# Appendix for

|   | Turnl       | oull-Dugarte, S.J., López Ortega, A. and Hunklinger, M. (2024) |
|---|-------------|--|
|   | "]          | Do citizens stereotype Muslims as an Illiberal Bogeyman?       |
|   |             | Evidence from a Double-List Experiment"                        |
| A | Data        | collection   |
|   | A.1         | Treatment example  |
|   | A.2         | Qualtrics Survey Coding  |
| В | Sumn        | nary statistics  |
|   | <b>B</b> .1 | Balance tests  |
| C | Item o      | counts   |
| D | Main        | models   |
| E | LGBT        | -+ subgroup test   |
| F | Explo       | pratory subgroup analyses                                      |
| G | Testir      | ng list design assumptions                                     |
|   | G.1         | Relaxing no-liars assumption                                   |
|   | G.2         | Design effects test  |
|   | G.3         | Double-list carry-over effects test                            |
| Н | Multi       | verse analysis   |

# Appendix

### A Data collection

Ethical approval for the original data collection and experimental research design was approved the Faculty of Social Sciences Ethics Review Committee at the University of Southampton.

The original survey was designed by the authors via Qualtrics. Survey respondents for the survey were sourced from two online panel vendors: Qualtrics and Kieskompas. Qualtrics provided online panel respondents from Britain and USA. Kieskompas provided online panel respondents from Germany and the Netherlands. Both vendors provided quota-based samples designed to reflect population parameters. The target sample for each country was as follows: Netherlands (1200); Germany (1300); UK (1600); USA (1600).

Fieldwork took place during the following dates:

- Netherlands August 5th 23rd August, 2022 (N=1153)
- Germany April 20th May 3rd, 2023 (N=1253)
- UK September 7th September 17th, 2022 (N=1585)
- USA September 13th September 27th, 2022 (N=1572)

#### A.1 Treatment example

In Figure A.1 we produce example of what the different list and treatment conditions would have looked liked to respondents.

In the following section, we include a copy of the Qualtrics survey set up for Britain as example of how the questionnaire and randomisation was set up. We have restricted



Figure A.1: Categorical affect towards Muslims & LGBT+ individuals per country

the reporting of the questionnaire.

# A.2 Qualtrics Survey Coding

# **List Experiment - UK**

**Start of Block: Consent** 



consent

#### What is the research about?

My name is *[BLINDED]* and I am a *researcher* at the University [BLINDED] I am inviting you to participate in a study regarding *some of your views on different issues of the day.* 

This study was approved by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee (FREC) at the {BLINDED].

#### What will happen to me if I take part?

This study involves completing an anonymous questionnaire.

Responding to the survey should take less than 4 minutes.

If you are happy to complete this survey, you will need to tick (check) the box below to show your consent. You will also need to confirm that you are aged 18 or over.

As this survey is anonymous, the researcher will not be able to know whether you have participated, or what answers you provided.

#### Why have I been asked to participate?

You have been asked to take part because you are British resident. Should you agree to take part in the study, you will be one of around 1600 planned participants.

## What information will be collected?

The questions in this survey will ask you about a variety of issues including about politics. You do not have to answer the question/complete the survey if you do not wish to do so.

#### Are there any risks involved?

It is expected that taking part in this study will not cause you any psychological discomfort and/or distress, however, should you feel uncomfortable you can leave the survey at any time.

#### What will happen to the information collected?

Findings from this study will be reported in scholarly journals, at academic seminars, and at research association meetings.

The University of [BLINDED] conducts research to the highest standards of ethics and research integrity. In accordance with our Research Data Management Policy, data will be held for 10 years after the study has finished when it will be securely destroyed.

You are free to withdraw from the study at any time prior to submitting your response. Once your anonymous response has been submitted you will be unable to withdraw as, given your response will be one anonymous response among 1600, there will be no means of identifying your response.

# Thank you for reading this information sheet and considering taking part in this research.

Please select one of the following options. If you choose not to participate, the survey will end immediately.

 $\bigcirc$  I agree to take part and am aged 18 or over (1)

 $\bigcirc$  I disagree and do not wish to take part (2)

End of Block: Consent

Start of Block: Politics1

 $X \rightarrow$ 

RILEself In politics people sometimes talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself on the following general scale?

| ΟL                  | eft (0)           |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| $\bigcirc$ 1        | (1)               |
| $\bigcirc$ 2        | 2 (2)             |
| 03                  | (3)               |
| $\bigcirc$ 4        | (4)               |
| 05                  | (5)               |
| $\bigcirc \epsilon$ | (6)               |
| 07                  | (7)               |
| ि ध                 | (8)               |
| 09                  | (9)               |
| ⊖ F                 | Right (10)        |
|                     | )on't know (9999) |
|                     |                   |
| [次] <i>x</i> →]     |                   |
| Start of            | Block: AP         |

