

Supplementary Materials

The Limits of Language: Gender Apartheid and Public Opinion

Joshua Schwartz* & Meghan Garrity†

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*Assistant Professor of International Relations, Carnegie Mellon Institute for Strategy and Technology, joshschwartz@cmu.edu.

†Assistant Professor of International Security & Law, George Mason University, mgarrit2@gmu.edu.

Study 1: U.S. Public Sample

Impact of Language: Gender Apartheid vs. Gender Persecution

Controlling for Other Factors

Table A.1 illustrates that the null effect of language (gender apartheid versus gender persecution) on public support for policies to combat the mistreatment of foreign women holds when we control for a range of other factors. There are also some notable significant and null effects when it comes to the control variables. First, the other factor we experimentally varied—whether respondents were presented with a scenario about Afghanistan or Iran—also has a null effect. Second, per our pre-registered expectations, respondents that score higher in a measure of hostile sexism are generally *less* likely to support policies to combat the mistreatment of foreign women, whereas respondents that score higher in a measure of benevolent sexism are generally *more* likely to support these kinds of policies. Given that benevolent sexists believe women are “gentle souls” in need of protection by men, these findings make logical sense and suggest that different types of sexism have different impacts (Glick and Fiske, 1997; Schaffner, 2022). This finding is also consistent with work by Agerberg and Kreft (2023), who find that due to benevolent sexist beliefs the public is more likely to support military intervention in conflicts with sexual violence compared to other types of violence (e.g., ethnic violence). We also find that respondents who are stronger Republicans are generally less supportive of intervening to help foreign women than stronger Democrats, whereas respondents that believe more strongly in the United States’ “responsibility to protect” foreign civilians from harm and score more highly on a measure of cosmopolitanism are more supportive of such efforts (holding constant respondents’ party identification). The latter finding is consistent with work by Chu and Lee (2024) on humanitarian intervention more broadly.

Table A.1: Controlling for Other Factors — Main DVs

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Index Measure	Pressure IOs	UNSC Condemnation	ICC Referral	Economic Sanctions	Foreign Aid	Female Immigration	Targeted Airstrikes	Regime Change
Apartheid vs. Persecution	-0.034 (0.050)	0.056 (0.076)	-0.039 (0.069)	-0.066 (0.071)	-0.051 (0.087)	0.027 (0.079)	-0.103 (0.079)	-0.014 (0.083)	-0.083 (0.083)
Afghanistan vs. Iran	0.015 (0.050)	-0.028 (0.075)	0.074 (0.069)	0.022 (0.070)	-0.016 (0.087)	0.117 (0.081)	-0.101 (0.080)	0.064 (0.086)	-0.009 (0.085)
Stronger Republican	-0.048*** (0.011)	-0.062*** (0.017)	-0.022 (0.015)	-0.035** (0.016)	-0.016 (0.020)	-0.075*** (0.018)	-0.104*** (0.018)	-0.041** (0.018)	-0.031* (0.018)
Hostile Sexism	-0.119*** (0.033)	-0.232*** (0.046)	-0.208*** (0.040)	-0.224*** (0.043)	-0.185*** (0.053)	-0.091* (0.049)	-0.120** (0.050)	0.098** (0.049)	0.010 (0.051)
Benevolent Sexism	0.154*** (0.034)	0.098** (0.050)	0.025 (0.043)	0.129*** (0.046)	0.145*** (0.056)	0.167*** (0.049)	0.037 (0.053)	0.273*** (0.054)	0.361*** (0.054)
Hawkish	0.050 (0.036)	0.060 (0.054)	0.048 (0.049)	0.036 (0.050)	-0.007 (0.064)	-0.141** (0.055)	-0.068 (0.059)	0.272*** (0.058)	0.196*** (0.057)
Cosmopolitan	0.082*** (0.024)	0.030 (0.038)	0.060* (0.032)	0.074** (0.034)	0.014 (0.040)	0.110*** (0.039)	0.145*** (0.040)	0.085** (0.038)	0.141*** (0.038)
Support for R2P Principle	0.171*** (0.026)	0.154*** (0.039)	0.109*** (0.034)	0.099*** (0.035)	0.136*** (0.046)	0.309*** (0.040)	0.190*** (0.043)	0.155*** (0.038)	0.214*** (0.042)
Pro-Israel	0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.003*** (0.001)	-0.002** (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Self-Reported Attention to IR	0.071*** (0.025)	0.168*** (0.036)	0.138*** (0.037)	0.099*** (0.036)	0.196*** (0.046)	0.023 (0.040)	0.043 (0.042)	-0.039 (0.042)	-0.058 (0.043)
Measured Knowledge about IR	-0.013 (0.036)	0.054 (0.054)	0.050 (0.049)	0.051 (0.051)	-0.037 (0.064)	0.048 (0.058)	0.070 (0.057)	-0.110* (0.057)	-0.227*** (0.057)
Education	0.010 (0.015)	0.003 (0.022)	0.044** (0.022)	0.024 (0.021)	0.034 (0.027)	0.012 (0.024)	0.064** (0.025)	-0.044* (0.025)	-0.058** (0.025)
Woman	-0.051 (0.055)	-0.092 (0.084)	-0.102 (0.077)	-0.106 (0.079)	-0.273*** (0.100)	0.017 (0.087)	-0.071 (0.089)	0.001 (0.094)	0.219** (0.092)
Income	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.006 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.007)	0.002 (0.007)
Age	-0.000 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.003)	0.009*** (0.002)	0.006** (0.002)	0.004 (0.003)	-0.006** (0.003)	0.000 (0.003)	-0.006** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.003)
White	0.033 (0.104)	0.136 (0.143)	-0.164 (0.135)	-0.133 (0.147)	0.168 (0.173)	0.139 (0.141)	0.317** (0.157)	-0.071 (0.172)	-0.124 (0.157)
Black	0.078 (0.127)	0.027 (0.190)	-0.161 (0.172)	-0.087 (0.175)	-0.150 (0.223)	0.424** (0.171)	0.266 (0.189)	0.114 (0.211)	0.195 (0.206)
Region	-0.007 (0.024)	-0.026 (0.036)	0.029 (0.034)	0.009 (0.036)	0.019 (0.044)	0.023 (0.039)	-0.059 (0.039)	-0.052 (0.041)	0.004 (0.041)
Constant	2.015*** (0.260)	2.665*** (0.396)	2.675*** (0.374)	2.850*** (0.388)	1.739*** (0.454)	2.003*** (0.409)	2.640*** (0.424)	0.721* (0.435)	0.831** (0.407)
Observations	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

In Table A.2 we test the impact of language on a series of other outcome measures, many of which we expected might function as mechanisms. However, as discussed explicitly in our pre-registration plan, we anticipated there might be a null effect of language (gender apartheid versus gender persecution) on public opinion, in which case we also expected to see a null effect for the mechanism variables. Indeed, that is what we find. Respondents that received the apartheid rather than the persecution treatment were not more likely to believe the US had a moral obligation to intervene (Model 1), the actions of Afghanistan/Iran were illegal under international law (Model 3), the US' reputation would suffer if it did nothing to help Afghan/Iranian women (Model 4), the treatment of Afghan/Iranian women is as unacceptable as the treatment of African-Americans in the U.S. under Jim Crow (Table 5), or they had learned more about the treatment of women in Afghanistan/Iran from reading our vignette (Model 8). If anything, there is a bit of evidence the persecution treatment may have actually had a marginally stronger impact, as it made respondents more likely to believe Afghanistan/Iran poses a major threat to the United States (Model 2) and more willing to write a letter to the president urging him to take action (Model 7).

With respect to the control variables, there are some interesting results. First, respondents were more likely to believe the US had a moral obligation to intervene to help Afghan women than Iranian women (Model 1), perhaps because of the US' long war in Afghanistan combined with the principle that "if you break it, then you buy it." Second, and by contrast, threat perceptions were actually higher towards Iran than Afghanistan (Model 2), perhaps because of the former's more formidable military capabilities. Third, the hostile and benevolent sexism dynamics discussed above also generally operate for these outcome variables as well.

