

**Accelerated Article Preview****Discriminatory Attitudes Against the Unvaccinated During a Global Pandemic**

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# Discriminatory Attitudes Against the Unvaccinated

## During a Global Pandemic

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**During the COVID-19 pandemic sizeable groups of unvaccinated minorities persist even in countries with high vaccine access<sup>1</sup>. Consequently, vaccination became a controversial subject of debate and even protest<sup>2</sup>. Here, we assess whether people express discriminatory attitudes in the form of negative affect, stereotypes and exclusionary attitudes in family and political settings across groups defined by COVID-19 vaccination status. We quantify discriminatory attitudes between vaccinated and unvaccinated citizens in 21 countries, covering a diverse set of cultures across the world. Across three conjoint experimental studies (N=15,233), we demonstrate that vaccinated people express discriminatory attitudes towards the unvaccinated, as high as the discriminatory attitudes suffered by common targets like immigrant and minority populations<sup>3;4;5</sup>. In contrast, there is an absence of evidence that unvaccinated individuals display discriminatory attitudes towards vaccinated people, except for the presence of negative affect in Germany and United States. We find evidence in support of discriminatory attitudes against the unvaccinated in all countries except Hungary and Romania and find that discriminatory attitudes are more strongly expressed in cultures with stronger cooperative norms. Prior research on the psychology of cooperation has shown that individuals react negatively against perceived free-riders<sup>6;7</sup> including in the domain of vaccinations<sup>8;9</sup>. Consistent with this, the present findings suggest that contributors to the public good of epidemic control (i.e., the vaccinated) react with discriminatory attitudes against perceived free-riders (i.e., the unvaccinated). Elites and the vaccinated general public appealed to moral obligations to increase COVID-19 vaccine uptake<sup>10;11</sup> but the present findings suggest that discriminatory attitudes including support for the removal of fundamental rights simultaneously emerged.**

35 In a historical feat of science, highly effective vaccines against SARS-CoV-2 were  
36 developed, tested, approved, and mass produced in less than a year<sup>12</sup>. Soon, however, it became  
37 clear that achieving sufficiently high uptake of these vaccines was in itself a major challenge<sup>13</sup>.  
38 Despite targeted vaccine mandates, vaccine passports and massive information campaigns,  
39 sizeable groups in several countries across the world continued to refuse to get vaccinated  
40 against COVID-19, even where vaccines were widely available<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, many  
41 countries continued to employ interventions to control infection spread, resulting in feelings of  
42 “pandemic fatigue”, waning support for restrictions, and dwindling trust in authorities<sup>14;15;16</sup>.

43 Against this backdrop, public debates around COVID-19 have been heated. Some  
44 politicians have justified strict policies against the unvaccinated using highly moralistic  
45 rhetoric<sup>10</sup>. At the same time, disruptive public protests directed against vaccine mandates have  
46 taken place in several Western countries<sup>2</sup>. Survey research shows that divisions based on  
47 vaccination status are also emerging among the general public<sup>17;18</sup>. Individuals who comply  
48 with the advice of health authorities morally condemn the unvaccinated for violating a social  
49 contract in the midst of a crisis<sup>11;8;9</sup>. Those who refuse vaccines report that they feel  
50 discriminated<sup>18</sup> and pressured against their will<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore, vaccination status is  
51 consistently aligned with other political opinions such as trust in science and the authorities,  
52 and, in the case of the US, partisanship<sup>13;20;9</sup>.

53 Prior research documents that political divides can poison everyday interactions between  
54 citizens by eliciting general antipathy in the form of prejudice<sup>21</sup>. Here, we provide a cross-  
55 cultural empirical investigation of the nature and level of prejudice across groups defined by  
56 COVID-19 vaccination status, covering in total 21 countries across all inhabited continents.  
57 We follow Crandall and Eshleman<sup>22</sup> and define prejudice as “a negative evaluation of an  
58 individual that is significantly based on the individual’s group membership” (p. 414, see

59 also<sup>23;24</sup>). Prejudice can manifest itself in affective (e.g., negative emotions), cognitive (e.g.,  
60 negative stereotypes) and attitudinal expressions (e.g., support for exclusion and  
61 discrimination) of prejudiced individuals<sup>25</sup>. Here, we investigate all three dimensions in the  
62 context of groups defined by COVID-19 vaccination status.