23

affectivepolar Using the 0-10 scale below, we'd like you to rate how you feel about the following groups and people.

|   | Strongly<br>unfavourable<br>(1) | 1<br>(2) | 2<br>(3) | 3<br>(4) | 4<br>(5) | 5<br>(6) | 6<br>(7) | 7<br>(8) | 8<br>(9) | 9<br>(10) | Strongly<br>favourable<br>(11) |
|---|---------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| Conservative voters (1)   | 0                               | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Labour<br>voters (2)  | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Liberal<br>Democrat<br>voters (3)                                 | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Green party<br>voters (4)   | 0                               | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Scottish<br>nationalists<br>(5)                                   | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Feminists (6)   | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Lesbians,<br>gays,<br>bisexual and<br>trans<br>individuals<br>(7) | 0                               | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Vegans (8)  | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Remainers<br>(9)  | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Leavers (10)  | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Muslims (11)  | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Catholics<br>(12)   | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | С         | $\bigcirc$                     |
| Protestants<br>(13)   | $\bigcirc$                      | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | (        | C         | $\bigcirc$                     |

On this scale 0 means strongly unfavourable, 5 means you have no feelings either way, and 10 means strongly favourable.

End of Block: AP

Start of Block: listexperiment\_group1A

list\_A1\_intro1 Now, we present you with four social groups. We would like to know how many of these social groups you think pose a threat against the LGBT+ people. You should not indicate which specific social groups but the number of these social groups who pose a threat against the LGBT+ people.

list\_A1\_intro2 Christians list\_A1\_intro3 Radical right-wing parties list\_A1\_intro4 The Green Party list\_A1\_intro5 The European Union (EU)

list\_A1\_answer How many of these social groups pose a threat against LGBT+ people?

1 (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)

End of Block: listexperiment\_group1A

Start of Block: listexperiment\_group1B

list\_B1\_intro1 And of the following five groups... list\_B1\_intro2 Football hooligans list\_B1\_intro3 School bullies list\_B1\_intro4 Feminists list\_B1\_intro5 Muslims list\_B1\_intro6 Social workers

list\_B1\_answer ... how many pose a threat against LGBT+ people?

- 1 (1)
- O 2 (2)
- O 3 (3)
- O 4 (4)
- 05 (5)

End of Block: listexperiment\_group1B

Start of Block: listexperiment\_group2A

list\_A2\_intro1 Now, we present you with five social groups. We would like to know **how many** of these social groups do you think pose a threat against the LGBT+ people. You should not indicate which specific social groups but **the number** of these social groups who pose a threat against the LGBT+ people.

| list_A2_intro2 Christians                 | <br> | <br> | <br> | <br> |
|---|------|------|------|------|
| list_A2_intro3 Radical right-wing parties | <br> | <br> | <br> | <br> |
| list_A2_intro4 <b>Muslims</b>             | <br> | <br> | <br> | <br> |
| list_A2_intro5 The Green party            | <br> | <br> | <br> | <br> |
| list_A2_intro6 The European Union (EU)    | <br> | <br> | <br> | <br> |

list\_A2\_answer How many of these social groups pose a threat against LGBT+ people?

1 (1)
2 (2)
3 (3)
4 (4)
5 (5)

End of Block: listexperiment\_group2A

Start of Block: listexperiment\_group2B

list\_B2\_intro1 And of the following four groups... list\_B2\_intro2 Football hooligans list\_B2\_intro2 School bullies list\_B2\_intro3 Feminists list\_B2\_intro4 Social workers list B2 answer ... how many pose a threat against LGBT+ people? 0 1 (1) 0 2 (2) O 3 (3) 0 4 (4)

End of Block: listexperiment\_group2B

## **B** Summary statistics

|                             | Ν    | Mean  | SD    | Min   | Max   |
|-----------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Treatment assignment        | 1585 | 0.50  | 0.50  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Age                         | 1585 | 48.99 | 15.90 | 18.00 | 87.00 |
| Gender (woman)              | 1585 | 0.52  | 0.50  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Sexuality/Gender ID (LGBT+) | 1585 | 0.09  | 0.28  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Education (degree)          | 1585 | 0.46  | 0.50  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Ideology (left-right)       | 1585 | 4.52  | 2.18  | 0.00  | 10.00 |
| Affect towards Muslims      | 1585 | 5.71  | 2.38  | 0.00  | 10.00 |
| Affect towards LGBT+        | 1585 | 6.42  | 2.48  | 0.00  | 10.00 |

