

Appendix for “Imperfect Victims? Civilian Men, Vulnerability and Policy Preferences”, *American Political Science Review*

Authors: Anne-Kathrin Kreft and Mattias Agerberg

Appendix A: Characteristics of samples

Table A1: Sample characteristics, Study 1

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	1283	44.574	16.283	18	84
Female	1294	.505	.5	0	1
College degree	1292	.58	.494	0	1
Democrat	1294	.502	.5	0	1
Republican	1294	.148	.356	0	1
Black/African American	1294	.132	.339	0	1
White/Caucasian	1294	.724	.447	0	1
Hispanic/Latino/a	1294	.056	.229	0	1

Table A2: Sample characteristics, Study 2

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	1276	45.197	16.266	18	92
Female	1284	.506	.5	0	1
College degree	1276	.592	.492	0	1
Democrat	1280	.481	.5	0	1
Republican	1280	.183	.387	0	1
Black/African American	1280	.127	.333	0	1
White/Caucasian	1280	.734	.442	0	1
Hispanic/Latino/a	1280	.056	.23	0	1

Table A3: Sample characteristics, Study 3

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	2502	37.16	13.905	18	92
Female	2518	.558	.497	0	1
College degree	2500	.615	.487	0	1
Democrat	2501	.311	.463	0	1
Republican	2501	.291	.454	0	1
Black/African American	2504	.052	.222	0	1
White/Caucasian	2504	.783	.412	0	1
Hispanic/Latino/a	2504	.05	.218	0	1

Table A2b: Sample characteristics, Study 2, UK replication

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	1018	42.144	14.036	18	84
Female	1022	.501	.5	0	1
University degree	1022	.631	.483	0	1
Conservative	1022	.341	.474	0	1
Labour	1022	.463	.499	0	1
Liberal dem.	1022	.069	.254	0	1
Other party	1022	.127	.333	0	1

Table A3b: Sample characteristics, Study 3, UK replication

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Age	2539	41.611	13.946	18	82
Female	2546	.499	.5	0	1
University degree	2540	.644	.479	0	1
Conservative	2546	.342	.475	0	1
Labour	2546	.451	.498	0	1
Liberal dem.	2546	.065	.247	0	1
Other party	2546	.141	.349	0	1

Appendix B: Heterogeneous effects

Are the effects in the main manuscript contingent on certain respondent characteristics? To explore this, we report the main results in study 3 disaggregated by gender, ideology, education, and age. We focus on perceptions about male victimization (Figure 4 in the main text) and the effect of the information treatment on anti-male preferences (Figure 6 in the main text). These two analyses capture the crux of our argument, namely that respondents underestimate the rate of male victimization and that information about actual rates of victimization can influence beliefs and policy opinions. We choose to replicate results from study 3 since the study has by far the largest number of respondents and therefore the highest power to conduct subgroup analyses. We report the results graphically, since we believe this gives the best overview and since none of the subgroup analyses were pre-registered (we therefore think reporting statistics like p-values are less helpful).

In short, the subgroup analyses show little evidence of important heterogeneity related to the aforementioned respondent characteristics. All subgroups show similar belief patterns related to male victimization and all subgroups show less anti-male bias in response to the information treatment (the latter effect is slightly weaker, but still statistically significant, among Republicans). This thus suggests that the patterns reported in the main text are quite general and not specific to any particular group of respondents. Moreover, the lack of evidence for strong effect heterogeneity allows us to be cautiously optimistic about the generalizability of the results to the US population. As per the argument in Hartmann (2021), if there exists no or little treatment effect heterogeneity, results will generalize even if the sample is not representative of the larger population on all characteristics (see also Coppock et al. (2018)). Since we find little evidence of important effect heterogeneity, we believe it is reasonable to at least tentatively view the results in the paper as generalizable to the larger US population. The full results table on which Figures A8-A12 were generated can be found in Appendix C: Table A9.

Gender

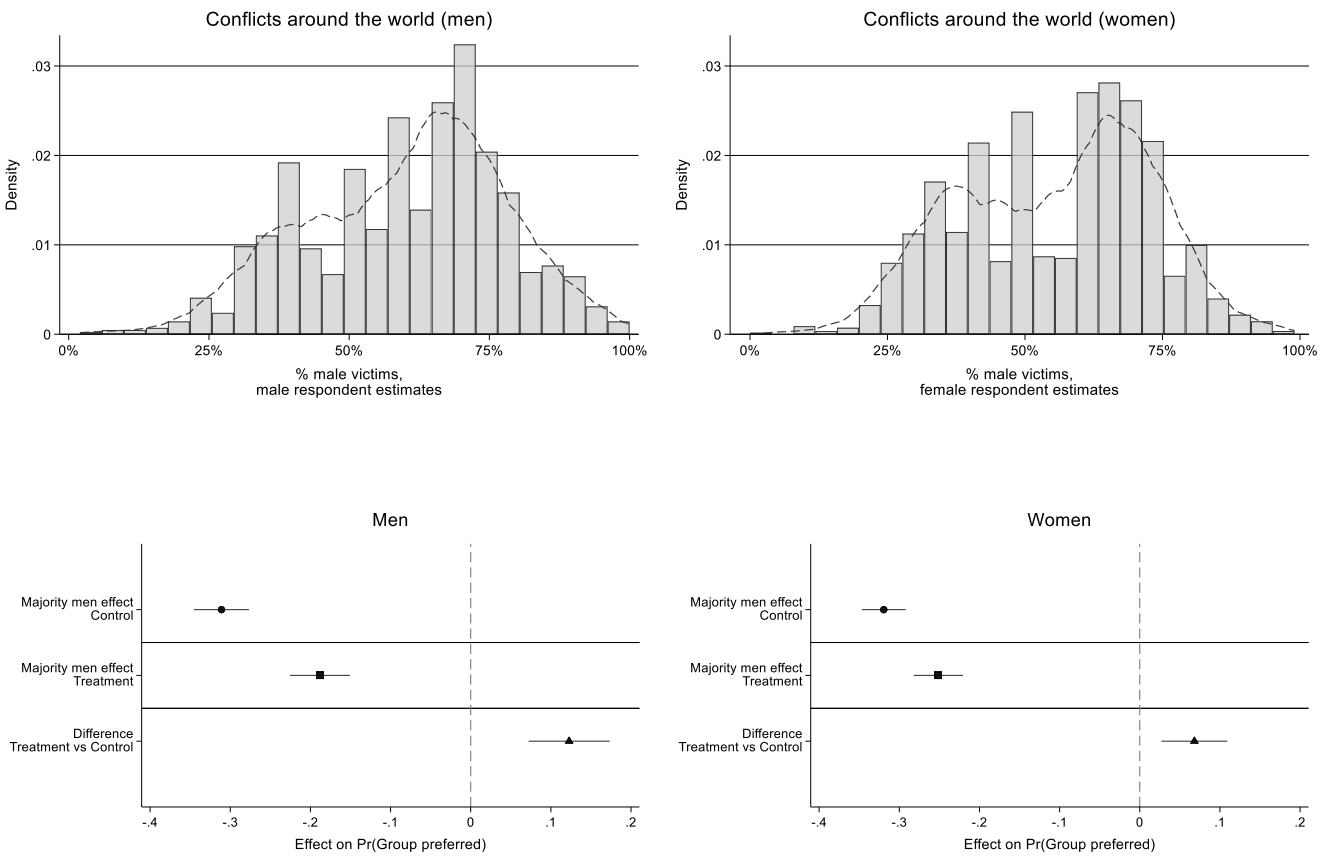
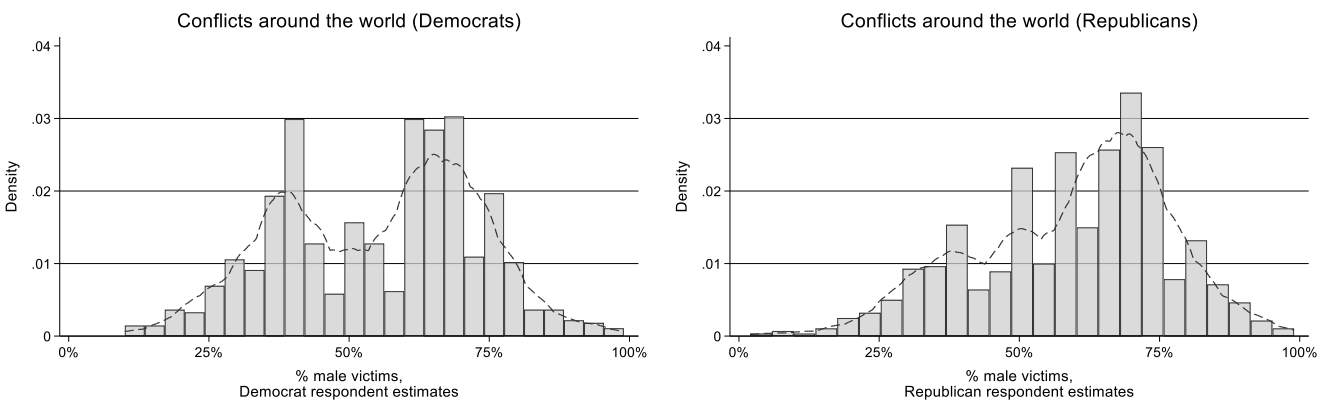