Table A.2: Controlling for Other Factors — Other DVs

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Moral Obligation	Threat Perceptions	Illegal Perceptions	Reputation Suffer if Inaction	As Bad as Jim Crow	Top 3 Priority	Willing Write Letter	New Information	Chance of Success
Apartheid vs. Persecution	-0.097 (0.073)	-0.162** (0.081)	0.006 (0.073)	-0.038 (0.077)	-0.005 (0.074)	-0.097 (0.082)	-0.059* (0.032)	0.035 (0.077)	0.004 (0.069)
Afghanistan vs. Iran	0.156** (0.075)	-0.519*** (0.081)	0.085 (0.074)	0.104 (0.078)	-0.009 (0.074)	-0.023 (0.087)	0.008 (0.032)	0.106 (0.079)	0.069 (0.070)
Stronger Republican	-0.023 (0.017)	0.010 (0.017)	0.018 (0.016)	-0.056*** (0.017)	-0.019 (0.016)	-0.044** (0.017)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.016 (0.017)	-0.002 (0.016)
Hostile Sexism	-0.159*** (0.046)	-0.061 (0.047)	-0.174*** (0.043)	-0.004 (0.044)	-0.232*** (0.042)	-0.099** (0.049)	-0.015 (0.018)	-0.067 (0.045)	-0.031 (0.040)
Benevolent Sexism	0.134*** (0.050)	0.104* (0.054)	0.078 (0.049)	0.197*** (0.053)	0.087* (0.045)	0.230*** (0.052)	0.019 (0.019)	0.214*** (0.047)	0.224*** (0.044)
Hawkish	-0.024 (0.051)	0.098 (0.060)	0.004 (0.053)	-0.032 (0.054)	-0.058 (0.055)	-0.007 (0.061)	0.008 (0.021)	0.069 (0.055)	0.078 (0.048)
Cosmopolitan	0.088** (0.036)	-0.023 (0.039)	0.074** (0.036)	0.119*** (0.037)	0.023 (0.036)	0.140*** (0.041)	0.033** (0.014)	0.082** (0.035)	0.120*** (0.032)
Support for R2P Principle	0.415*** (0.039)	0.113*** (0.041)	0.112*** (0.037)	0.242*** (0.039)	0.145*** (0.036)	0.242*** (0.044)	0.059*** (0.015)	0.095** (0.037)	0.191*** (0.034)
Pro-Israel	-0.001 (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.001** (0.000)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)
Self-Reported Attention to IR	-0.009 (0.039)	0.037 (0.040)	0.072* (0.038)	-0.033 (0.040)	0.072* (0.038)	0.012 (0.043)	0.066*** (0.015)	0.024 (0.045)	0.034 (0.036)
Measured Knowledge about IR	-0.065 (0.053)	-0.086 (0.056)	0.025 (0.054)	-0.089* (0.054)	0.084 (0.055)	-0.026 (0.059)	-0.022 (0.022)	-0.289*** (0.055)	-0.104** (0.052)
Education	-0.000 (0.022)	-0.025 (0.024)	-0.000 (0.021)	-0.024 (0.023)	0.008 (0.023)	0.004 (0.026)	-0.001 (0.009)	-0.051** (0.023)	-0.010 (0.020)
Woman	0.065 (0.084)	0.299*** (0.093)	0.025 (0.082)	0.016 (0.084)	0.016 (0.084)	0.076 (0.095)	-0.039 (0.037)	-0.019 (0.090)	0.136* (0.076)
Income	-0.000 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.012* (0.006)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.006 (0.007)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.008 (0.005)
Age	-0.001 (0.003)	0.002 (0.003)	0.009*** (0.003)	-0.003 (0.003)	0.003 (0.002)	0.006** (0.003)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.007*** (0.003)	-0.013*** (0.002)
White	0.048 (0.134)	-0.017 (0.144)	-0.463*** (0.115)	0.180 (0.128)	-0.045 (0.136)	0.097 (0.152)	-0.029 (0.056)	-0.285* (0.148)	0.025 (0.132)
Black	0.281* (0.169)	0.328* (0.192)	-0.200 (0.150)	0.237 (0.170)	-0.120 (0.185)	0.161 (0.197)	0.058 (0.074)	0.168 (0.183)	0.123 (0.162)
Region	-0.057 (0.035)	0.033 (0.038)	-0.048 (0.035)	0.011 (0.038)	0.034 (0.036)	-0.065 (0.041)	0.002 (0.016)	-0.025 (0.038)	0.017 (0.035)
Constant	1.891*** (0.396)	2.552*** (0.421)	3.148*** (0.375)	1.821*** (0.400)	3.427*** (0.398)	1.479*** (0.435)	-0.125 (0.152)	2.751*** (0.421)	1.529*** (0.363)
Observations	762	762	762	762	762	758	757	760	760

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.10; **p< 0.05; ***p<0.01.

Moderators and Heterogeneous Effects

In Table A.3 we test whether the effect of language might be moderated by a series of factors outlined in our pre-analysis plan, as well as some additional factors we test on an exploratory basis. For this analysis, we utilize the index measure of the eight core policy variables outlined in Models 2-9 of Table A.1. Note that all models in Table A.3 include control variables, but we omit them for ease of interpretation. We find no significant evidence of heterogeneous effects. In other words, we do not find that the impact on public opinion of using the language of “gender apartheid” rather than “gender persecution” is stronger among particular subgroups of Americans.

Table A.3: Moderators

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
Apartheid vs. Persecution	-0.072 (0.078)	-0.050 (0.088)	-0.068 (0.060)	-0.179 (0.127)	-0.140 (0.185)	0.031 (0.193)	-0.265* (0.151)	-0.126 (0.170)	0.093 (0.186)	-0.074 (0.098)	0.009 (0.136)	-0.044 (0.081)	0.044 (0.163)	-0.026 (0.059)
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Afghanistan vs. Iran	0.071 (0.098)													
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Stronger Republican (8-Point Scale)		0.004 (0.018)												
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Republican (Binary)			0.084 (0.105)											
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Hostile Sexism				0.061 (0.052)										
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Benevolent Sexism					0.034 (0.059)									
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Hawkish						-0.021 (0.061)								
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Cosmopolitan							0.067 (0.042)							
Apartheid vs. Persecution × R2P								0.028 (0.049)						
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Self-Reported Attention to IR									-0.032 (0.046)					
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Measured Knowledge about IR										0.032 (0.066)				
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Education											-0.009 (0.026)			
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Woman												0.017 (0.102)		
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Age													-0.002 (0.003)	
Apartheid vs. Persecution × Over 65														-0.030 (0.107)
Observations	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Pro-Israel versus Pro-Palestinian

In Table A.4 we test another of our pre-registered hypotheses: that the effect of using the language “gender apartheid” would be smaller for respondents that are relatively more pro-Israeli and larger for subjects that are relatively more pro-Palestinian. The logic of our hypothesis is that a common charge against the Israeli government is that they are constructing a system of apartheid vis-a-vis Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. Supporters of Israel often vigorously refute this claim and believe the concept of “apartheid” is being improperly applied. Therefore, pro-Israeli respondents might view the charge of gender apartheid against the Afghan/Iranian government as either (a) not particularly meaningful, at least relative to the charge of gender persecution, or at the extreme (b) less believable than the charge of gender persecution. By contrast, the language of apartheid may be more emotionally resonant with Americans that express greater pro-Palestinian sentiment.

In Table A.4 we indeed find some evidence for this pre-registered hypothesis. Using an index measure of our eight core outcome variables, we find that support for policy action when using the language of gender apartheid rather than gender persecution is lower for respondents that are more pro-Israeli and, by implication, higher among respondents that are more pro-Palestinian, even controlling for a range of other factors like political identification and respondent gender.¹ This effect holds when we use the full 200-point scale of this variable² (Model 1; $p \approx 0.063$) or the median split (Model 2; $p \approx 0.029$). As Models 3-11 show, disaggregating the index measure reveals that this moderating effect is strongest for the sanctions, immigration, and priority outcome variables.

These effects are substantively, as well as statistically, significant. For example, respondents that score above the median in pro-Israeli sentiment are almost 9 percentage points less supportive of sanctions and about 8 percentage points less supportive of allowing a significant number of women to immigrate to the U.S. than respondents that

¹Note that the index measure does not include views about whether addressing the situation in Afghanistan/Iran should be a top three priority for the US State Department (Model 11).

²Just as affective polarization between Democrats and Republicans is typically measured, we assess a respondent’s relative pro-Israeli lean by asking them to separately rate their favorability towards Israel and Palestine on a 100-point scale, and then subtracting the two measures.