Table A.1: Descriptive statistics (individual respondents) – UK

Table A.2: Descriptive statistics (individual respondents) – USA

|                             | Ν    | Mean  | SD    | Min   | Max   |
|-----------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Treatment assignment        | 1572 | 0.50  | 0.50  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Age                         | 1570 | 40.65 | 14.55 | 18.00 | 84.00 |
| Gender                      | 1572 | 0.50  | 0.50  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Sexuality/Gender ID (LGBT+) | 1572 | 0.22  | 0.41  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Education (degree)          | 1572 | 0.41  | 0.49  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Ideology (left-right)       | 1572 | 3.77  | 3.10  | 0.00  | 10.00 |
| Affect towards Muslims      | 1572 | 6.24  | 2.69  | 0.00  | 10.00 |
| Affect towards LGBT+        | 1572 | 6.76  | 2.91  | 0.00  | 10.00 |

|                             | Ν    | Mean  | SD    | Min   | Max   |
|-----------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Treatment assignment        | 1253 | 0.46  | 0.50  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Age                         | 1253 | 48.24 | 15.15 | 18.00 | 91.00 |
| Gender                      | 1253 | 0.52  | 0.48  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Sexuality/Gender ID (LGBT+) | 1253 | 0.15  | 0.34  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Education (degree)          | 1253 | 0.78  | 1.47  | 0.00  | 3.00  |
| Ideology (left-right)       | 1229 | 3.87  | 2.10  | 0.00  | 10.00 |
| Affect towards Muslims      | 1243 | 4.76  | 1.96  | 0.00  | 10.00 |
| Affect towards LGBT+        | 1246 | 6.29  | 2.10  | 0.00  | 10.00 |

Table A.3: Descriptive statistics (individual respondents) – Germany

Table A.4: Descriptive statistics (individual respondents) – The Netherlands

|                             | Ν    | Mean  | SD    | Min   | Max   |
|-----------------------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Treatment assignment        | 1137 | 0.52  | 0.50  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Age                         | 1137 | 49.29 | 14.36 | 19.00 | 95.00 |
| Gender                      | 1137 | 0.51  | 0.48  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Sexuality/Gender ID (LGBT+) | 1137 | 0.13  | 0.32  | 0.00  | 1.00  |
| Education (degree)          | 1137 | 0.90  | 1.44  | 0.00  | 3.00  |
| Ideology (left-right)       | 1081 | 5.20  | 2.37  | 0.00  | 10.00 |
| Affect towards Muslims      | 1124 | 4.21  | 2.37  | 0.00  | 10.00 |
| Affect towards LGBT+        | 1125 | 6.44  | 2.27  | 0.00  | 10.00 |

Table A.5: Variables & operationalisation

| Variable                          | Coding  |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| Value                             | 1-5 (0-5 US only)                                 |
| Treatment                         | 0 (control), 1 (treatment)                        |
| Round                             | 1 (List A), 2 (List B)                            |
| Gender                            | 0 (man); 1 (woman)                                |
| Age                               | 18-95   |
| Education                         | 0 ( <degree); (degree)<="" 1="" td=""></degree);> |
| Sexuality/Gender ID               | 0 (cis-heterosexual); 1(LGBT+)                    |
| Ideology (left-right)             | 0-10  |
| Affect towards Muslims (low-high) | 0-10  |
| Affect towards LGBT+ (low-high)   | 0-10  |
| IDvar                             | Individual respondent identifier                  |



Figure A.2: Categorical affect towards Muslims & LGBT+ individuals per country

#### **B.1** Balance tests

In the tables in this section, we report the balance in observables between respondents assigned to i) Control (List A Control & List B Treatment) or, ii) Treatment (List A Treatment & List B Control).

|                        | Control (N=570) |           | Treatm | ent (N=577) |                |            |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------|-------------|----------------|------------|
|                        | Mean            | Std. Dev. | Mean   | Std. Dev.   | Diff. in Means | Std. Error |
| Sexuality (LGBT+)      | 0.1             | 0.3       | 0.1    | 0.3         | 0.0            | 0.0        |
| Gender (woman)         | 0.4             | 0.5       | 0.4    | 0.5         | 0.0            | 0.0        |
| Age                    | 55.5            | 14.5      | 57.3   | 14.2        | 1.8*           | 0.9        |
| Education (degree)     | 1.1             | 1.4       | 1.1    | 1.4         | 0.0            | 0.1        |
| Ideology (left-right)  | 5.0             | 2.3       | 4.9    | 2.4         | -0.2           | 0.1        |
| Affect towards LGBT+   | 6.5             | 2.3       | 6.6    | 2.2         | 0.0            | 0.1        |
| Affect towards Muslims | 4.1             | 2.3       | 4.1    | 2.4         | 0.0            | 0.1        |