Figure A8. Main results from Study 3 disaggregated by gender. The top panel shows a histogram of respondents' estimates of the share of male casualties in conflicts around the world with overlaid kernel density estimate. The bottom panel shows the treatment effect for the majority men variable for respondents in the control group and in the treatment group, respectively, as well as the difference between the groups. Estimates based on a linear probability model (estimated with OLS) with standard errors clustered at the respondent level. All other coefficients are omitted from the graph. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The full results table is included in Appendix C: Table A9, columns (1) and (2).

Ideology



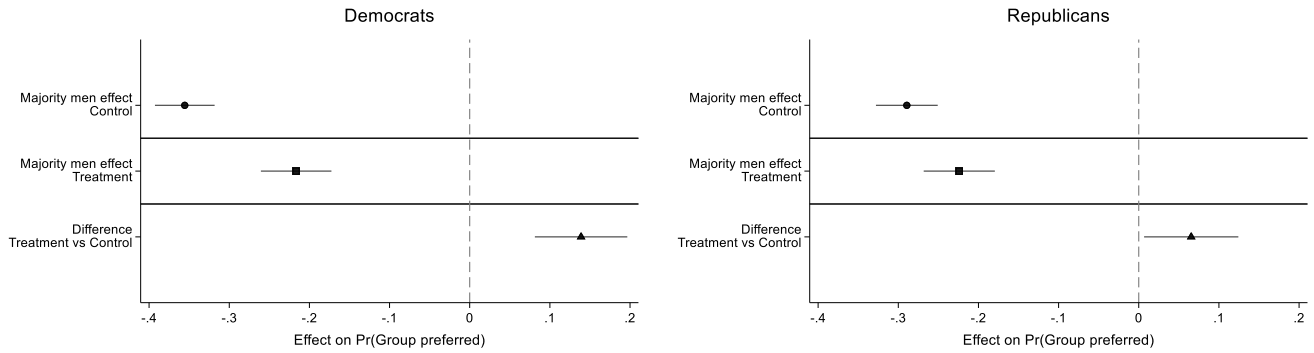


Figure A9. Main results from Study 3 disaggregated by ideology. The top panel shows a histogram of respondents' estimates of the share of male casualties in conflicts around the world with overlaid kernel density estimate. The bottom panel shows the treatment effect for the majority men variable for respondents in the control group and in the treatment group, respectively, as well as the difference between the groups. Estimates based on a linear probability model (estimated with OLS) with standard errors clustered at the respondent level. All other coefficients are omitted from the graph. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The full results table is included in Appendix C: Table A9, columns (3) and (4).

Education

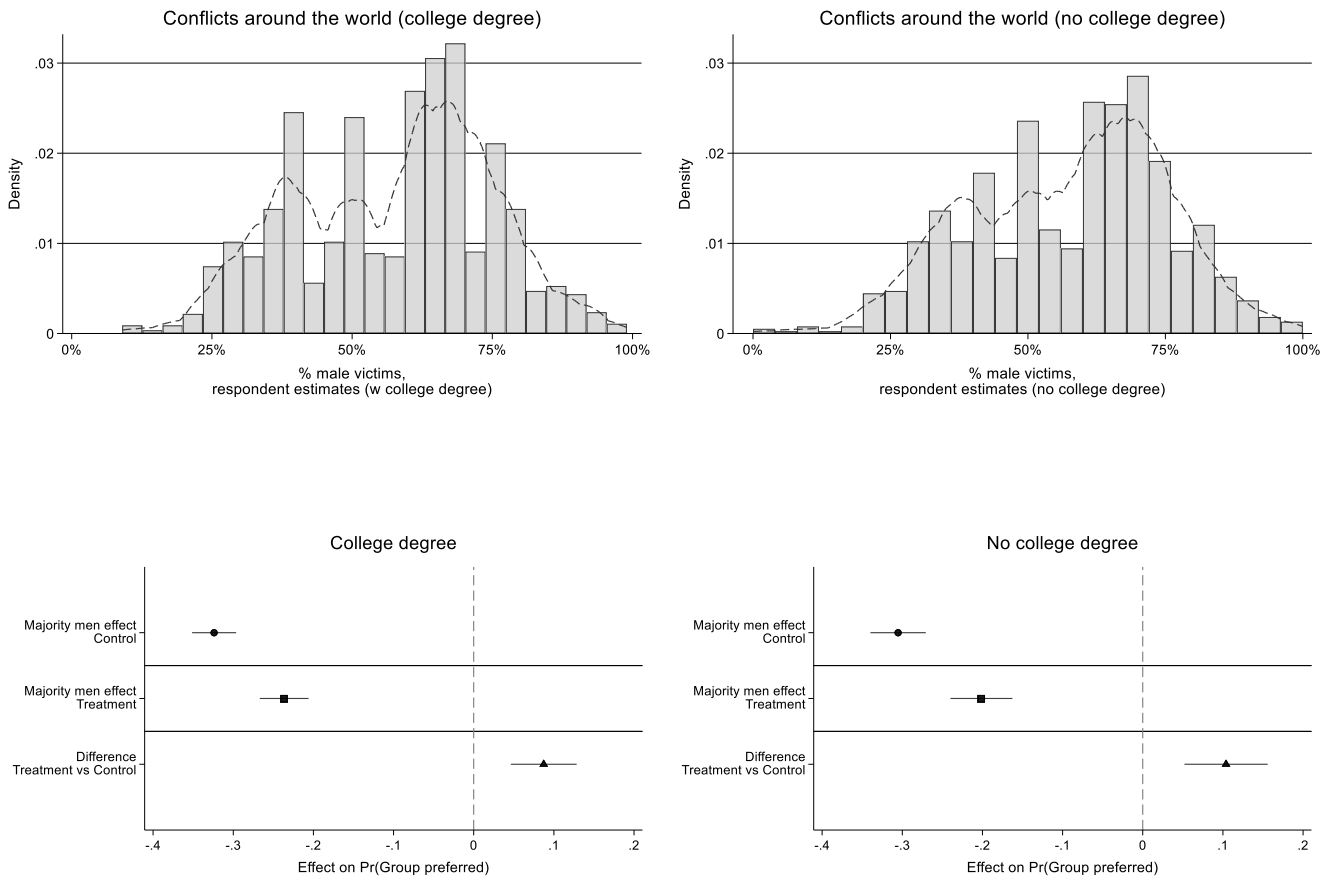


Figure A10. Main results from Study 3 disaggregated by education. The top panel shows a histogram of respondents' estimates of the share of male casualties in conflicts around the world with overlaid kernel density estimate. The bottom panel shows the treatment effect for the majority men variable for respondents in the control group and in the treatment group, respectively, as well as the difference between the groups. Estimates based on a linear probability model (estimated with OLS) with standard errors clustered at the respondent level. All other coefficients are omitted from the graph. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The full results table is included in Appendix C: Table A9, columns (5) and (6).

