.338*** (0.056)	0.150*** (0.056)	0.227*** (0.061)	0.330*** (0.056)	0.093 (0.069)
Regional FE	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
Poststratification	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
Observations	1,101	1,101	1,083	1,153	1,153	1,083	1,101
R ²	0.446	0.459	0.655	0.267	0.131	0.290	0.095
Adjusted R ²	0.437	0.437	0.641	0.249	0.108	0.271	0.079

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 7: Ordered logistic regression results for the main analysis. Please note that fixed effects and poststratification weights are omitted in this robustness check.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>				
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
		stronger_against_outgroup			violence_justified
Age	-0.078 (0.069)				-0.208*** (0.066)
Gender	0.202 (0.128)				0.003 (0.123)
Years in school	-0.023 (0.031)				-0.055* (0.029)
Family relocation	-0.518*** (0.161)				-0.264* (0.152)
Rel. identification	0.236** (0.097)				0.044 (0.093)
Political intolerance	0.073 (0.059)				-0.030 (0.057)
Democratic values	-0.036 (0.062)				-0.020 (0.059)
Ingroup shares view	0.300*** (0.066)				0.168*** (0.064)
Outgroup "creates problems"	0.901*** (0.069)				0.103 (0.066)
Personal concerns	0.335*** (0.065)	0.848*** (0.053)			-0.050 (0.061)
Leaders warn (future)	0.059 (0.072)		0.360*** (0.066)		0.050 (0.071)
Leaders warn (past)	-0.112 (0.074)		-0.005 (0.067)		-0.058 (0.071)
Personal experiences	-0.281*** (0.080)			-0.749*** (0.073)	0.092 (0.078)
Experienced violence	0.090 (0.143)			0.814*** (0.133)	0.057 (0.137)
Contact with out-group	0.005 (0.003)			0.006** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)
City riots	0.039 (0.035)				-0.019 (0.034)
Religion	-0.590*** (0.193)	-0.669*** (0.181)	-0.653*** (0.175)	-0.667*** (0.184)	0.008 (0.186)
Observations	1,101	1,173	1,173	1,101	1,101

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Stronger against outgroup
Leaders warn (future)	0.462*** (0.129)
Personal experiences	-0.327*** (0.096)
Leaders warn (future) × Personal experiences	-0.069** (0.033)
Constant	3.307*** (0.383)
Observations	1,173
R ²	0.182
Adjusted R ²	0.180
Residual Std. Error	1.099 (df = 1169)
F Statistic	86.674*** (df = 3; 1169)
<i>Note:</i>	*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 8: Interaction specification for elites and experiences.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
	Stronger against Muslims (1)	Stronger against Hindus (2)	Violence approval (Hindus) (3)	Violence approval (Muslims) (4)
City riots	0.017 (0.022)	0.058 (0.070)	-0.002 (0.022)	-0.004 (0.079)
Constant	2.685*** (0.041)	2.163*** (0.104)	2.711*** (0.041)	2.697*** (0.118)
Observations	1,061	118	1,061	118
R ²	0.001	0.006	0.00001	0.00002
Adjusted R ²	-0.0004	-0.003	-0.001	-0.009
F Statistic	0.575 (df = 1; 1059)	0.690 (df = 1; 116)	0.007 (df = 1; 1059)	0.002 (df = 1; 116)

Note: *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Table 9: Previous riots in the same city are not significantly associated with a stronger stance or violence approval.

	Variable	Non-response
1	Group affiliation	0
2	Stronger stance	17
3	Security concerns	21
4	Leaders warn (future)	21
5	Leaders warn (past)	21
6	Experiences	21
7	Experienced violence	21
8	Contact	93
9	Others share view	21
10	Outgroup causes probs	17

Table 10: Information on non-response from the combined dataset of 1,196 Hindus and Muslims for the key independent variables. Due to the survey mode (reimbursed online questionnaire), most questions required a substantive answer. If the option to not provide answers had been given, participants could have quickly navigated to the logout page to obtain keys for the MTurk reimbursement. The small number of non-responses can have different causes. Participants might have voluntarily or involuntarily closed their web sessions. The “contact” question offered an “I don’t know” option, because respondents might credibly not be able to judge the frequency of intergroup interactions. Even in this case non-response was below 10%.

Table 11: The full model from the main analysis fitted on a subset of the data excluding respondents from Tamil Nadu.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>
	Stronger against out-group
Age	-0.007 (0.039)
Gender	0.109 (0.080)
Years in school	-0.016 (0.021)
Family relocation	-0.179* (0.093)
Religious identification	0.132** (0.057)
Political intolerance	0.043 (0.034)
Democratic values	-0.025 (0.036)
In-group shares view	0.181*** (0.038)
Out-group “creates problems”	0.468*** (0.038)
Personal concerns	0.096** (0.038)
Leaders warn (future)	0.037 (0.043)
Leaders warn (past)	-0.058 (0.044)
Personal experiences	-0.147*** (0.048)
Experienced violence	0.084 (0.084)
Contact with out-group	0.004** (0.002)
City riots	0.025 (0.022)
Religion	-0.256** (0.104)
Constant	0.987** (0.440)
Observations	601
R ²	0.479
Adjusted R ²	0.465
Residual Std. Error	0.897 (df = 584)
F Statistic	33.610*** (df = 16; 584)

Note:

²⁵ *p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01