Table A.6: Balance test (individual respondents) - Netherlands

Table A.7: Balance test (individual respondents) – Germany

|                        | Control (N=704) |           | Treatme | ent (N=641) |                |            |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------|---------|-------------|----------------|------------|
|                        | Mean            | Std. Dev. | Mean    | Std. Dev.   | Diff. in Means | Std. Error |
| Sexuality (LGBT+)      | 0.2             | 0.4       | 0.1     | 0.3         | 0.0+           | 0.0        |
| Gender (woman)         | 0.3             | 0.5       | 0.4     | 0.5         | 0.0            | 0.0        |
| Age                    | 49.7            | 15.8      | 50.2    | 15.1        | 0.6            | 0.9        |
| Education (degree)     | 1.2             | 1.5       | 1.2     | 1.5         | 0.1            | 0.1        |
| Ideology (left-right)  | 3.8             | 2.1       | 4.1     | 2.1         | 0.3*           | 0.1        |
| Affect towards LGBT+   | 6.2             | 2.2       | 6.1     | 2.1         | -0.1           | 0.1        |
| Affect towards Muslims | 4.8             | 2.0       | 4.5     | 1.9         | -0.3*          | 0.1        |

|                        | Control (N=789) |           | Treatmo | ent (N=796) |                |            |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------|---------|-------------|----------------|------------|
|                        | Mean            | Std. Dev. | Mean    | Std. Dev.   | Diff. in Means | Std. Error |
| Sexuality (LGBT+)      | 0.1             | 0.3       | 0.1     | 0.3         | 0.0            | 0.0        |
| Gender (woman)         | 0.5             | 0.5       | 0.5     | 0.5         | 0.0            | 0.0        |
| Age                    | 49.0            | 15.9      | 49.0    | 15.9        | 0.0            | 0.8        |
| Education (degree)     | 0.5             | 0.5       | 0.5     | 0.5         | 0.0            | 0.0        |
| Ideology (left-right)  | 4.4             | 2.2       | 4.6     | 2.2         | 0.2+           | 0.1        |
| Affect towards LGBT+   | 6.5             | 2.5       | 6.4     | 2.5         | -0.1           | 0.1        |
| Affect towards Muslims | 5.7             | 2.4       | 5.7     | 2.4         | 0.0            | 0.1        |

Table A.8: Balance test (individual respondents) – UK

Table A.9: Balance test (individual respondents) – USA

|                        | Control (N=788) |           | Treatment (N=784) |           |                |            |
|------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|----------------|------------|
|                        | Mean            | Std. Dev. | Mean              | Std. Dev. | Diff. in Means | Std. Error |
| Gender (woman)         | 0.5             | 0.5       | 0.5               | 0.5       | 0.0            | 0.0        |
| Age                    | 41.2            | 14.5      | 40.1              | 14.6      | -1.1           | 0.7        |
| Sexuality (LGBT+)      | 0.2             | 0.4       | 0.2               | 0.4       | 0.0            | 0.0        |
| Education (degree)     | 0.4             | 0.5       | 0.4               | 0.5       | 0.0            | 0.0        |
| Ideology (left-right)  | 3.8             | 3.1       | 3.8               | 3.1       | 0.0            | 0.2        |
| Affect towards LGBT+   | 6.8             | 2.8       | 6.7               | 3.0       | -0.1           | 0.1        |
| Affect towards Muslims | 6.2             | 2.6       | 6.2               | 2.8       | 0.0            | 0.1        |

### C Item counts

Table A.10 reports the distribution of items that respondents expressed agreement with conditioned by treatment assignment in each of the four countries. Among respondents in the control condition – including the USA where respondents were offered the chance of selecting zero items – the modal response was 2 items. Among respondents in the treatment condition, the modal response was 3 items.

|         | Table A.10. Hem response count by treatment condition |           |             |           |         |           |         |           |
|---------|---|-----------|-------------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|
|         | Germany   |           | Netherlands |           | I       | UK        | USA     |           |
|         | Control   | Treatment | Control     | Treatment | Control | Treatment | Control | Treatment |
| 0 items | /   | /         | /           | /         | /       | /         | 0.10    | 0.06      |
| 1 item  | 0.32  | 0.13      | 0.26        | 0.14      | 0.32    | 0.18      | 0.23    | 0.16      |
| 2 items | 0.56  | 0.32      | 0.60        | 0.29      | 0.58    | 0.31      | 0.58    | 0.34      |
| 3 items | 0.10  | 0.44      | 0.11        | 0.45      | 0.09    | 0.43      | 0.07    | 0.38      |
| 4 items | 0.03  | 0.09      | 0.03        | 0.09      | 0.02    | 0.06      | 0.02    | 0.05      |
| 5 items | 0.00  | 0.02      | 0.00        | 0.03      | 0.00    | 0.02      | 0.00    | 0.03      |