Age

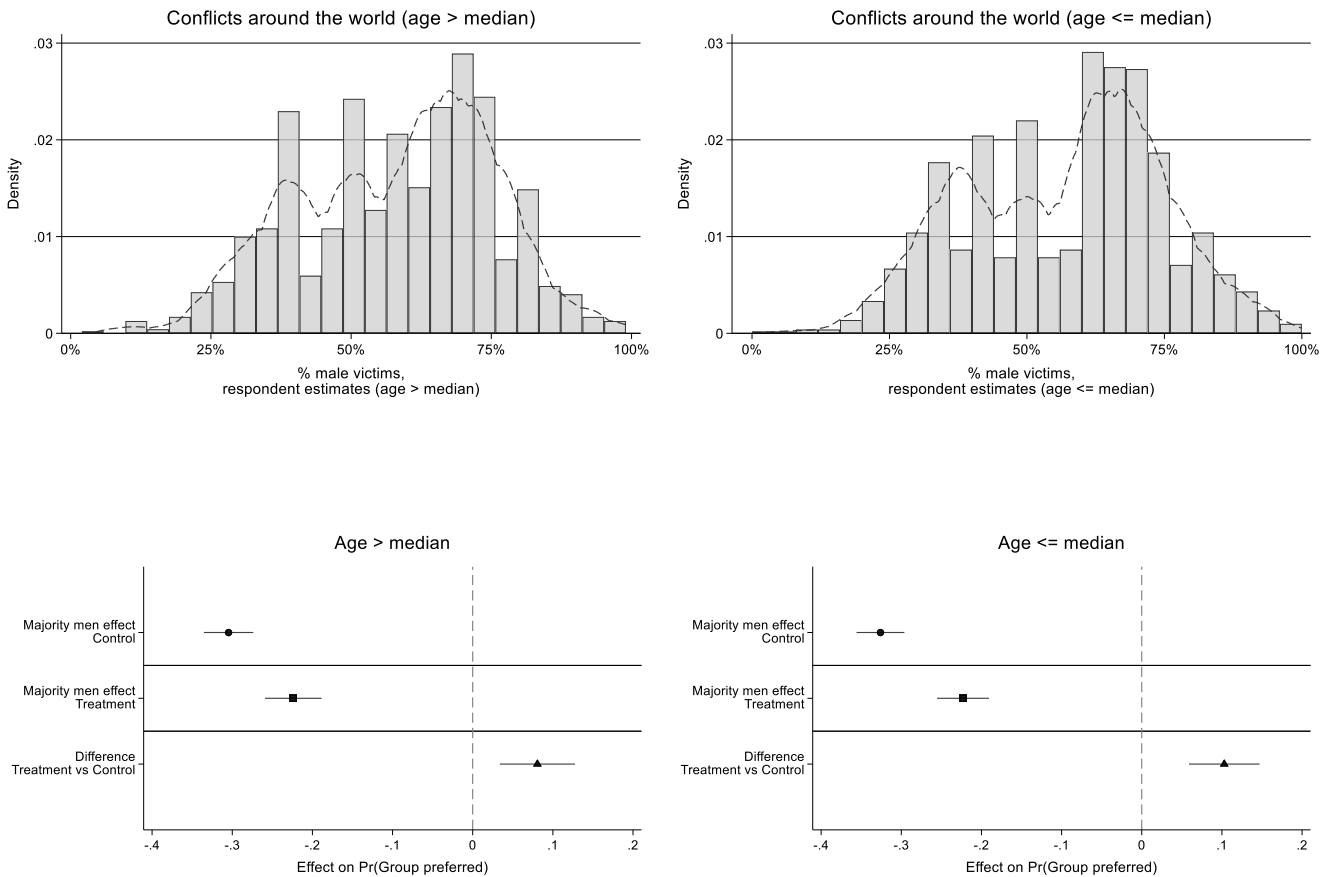


Figure A11. Main results from Study 3 disaggregated by age. The top panel shows a histogram of respondents' estimates of the share of male casualties in conflicts around the world with overlaid kernel density estimate. The bottom panel shows the treatment effect for the majority men variable for respondents in the control group and in the treatment group, respectively, as well as the difference between the groups. Estimates based on a linear probability model (estimated with OLS) with standard errors clustered at the respondent level. All other coefficients are omitted from the graph. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The full results table is included in Appendix C: Table A9, columns (7) and (8).

Race

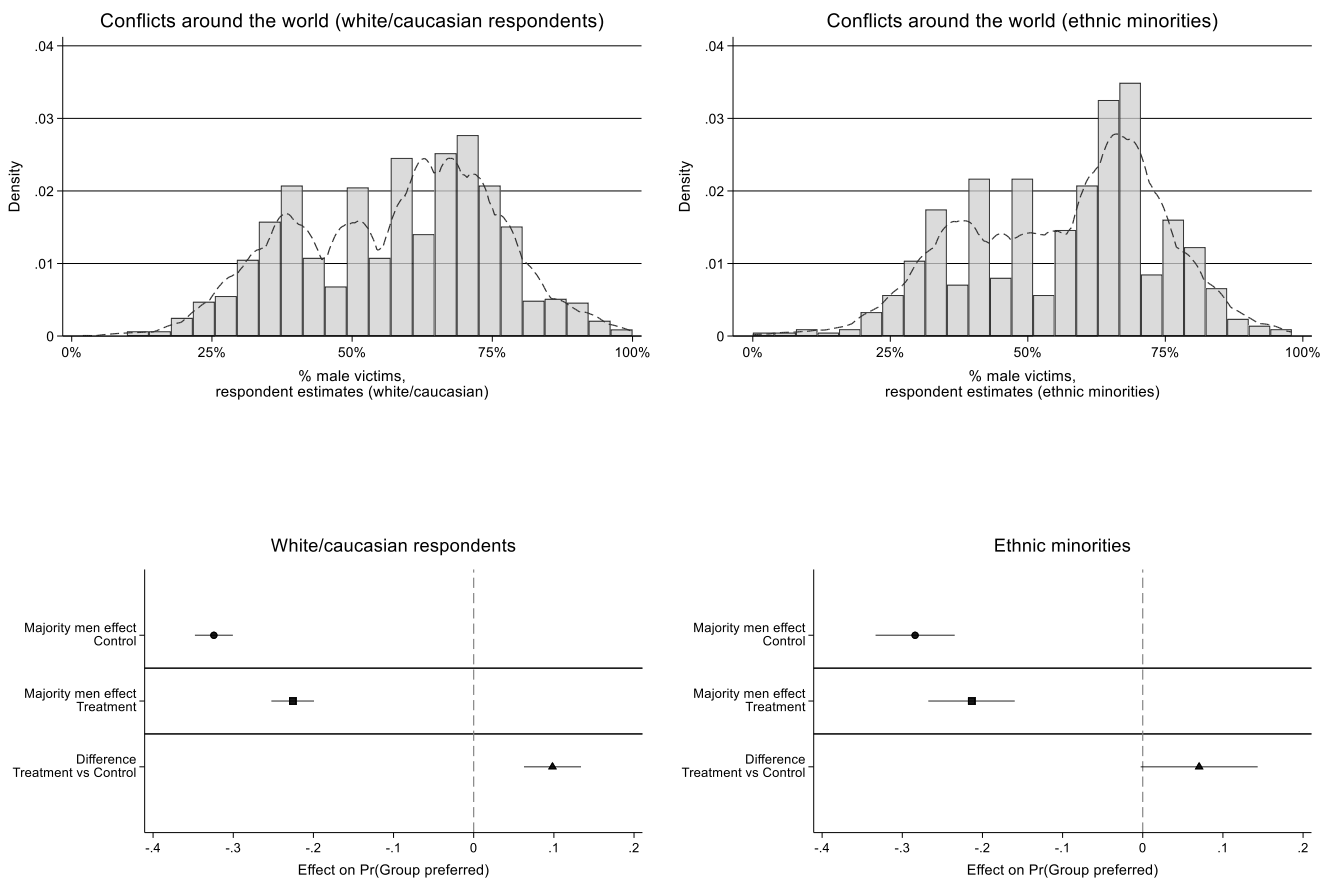


Figure A12. Main results from Study 3 disaggregated by race. The top panel shows a histogram of respondents' estimates of the share of male casualties in conflicts around the world with overlaid kernel density estimate. The bottom panel shows the treatment effect for the majority men variable for respondents in the control group and in the treatment group, respectively, as well as the difference between the groups. Estimates based on a linear probability model (estimated with OLS) with standard errors clustered at the respondent level. All other coefficients are omitted from the graph. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The full results table is included in Appendix C: Table A9, columns (9) and (10).