score below the median in pro-Israeli sentiment.³

Table A.4: Pro-Israeli Moderator

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
	Index Measure	Index Measure	Pressure IOs	UNSC Condemnation	ICC Referral	Economic Sanctions	Foreign Aid	Female Immigration	Targeted Airstrikes	Regime Change	Top 3 Priority
Apartheid vs. Persecution × More Pro-Israel (200-Point Scale)	-0.002** (0.001)		-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.004** (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.003* (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.005** (0.002)
Apartheid vs. Persecution × More Pro-Israel (Median Split)		-0.213** (0.097)									
Apartheid vs. Persecution	-0.006 (0.052)	0.067 (0.071)	0.064 (0.080)	-0.018 (0.072)	-0.048 (0.075)	0.006 (0.092)	0.054 (0.083)	-0.059 (0.080)	-0.000 (0.084)	-0.050 (0.088)	-0.019 (0.086)
Pro-Israel (200-Point Scale)	0.001 (0.001)		0.001 (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.003** (0.001)	-0.002* (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.003* (0.002)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)
More Pro-Israel (Median Split)		0.193*** (0.073)									
Afghanistan vs. Iran	0.020 (0.050)	0.015 (0.049)	-0.027 (0.075)	0.077 (0.070)	0.025 (0.070)	-0.006 (0.088)	0.122 (0.081)	-0.094 (0.080)	0.066 (0.086)	-0.003 (0.085)	-0.010 (0.087)
Stronger Republican	-0.048*** (0.011)	-0.051*** (0.011)	-0.062*** (0.017)	-0.022 (0.015)	-0.035** (0.016)	-0.016 (0.020)	-0.075*** (0.018)	-0.104*** (0.018)	-0.041** (0.018)	-0.031* (0.018)	-0.044** (0.017)
Hostile Sexism	-0.122*** (0.033)	-0.119*** (0.033)	-0.232*** (0.046)	-0.210*** (0.040)	-0.226*** (0.043)	-0.190*** (0.053)	-0.093* (0.048)	-0.125** (0.050)	0.097** (0.049)	0.007 (0.050)	-0.106** (0.048)
Benevolent Sexism	0.156*** (0.034)	0.151*** (0.034)	0.098** (0.050)	0.026 (0.043)	0.130*** (0.046)	0.147*** (0.056)	0.168*** (0.049)	0.039 (0.053)	0.274*** (0.055)	0.363*** (0.054)	0.234*** (0.052)
Hawkish	0.051 (0.036)	0.039 (0.036)	0.060 (0.054)	0.049 (0.049)	0.037 (0.050)	-0.005 (0.064)	-0.140** (0.055)	-0.066 (0.059)	0.273*** (0.058)	0.197*** (0.057)	-0.004 (0.060)
Cosmopolitan	0.079*** (0.024)	0.081*** (0.024)	0.029 (0.038)	0.058* (0.032)	0.072** (0.035)	0.007 (0.040)	0.107*** (0.039)	0.139*** (0.039)	0.084** (0.038)	0.137*** (0.038)	0.131*** (0.041)
Support for R2P Principle	0.170*** (0.026)	0.172*** (0.026)	0.154*** (0.039)	0.109*** (0.034)	0.099*** (0.035)	0.135*** (0.045)	0.308*** (0.040)	0.189*** (0.042)	0.155*** (0.038)	0.213*** (0.042)	0.240*** (0.043)
Self-Reported Attention to IR	0.074*** (0.025)	0.072*** (0.025)	0.169*** (0.036)	0.140*** (0.037)	0.100*** (0.036)	0.201*** (0.046)	0.025 (0.040)	0.047 (0.042)	-0.038 (0.042)	-0.055 (0.043)	0.020 (0.043)
Measured Knowledge about IR	-0.012 (0.036)	-0.011 (0.035)	0.054 (0.054)	0.050 (0.049)	0.052 (0.051)	-0.036 (0.064)	0.049 (0.058)	0.071 (0.057)	-0.110* (0.057)	-0.226*** (0.057)	-0.024 (0.059)
Education	0.009 (0.015)	0.007 (0.015)	0.002 (0.022)	0.044** (0.022)	0.023 (0.021)	0.031 (0.027)	0.011 (0.024)	0.063** (0.025)	-0.045* (0.025)	-0.059** (0.025)	0.001 (0.026)
Woman	-0.048 (0.055)	-0.046 (0.055)	-0.091 (0.085)	-0.100 (0.076)	-0.103 (0.079)	-0.267*** (0.099)	0.021 (0.087)	-0.066 (0.089)	0.003 (0.095)	0.223** (0.093)	0.085 (0.094)
Income	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.002 (0.004)	-0.004 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.006)	0.006 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.007 (0.006)	-0.003 (0.007)	0.002 (0.007)	-0.007 (0.007)
Age	-0.000 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.000 (0.003)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.006** (0.002)	0.004 (0.003)	-0.007** (0.003)	-0.000 (0.003)	-0.006** (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.003)	0.005* (0.003)
White	0.035 (0.103)	0.028 (0.104)	0.137 (0.143)	-0.163 (0.135)	-0.132 (0.148)	0.170 (0.171)	0.140 (0.141)	0.318** (0.157)	-0.070 (0.172)	-0.122 (0.156)	0.100 (0.151)
Black	0.077 (0.127)	0.074 (0.127)	0.027 (0.190)	-0.162 (0.172)	-0.088 (0.175)	-0.154 (0.221)	0.422** (0.171)	0.263 (0.189)	0.113 (0.211)	0.193 (0.205)	0.156 (0.196)
Region	-0.006 (0.024)	-0.006 (0.024)	-0.025 (0.036)	0.029 (0.034)	0.010 (0.036)	0.020 (0.044)	0.023 (0.039)	-0.058 (0.038)	-0.052 (0.041)	0.005 (0.041)	-0.063 (0.040)
Constant	2.012*** (0.261)	2.005*** (0.254)	2.664*** (0.396)	2.673*** (0.374)	2.848*** (0.389)	1.731*** (0.456)	1.999*** (0.409)	2.634*** (0.424)	0.719* (0.435)	0.826** (0.408)	1.469*** (0.437)
Observations	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758	758

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

³These estimates are calculated using a simple subsetting approach.

Providing Extra Background on Apartheid

In our pre-analysis plan we registered a hypothesis that the effect of language on public opinion would be stronger if respondents were given background information about what apartheid means and historical context about how it manifested in South Africa. The logic of this hypothesis was that many members of the public may be relatively unfamiliar with the term and thus not associate apartheid with a system of oppression that is particularly malign. As an easy test of the impact of language, we therefore randomly assigned a third of respondents to receive the gender apartheid vignette *along with* a definition of the term and a short discussion of its history in relation to South Africa (see the questionnaire section for the treatment language). As outlined in Table A.5, using the language of gender apartheid does not even pass this easier test. When comparing respondents that received the apartheid treatment with additional information to respondents that received the persecution treatment, there is generally a null effect on policy attitudes (Models 1-9). Additionally, there is not even consistent evidence that providing respondents with additional background on apartheid leads to stronger results compared to the bare-bones apartheid treatment (Model 10).⁴

⁴There is a significant effect in the expected direction for some individual variables, such as support for sanctions ($p \approx 0.065$), making addressing the treatment of women and girls a top three priority ($p \approx 0.023$), and threat perceptions towards Afghanistan/Iran ($p \approx 0.053$).

Table A.5: Apartheid Treatment w/ Definition & Background Information

	(1) Index Measure	(2) Pressure IOs	(3) UNSC Condemnation	(4) ICC Referral	(5) Economic Sanctions	(6) Foreign Aid	(7) Female Immigration	(8) Targeted Airstrikes	(9) Regime Change	(10) Index Measure
Apartheid with Background vs. Persecution	0.004 (0.047)	0.131* (0.075)	-0.082 (0.070)	-0.054 (0.072)	0.048 (0.086)	-0.013 (0.080)	-0.084 (0.081)	0.080 (0.085)	0.009 (0.083)	
Apartheid with Background vs. Apartheid										0.062 (0.047)
Afghanistan vs. Iran	-0.015 (0.048)	-0.073 (0.075)	-0.013 (0.072)	0.040 (0.073)	0.009 (0.088)	-0.016 (0.080)	-0.079 (0.081)	0.000 (0.086)	0.011 (0.082)	0.014 (0.047)
Stronger Republican	-0.042*** (0.011)	-0.051*** (0.016)	-0.037** (0.016)	-0.035** (0.016)	-0.006 (0.019)	-0.053*** (0.018)	-0.094*** (0.018)	-0.032* (0.018)	-0.027 (0.017)	-0.035*** (0.011)
Hostile Sexism	-0.094*** (0.031)	-0.130*** (0.046)	-0.154*** (0.040)	-0.165*** (0.042)	-0.136*** (0.052)	-0.116** (0.048)	-0.111** (0.049)	0.069 (0.052)	-0.011 (0.046)	-0.050* (0.030)
Benevolent Sexism	0.114*** (0.035)	0.037 (0.053)	0.014 (0.046)	0.051 (0.048)	0.070 (0.059)	0.133** (0.054)	0.033 (0.055)	0.264*** (0.055)	0.313*** (0.054)	0.116*** (0.032)
Hawkish	0.012 (0.033)	0.042 (0.053)	-0.053 (0.050)	-0.033 (0.050)	0.025 (0.061)	-0.150*** (0.054)	-0.135** (0.058)	0.239*** (0.059)	0.162*** (0.057)	0.008 (0.036)
Cosmopolitan	0.048** (0.022)	0.015 (0.036)	0.028 (0.031)	0.047 (0.033)	0.002 (0.041)	0.080** (0.037)	0.098** (0.040)	0.009 (0.038)	0.103*** (0.037)	0.079*** (0.023)
Support for R2P Principle	0.213*** (0.022)	0.197*** (0.039)	0.136*** (0.035)	0.144*** (0.034)	0.209*** (0.044)	0.365*** (0.038)	0.239*** (0.042)	0.174*** (0.038)	0.236*** (0.038)	0.226*** (0.025)
Pro-Israel	0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.002** (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Self-Reported Attention to IR	0.054** (0.026)	0.135*** (0.038)	0.151*** (0.041)	0.113*** (0.039)	0.126** (0.049)	0.026 (0.045)	-0.006 (0.043)	-0.019 (0.046)	-0.092** (0.041)	0.043* (0.025)
Measured Knowledge about IR	0.025 (0.032)	0.149*** (0.052)	0.122** (0.050)	0.095* (0.050)	0.048 (0.061)	-0.010 (0.056)	0.074 (0.054)	-0.096 (0.058)	-0.178*** (0.057)	0.058* (0.033)
Education	-0.000 (0.015)	0.004 (0.024)	0.039* (0.022)	0.002 (0.022)	0.041 (0.028)	-0.004 (0.025)	0.018 (0.026)	-0.037 (0.027)	-0.066*** (0.025)	-0.004 (0.015)
Woman	-0.033 (0.054)	-0.022 (0.086)	-0.092 (0.078)	-0.060 (0.080)	-0.297*** (0.098)	0.021 (0.090)	-0.036 (0.091)	0.007 (0.098)	0.215** (0.087)	0.012 (0.051)
Income	-0.001 (0.004)	0.001 (0.006)	0.001 (0.006)	-0.002 (0.006)	0.002 (0.007)	-0.006 (0.006)	-0.001 (0.007)	-0.002 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.007)	-0.000 (0.004)
Age	-0.001 (0.002)	0.001 (0.003)	0.008*** (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	0.005 (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.003)	-0.002 (0.003)	-0.008*** (0.003)	-0.010*** (0.003)	0.000 (0.002)
White	0.246** (0.113)	0.332* (0.183)	0.216 (0.172)	0.197 (0.185)	0.372* (0.198)	0.180 (0.164)	0.528*** (0.169)	0.216 (0.193)	-0.076 (0.202)	0.029 (0.116)
Black	0.211 (0.135)	0.171 (0.225)	0.017 (0.207)	0.028 (0.221)	0.283 (0.243)	0.449** (0.195)	0.446** (0.198)	0.293 (0.229)	0.002 (0.241)	0.008 (0.138)
Region	-0.037 (0.024)	-0.054 (0.038)	-0.054 (0.037)	0.011 (0.039)	-0.054 (0.045)	-0.033 (0.042)	-0.043 (0.040)	-0.003 (0.044)	-0.066 (0.042)	-0.037 (0.023)
Constant	2.159*** (0.262)	2.317*** (0.397)	2.824*** (0.386)	2.847*** (0.410)	1.629*** (0.476)	2.377*** (0.422)	2.983*** (0.441)	0.706 (0.461)	1.590*** (0.421)	1.930*** (0.251)
Observations	751	751	751	751	751	751	751	751	751	755