Table A.10: Item response count by treatment condition

### D Main models

In Table A.11 we report the effects of assignment to the long-list condition without adjusting for covariates for the double-list. In Table A.12 we report the unadjusted treatment effects for the individual lists. In Table A.13 we report the effects of assignment to the long-list condition while adjusting for covariates. These are the coefficients visualised in the left-hand panel of Figure 1. Table A.14 reports the covariate-adjusted treatments effects for the individual list. These are the coefficients visualised in the left-hand panel of Figure 1.

|             | Netherlands | Germany   | UK        | USA       |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Treatment   | 0.655***    | 0.695***  | 0.607***  | 0.585***  |
|             | (0.035)     | (0.032)   | (0.028)   | (0.034)   |
| (Intercept) | 1.918***    | 1.839***  | 1.807***  | 1.691***  |
|             | (0.025)     | (0.023)   | (0.020)   | (0.024)   |
| N           | 2263        | 2506      | 3168      | 3143      |
| R2 Adj.     | 0.134       | 0.157     | 0.127     | 0.087     |
| Log.Lik.    | -3270.295   | -3255.972 | -3761.457 | -4293.456 |

Table A.11: Unadjusted double-list models

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent (IDvar) + p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

Table A.12: Individual-list models (Unadjusted effects)

|             | Netherlands |           | Germany   |           | UK        |           | USA       |           |
|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
|             | List A      | List B    | List A    | List B    | List A    | List B    | List A    | List B    |
| Treatment   | 0.534***    | 0.761***  | 0.687***  | 0.656***  | 0.606***  | 0.610***  | 0.619***  | 0.552***  |
|             | (0.048)     | (0.050)   | (0.043)   | (0.046)   | (0.038)   | (0.041)   | (0.047)   | (0.048)   |
| (Intercept) | 1.898***    | 1.939***  | 1.682***  | 2.020***  | 1.701***  | 1.912***  | 1.801***  | 1.581***  |
|             | (0.033)     | (0.036)   | (0.029)   | (0.034)   | (0.027)   | (0.029)   | (0.033)   | (0.034)   |
| Ν           | 1126        | 1137      | 1253      | 1253      | 1585      | 1583      | 1572      | 1571      |
| R2 Adj.     | 0.099       | 0.167     | 0.168     | 0.139     | 0.137     | 0.122     | 0.101     | 0.076     |
| Log.Lik.    | -1587.484   | -1665.617 | -1559.350 | -1642.727 | -1808.056 | -1920.456 | -2104.275 | -2159.454 |

p + p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

|                        | Netherlands    | Germany        | UK             | USA            |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Treatment              | 0.656***       | 0.703***       | 0.607***       | 0.583***       |
|                        | (0.035)        | (0.032)        | (0.028)        | (0.033)        |
| Age                    | -0.012+        | 0.011*         | -0.014*        | 0.004          |
| C .                    | (0.007)        | (0.006)        | (0.006)        | (0.007)        |
| Age <sup>2</sup>       | 0.000          | 0.000*         | 0.000*         | 0.000          |
| C .                    | (0.000)        | (0.000)        | (0.000)        | (0.000)        |
| Gender (woman)         | 0.062+         | 0.022          | -0.063*        | 0.006          |
|                        | (0.036)        | (0.033)        | (0.029)        | (0.034)        |
| Sexuality (LGBT+)      | 0.102+         | -0.008         | 0.013          | 0.030          |
| -                      | (0.058)        | (0.049)        | (0.053)        | (0.045)        |
| Education (Degree)     | $-0.053^{***}$ | -0.023+        | 0.064*         | -0.011         |
|                        | (0.013)        | (0.012)        | (0.029)        | (0.034)        |
| Ideology (left-right)  | $-0.034^{***}$ | $-0.045^{***}$ | $-0.031^{***}$ | $-0.057^{***}$ |
|                        | (0.008)        | (0.009)        | (0.007)        | (0.007)        |
| Affect towards Muslims | $-0.021^{**}$  | -0.021*        | -0.017*        | $-0.034^{***}$ |
|                        | (0.008)        | (0.009)        | (0.007)        | (0.008)        |
| Affect towards LGBT+   | 0.021**        | 0.003          | 0.007          | 0.033***       |
|                        | (0.008)        | (0.009)        | (0.007)        | (0.008)        |
| (Intercept)            | 2.342***       | 1.845***       | 2.385***       | 1.781***       |
|                        | (0.171)        | (0.153)        | (0.148)        | (0.158)        |
| N                      | 2109           | 2435           | 3168           | 3139           |
| R2 Adj.                | 0.163          | 0.171          | 0.142          | 0.130          |
| Log.Lik.               | -2961.797      | -3132.215      | -3730.137      | -4204.230      |