Appendix C: UK replication

We decided to replicate the main results in our study to test the generalizability of our argument. We did this by conducting direct replications of Study 2 (the vignette study) and study 3 (the conjoint study) with respondents from the UK. This thus allows us to test both the spatial and temporal generalizability of our argument since the replications were carried out both in a different country and in a dramatically different geopolitical context, due to the war in Ukraine. Finding similar results despite these important differences would hence strengthen our belief that our argument is not only applicable to the US at a specific point in time but could rather apply also to other countries that are similar to the US and the UK.

Due to budget constraints we decided to replicate Study 2 and 3 only. However, the studies taken together allow us to test all important parts of our argument without sacrificing statistical power. The replication studies followed the original studies closely with only minor adaptations to fit the UK context. See Appendix E for the exact question wordings. Before data collection began, both studies

and corresponding pre-analysis plans were pre-registered at OSF.¹ Like in the US studies, we collected the data using the Prolific platform. The data were collected between 2022-09-28 and 2022-09-29. We collected 1,022 responses for the replication of Study 2 and 2,546 responses for the replication of Study 3.

We tested all hypotheses related to Study 2 and 3 in exactly the same way as in the corresponding original US studies. In summary, we test if respondents under-estimate the victimization of men in war (**H1**), the effect of describing the victims in the vignette as “primarily men” as opposed to “primarily women” on perceived innocence, aid support, and refugee acceptance (**H2b, H3b, H4b**), whether groups of immigrants with a high share of men are less likely to be accepted (**H5a**), and whether information about men’s vulnerability in war (same information treatment as in the US study) mitigates anti-male bias in refugee acceptance (**H5b**) and increases support for aid that specifically addresses the needs of men (**H5c**). Below we report the same figures as shown in the main text but for the UK replications.

First, we confirm that UK respondents under-estimate the rate of male victimization in a way similar to the US (Figure A13). The mean of the distribution is about 58%, thus providing evidence for H1 (formally, we tested if the mean was below 60% ($p < 0.001$)).

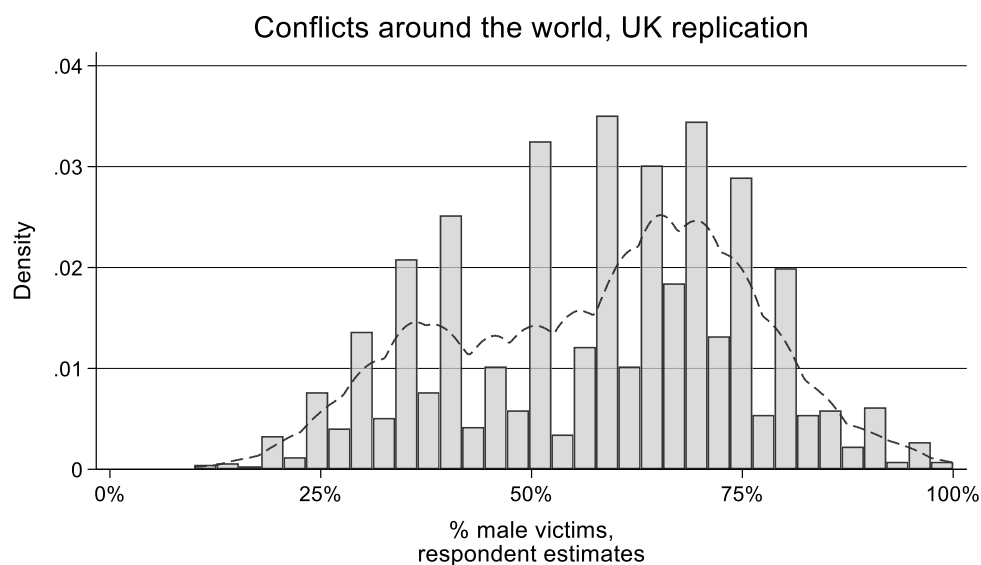


Figure A13. UK replication. Histogram of respondents’ estimates of the share of male casualties in conflicts around the world with overlaid kernel density estimate.

Next, we tested the effect of describing the victims in the vignette as “primarily men” instead of “women”. On all three outcomes (innocence, aid support, refugee support), we find a negative treatment effect that is significant at the 0.001-level (innocence and refugees) or the 0.01-level (aid support). The predicted value for each outcome and treatment level is displayed in Figure A14.

¹ <https://osf.io/bgstz/>

Vignette study, UK

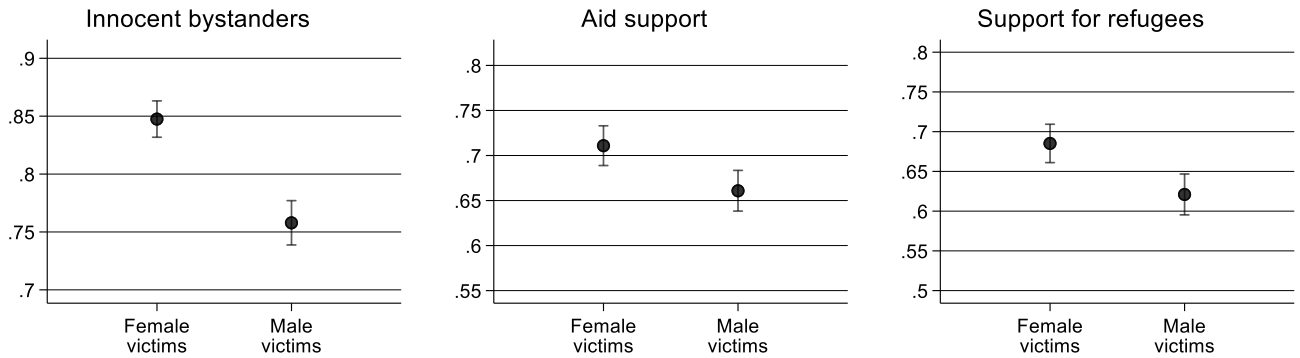


Figure A14. UK replication. The graph shows predicted values along with 95% confidence intervals. All predictions based on a linear regression model where the dependent variable is regressed on a treatment indicator. The outcome variables were normalized to range from 0 to 1. Dependent variable means: 0.8 (Innocent bystanders), 0.69 (Aid support), 0.65 (Support for refugees). The y-axes are scaled by the variable mean ± 0.5 SD. The full results table is included in Appendix D: Table 10.

Finally, we tested UK respondents' support for groups of refugees with varying share of men and response to information about male vulnerability in war. Like in the US, we find a very strong negative effect of a group having a share of men above 50% on the probability that the group is preferred (the average decrease in support is around -0.27 in the conjoint ($p < 0.001$)).

Preference for group of refugees, UK

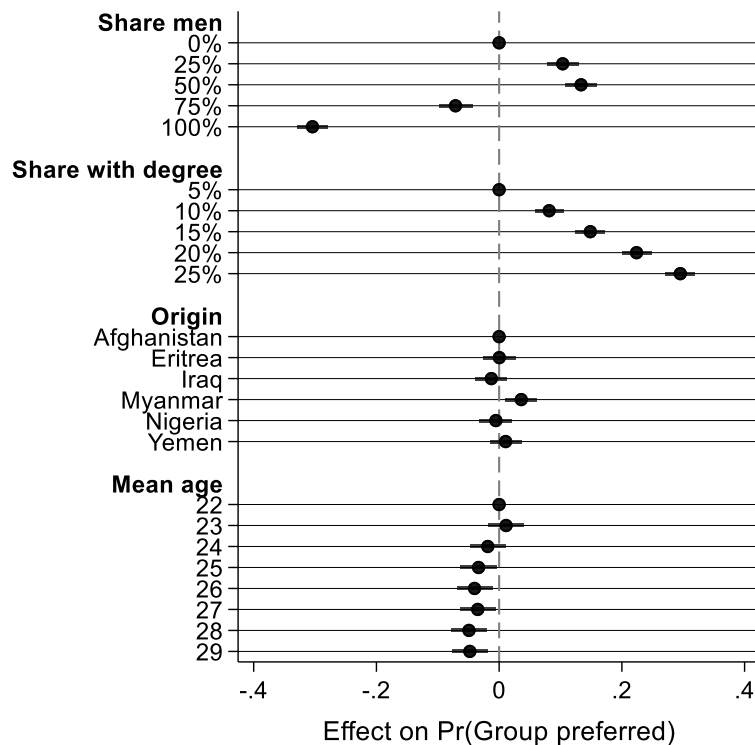


Figure A15. UK replication. The figure shows estimates of the effects of the randomly assigned group attributes on the probability of being preferred for admission to the United Kingdom. Estimates based on a linear probability model (estimated with OLS) with standard errors clustered at the respondent level. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The full results table is included in Appendix D: Table A11.