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Ranking Terms By Severity

As a blunter test of our expectations, we also asked respondents to rank the following four concepts from most severe (women are being treated the worst) to least severe: gender apartheid, gender persecution, gender-based violence, and gender discrimination. Our pre-registered hypothesis was that respondents would rank gender apartheid as a more severe violation than gender persecution or gender discrimination (we were less confident how it would compare to gender-based violence). In Table A.6 we display the raw results. Interestingly, by a strong plurality of the vote, respondents ranked gender-based violence as the worst. A profitable avenue for future research may thus be to test the impact on public opinion of using the term gender-based violence compared to other types of language, such as gender apartheid or persecution. Perhaps activists are correct that language matters and can move the public, but have put their proverbial eggs in the wrong basket by arguing “gender apartheid” is the most effective term to use.

In accordance with the null results for our primary hypotheses, we find little evidence that respondents generally rank gender apartheid as indicating worse treatment of women than gender persecution. On average, respondents ranked gender persecution as slightly worse, though the difference is relatively marginal.⁵ On the other hand, respondents clearly felt gender discrimination was less severe than gender apartheid or persecution.

Table A.6: How Respondents Ranked Severity of Terms

	Ranked Most Severe	Ranked Second Most Severe	Ranked Second Least Severe	Ranked Least Severe	Average Ranking
Gender-Based Violence	46.13%	28.20%	14.59%	11.08%	3.09
Gender Apartheid	23.51%	23.33%	29.01%	24.14%	2.46
Gender Persecution	20.36%	34.86%	34.59%	10.18%	2.65
Gender Discrimination	10.00%	13.36%	21.80%	54.59%	1.79

⁵Responses were recoded for Table A.6 such that higher rankings indicate that the term was perceived as more severe towards women.

In Table A.7 we test whether the treatments themselves impacted how respondents ranked the severity of the terms. We find significant evidence that when respondents were assigned either the bare-bones apartheid treatment or the apartheid treatment that also included background information, they were more likely to rank gender apartheid as more severe relative to the other terms (Models 1 and 3) and as specifically more severe than gender persecution (Models 2 and 4). There is no significant effect when comparing the bare-bones apartheid treatment to the apartheid treatment that also included background information (Models 5 and 6). However, even respondents that received one of the apartheid treatments still ranked gender-based violence as more severe than gender apartheid. Consistent with the null effect for most potential moderators, we also find little evidence that the control variables impact the ranking of apartheid.

Table A.7: Effect of the Treatments on Ranking

	(1) Apartheid Ranking	(2) Apartheid Worse Persecution	(3) Apartheid Ranking	(4) Apartheid Worse Persecution	(5) Apartheid Ranking	(6) Apartheid Worse Persecution
Apartheid vs. Persecution	0.652*** (0.078)	0.286*** (0.034)				
Apartheid with Background vs. Persecution			0.769*** (0.076)	0.335*** (0.034)		
Apartheid with Background vs. Apartheid					0.117 (0.079)	0.053 (0.037)
Afghanistan vs. Iran	0.100 (0.078)	0.041 (0.035)	0.142* (0.077)	0.032 (0.034)	0.057 (0.081)	-0.011 (0.038)
Stronger Republican	0.009 (0.017)	0.008 (0.008)	-0.028* (0.017)	-0.011 (0.007)	-0.023 (0.017)	-0.009 (0.008)
Hostile Sexism	-0.052 (0.042)	0.007 (0.019)	-0.044 (0.043)	-0.005 (0.019)	-0.072 (0.046)	-0.015 (0.021)
Benevolent Sexism	-0.010 (0.045)	0.003 (0.020)	0.010 (0.046)	-0.005 (0.020)	0.038 (0.048)	0.007 (0.022)
Hawkish	-0.010 (0.049)	-0.028 (0.021)	-0.005 (0.047)	-0.013 (0.021)	0.003 (0.054)	-0.006 (0.025)
Cosmopolitan	-0.001 (0.033)	0.011 (0.015)	-0.020 (0.032)	-0.008 (0.014)	0.028 (0.036)	0.011 (0.016)
Support for R2P Principle	0.033 (0.036)	0.011 (0.015)	0.068** (0.033)	0.025* (0.015)	-0.003 (0.037)	0.001 (0.017)
Pro-Israel	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.000)	-0.000 (0.001)	-0.000 (0.001)
Self-Reported Attention to IR	0.020 (0.042)	-0.018 (0.018)	-0.044 (0.042)	-0.008 (0.018)	-0.077* (0.043)	-0.043** (0.019)
Measured Knowledge about IR	-0.003 (0.053)	0.013 (0.024)	0.001 (0.053)	-0.003 (0.024)	0.006 (0.056)	-0.001 (0.026)
Education	0.008 (0.024)	-0.002 (0.011)	0.015 (0.024)	-0.003 (0.011)	0.011 (0.025)	-0.007 (0.011)
Woman	0.055 (0.088)	-0.002 (0.039)	0.080 (0.086)	0.029 (0.038)	0.052 (0.091)	-0.018 (0.042)
Income	-0.001 (0.006)	0.002 (0.003)	0.007 (0.006)	0.006** (0.003)	0.003 (0.006)	0.003 (0.003)
Age	-0.004 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.002** (0.001)	0.000 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.001)
White	0.128 (0.139)	0.029 (0.058)	0.155 (0.145)	0.086 (0.064)	0.063 (0.172)	-0.014 (0.077)
Black	0.233 (0.177)	0.069 (0.078)	-0.055 (0.190)	0.051 (0.083)	-0.075 (0.197)	-0.066 (0.091)
Region	0.033 (0.039)	0.008 (0.017)	0.055 (0.038)	0.026 (0.017)	0.045 (0.040)	0.013 (0.018)
Constant	1.819*** (0.379)	0.216 (0.167)	1.869*** (0.384)	0.236 (0.166)	2.680*** (0.420)	0.766*** (0.193)
Observations	740	740	739	739	737	737

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

Impact of Legal Status

Binary Dependent Variable Measure

Tables A.8 and A.9 show that priming respondents to believe that gender apartheid (Table A.8) and gender persecution (Table A.9) are illegal under international law significantly increases respondent support for policies to help foreign women even when utilizing a binary dependent variable measure rather than the 5-point measure used in Figure 2 in the main text.

Table A.8: Priming the Illegality of Gender Apartheid

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Index Measure	Pressure IOs	UNSC Condemnation	ICC Referral	Economic Sanctions	Foreign Aid	Female Immigration	Targeted Airstrikes	Regime Change
Gender Apartheid Illegal Within-Subject Effect	0.040*** (0.012)	0.056** (0.026)	0.042** (0.020)	0.059** (0.023)	0.042* (0.024)	0.051** (0.021)	0.011 (0.018)	0.031 (0.019)	0.023 (0.024)
Observations	354	354	354	354	354	354	354	354	354

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Table A.9: Priming the Illegality of Gender Persecution

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
	Index Measure	Pressure IOs	UNSC Condemnation	ICC Referral	Economic Sanctions	Foreign Aid	Female Immigration	Targeted Airstrikes	Regime Change
Gender Persecution Illegal Within-Subject Effect	0.063*** (0.011)	0.083*** (0.022)	0.011 (0.021)	0.107*** (0.023)	0.059** (0.023)	0.083*** (0.020)	0.040** (0.019)	0.067*** (0.020)	0.056*** (0.021)
Observations	374	374	374	374	374	374	374	374	374

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

Other Robustness Tests

Table A.10 outlines several additional robustness checks. Model 1 shows that priming the illegality of gender apartheid increases support for policies to help foreign women, even when excluding background information about apartheid. By contrast, Figure 2 in the main text combined the bare-bones apartheid treatment and the apartheid treatment with background information. Relatedly, Model 2 shows priming the fact that gender apartheid is not illegal reduces support for policies to help foreign women, even when excluding background information about apartheid. Models 3 and 4 test whether there is a significant difference in within-subject effects for respondents that received the gender apartheid is illegal treatment and respondents that received the gender apartheid is not illegal treatment. The difference in effects is indeed significant.⁶ Finally, Models 5 and 6 show that the within-subject effect of the illegal treatment is not significantly larger for respondents that received the gender apartheid treatment compared to those that received the gender persecution treatment. This implies that efforts to codify the illegality of gender apartheid under international law will not necessarily have a unique impact on public opinion relative to existing international legal prohibitions against gender persecution.