Table A.13: Double-list models (Figure 1 Panel 1)

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent (IDvar) + p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

|                        | Netherlands    |                | Gerr           | nany      | U              | К         | USA            |                |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------------|
|                        | List A         | List B         | List A         | List B    | List A         | List B    | List A         | List B         |
| Treatment              | 0.552***       | 0.730***       | 0.675***       | 0.682***  | 0.615***       | 0.606***  | 0.622***       | 0.547***       |
|                        | (0.048)        | (0.051)        | (0.043)        | (0.047)   | (0.038)        | (0.041)   | (0.045)        | (0.048)        |
| Age                    | -0.001         | -0.021*        | 0.004          | 0.019*    | -0.013+        | -0.015+   | 0.007          | 0.001          |
|                        | (0.009)        | (0.010)        | (0.007)        | (0.008)   | (0.008)        | (0.008)   | (0.009)        | (0.010)        |
| Age <sup>2</sup>       | 0.000          | 0.000*         | 0.000          | 0.000+    | 0.000          | 0.000     | 0.000          | 0.000          |
| 0                      | (0.000)        | (0.000)        | (0.000)        | (0.000)   | (0.000)        | (0.000)   | (0.000)        | (0.000)        |
| Gender (woman)         | 0.010          | 0.111*         | 0.004          | 0.041     | -0.030         | -0.096*   | -0.006         | 0.020          |
|                        | (0.049)        | (0.052)        | (0.044)        | (0.047)   | (0.038)        | (0.042)   | (0.045)        | (0.049)        |
| Sexuality (LGBT+)      | 0.064          | 0.141 +        | -0.010         | -0.006    | 0.001          | 0.025     | -0.063         | 0.116+         |
| -                      | (0.079)        | (0.085)        | (0.064)        | (0.070)   | (0.072)        | (0.078)   | (0.061)        | (0.065)        |
| Education (Degree)     | -0.040*        | $-0.066^{***}$ | -0.025         | -0.022    | 0.038          | 0.090*    | 0.020          | -0.045         |
|                        | (0.018)        | (0.019)        | (0.016)        | (0.018)   | (0.038)        | (0.042)   | (0.046)        | (0.049)        |
| Ideology (left-tight)  | $-0.045^{***}$ | $-0.025^{*}$   | $-0.062^{***}$ | -0.028*   | $-0.042^{***}$ | -0.021*   | $-0.080^{***}$ | $-0.033^{***}$ |
|                        | (0.012)        | (0.012)        | (0.011)        | (0.012)   | (0.010)        | (0.011)   | (0.009)        | (0.010)        |
| Affect towards Muslims | $-0.034^{**}$  | -0.010         | $-0.038^{**}$  | -0.004    | -0.017+        | -0.016    | $-0.025^{*}$   | $-0.044^{***}$ |
|                        | (0.011)        | (0.012)        | (0.012)        | (0.013)   | (0.009)        | (0.010)   | (0.010)        | (0.011)        |
| Affect towards LGBT+   | 0.043***       | 0.000          | 0.019 +        | -0.012    | 0.010          | 0.004     | 0.032**        | 0.034**        |
|                        | (0.011)        | (0.012)        | (0.011)        | (0.012)   | (0.009)        | (0.010)   | (0.011)        | (0.012)        |
| (Intercept)            | 2.103***       | 2.558***       | 2.025***       | 1.688***  | 2.310***       | 2.457***  | 1.951***       | 1.602***       |
|                        | (0.232)        | (0.249)        | (0.202)        | (0.220)   | (0.199)        | (0.216)   | (0.213)        | (0.228)        |
| N                      | 1049           | 1060           | 1217           | 1218      | 1585           | 1583      | 1570           | 1569           |
| R2 Adj.                | 0.150          | 0.180          | 0.197          | 0.158     | 0.161          | 0.131     | 0.181          | 0.103          |
| Log.Lik.               | -1427.748      | -1513.523      | -1478.227      | -1580.488 | -1782.252      | -1908.789 | -2022.590      | -2129.046      |

Table A.14: Individual-list models (Figure 1 Panels 2 & 3)