At the same time, we also find that information about men’s vulnerability in war randomly assigned earlier in the survey to a treatment group substantially mitigates the negative effect: the “majority men effect” goes from about -0.3 to -0.23 for respondents exposed to the information treatment, a decrease in magnitude by about 25%. Like in the US study, most UK respondents in the treatment group (76%) stated that information about men’s vulnerability in war was either “definitely new” or “somewhat new”.

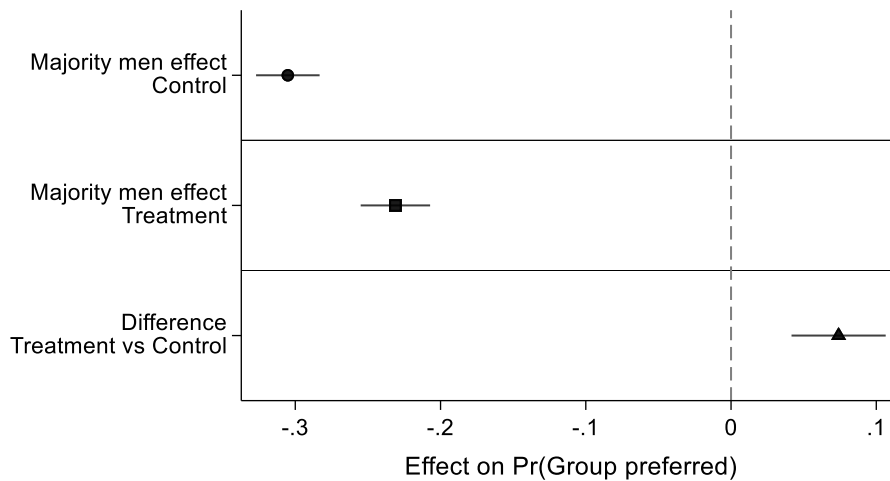


Figure A16. UK replication. The graph shows the treatment effect for the majority men variable for respondents in the control group and in the treatment group, respectively, as well as the difference between the groups. Estimates based on a linear probability model (estimated with OLS) with standard errors clustered at the respondent level. All other coefficients are omitted from the graph. Bars represent 95% confidence intervals. The full results table is included in Appendix D: Table A12.

We also find that the information increases respondents’ support for aid programs that specifically address the needs of men, as shown in Figure A17.

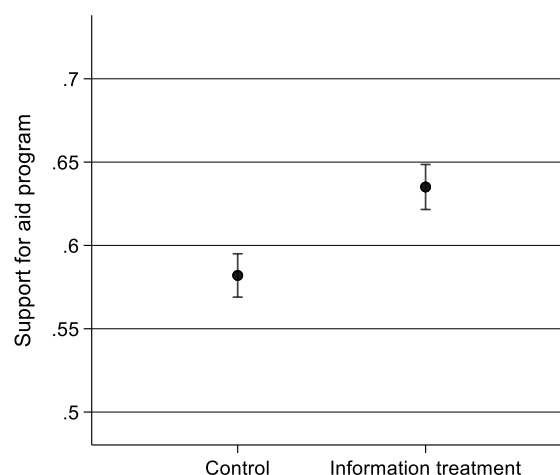


Figure A17. UK replication. The graph shows predicted values along with 95% confidence intervals. All predictions based on a linear regression model where the dependent variable is regressed on a treatment indicator. Dependent variable mean: 0.61. The y-axis is scaled by the variable mean \pm 0.5 SD. The full results table is included in Appendix D: Table A13.

In summary, we find support for all our pre-registered hypotheses in the UK context. UK respondents, like US respondents, under-estimate the victimization of men and perceive male victims as less innocent but are also responsive to information about male vulnerability. We believe this speaks to the generalizability of our argument. The fact that we find very similar results to those in the US in a study conducted 10 months later in a different country and in a completely different geopolitical context, strongly suggests that the main results are not specific to the US. While only an empirical replication could bring clarity on the issue, our successful replication in the UK leads us to believe that we would likely see corresponding trends also in other countries that are similar to the US and/ or the UK in terms of domestic policy, media and public discourses and gender norms, such as many European democracies, Australia or New Zealand.

Appendix D: Full estimates

Table A4: OLS estimates, Syria study (Figure 2)

	(1) Innocent	(2) Aid	(3) Refugees
Info treatment	-0.080*** (0.011)	-0.035* (0.015)	-0.022 (0.017)
Constant	0.782*** (0.007)	0.696*** (0.011)	0.730*** (0.012)
R^2	0.038	0.004	0.001
Observations	1290	1290	1289

Robust standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A5: OLS estimates, vignette study (Figure 3)

	(1) Innocent	(2) Aid	(3) Refugees
Primarily men	-0.098*** (0.010)	-0.042** (0.013)	-0.059*** (0.016)
Africa (ref.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Latin America	0.001 (0.013)	0.003 (0.017)	-0.003 (0.020)
South East Asia	0.014 (0.013)	0.004 (0.016)	0.024 (0.019)
Abductions (ref.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Massacres	0.020 (0.010)	0.022 (0.013)	0.017 (0.016)
Constant	0.856*** (0.012)	0.754*** (0.015)	0.728*** (0.018)
Adjusted R^2	0.064	0.007	0.010
Observations	1275	1277	1277

Robust standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A6: OLS estimates, Study 3, conjoint (Figure 5)

	(1) Pr(Group preferred)
Share men: 0% (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Share men: 25%	0.074*** (0.013)
Share men: 50%	0.080*** (0.013)
Share men: 75%	-0.106*** (0.014)
Share men: 100%	-0.331*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 5% (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Share with degree: 10%	0.085*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 15%	0.170*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 20%	0.230*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 25%	0.295*** (0.012)
Origin: Afghanistan (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Origin: Eritrea	0.007 (0.013)
Origin: Iraq	-0.022 (0.013)
Origin: Myanmar	0.035** (0.013)
Origin: Nigeria	0.003 (0.014)
Origin: Yemen	-0.003 (0.013)
Mean age: 22 (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Mean age: 23	0.017 (0.015)
Mean age: 24	0.002 (0.015)
Mean age: 25	-0.002 (0.015)
Mean age: 26	-0.023 (0.015)
Mean age: 27	-0.016 (0.015)
Mean age: 28	-0.024 (0.015)
Mean age: 29	-0.005 (0.015)
Constant	0.402*** (0.017)
Adjusted R ²	0.138
Individuals	2493
Observations	14946

Standard errors clustered at the respondent level in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A7: OLS estimates, Study 3, conjoint w interaction (Figure 6)

	(1) Pr(Group preferred)
Over 50% men	-0.316*** (0.011)
Information treatment	-0.042*** (0.007)
Over 50% men * Info. treat.	0.093*** (0.016)
Share with degree: 5% (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Share with degree: 10%	0.084*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 15%	0.171*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 20%	0.232*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 25%	0.297*** (0.012)
Origin: Afghanistan (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Origin: Eritrea	0.006 (0.013)
Origin: Iraq	-0.022 (0.013)
Origin: Myanmar	0.035* (0.014)
Origin: Nigeria	0.002 (0.014)
Origin: Yemen	-0.003 (0.013)
Mean age: 22 (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Mean age: 23	0.021 (0.016)
Mean age: 24	-0.001 (0.015)
Mean age: 25	-0.003 (0.016)
Mean age: 26	-0.019 (0.015)
Mean age: 27	-0.015 (0.015)
Mean age: 28	-0.024 (0.015)
Mean age: 29	-0.004 (0.015)
Constant	0.473*** (0.017)
Adjusted R ²	0.117
Individuals	2493
Observations	14946

Standard errors clustered at the respondent level in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A8: OLS estimates, Study 3, aid outcome (Figure 7)

	(1) Aid
Info treatment	0.036*** (0.010)
Constant	0.578*** (0.007)
R^2	0.005
Observations	2493

Robust standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A9: OLS estimates, Study 3, conjoint w interaction (Figure A8-A12 in Appendix B)