Table A.10: Other Robustness Checks

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Policy Index Measure (5-Point Scale)					
Illegal Treatment Within-Subject Effect	0.122*** (0.033)					
Not Illegal Treatment Within-Subject Effect		-0.137*** (0.035)				
Illegal vs. Not Illegal Treatment			0.235*** (0.036)	0.260*** (0.048)		
Apartheid (Broad) vs. Persecution Treatment					-0.037 (0.035)	
Apartheid (Narrow) vs. Persecution Treatment						-0.021 (0.040)
Constant			-0.129*** (0.024)	-0.137*** (0.035)	0.144*** (0.022)	0.144*** (0.022)
Observations	191	184	746	375	728	565

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.10; **p< 0.05; ***p<0.01.

⁶Model 3 includes respondents that received the apartheid background information treatment whereas Model 4 does not.

Moderators and Heterogeneous Effects

In Table A.11 we assess whether the effect of telling respondents apartheid is illegal rather than technically not illegal under international law is stronger among certain subgroups.⁷ For this analysis, our dependent variable measures the within-subject difference in policy support (using our index measure) after receiving the illegality treatment compared to before receiving it. Note that all models include control variables, but we omit them for ease of interpretation. As in Table A.3 when assessing the impact of language, we find little evidence for heterogeneous effects. The one exception is that there is some evidence that the policy views of more pro-Israeli respondents are less responsive to learning that apartheid is illegal ($p \approx 0.09$). The same basic results also hold if we include respondents assigned to the persecution treatment in the analysis⁸ or conduct a purely between-subjects analysis utilizing only the second measure of our eight core policy variables.

Table A.11: Moderators

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	
Apartheid Illegal Treatment	0.262*** (0.056)	0.247*** (0.067)	0.226*** (0.042)	0.307*** (0.082)	0.379*** (0.117)	0.430*** (0.147)	0.293*** (0.101)	0.252** (0.117)	0.262*** (0.038)	0.384*** (0.112)	0.197** (0.077)	0.218* (0.116)	0.202*** (0.058)	0.272** (0.129)	0.235*** (0.042)	
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Afghanistan Treatment																
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Stronger Republican (8-point Scale)		-0.043 (0.076)														
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Republican (Binary)			-0.002 (0.014)													
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Hostile Sexism				0.042 (0.083)												
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Benevolent Sexism					-0.029 (0.036)											
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Hawkish						-0.044 (0.038)										
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Cosmopolitan							-0.062 (0.046)									
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × R2P								-0.016 (0.030)								
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × R2P									-0.004 (0.034)							
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Pro-Israel Score										-0.001* (0.001)						
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Self-Reported Attention to IR											-0.036 (0.028)					
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Measured Knowledge about IR												0.035 (0.053)				
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Education													0.005 (0.022)			
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Woman														0.065 (0.075)		
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Age															-0.001 (0.002)	
Apartheid Illegal Treatment × Over 65																0.027 (0.071)
Observations	744	744	744	744	744	744	744	744	744	744	744	744	744	744	744	744

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. * $p < 0.10$; ** $p < 0.05$; *** $p < 0.01$.

⁷This analysis only includes respondents that received the apartheid treatment because only they were randomly assigned to a subsequent treatment about whether apartheid is illegal or technically not illegal. All respondents that received the persecution treatment were subsequently told that gender persecution is illegal under international law.

⁸We code all of these respondents as having received the illegal treatment.

Questionnaire

[Some Demographic Information Collected by [Lucid](#)]

Informed Consent⁹

This survey is part of a research study conducted by [redacted].

Summary: This survey will ask your opinions about various issues and should take you about 10 minutes to complete.

Purpose: The purpose of the research is to assess your opinion on an international situation the US could face in the future.

Procedures: This study will present you with a scenario and ask your opinions about it. It should take about 10 minutes.

Participant Requirements: Participation in this study is limited to individuals age 18 and older that are US citizens.

Risks: The risks and discomfort associated with participation in this study are no greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during other online activities.

Benefits: There may be no personal benefit from your participation in the study but the knowledge received may be of value to humanity and researchers. In particular, this study will provide information about the factors that impact American public opinion on foreign policy issues.

Compensation Costs: You will be compensated by the survey firm for your participation in this study. There will be no cost to you if you participate in this study, except the potential data charge if you take this study on your phone.

Future Use of Information: The study is anonymous, meaning we will not collect information that could be used to identify you, such as your name or personal address. The data we collect may be made available to other researchers online at some point, but your responses will remain anonymous.

Confidentiality: The data captured for the research does not include any personally identifiable information about you. Your IP address will not be captured. This research is being done in collaboration with [redacted]. Your research data may be shared with them. If data is shared with this collaborator, it will not contain identifying information about you. Please do not reveal any private or personally-identifiable information about yourself or others in your answers to any of the following questions.

Right to Ask Questions & Contact Information: If you have any questions about this study, you should feel free to ask them by contacting the Principal Investigator now at [redacted].

⁹If respondents answer “No”, then they are removed from the study.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this research is voluntary. You may discontinue participation at any time during the research activity. You may print a copy of this consent form for your records.

Have you read and understood the above information, and do you want to participate in this research and continue with the survey?

- Yes
- No

Age Screener¹⁰

Are you 18 years of age or older?

- Yes
- No

Attention Screener¹¹

We would like to get a sense of your general preferences.

Most modern theories of decision making recognize that decisions do not take place in a vacuum. Individual preferences and knowledge, along with situational variables, can greatly impact the decision process. To demonstrate that you've read this much, just go ahead and select both red and green among the alternatives below, no matter what your favorite color is. Yes, ignore the question below and select both of these options.

What is your favorite color?

- Black
- Red
- Pink
- Green
- Blue

¹⁰If respondents answer "no," then they are removed from the study.

¹¹If respondents answer incorrectly, then they are removed from the study. The order of the attention screener and the pre-treatment questions is randomized.

Pre-Treatment Questions¹²

- Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a...¹³
 - Democrat
 - Republican
 - Independent
 - Other
- Would you call yourself a...¹⁴
 - Strong Democrat
 - Not so strong Democrat
- Would you call yourself a...¹⁵
 - Strong Republican
 - Not so strong Republican
- Do you think of yourself as closer to the...¹⁶
 - Democratic Party
 - Republican Party
 - Neither party
- If you had to choose, are you closer to the...¹⁷
 - Democratic Party
 - Republican Party

¹²Question order is randomized.

¹³The answer order for all the PID questions is randomized.

¹⁴This question is only presented to respondents who chose “Democrat” for the first question in this section.

¹⁵This question is only presented to respondents who chose “Republican” for the first question in this section.

¹⁶This question is only presented to respondents who chose “Independent” or “Other” for the first question in this section.

¹⁷This question is only presented to respondents who chose “Neither party” for the above question.

- To what extent do you agree with each of the following statements? *For each item, respondent selects: Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, or Strongly Disagree.*¹⁸
 1. The best way to ensure world peace is through American military strength
 2. Going to war is unfortunate, but sometimes the only solution to international problems
 3. The use of military force only makes problems worse
 4. I see myself as a citizen of the world
 5. The United States has an obligation to intervene around the world in cases of severe violations of human rights

- How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *For each item, respondent selects: Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, or Strongly Disagree.*¹⁹
 1. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men
 2. Women exaggerate the problems they have at work
 3. Once a woman gets a man to commit, she puts him on a tight leash
 4. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess
 5. Women should be cherished and protected by men
 6. A man is not truly complete unless he has the love of a woman
 7. Please select “strongly agree”

- Some people seem to follow what’s going on in foreign and international affairs most of the time, whereas others aren’t that interested. Would you say you follow what’s going on in foreign and international affairs...²⁰
 - Most of the time
 - Some of the time
 - Only now and then
 - Hardly at all

¹⁸The order of questions in this matrix is randomized. The first three questions measure hawkishness/militant assertiveness, the next question measures cosmopolitanism, and the final question measures support for R2P.

¹⁹The order of questions in this matrix is randomized. The first three questions measure hostile sexism and the next three measure benevolent sexism. Answers to the last question are utilized to screen out inattentive respondents.

²⁰Answer choices are randomly reversed.

- On a scale of 0-100, with 100 being most favorable and 0 being least favorable, how favorable or unfavorable do you feel towards...²¹
 - Israel
 - Palestine
- Who did you vote for in the recent presidential election?²²
 - Donald Trump
 - Kamala Harris
 - Someone else
 - I did not vote
 - I'd rather not say
- Who currently controls the government in Afghanistan/Iran?²³
 - The Taliban
 - The Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei
 - King Salman bin Abdulaziz al Saud
 - Prime Minister Narendra Modi
 - President Abdel Fattah El Sisi
- Which two countries did the United States invade after September 11, 2001?²⁴
 - Afghanistan
 - Iraq
 - Iran
 - Kuwait
 - Pakistan

²¹The order of questions in this matrix is randomized.