63 Research on the psychology of vaccination decisions prior to the COVID-19 pandemic<sup>8</sup> and  
64 prior to the implementation of COVID-19 vaccines<sup>9</sup> have shown that generosity in two-player  
65 behavioral economic games is indeed affected by the vaccination status of the players.  
66 Specifically, vaccinated individuals are less generous towards unvaccinated individuals but,  
67 importantly, unvaccinated are not less generous towards those vaccinated. These findings are  
68 interpreted on the basis of the psychology of human cooperation<sup>8</sup>. Research on cooperation has  
69 provided strong evidence that people monitor cooperative situations for the existence of free-  
70 riders (i.e., individuals who benefit from the cooperation without paying appropriate costs)<sup>26</sup>  
71 and react negatively towards free-riders upon detection<sup>6;7</sup>. Vaccinations contribute to the public  
72 good of epidemic control<sup>27</sup> and refusal to receive a vaccination is accordingly spontaneously  
73 perceived as an instance of free-riding, motivating contributors (i.e., the vaccinated) to  
74 withhold generosity from the unvaccinated<sup>8</sup>. As the spontaneous withholding of resources from  
75 the unvaccinated may incentivize vaccination, health communicators have been advised that  
76 “making the social contract explicit may help to increase vaccine uptake rates without relying  
77 on mandates”<sup>8</sup>. On most normative grounds, it is unproblematic if people – as shown in prior  
78 research – are generous only towards cooperators and withhold personal resources from  
79 strangers known to free-ride<sup>28</sup>.

80 Yet, in highly polarized contexts such as vaccinations during the COVID-19 pandemic, it  
81 is possible that these psychological processes shift in multiple important ways beyond the  
82 findings of prior research on vaccination status and generosity. First, research on the

83 psychology of cooperation suggests that two distinct psychological motivations are activated  
84 in the context of public goods provisions: Motivations to generously offer rewards to  
85 contributors and motivations to punitively impose costs on free-riders<sup>6</sup>. While prior research  
86 focused on the former, it is plausible that the polarized and moralized sentiments surrounding  
87 COVID-19 vaccination activate the latter, punitive motivations too. Thus, vaccinated people  
88 may not only suspend their generosity towards the unvaccinated, but may also express support  
89 for the imposition of costs on the unvaccinated by, for example, supporting their exclusion from  
90 social relationships or democratic rights and freedoms. Second, in this context, the  
91 unvaccinated may react with prejudice towards the vaccinated as well, grounded, for example,  
92 in perceived pressure and discrimination<sup>18;19</sup>. Indeed, the first study examining generosity in  
93 two-player behavioral economic games after the implementation of COVID-19 vaccines found  
94 that the unvaccinated were also less generous towards the vaccinated, although ingroup  
95 favoritism was smaller than among the vaccinated<sup>18</sup>. Third, the complexity of the debates  
96 surrounding COVID-19 vaccinations may fuel negative stereotypes beyond the dimensions  
97 most relevant to cooperative dilemmas. For example, research on impression formation  
98 documents that warmth is one major dimension of impression formation, which is directly  
99 related to cooperativeness<sup>29</sup>. Consistent with this, research prior to the COVID-19 pandemic  
100 finds that vaccinated individuals perceive the unvaccinated as less warm<sup>8</sup>. Research on  
101 impression formation, however, also documents that impressions of competence constitutes  
102 another and independent evaluative dimension<sup>29</sup>. In the context of COVID-19 vaccines, this  
103 other dimension may also be activated as, for example, the vaccinated may perceive the  
104 unvaccinated as being unintelligent and incompetent for believing false information regarding  
105 vaccinations<sup>30</sup>. Discriminatory attitudes in the context of COVID-19 vaccines may, therefore,  
106 come to have a broader cognitive basis.