	(1) Men	(2) Women	(3) Democra ts	(4) Republic ans	(5) College degree	(6) No college degree	(7) Age > median	(8) Age <= median	(9) White/Ca ucasian	(10) Ethnic minority
Over 50% men	-0.310*** (0.018)	-0.319*** (0.014)	-0.355*** (0.019)	-0.289*** (0.020)	-0.324*** (0.014)	-0.305*** (0.018)	-0.305*** (0.016)	-0.326*** (0.015)	-0.324*** (0.012)	-0.284*** (0.025)
Information treatment	-0.053*** (0.011)	-0.032*** (0.009)	-0.055*** (0.013)	-0.033** (0.013)	-0.042*** (0.009)	-0.042*** (0.011)	-0.036*** (0.010)	-0.048*** (0.010)	-0.041*** (0.008)	-0.043** (0.015)
Over 50% men * Info. treat.	0.123*** (0.026)	0.068** (0.021)	0.139*** (0.029)	0.065* (0.030)	0.087*** (0.021)	0.104*** (0.026)	0.081*** (0.024)	0.103*** (0.022)	0.098*** (0.018)	0.070 (0.037)
5%	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
10%	0.112*** (0.018)	0.062*** (0.016)	0.089*** (0.022)	0.076*** (0.022)	0.070*** (0.015)	0.108*** (0.020)	0.086*** (0.017)	0.081*** (0.017)	0.080*** (0.014)	0.097*** (0.027)
15%	0.181*** (0.019)	0.161*** (0.017)	0.161*** (0.022)	0.186*** (0.023)	0.164*** (0.016)	0.185*** (0.019)	0.173*** (0.018)	0.169*** (0.017)	0.180*** (0.014)	0.137*** (0.027)
20%	0.261*** (0.018)	0.209*** (0.016)	0.250*** (0.022)	0.245*** (0.023)	0.232*** (0.015)	0.233*** (0.019)	0.240*** (0.017)	0.223*** (0.017)	0.234*** (0.014)	0.223*** (0.026)
25%	0.342*** (0.019)	0.266*** (0.017)	0.281*** (0.023)	0.334*** (0.022)	0.284*** (0.016)	0.319*** (0.020)	0.314*** (0.018)	0.281*** (0.017)	0.297*** (0.014)	0.297*** (0.027)
Afghanistan	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Eritrea	-0.011 (0.021)	0.018 (0.017)	-0.009 (0.024)	0.012 (0.025)	0.001 (0.017)	0.013 (0.021)	0.002 (0.019)	0.011 (0.019)	-0.002 (0.015)	0.034 (0.029)
Iraq	-0.026 (0.020)	-0.022 (0.018)	-0.011 (0.024)	-0.064* (0.025)	-0.037* (0.017)	0.002 (0.022)	-0.036 (0.020)	-0.009 (0.018)	-0.030* (0.015)	0.005 (0.030)
Myanmar	0.025 (0.021)	0.041* (0.018)	-0.000 (0.024)	0.047 (0.027)	0.021 (0.017)	0.053* (0.021)	0.043* (0.019)	0.027 (0.019)	0.028 (0.015)	0.056 (0.029)
Nigeria	-0.007 (0.021)	0.010 (0.018)	-0.050* (0.024)	0.025 (0.026)	-0.011 (0.018)	0.022 (0.022)	0.016 (0.020)	-0.011 (0.019)	-0.004 (0.016)	0.025 (0.029)
Yemen	-0.012 (0.020)	0.004 (0.017)	-0.044 (0.023)	-0.003 (0.025)	-0.018 (0.017)	0.023 (0.021)	-0.014 (0.019)	0.008 (0.018)	-0.009 (0.015)	0.019 (0.027)
22	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
23	0.006 (0.024)	0.026 (0.020)	0.034 (0.028)	0.031 (0.028)	0.033 (0.020)	0.001 (0.024)	0.025 (0.022)	0.017 (0.022)	0.026 (0.017)	0.002 (0.034)
24	-0.012 (0.023)	0.002 (0.020)	-0.001 (0.027)	-0.016 (0.028)	-0.006 (0.020)	0.009 (0.024)	0.005 (0.021)	-0.005 (0.022)	0.007 (0.017)	-0.032 (0.033)
25	-0.031 (0.024)	0.013 (0.020)	0.000 (0.028)	0.005 (0.029)	0.001 (0.020)	-0.008 (0.026)	0.009 (0.022)	-0.014 (0.022)	-0.001 (0.017)	-0.006 (0.034)
26	-0.045 (0.023)	-0.001 (0.020)	-0.019 (0.026)	0.005 (0.028)	-0.020 (0.020)	-0.017 (0.024)	0.012 (0.022)	-0.047* (0.021)	-0.018 (0.017)	-0.022 (0.035)
27	-0.045 (0.024)	0.005 (0.020)	-0.017 (0.027)	0.027 (0.029)	-0.001 (0.019)	-0.036 (0.025)	-0.004 (0.021)	-0.026 (0.022)	-0.015 (0.017)	-0.013 (0.035)
28	-0.037 (0.024)	-0.015 (0.020)	-0.017 (0.028)	-0.040 (0.028)	-0.003 (0.019)	-0.054* (0.026)	0.006 (0.022)	-0.052* (0.022)	-0.018 (0.017)	-0.045 (0.035)
29	-0.033 (0.024)	0.013 (0.020)	-0.015 (0.028)	0.032 (0.028)	0.004 (0.020)	-0.016 (0.025)	0.019 (0.021)	-0.025 (0.022)	0.000 (0.017)	-0.016 (0.035)
Constant	0.476*** (0.027)	0.474*** (0.021)	0.508*** (0.029)	0.439*** (0.030)	0.487*** (0.021)	0.449*** (0.026)	0.448*** (0.024)	0.497*** (0.023)	0.477*** (0.018)	0.461*** (0.038)
Adjusted R^2	0.118	0.117	0.126	0.125	0.121	0.110	0.120	0.114	0.122	0.098
Individuals	1062	1400	773	727	1532	957	1210	1283	1954	539
Observations	6368	8392	4632	4356	9182	5740	7252	7694	11714	3232

Standard errors clustered at the respondent level in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A10: OLS estimates, vignette study (Figure A14), UK replication

	(1) Innocent	(2) Aid	(3) Refugees
Primarily men	-0.090*** (0.013)	-0.050** (0.016)	-0.064*** (0.018)
Africa (ref.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Latin America	0.011 (0.016)	-0.009 (0.020)	0.018 (0.022)
South East Asia	0.020 (0.015)	-0.002 (0.020)	0.010 (0.022)
Abductions (ref.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)	0.000 (.)
Massacres	0.006 (0.013)	0.048** (0.016)	0.031 (0.018)
Constant	0.833*** (0.015)	0.691*** (0.017)	0.660*** (0.020)
Adjusted R^2	0.046	0.014	0.012
Observations	1019	1018	1020

Robust standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A11: OLS estimates, Study 3, conjoint (Figure A15)

	(1) Pr(Group preferred)
Share men: 0% (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Share men: 25%	0.104*** (0.013)
Share men: 50%	0.134*** (0.013)
Share men: 75%	-0.071*** (0.014)
Share men: 100%	-0.304*** (0.013)
Share with degree: 5% (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Share with degree: 10%	0.082*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 15%	0.149*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 20%	0.224*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 25%	0.295*** (0.012)
Origin: Afghanistan (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Origin: Eritrea	0.000 (0.013)
Origin: Iraq	-0.013 (0.013)
Origin: Myanmar	0.036** (0.013)
Origin: Nigeria	-0.005 (0.013)
Origin: Yemen	0.011 (0.013)
Mean age: 22 (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Mean age: 23	0.011 (0.015)
Mean age: 24	-0.019 (0.015)
Mean age: 25	-0.034* (0.015)
Mean age: 26	-0.040** (0.015)
Mean age: 27	-0.035* (0.015)
Mean age: 28	-0.049*** (0.015)
Mean age: 29	-0.048** (0.015)
Constant	0.399*** (0.017)
Adjusted R ²	0.140
Individuals	2538
Observations	15218

Standard errors clustered at the respondent level in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A12: OLS estimates, Study 3, conjoint w interaction, UK replication (Figure A16)