²²We randomize whether Donald Trump or Kamala Harris appears first or second.

²³We randomize the order of the answer choices. Note this question was asked after inattentive respondents had already been screened out.

²⁴We randomize the order of the answer choices. Note this question was asked after inattentive respondents had already been screened out.

Treatment Conditions²⁵

Extra Information about Apartheid Treatment: Apartheid generally refers to an institutionalized regime of systematic oppression and domination by one group over another group. The term originates from the South African word for “apartness” or “separateness.” From 1948 through the early 1990s the South African government established a system of racial segregation and legally subordinated the non-white groups throughout the country. What makes apartheid unique is the fact that it involves institutionalization (explicit laws that formalize oppression) and has a large-scale impact on whole groups of people. While apartheid has traditionally referred to racial oppression and domination specifically, the concept could also potentially be applied to other types of oppression as well.²⁶

On the next page, you will read about a situation going on in the world that is based on real events. While we created the mock news article you will read for this study, it is directly inspired by real-world headlines. Do you agree to read the following very carefully?

- Yes
- No

United Nations Experts: The Afghanistan/Iranian Government’s Treatment of Women is Gender Persecution/Apartheid

The Afghan/Iranian government is systematically oppressing women and girls by restricting their human rights and suffocating all aspects of their lives, United Nations experts said, adding that such treatment amounts to “gender persecution/apartheid.”

Women in Afghanistan/Iran are treated as second-class citizens under the law, which restricts their bodily autonomy, economic and educational access, and other basic human rights. For example, women must abide by strict and severe dress codes, are banned from many jobs and fields of study, are physically segregated in many public spaces, and are restricted from traveling without the permission or presence of their male guardians.

These laws, and the broader legal systems they belong to, seek to establish and maintain women’s subjugation to men. Violation of these laws can lead to imprisonment, torture, violence, and even death.

For all of these reasons, United Nations experts believe Afghanistan/Iran has instituted a system of “gender persecution/apartheid.”

²⁵ Respondents are block randomized into treatment conditions based on their political identification and the extent to which they support the responsibility to protect principle.

²⁶ Respondents are randomly assigned to either receive this treatment or not.

Outcome Variables²⁷

- To what extent would you support or oppose the following U.S. government policies in response to the Afghanistan/Iranian government's treatment of women? *For each item, respondent selects: Strongly Support, Somewhat Support, Neither Support Nor Oppose, Somewhat Oppose, or Strongly Oppose.*²⁸
 1. Pressuring international organizations to explicitly require the inclusion of Afghan/Iranian women in political negotiations with the Taliban/the Iranian government
 2. United Nations Security Council Resolution condemning the actions of the Afghan/Iranian government
 3. Referral to the International Criminal Court for violations of international law
 4. Severe economic sanctions on the Afghan/Iranian government, even if they hurt the United States economy
 5. Providing a significant amount of money in foreign aid directly to Afghan/Iranian women
 6. Allowing a significant number of Afghan/Iranian women to immigrate to the United States
 7. Targeted airstrikes to punish the Afghan/Iranian government and coerce them to improve their treatment of women
 8. A U.S. military operation with boots on the ground to enact regime change in Afghanistan/Iran and install a democratic regime in its place
 9. Making the treatment of women and girls in Afghanistan/Iran a top three priority area for the U.S. State Department

- To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *For each item, respondent selects: Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Neither Agree Nor Disagree, Somewhat Disagree, or Strongly Disagree.*²⁹
 1. The U.S. has a moral obligation to intervene to help Afghan/Iranian women.
 2. Afghanistan/Iran poses a major threat to the United States
 3. If the U.S. fails to intervene to help women in Afghanistan/Iran, then its reputation on the international stage will suffer a great deal
 4. The Afghan/Iranian government's treatment of women is as unacceptable as the discriminatory treatment of African Americans under Jim Crow in the American South after the end of slavery.
 5. My best guess is that the Afghan/Iranian government's treatment of women is illegal under international law

²⁷The order of questions in this section is randomized

²⁸The order of questions in this matrix is randomized.

²⁹The order of questions in this matrix is randomized.

- How much new information did you learn from the article about the situation in Afghanistan/Iran?³⁰
 - None at all
 - A little
 - A moderate amount
 - A lot
 - A huge amount

- Do you think U.S. government efforts to improve the situation for women and girls in Afghanistan/Iran have a chance to succeed?³¹
 - Definitely not
 - Probably not
 - Might or might not
 - Probably yes
 - Definitely yes

- Would you be willing to write a letter to the President of the United States urging him to take action to help women in Afghanistan/Iran? While you do not have to agree, if you do, then we will actually send your letter to the president.³²
 - Yes I am willing to write a letter
 - No I am not willing to write a letter

- Please write your letter to the president below and we will actually send it. Please keep the letter anonymous to maintain your privacy and do not include any personally-identifiable information.

³⁰We randomly reverse the answer choices.

³¹We randomly reverse the answer choices.

³²We randomly reverse the answer choices.

Secondary Experiment

We now want to provide you with one additional piece of information that was not previously mentioned.

Apartheid Not Illegal Treatment: While racial apartheid is illegal under international law via the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, gender is not included in the legal definition of apartheid. Therefore, gender apartheid is not technically illegal under international law.³³

Apartheid Illegal Treatment: The crime of apartheid is illegal under international law via the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.³⁴

Persecution Illegal Treatment: The crime of gender persecution is illegal under international law via the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court.³⁵

Secondary Outcome Variables

- Given the new information you just received, we wanted to ask you following set of questions again: To what extent would you support or oppose the following U.S. government policies in response to the Afghanistan/Iranian government's treatment of women? *For each item, respondent selects: Strongly Support, Somewhat Support, Neither Support Nor Oppose, Somewhat Oppose, or Strongly Oppose.*
 1. Pressuring international organizations to explicitly require the inclusion of Afghan/Iranian women in political negotiations with the Taliban/the Iranian government
 2. United Nations Security Council Resolution condemning the actions of the Afghan/Iranian government
 3. Referral to the International Criminal Court for violations of international law
 4. Severe economic sanctions on the Afghan/Iranian government, even if they hurt the United States economy
 5. Providing a significant amount of money in foreign aid directly to Afghan/Iranian women
 6. Allowing a significant number of Afghan/Iranian women to immigrate to the United States
 7. Targeted airstrikes to punish the Afghan/Iranian government and coerce them to improve their treatment of women
 8. A U.S. military operation with boots on the ground to enact regime change in Afghanistan/Iran and install a democratic regime in its place
 9. Making the treatment of women and girls in Afghanistan/Iran a top three priority area for the U.S. State Department

³³ Respondents that originally received the apartheid treatment are randomly assigned to receive either this treatment or the next one.

³⁴ Respondents that originally received the apartheid treatment are randomly assigned to receive either this treatment or the above one.

³⁵ All respondents that originally received the persecution treatment are shown this text.

- Although gender apartheid is not currently part of the legal definition of apartheid under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, there is a movement to criminalize gender apartheid by adding it as a crime under the new draft crimes against humanity treaty that is being debated at the United Nations. To what extent would you support or oppose the efforts to make gender apartheid a crime against humanity under international law?³⁶
 - Strongly oppose
 - Somewhat oppose
 - Neither support nor oppose
 - Somewhat support
 - Strongly support

- How would you order these concepts from most severe (women are being treated the worst) to least severe? The number 1 means it is the most severe of the options and a number 4 means it's the least severe of the options.³⁷
 - Gender apartheid
 - Gender persecution
 - Gender-based violence
 - Gender discrimination

[At the end of the study all respondents received a debrief with links to real articles about these issues and a clarification about the legal status of gender apartheid.]

³⁶Only respondent that received the apartheid not illegal treatment are asked this question. We randomly reverse the answer choices.

³⁷We randomize the order of the answer choices.

Pre-Registered Hypotheses & Analysis Plan

An anonymized version of the pre-registration can be found at [this link](#).