107

108

109 To empirically examine these possibilities, we leverage large-scale cross-national data.  
110 Specifically, we conducted three experimental studies in 21 countries (Study 1; N = 64,440  
111 observations from 10,740 respondents), six countries (Study 2; N = 18,270 observations from  
112 3,045 respondents) and in the United States (Study 3; N = 14,480 observations from 1,448  
113 respondents), respectively, studying the affective, cognitive and attitudinal dimensions of  
114 prejudice across groups defined by COVID-19 vaccination status. The data set measures  
115 discriminatory attitudes across a diverse set of cultures from all inhabited continents of the  
116 world (see Figure 1). As prior research on lack of generosity towards the unvaccinated has been  
117 limited to Western democratic contexts<sup>18:8:9</sup>, this cross-cultural dataset sheds light on both the  
118 ubiquity of discriminatory attitudes against perceived free-riders as well as on the cross-cultural  
119 predictors of variation in the strength of such attitudes. If discriminatory attitudes against  
120 people not vaccinated against COVID-19 reflects the activation of anti-free-rider sentiments,  
121 such attitudes may be more strongly expressed in countries that have invested significantly in  
122 the public good of suppressing deaths from COVID-19 and, in particular, in cultures where  
123 citizens hold moral expectations that their fellow citizens support the provisions of such goods.

124

### 125 **Exclusion from family in 21 countries**

126 Our initial examination focuses on cross-cultural exclusionary attitudes in the context of  
127 family relationships and, specifically, the level of antipathy if a close relative was marrying an  
128 unvaccinated (versus fully vaccinated) person. Such discriminatory attitudes in family  
129 relationships have been a key focus in prior cross-national research on prejudice along racial,  
130 ethnic and partisan lines<sup>31:21</sup>. Exclusion from family relationships are cross-culturally relevant,

131 independently of the legal and democratic traditions of the country; discrimination on the basis  
132 of membership in politicized groups within families has also been shown to be highly disruptive  
133 for the families<sup>32</sup>; and, finally, relative to other forms of discriminatory attitudes (e.g., support  
134 for state-sponsored discrimination), discrimination within families is something within the  
135 control of individuals and, hence, something that can take immediate effect.

136 We employ conjoint experiments where respondents evaluate fictitious target profiles  
137 simultaneously randomized on six attributes including their COVID-19 vaccination status. The  
138 conjoint experimental design yields causal traction, provides a cost-effective method for  
139 collecting large samples and allows us to examine a wide-range of responses covering affective,  
140 cognitive and attitudinal components of prejudice<sup>33</sup>.

141 Given our ambition to study discriminatory attitudes rather than generosity, we depart from  
142 prior work that relied on incentivized economic games (e.g., the Dictator Game)<sup>18;8;9</sup>. To help  
143 assess the validity of the conjoint experimental approach, we performed a number of tests.  
144 First, we show that people perceive measures focusing on social interactions as more  
145 ecologically valid than those focusing on monetary transactions captured by economic games  
146 (paired sample t-test:  $\Delta M = 0.15$ , 95% CI = [0.14, 0.16],  $t(1447) = 24.6$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , see Extended  
147 Data Figure 1 and Supplementary Information [SI] Section K for details), making the present  
148 findings less vulnerable to criticisms regarding ecological validity. Second, to assuage potential  
149 concerns about social desirability bias from self-reported measures, we report experimental  
150 evidence indicating that people readily and openly admit their antipathy towards vaccination  
151 outgroups, even using a traditional, direct survey question ( $m = 44\%$ , 95%CI = [0.40,0.48]).  
152 Indeed, this estimate of antipathy is not statistically different from the estimate we get using  
153 the forced response technique, specifically designed to alleviate social desirability ( $m = 39\%$ ,  
154 95%CI = [0.35,0.43],  $\chi^2(1, 1210) = 2.31$ ,  $p = 0.13$ , see Extended Data Figure 2 and SI Section

155 L). Finally, despite the presumed advantages of incentivized behavioral measures, we  
156 demonstrate that ingroup bias in generosity across vaccination groups is identical whether  
157 estimated with incentivized measures replicating prior research ( $M = 29$ ; 95%CI [26, 32], one-  
158 sample  $t(724) = 19.4$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) or with non-incentivized, self-reported measures ( $M = 30$ ;  
159 95%CI [28, 33], one-sample  $t(722) = 21.0$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ;  $\Delta M = -1.45$ , 95%CI [-5.5, 2.6],  
160 statistically equivalent to 0, TOST two-samples t-test,  $t(1445) = 2.16$ ,  $p < 0.05$ , see details in  
161 SI section M).