	(1) Pr(Group preferred)
Over 50% men	-0.305*** (0.011)
Information treatment	-0.035*** (0.007)
Over 50% men * Info. treat.	0.074*** (0.017)
Share with degree: 5% (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Share with degree: 10%	0.079*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 15%	0.148*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 20%	0.220*** (0.012)
Share with degree: 25%	0.294*** (0.012)
Origin: Afghanistan (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Origin: Eritrea	0.002 (0.014)
Origin: Iraq	-0.010 (0.014)
Origin: Myanmar	0.036** (0.013)
Origin: Nigeria	-0.005 (0.014)
Origin: Yemen	0.014 (0.013)
Mean age: 22 (ref.)	0.000 (.)
Mean age: 23	0.013 (0.015)
Mean age: 24	-0.024 (0.015)
Mean age: 25	-0.035* (0.015)
Mean age: 26	-0.039** (0.015)
Mean age: 27	-0.034* (0.015)
Mean age: 28	-0.052*** (0.015)
Mean age: 29	-0.049** (0.015)
Constant	0.498*** (0.016)
Adjusted R ²	0.112
Individuals	2538
Observations	15218

Standard errors clustered at the respondent level in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table A13: OLS estimates, Study 3, aid outcome, UK replication (Figure A17)

	(1)
	Aid
Info treatment	0.053*** (0.010)
Constant	0.582*** (0.007)
Observations	2538

Robust standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Appendix D: Survey instrument

Study 1

Start of Block: Syria info

info We are interested in people's opinions related to different armed conflicts around the world. We will therefore now ask you a few questions about the civil war in Syria.

End of Block: Syria info

Start of Block: Syria (guess)

[Randomly assigned to syria_guess_men (p = 0.5) OR syria_guess_women (p = 0.5)]

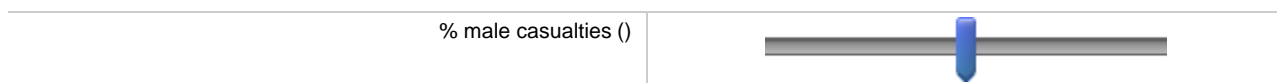
syria_guess_men

The Syrian Civil War is an ongoing violent conflict between insurgents and Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's regime. The war has now lasted over ten years with disastrous consequences for the country's population. The UK-based organization Syrian Observatory for Human Rights estimates that almost 135 000 civilian adults have been killed in the conflict.

We are interested in how people think about the dynamics of the conflict. Let's start off with the first question.

According to your best guess, what percentage of the civilian casualties in the war in Syria are men and women respectively? Move the slider to give your response.

0% = All casualties are women 50% = equal number of male and female casualties 100% = All casualties are men



syria_guess_women

The Syrian Civil War is an ongoing violent conflict between insurgents and Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's regime. The war has now lasted over ten years with disastrous consequences for the country's population. The UK-based organization Syrian Observatory for Human Rights estimates that almost 135 000 civilian adults have been killed in the conflict.

We are interested in how people think about the dynamics of the conflict. Let's start off with the first question.

According to your best guess, what percentage of the civilian casualties in the war in Syria are men and women respectively? Move the slider to give your response.

0% = All casualties are men 50% = equal number of male and female casualties 100% = All casualties are women



End of Block: Syria (guess)

[Randomly assigned to Syria info (treatment) 1 + Syria info (treatment) 2 (p = 0.5) OR Syria info (control) (p = 0.5)]

Start of Block: Syria info (treatment) 1

info_treatment According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, about 88.6% of the civilian victims in the war in Syria are men and 11.4% are women.

End of Block: Syria info (treatment) 1

Start of Block: Syria info (treatment) 2

info_treatment According to the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights, about 88.6% of the civilian victims in the war in Syria are men and 11.4% are women.

refugees_us Do you support or oppose accepting 500 additional Syrian refugees into the United States?

- Strongly oppose (1)
- Somewhat oppose (2)
- Neutral (3)
- Somewhat support (4)
- Strongly support (5)

aid_us Do you support or oppose the US increasing its humanitarian aid to Syria by 10%?

- Strongly oppose (1)
 - Somewhat oppose (2)
 - Neutral (3)
 - Somewhat support (4)
 - Strongly support (5)
-

innocent How likely would you say it is that the civilian casualties of the war in Syria generally have been innocent bystanders in the conflict?

- Extremely unlikely (1)
- Unlikely (2)
- Likely (3)
- Extremely likely (4)

End of Block: Syria info (treatment) 2

Start of Block: Syria info (control)

refugees_us Do you support or oppose accepting 500 additional Syrian refugees into the United States?

- Strongly oppose (1)
 - Somewhat oppose (2)
 - Neutral (3)
 - Somewhat support (4)
 - Strongly support (5)
-

aid_us Do you support or oppose the US increasing its humanitarian aid to Syria by 10%?

- Strongly oppose (1)
 - Somewhat oppose (2)
 - Neutral (3)
 - Somewhat support (4)
 - Strongly support (5)
-

innocent How likely would you say it is that the civilian casualties of the war in Syria generally have been innocent bystanders in the conflict?

- Extremely unlikely (1)
- Unlikely (2)
- Likely (3)
- Extremely likely (4)

End of Block: Syria info (control)

Start of Block: Syria (guess)

Study 2 (US and UK study identical)

Start of Block: info

info We are interested in how people react to reporting about issues in international affairs. Please read the following brief description of an armed conflict.

End of Block: info

Start of Block: Scenario

info

More than 300 $\{e://Field/gender\}$ $\{e://Field/type\}$ in escalation of conflict

A country in $\{e://Field/region\}$ has been affected by an internal armed conflict for several years. Conflict intensity has generally been low, with skirmishes concentrated primarily in the areas surrounding the capital city. But in the past 6 months, the conflict violence has flared up. Last week, a medium-sized town 375 miles from the capital city was attacked by armed rebels.

The brutality of the attack shocked international observers. Official sources reported $\{e://Field/description\}$ the central village square, usually the source of buzzing market activity. An estimated $\{e://Field/victims\}$ The town is situated in a part of the country that had not previously been affected by the conflict. International observers express concern about an escalation of the violence and about an emerging pattern of $\{e://Field/plural\}$ of primarily $\{e://Field/gender\}$ by the rebel group.

[Randomly assigned with uniform probability: gender = {men, women}, region = {Africa OR Latin America OR South East Asia}, type/description/victims/plural = {MASSACRES VERSION: killed/a massacre of civilians in/370 civilians were shot or stabbed with machetes. Most of the casualties were $\{e://Field/gender\}$./massacres OR ABDUCTION VERSION: abducted/a rebel operation focused around/370 civilians, most of them $\{e://Field/gender\}$./abductions and forced recruitment}]

refugees How likely would you be to support the US/UK accepting 500 refugees from the conflict hotspot?

- Extremely unlikely (1)
- Unlikely (2)
- Neutral (3)
- Likely (4)
- Extremely likely (5)

aid How likely would you be to support the US/UK increasing humanitarian aid to help the civilian population in the described conflict scenario?

- Extremely unlikely (1)
 - Unlikely (2)
 - Neutral (3)
 - Likely (4)
 - Extremely likely (5)
-

innocent How likely would you say it is that the casualties in the described scenario are innocent bystanders in the conflict?

- Extremely unlikely (1)
- Unlikely (2)
- Neutral (3)
- Likely (4)
- Extremely likely (5)

End of Block: Scenario

Start of Block: Casualties (guess)

[If assigned to massacres version of vignette: randomly assigned to guess_men_cas (p = 0.5) OR guess_women_cas (control) (p = 0.5)]

guess_men_cas

We are interested in how people perceive the victims of armed conflicts around the world. According to your best guess, on average, what percent of civilian casualties in conflicts are men and women respectively? (Not included in UK study)

0% = All casualties are women 50% = equal number of male and female casualties 100% = All casualties are men

% male casualties ()	
-----------------------	--

guess_women_cas

We are interested in how people perceive the victims of armed conflicts around the world. According to your best guess, on average, what percent of civilian casualties in conflicts are men and women respectively? (Not included in UK study)

0% = All casualties are men 50% = equal number of male and female casualties 100% = All casualties are women



End of Block: Casualties (guess)

Start of Block: Abducted (guess)

[If assigned to abducted version of vignette: randomly assigned to guess_men_abd (p = 0.5) OR guess_women_abd (control) (p = 0.5)]

guess_men_abd

We are interested in how people perceive the victims of armed conflicts around the world. According to your best guess, on average, what percent of civilians abducted by armed actors are men and women respectively? (Not included in UK study)

0% = All abducted are women 50% = equal number of men and women abducted 100% = All abducted are men



guess_women_abd We are interested in how people perceive the victims of armed conflicts around the world. According to your best guess, on average, what percent of civilians abducted by armed actors are men and women respectively? (Not included in UK study)

0% = All abducted are men 50% = equal number of men and women abducted 100% = All abducted are women



End of Block: Abducted (guess)

Study 3 (US and UK study identical)

We are interested in how people perceive the victims of armed conflicts around the world. According to your best guess, on average, what percent of civilian casualties in conflicts are men and women respectively?