Main Effects

- Support for government action to help foreign women being repressed will be stronger when their treatment is referred to as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution. However, we recognize that a null effect is also very likely given that the public may (for example) lack knowledge about the meaning of the term apartheid, might find both gender apartheid and persecution to be more-or-less equally reprehensible, and some prior work has found small or null effects for differences in language (e.g., Valentino and Weinberg 2017).
 - Not Supported
- Willingness to write a letter to the U.S. President about a foreign country's treatment of women will be greater when it is referred to as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution.
 - Not Supported
- The above two effects will be stronger when respondents are given background information about what apartheid means and historical background about how it manifested in South Africa.
 - Not Supported
- Support for government action to help foreign women being repressed will decrease when respondents are informed that their treatment is not technically illegal under international law compared to (a) when they are informed that their treatment is illegal or (b) when its legality is not explicitly stated.
 - Supported
- Respondents will rank gender apartheid as a more severe violation than gender persecution or gender discrimination.
 - Not Supported

Mechanisms

- Belief that the U.S. has a moral obligation to intervene to help foreign women being repressed will be stronger when their treatment is referred to as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution.
 - Not Supported
- Belief that the U.S.' international reputation will suffer if it fails to intervene to protect foreign women being repressed will be stronger when their treatment is referred to as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution.
 - Not Supported
- Threat perceptions towards a country will be heightened when their treatment of women is referred to as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution.
 - Not Supported
- Belief that a foreign country's treatment of women is illegal under international law will be greater when their treatment of women is referred to as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution.
 - Not Supported
- Belief that a foreign country's treatment of women is as unacceptable as racial discrimination in the U.S. after the end of the civil war will be greater when their treatment of women is referred to as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution.
 - Not Supported
- Note: As outlined above, while on balance we expect significant effects to hold, we also recognize a null result is quite possible. If a null result is found for our main effect hypotheses, then we expect that would be because these mechanism hypotheses also yield null effects. We also asked a series of additional outcome questions that could help explain a null result. For example, we asked the extent to which respondents learned something new from our vignettes and the extent to which US efforts to improve the situation for women have a chance to succeed. If respondents are already well-informed about the mistreatment of women in places like Afghanistan or Iran, then they might not learn anything new from our vignettes causing null results. If respondents are highly pessimistic about the US government's ability to make a difference for women (especially after the US' arguably failed experience in Afghanistan), then that could also explain a null result for our outcome measures.
 - The gender apartheid treatment indeed did not significantly impact the amount of new information respondents learned. Only 30% of respondents overall indicated they learned either "a lot" or "a huge amount" from our vignettes. Furthermore, only about 25% of respondents believed U.S. government efforts to improve the situation for women and girls in Afghanistan/Iran "probably" or "definitely" had a chance to succeed.

Moderators

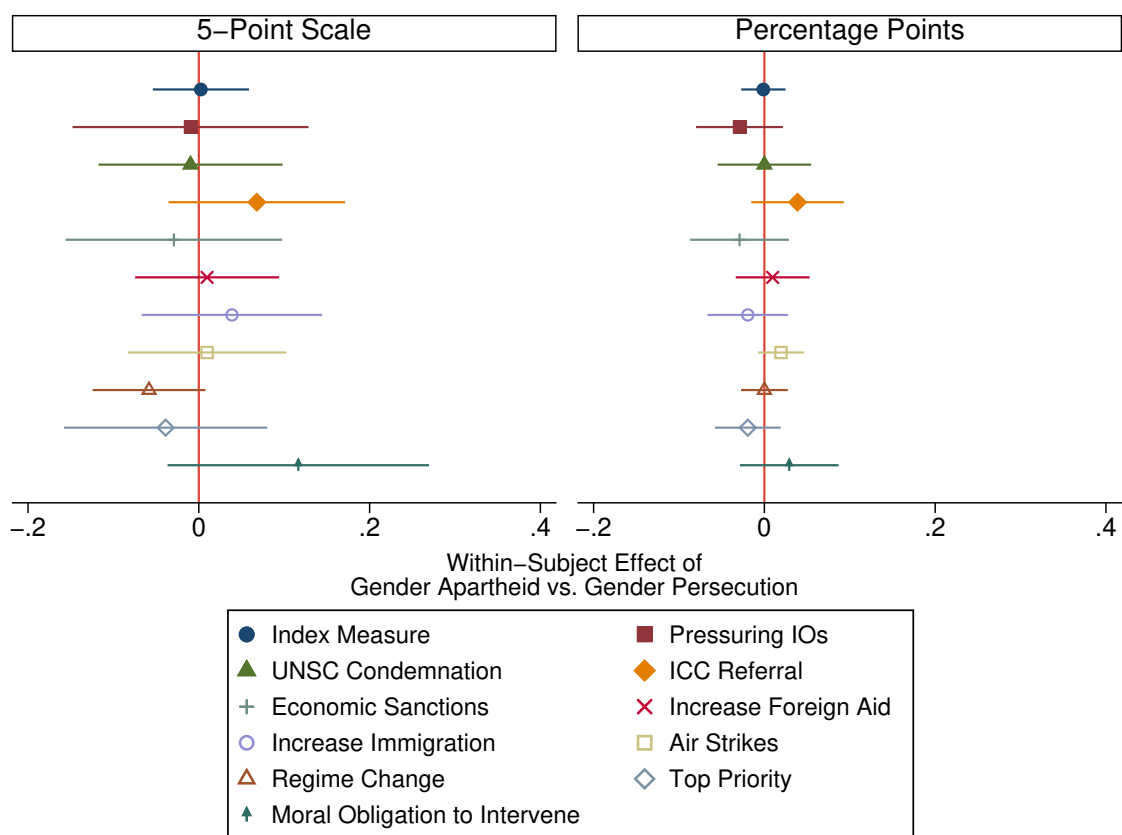
- The effect of referring to the treatment of foreign women as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution will be diminished among respondents that score higher on a measure of hostile sexism. Moreover, respondents that score higher in this measure will generally be less willing to support US government action to combat the mistreatment of women abroad.
 - The first expectation is not supported, but the second is supported
- The effect of referring to the treatment of foreign women as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution will be strengthened among respondents that score higher on a measure of benevolent sexism. Moreover, respondents that score higher in this measure will generally be more willing to support US government action to combat the mistreatment of women abroad.
 - The first expectation is not supported, but the second is supported
- The effect of referring to the treatment of foreign women as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution will be diminished among respondents that indicate greater sympathy towards Israel relative to Palestine. The effect will be strengthened among respondents that indicate greater sympathy towards Palestine relative to Israel.
 - Partially Supported
- The effect of referring to the treatment of foreign women as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution will be strengthened among respondents over 65 who were in their late teens to early 20s, during the peak of the South African anti-apartheid movement.
 - Not Supported
- The effect of referring to the treatment of foreign women as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution will be strengthened among respondents that score higher on a measure of cosmopolitanism.
 - Not Supported
- The effect of referring to the treatment of foreign women as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution will be diminished among respondents that have greater actual or self-reported knowledge about foreign affairs.
 - Not Supported
- The effect of informing respondents that a foreign country's treatment of women is not technically illegal under international law will be diminished for more hawkish respondents and respondents that identify more strongly with the Republican party.
 - Not Supported
- The effect of referring to the treatment of foreign women as gender apartheid rather than gender persecution will be strengthened among respondents that identify more strongly with the Democratic Party.
 - Not Supported

Study 2: Quasi-Elite Sample

Null Main Effect

Much like the null effect we found for language (gender apartheid versus gender persecution) among our U.S. public sample, we also find a null effect for language among our elite sample in Study 2 (Figure A.1).³⁸

Figure A.1: Null Effect of Language on a Quasi-Elite Sample



³⁸The index measure does not include whether combating the mistreatment of women in the foreign country is a top three priority or whether there is a moral obligation to intervene.

Moderators and Heterogeneous Effects

Table A.12 tests whether the effect of using the language of “gender apartheid” relative to “gender persecution” may be stronger among certain population subgroups.³⁹ As in Study 1, we find little consistent evidence of heterogeneous effects. There is some evidence that the language of gender apartheid has a larger impact among stronger Democrats, but this effect only holds for one of our outcome measures—pressuring international organizations.⁴⁰

Table A.12: Moderators

	(1) Index Measure	(2) Pressure IOs	(3) UNSC Condemnation	(4) ICC Referral	(5) Economic Sanctions	(6) Foreign Aid	(7) Female Immigration	(8) Targeted Airstrikes	(9) Regime Change	(10) Top Priority	(11) Moral Obligation
Iran	0.011 (0.041)	-0.046 (0.122)	-0.106 (0.089)	0.227** (0.102)	0.039 (0.145)	-0.046 (0.090)	-0.027 (0.090)	0.034 (0.082)	0.013 (0.061)	-0.070 (0.121)	0.014 (0.149)
Stronger Democrat (7-Point Scale)	0.035** (0.017)	0.183*** (0.062)	0.032 (0.039)	0.011 (0.050)	0.008 (0.048)	0.049 (0.035)	-0.034 (0.033)	0.007 (0.034)	0.024 (0.029)	0.053 (0.054)	0.096 (0.072)
Knowledge about Afghanistan/Iran	0.012 (0.022)	0.143** (0.069)	-0.023 (0.062)	-0.066 (0.050)	-0.032 (0.067)	0.037 (0.041)	-0.083* (0.050)	0.073 (0.065)	0.045 (0.039)	0.036 (0.071)	-0.115 (0.110)
Woman	0.038 (0.041)	-0.005 (0.123)	0.216** (0.093)	0.045 (0.105)	0.130 (0.139)	0.071 (0.095)	-0.096 (0.092)	0.003 (0.089)	-0.063 (0.057)	0.225* (0.123)	-0.100 (0.198)
Doctoral Degree	-0.047 (0.049)	-0.235 (0.176)	-0.123 (0.121)	-0.056 (0.095)	0.207 (0.169)	0.193 (0.134)	-0.226 (0.162)	-0.108 (0.074)	-0.028 (0.092)	-0.008 (0.192)	-0.194 (0.152)
Academic	0.049 (0.061)	0.384* (0.219)	0.124 (0.175)	0.207 (0.164)	-0.266 (0.162)	-0.133 (0.128)	0.023 (0.134)	-0.052 (0.121)	0.107 (0.110)	-0.054 (0.192)	-0.373 (0.314)
Non-Governmental Organization	0.025 (0.040)	-0.279** (0.129)	0.079 (0.077)	0.120 (0.101)	0.062 (0.146)	0.017 (0.093)	-0.002 (0.095)	0.179** (0.081)	0.026 (0.063)	-0.119 (0.164)	-0.028 (0.133)
Constant	-0.308** (0.154)	-1.617*** (0.544)	-0.277 (0.382)	-0.080 (0.476)	-0.023 (0.384)	-0.448 (0.287)	0.686** (0.334)	-0.287 (0.324)	-0.416 (0.318)	-0.483 (0.478)	0.468 (0.476)
Observations	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Notes: Standard errors in parentheses. *p<0.10; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01.