+ p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

## E LGBT+ subgroup test

|                        | Netherlands    | Germany        | UK             | USA            |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Treatment              | 0.665***       | 0.690***       | 0.608***       | 0.585***       |
|                        | (0.037)        | (0.035)        | (0.029)        | (0.037)        |
| Sexuality (LGBT+)      | 0.140+         | -0.049         | 0.016          | 0.034          |
|                        | (0.079)        | (0.067)        | (0.073)        | (0.060)        |
| Treatment*Sexuality    | -0.076         | 0.083          | -0.006         | -0.010         |
| -                      | (0.107)        | (0.090)        | (0.099)        | (0.080)        |
| Age                    | -0.012+        | 0.011*         | $-0.014^{*}$   | 0.004          |
|                        | (0.007)        | (0.006)        | (0.006)        | (0.007)        |
| Age <sup>2</sup>       | 0.000          | 0.000*         | 0.000*         | 0.000          |
|                        | (0.000)        | (0.000)        | (0.000)        | (0.000)        |
| Gender (woman)         | 0.062+         | 0.022          | -0.063*        | 0.006          |
|                        | (0.036)        | (0.033)        | (0.029)        | (0.034)        |
| Education (degree)     | $-0.053^{***}$ | -0.023+        | 0.064*         | -0.011         |
|                        | (0.013)        | (0.012)        | (0.029)        | (0.034)        |
| Ideology (left-right)  | $-0.034^{***}$ | $-0.045^{***}$ | $-0.031^{***}$ | $-0.057^{***}$ |
|                        | (0.008)        | (0.009)        | (0.007)        | (0.007)        |
| Affect towards Muslims | $-0.021^{**}$  | -0.021*        | -0.017*        | $-0.034^{***}$ |
|                        | (0.008)        | (0.009)        | (0.007)        | (0.008)        |
| Affect towards LGBT+   | 0.021**        | 0.003          | 0.007          | 0.033***       |
|                        | (0.008)        | (0.009)        | (0.007)        | (0.008)        |
| (Intercept)            | 2.338***       | 1.852***       | 2.385***       | 1.780***       |
|                        | (0.171)        | (0.153)        | (0.148)        | (0.158)        |
| Num.Obs.               | 2109           | 2435           | 3168           | 3139           |
| R2                     | 0.167          | 0.175          | 0.145          | 0.133          |
| R2 Adj.                | 0.163          | 0.171          | 0.142          | 0.130          |
| AIC                    | 5947.1         | 6287.6         | 7484.3         | 8432.4         |
| BIC                    | 6014.9         | 6357.1         | 7557.0         | 8505.1         |
| Log.Lik.               | -2961.542      | -3131.787      | -3730.135      | -4204.223      |

Table A.15: Interaction models: Treatment\*Sexuality

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent (IDvar) + p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001



Figure A.3: Predicted outcomes (Models from Table A.15)



### (No) Treatment Heteogeneity Between Cis-Hetosexual & LGBTQ+ Respondents

Figure A.4: Difference in the CATEs reported in Figure 2



# F Exploratory subgroup analyses

Figure A.5: Conditional ATE among ideological distribution



Figure A.6: Conditional ATE among distribution of affect towards Muslims



Figure A.7: Conditional ATE among distribution of affect towards LGBT+

### **G** Testing list design assumptions

#### G.1 Relaxing no-liars assumption

In this section, we replicate the approach of relaxing the no-liars assumption as described by Li (2019).

In the left-hand panel of the Figures A.8 - A.11, we report the proportions, conditional on the number of control items answered affirmatively, of i) truth-telling individuals who agreed with the key item and, ii) truth-telling individuals who disagreed with the key item *and* liars. In the right-hand panel of these Figures, we report the same proportion allowing for a maximum number of liars (Li, 2019).



Figure A.8: Relaxing no-liars assumption (Germany)



Figure A.9: Relaxing no-liars assumption (Netherlands)



Figure A.10: Relaxing no-liars assumption (UK)



Figure A.11: Relaxing no-liars assumption (USA)

#### G.2 Design effects test

In this section we rely on the *list* package from Blair and Imai (2012) to test for the presence of design effects in the list experiment. Design effects are a violation of one of the assumptions that underpin the identification strategy of the list experiment approach and occur when a respondent's count of *non-key* items is moderated by allocation to treatment and exposure to the key item.

In Tables A.16 - A.19, we cannot reject the null hypothesis of *no* design effects. The tables report the estimated population proportions where  $Y_i(0)$  is the (latent) count of agreement with the control items.  $Z_i$  is the (latent) binary agreement with the key item.

|                           | Coefficient.est. | Coefficient.s.e. |  |  |  |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|--|--|--|
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 0, Z_i = 1)$ | 0.00             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 1, Z_i = 1)$ | 0.18             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 2, Z_i = 1)$ | 0.41             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 3, Z_i = 1)$ | 0.08             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 4, Z_i = 1)$ | 0.01             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 0, Z_i = 0)$ | 0.00             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 1, Z_i = 0)$ | 0.14             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 2, Z_i = 0)$ | 0.15             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 3, Z_i = 0)$ | 0.03             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 4, Z_i = 0)$ | 0.01             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
|                           |                  |                  |  |  |  |