Respondents were asked to provide their answer using a slider running from 0% to 100%, indicating the % male or female casualties (male/female is randomized).

The treatment group then received the following information treatment with $p = 0.5$ (the control group skipped this block):

Armed conflict affects men and women differently. Research shows that civilian men, that is, men who are not in any way involved in the fighting, are disproportionately likely to be killed in war. For example, in the war in Syria, the UK-based organization Syrian Observatory for Human Rights reports that 88.6% of civilian adults killed are men.

Researchers have found that such a disproportionate killing of men is common in conflicts all over the world. Often, armed groups even specifically target male civilians between the ages of 15 and 45 in massacres and assassinations.

Would you say that this information is new to you?

- o Yes, definitely new (1)*
- o Yes, somewhat new (2)*
- o No (3)*
- o Don't know (4)*

Subsequently, we administered three rounds of a conjoint experiment. The conjoint experiment started with the following prompt in the US:

The United States Refugee Admissions Program (USRAP) works to identify and admit qualified refugees for resettlement into the United States. However, since there is a cap on the number of refugees the country can accept, not everyone who formally qualifies can be admitted.

Below are descriptions of two groups of refugees that would qualify to be admitted into the US. Each group consists of 50 refugees that are between 18 and 35 years of age.

And with the following prompt in the UK:

The UK is a signatory to the UN 1951 refugee convention and therefore offers protection to people who seek asylum and fall into the legal definition of a "refugee". Many other countries have also signed the convention, meaning that the UK only accepts a small share of the total number of refugees in the world.

Below are descriptions of two groups of refugees that would qualify to be admitted into the UK. Each group consists of 50 refugees that are between 18 and 35 years of age.

In each round, respondents were presented with two groups of 50 refugees between the ages of 18 and 45 (the exact stated age varied slightly between rounds), and were then asked which group they would prefer to be settled in their neighborhood. In each group we randomly varied country of origin (Iraq, Yemen, Afghanistan, Nigeria, Eritrea, Myanmar), share of men (0%, 25%, 50%, 75%, 100%), share of women (100-the share of men), mean age (22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29) and share with a university degree (5%, 10%, 15%, 20%, 25%).

After presenting the group profiles, respondents were asked the following:

If you had to choose between them, which of the two groups would you prefer to be admitted into the US/UK?

- o Group 1 (1)*
- o Group 2 (2)*

Appendix E: Deviations from pre-analysis plan

All three studies were pre-registered at OSF before data collection for the specific study began. All analyses and tests were conducted and reported in accordance with the pre-analysis plans (for both the US studies and the UK replications), apart from H1 in study 1. The test we registered for H1, whether the mean respondent guess was below 50%, was unnecessarily conservative. Since the mean respondent guess was 57%, the hypothesis was not supported by the test that we registered. However, it is clear that respondents under-estimate the share of male victims in relation to the estimate reported by SOHR (88.6%). In this sense, respondents clearly under-estimate the victimization of men, which is qualitatively in line with H1. In study 3, we pre-registered a different, arguably more reasonable, test of H1 that is supported by our data.

Appendix F: Ethical issues

The research in this manuscript follows all ethical guidelines and requirements of the countries in which the authors' institutions are located, and is fully compliant with all laws of these countries and the US and the UK, where the surveys were conducted. There are no general ethical review requirements in the countries in which the authors' institutions are located, and no external ethical review boards that routinely review social science research. Instead, responsibility for the careful consideration of ethical issues rests with the researchers themselves. Prior to launching the surveys, we consulted with other researchers on questions of survey design. Specifically, we carefully considered the following ethical issues.

Voluntary and informed consent

We collected the data for this manuscript in the form of online surveys, with embedded experiments. We designed the surveys in Qualtrics and recruited participants through Prolific, on an opt-in basis. Respondents were informed about the general purpose of the study on the opening screen. In order not to sway the responses study participants might give in the survey, we kept the description of the study vague (i.e. we informed respondents that the study examines perceptions of international affairs and armed conflict), but without using deception. Participants were informed:

“By clicking on the ‘next’ button, you give consent to participate in this study. Participation is entirely voluntary, and you may end the survey prematurely should you wish to end your participation in the research project.”

Upon completion of the survey, it was not possible for respondents to withdraw their consent, as the anonymity of the data precluded the identification of individual respondents.

Deception

The study does not use deception. In the vignette experiment, in which we randomized the form of violence and the gender of the victims, we used a hypothetical conflict scenario. We informed respondents that the scenario they are about to read is hypothetical and does not present an actual country case. We repeated this information again in a debrief at the end of the survey.

In the conjoint experiment, we likewise presented respondents with hypothetical groups of refugees and ask them “If you had to choose between them, which of the two groups would you prefer to be admitted into the US?”. At no point did we imply that we were asking respondents to adjudicate between actual groups of refugees.

Harms and benefits

This study is about public perceptions of civilians in armed conflict and support for certain policies (refugee acceptance and aid provision). Given the focus on armed conflict and conflict violence, there is a small risk of exposing survey participants to harm in the form of negative psychological reactions. We mitigated this risk in the following ways:

- We informed potential respondents on the opening screen that the survey is about international affairs and armed conflict. We explicitly informed respondents that their participation is voluntary and that they may end their participation at any time.
- We intentionally avoided graphic, sensationalist or detailed descriptions of violence. Scenario descriptions and information treatments were formulated in such a way that they did not expose respondents to violent descriptions that went beyond what they would encounter in news or social media. In fact, our formulations were designed to fall below standard levels of violence depiction in news reports.
- In designing the survey experiments, scenarios and choice tasks, we took inspiration from existing survey experimental studies published in leading journals.
- We did not ask respondents any questions about personal victimization/ violence experiences, nor did we ask respondents to imagine themselves in a position where they encounter violence.

No benefits, except payment (see below), accrued to study participants.

Another potential source of harm relates to the normative and policy implications of our results. In light of our finding that informing respondents of men's victimization in war depresses support for aid and refugee acceptance, one might argue that the status quo of reporting on war and its victims in stereotypically gendered ways is the preferable outcome of a cost-benefit analysis weighing an empirically inaccurate gendered victim narrative against more empirically accurate reporting that draws attention also to the victimization of men. While we acknowledge this tension, as social scientists we take the position that providing people with empirically accurate information is generally preferable to evoking narratives based on stereotypes and misperceptions. In addition, as we lay out throughout the manuscript and in particular in the section "Invisibility of male victimization and vulnerability," these gendered misconceptions have severe consequences for male victims of war, including refugees and internally displaced people. Often, men are overlooked in humanitarian programming, while they are treated with suspicion as so-called bogus asylum seekers. The consequences of these gendered misperceptions have to be taken into account in any cost-benefit analysis assessing how we report on armed conflict and its victims.

Anonymity and confidentiality

In order to ensure the complete anonymity of respondents, we did not record respondents' IP addresses or any other data that would allow identification of study participants, such as names or email addresses.

Payment of participants

All survey respondents were recruited through the online platform Prolific. Prolific requires a minimum payment equivalent to a £6.00 hourly rate. We remunerated survey participants at an hourly rate of £7.50-8.00 (approx. US-\$ 9.30-10.00; the exact amount varied somewhat depending on how much time it took respondents to complete the survey). In any case, the payment is above the federal minimum wage of US-\$7.25.

In recruiting participants, we achieved a sample that is representative with respect to age, gender and race in two of the experiments. Democrats and people with a college degree are overrepresented in the samples, however. The sample for the third study is younger and includes a slightly higher share of

white/Caucasian respondents, but is balanced when it comes to the share of Democrats and Republicans. The participant pool was not composed of vulnerable individuals.