³⁹Since Study 2 is a fully within-subject experiment, moderators are not tested via interaction effects but simply by regressing the within-subject effect on covariates.

⁴⁰Similarly weak results hold when utilizing a binary measure of whether a respondent identifies with the Democratic Party rather than a 7-point measure.

Ranking Terms By Severity

In Study 2 we again asked respondents to rank the following four concepts from most severe (women are being treated the worst) to least severe: gender apartheid, gender persecution, gender-based violence, and gender discrimination. Unlike in Study 1, a plurality of respondents in Study 2 ranked gender apartheid as the worst. This provides some evidence that elites—and especially left-leaning elites—may view apartheid as more severe than the public does. However, even among our elite sample, a large minority—over 40%—ranked gender-based violence as more severe than gender apartheid. This illustrates that there is far from a consensus among the public or elites that gender apartheid is uniquely bad compared to other potential ways to label the mistreatment of women.

Table A.13: How Respondents Ranked Severity of Terms

	Ranked Most Severe	Ranked Second Most Severe	Ranked Second Least Severe	Ranked Least Severe	Average Ranking
Gender-Based Violence	41.58%	20.79%	30.69%	6.93%	2.97
Gender Apartheid	49.50%	33.66%	14.85%	1.98%	3.31
Gender Persecution	5.94%	41.58%	46.53%	5.94%	2.48
Gender Discrimination	2.97%	3.96%	7.92%	85.15%	1.25

Sample Demographics

Table A.14 demonstrates that our elite sample is very skewed towards highly educated Democrats that work in academia. It is far from a representative sample, though its skews arguably make this an easier test of finding an effect for the language of “gender apartheid” given that highly educated liberals are just the types of people that should (a) understand the severity of apartheid and (b) believe it is a serious offense.

Table A.14: Sample Demographics

Variable	Mean	Minimum	Median	Maximum
Stronger Democrat	5.73	1	6	7
Democrat	0.73	0	1	1
Republican	0.02	0	0	1
Independent/Neither	0.25	0	0	1
Knowledge ^a	3.54	1	3	5
Female	0.57	0	1	1
PhD	0.61	0	1	1
Graduate Degree	0.34	0	0	1
Undergraduate Degree	0.05	0	0	1
Worked in Academia	0.71	0	1	1
Worked in NGO	0.40	0	0	1

- a. 1 = Not familiar at all; 2 = Not very familiar; I’ve maybe heard something about these issues but have not read much about them; 3 = Somewhat familiar; I have read a bit about these issues; 4 = Pretty familiar; I have read a lot about these issues; 5 = Extremely familiar; My current or former job involved engaging with these issues directly.

Questionnaire

Pre-Treatment Questions⁴¹

- How would you describe your political identification?⁴²
 - Strong Democrat
 - Democrat
 - Lean Democrat
 - Independent/Neither
 - Lean Republican
 - Republican
 - Strong Republican

- How familiar are you with the treatment of women/girls in Afghanistan and/or Iran?⁴³
 - Not familiar at all
 - Not very familiar; I've maybe heard something about these issues but have not read much about them
 - Somewhat familiar; I have read a bit about these issues
 - Pretty familiar; I have read a lot about these issues
 - Extremely familiar; My current or former job involved engaging with these issues directly

- What gender do you identify with?⁴⁴
 - Male
 - Female
 - Neither / Other / Prefer not to say

- Which of the following have you worked for? Select all that apply⁴⁵
 - Non-Governmental Organization (NGO)
 - International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO)
 - U.S. Government
 - Think Tank
 - Contractor

⁴¹Question order is randomized.

⁴²The answer order is randomly reversed.

⁴³The answer order is randomly reversed.

⁴⁴The answer order is randomized.

⁴⁵The answer order is randomized.

- Academic Institution
- None of the above
- What is the highest level of education you have achieved? ⁴⁶
 - High school diploma or other
 - Undergraduate college degree (2 or 4 year)
 - Graduate degree
 - PhD

Gender Persecution Treatment

On the next page, you will read about a situation going on in the world that is based on real events. While we created the mock news article you will read for this study, it is directly inspired by real-world headlines.

United Nations Experts: The Afghanistan/Iranian Government's Treatment of Women is Gender Persecution

The Afghan/Iranian government is systematically oppressing women and girls by restricting their human rights and suffocating all aspects of their lives, United Nations experts said, adding that such treatment amounts to “gender persecution.”

Women in Afghanistan/Iran are treated as second-class citizens under the law, which restricts their bodily autonomy, economic and educational access, and other basic human rights. For example, women must abide by strict and severe dress codes, are banned from many jobs and fields of study, are physically segregated in many public spaces, and are restricted from traveling without the permission or presence of their male guardians.

These laws, and the broader legal systems they belong to, seek to establish and maintain women's subjugation to men. Violation of these laws can lead to imprisonment, torture, violence, and even death.

For all of these reasons, United Nations experts believe Afghanistan/Iran has instituted a system of “gender persecution.”

⁴⁶The answer order is randomly reversed.

First Stage Outcome Variables⁴⁷

- To what extent would you support or oppose the following U.S. government policies in response to the Afghanistan/Iranian government's treatment of women? *For each item, respondent selects: Strongly Support, Somewhat Support, Neither Support Nor Oppose, Somewhat Oppose, or Strongly Oppose.*⁴⁸
 1. Pressuring international organizations to explicitly require the inclusion of Afghan/Iranian women in political negotiations with the Taliban/the Iranian government
 2. United Nations Security Council Resolution condemning the actions of the Afghan/Iranian government
 3. Referral to the International Criminal Court for violations of international law
 4. Severe economic sanctions on the Afghan/Iranian government, even if they hurt the United States economy
 5. Providing a significant amount of money in foreign aid directly to Afghan/Iranian women
 6. Allowing a significant number of Afghan/Iranian women to immigrate to the United States
 7. Targeted airstrikes to punish the Afghan/Iranian government and coerce them to improve their treatment of women
 8. A U.S. military operation with boots on the ground to enact regime change in Afghanistan/Iran and install a democratic regime in its place
 9. Making the treatment of women and girls in Afghanistan/Iran a top three priority area for the U.S. State Department
- The U.S. has a moral obligation to intervene to help Afghan/Iranian women.
 - Strongly Agree
 - Somewhat Agree
 - Neither Agree Nor Disagree
 - Somewhat Disagree
 - Strongly Disagree

⁴⁷The order of questions in this section is randomized

⁴⁸The order of questions in this matrix is randomized.

Gender Apartheid Treatment

We would like to provide you with another piece of information:

United Nations experts have also concluded that the Iranian/Afghan government's treatment of women and girls qualifies as gender **apartheid**.

Second Stage Outcome Variables⁴⁹

- Given the additional information you just received, we wanted to ask you the following set of questions again: To what extent would you support or oppose the following U.S. government policies in response to the Afghanistan/Iranian government's treatment of women? *For each item, respondent selects: Strongly Support, Somewhat Support, Neither Support Nor Oppose, Somewhat Oppose, or Strongly Oppose.*⁵⁰
 1. Pressuring international organizations to explicitly require the inclusion of Afghan/Iranian women in political negotiations with the Taliban/the Iranian government
 2. United Nations Security Council Resolution condemning the actions of the Afghan/Iranian government
 3. Referral to the International Criminal Court for violations of international law
 4. Severe economic sanctions on the Afghan/Iranian government, even if they hurt the United States economy
 5. Providing a significant amount of money in foreign aid directly to Afghan/Iranian women
 6. Allowing a significant number of Afghan/Iranian women to immigrate to the United States
 7. Targeted airstrikes to punish the Afghan/Iranian government and coerce them to improve their treatment of women
 8. A U.S. military operation with boots on the ground to enact regime change in Afghanistan/Iran and install a democratic regime in its place
 9. Making the treatment of women and girls in Afghanistan/Iran a top three priority area for the U.S. State Department
- The U.S. has a moral obligation to intervene to help Afghan/Iranian women.
 - Strongly Agree
 - Somewhat Agree
 - Neither Agree Nor Disagree
 - Somewhat Disagree
 - Strongly Disagree

⁴⁹The order of questions in this section is randomized

⁵⁰The order of questions in this matrix is randomized.

- How would you order these concepts from most severe (women are being treated the worst) to least severe? A number 1 means it is the most severe of the options and a number 4 means it's the least severe of the options.⁵¹
 - Gender apartheid
 - Gender persecution
 - Gender-based violence
 - Gender discrimination

⁵¹We randomize the order of the answer choices.

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