Table A.16: Test for design effects (Germany)

Table A.17: Test for design effects (Netherlands)

| Table A.17. Test for design effects (Netherlands) |                  |                  |  |  |  |
|---|------------------|------------------|--|--|--|
|   | Coefficient.est. | Coefficient.s.e. |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 0, Z_i = 1)$                         | 0.00             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 1, Z_i = 1)$                         | 0.13             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 2, Z_i = 1)$                         | 0.43             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 3, Z_i = 1)$                         | 0.06             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 4, Z_i = 1)$                         | 0.03             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 0, Z_i = 0)$                         | 0.00             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 1, Z_i = 0)$                         | 0.13             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 2, Z_i = 0)$                         | 0.17             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 3, Z_i = 0)$                         | 0.04             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $\bar{pi}(Y_i(0) = 4, Z_i = 0)$                   | 0.00             | 0.01             |  |  |  |

| Tuble 11:10. Test for design eneeds (ert) |                  |                  |  |  |  |
|---|------------------|------------------|--|--|--|
|   | Coefficient.est. | Coefficient.s.e. |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 0, Z_i = 1)$                 | 0.00             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 1, Z_i = 1)$                 | 0.13             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 2, Z_i = 1)$                 | 0.40             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 3, Z_i = 1)$                 | 0.06             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 4, Z_i = 1)$                 | 0.02             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 0, Z_i = 0)$                 | 0.00             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 1, Z_i = 0)$                 | 0.18             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 2, Z_i = 0)$                 | 0.18             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 3, Z_i = 0)$                 | 0.03             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 4, Z_i = 0)$                 | 0.00             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
|   |                  |                  |  |  |  |

Table A.18: Test for design effects (UK)

Table A.19: Test for design effects (USA)

| Tuble 11.17. Test for design eneets (0511) |                  |                  |  |  |  |
|--|------------------|------------------|--|--|--|
|  | Coefficient.est. | Coefficient.s.e. |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 0, Z_i = 1)$                  | 0.04             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 1, Z_i = 1)$                  | 0.11             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 2, Z_i = 1)$                  | 0.36             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 3, Z_i = 1)$                  | 0.05             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 4, Z_i = 1)$                  | 0.03             | 0.00             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 0, Z_i = 0)$                  | 0.06             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 1, Z_i = 0)$                  | 0.12             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $pi(Y_i(0) = 2, Z_i = 0)$                  | 0.22             | 0.02             |  |  |  |
| $\dot{pi}(Y_i(0) = 3, Z_i = 0)$            | 0.02             | 0.01             |  |  |  |
| $\overline{pi}(Y_i(0) = 4, Z_i = 0)$       | -0.00            | 0.01             |  |  |  |
|  |                  |                  |  |  |  |

#### G.3 Double-list carry-over effects test

In Table A.20 we model the difference in the differences (DiD) estimator recommended by (Diaz, 2023) to test for the potential carry-over design effects in the double-list experiment. The DiD is indicated by the multiplicative interaction term: *Treatment\*List B*.

|                  | Netherlands | Germany  | UK       | USA       |
|------------------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| Constant         | 1.898***    | 1.682*** | 1.701*** | 1.801***  |
|                  | (0.044)     | (0.036)  | (0.023)  | (0.029)   |
| Treatment        | 0.307       | 0.718*** | 0.601*** | 0.686***  |
|                  | (0.194)     | (0.138)  | (0.098)  | (0.122)   |
| List B           | 0.042       | 0.337*** | 0.211*** | -0.220*** |
|                  | (0.063)     | (0.051)  | (0.033)  | (0.041)   |
| Treatment*List B | 0.227+      | -0.031   | 0.004    | -0.067    |
|                  | (0.133)     | (0.090)  | (0.065)  | (0.080)   |
| N                | 2263        | 2506     | 3168     | 3143      |
| R2 Adj.          | 0.145       | 0.191    | 0.143    | 0.102     |

Table A.20: double-list Carry-over Test (Diaz, 2023)

Robust standard errors clustered by respondent (IDvar) + p < 0.1, \* p < 0.05, \*\* p < 0.01, \*\*\* p < 0.001

### H Multiverse analysis

Figure A.12 reports the effect of treatment assignment on the outcome across a multiverse of different specifications among the full sample. The specifications include variation in Country and List (i.e., A vs B) fixed effects, as well as the following respondent-level variables: gender, age, sexuality, education, ideology (left-right) placement, affect towards Muslims, and affect towards LGBTQ+ persons.

In Figure A.13, we replicate this multiverse specification approach for each of the country studies individually.



#### **Combined sample**

Figure A.12: Multiverse Specification Curve (Combined Sample)



Figure A.13: Country-specific specification curves