162 In the conjoint experiment for Study 1, we adapted a widely used instrument of exclusionary  
163 reactions in family relations<sup>31</sup> and examine a specific set of discriminatory attitudes: How  
164 unhappy respondents would be if a close relative was marrying an unvaccinated versus  
165 vaccinated person. Furthermore, we assess the potential cognitive bases for discriminatory  
166 attitudes. First, we measure a reasonable basis for antipathy towards vaccination outgroups,  
167 namely fear of infection<sup>34</sup>. (We do note that during the collection of these studies, the vaccine-  
168 evading Omicron variant was dominant<sup>35</sup>, and vaccine-induced immunity against infection  
169 spread was waning<sup>36</sup> in most societies. This increased the chances of being infected by  
170 vaccinated people and thus decreased the risk of interacting with unvaccinated individuals  
171 relative to vaccinated individuals.) While fear of infection is likely more pronounced among  
172 the vaccinated, some unvaccinated individuals have been found to hold the misinformed belief  
173 that vaccinated people themselves spread COVID-19 through vaccine shedding<sup>37</sup>. Second, we  
174 assess the two key negative trait impressions underlying prejudice according to research on  
175 impression formation and prejudice: perceptions of untrustworthiness and unintelligence<sup>29</sup>.

176 With the help of YouGov and Ipsos survey agencies, we collected high quality, quota-  
177 sampled, original survey data from 21 countries that had widespread access to vaccines against  
178 COVID-19 (Study 1: 64,440 observations from 10,740 respondents). The data were collected

179 in a diverse set of cultures from all inhabited continents of the world. As detailed in the Methods  
180 section "Study 1 - Data and generalizability", the samples can be considered representative of  
181 the countries' online populations (except for India). This large, cross-cultural dataset not only  
182 allows us to quantify discriminatory attitudes in a wide range of countries but also to investigate  
183 sources of cross-cultural variation in its levels. Note that our pre-registered analyses in Study  
184 1 focus on antipathy towards outgroups, pooling across respondent vaccination status. Given  
185 that we find large asymmetries by vaccination status, we report below estimates separately for  
186 vaccinated and unvaccinated respondents. However, pooled estimates – reported in  
187 Supplementary Information (SI) Section F – mirror these results very closely given the  
188 relatively small share of unvaccinated respondents.

189 Our results reveal that vaccinated respondents ( $N = 54,054$ ) exhibit exclusionary attitudes  
190 towards unvaccinated individuals (see Figure 2, left panel). On average, they are 13 (AMCE  
191 95% CI [12, 14],  $z = 25.65$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) percentage points more unhappy when presented with  
192 an unvaccinated (versus fully vaccinated) target. Country-level estimates range from 1 to 36  
193 percentage points. We can reject the null (at 5% alpha-level) in 19 of the 21 countries. Malaysia  
194 is an outlier with very high exclusionary attitudes (AMCE = 36% points, 95% CI [32, 41],  $z =$   
195  $15.3$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), while results in Romania (AMCE=1% point, 95% CI [-4, 6],  $z = 0.39$ ,  $p =$   
196  $0.69$ ) and Hungary (AMCE=4% points, 95% CI [-1, 9],  $z = 1.74$ ,  $p = 0.08$ ) are inconclusive  
197 (see more discussion in SI Section G). Interaction models estimating conditional AMCEs  
198 indicate that while we observe exclusionary attitudes across all demographic groups, they are  
199 slightly larger among highly educated (AMCE difference of 5% points), female (by 4% points),  
200 more affluent (by 3.5% points), and older (by 2% points) respondents (all  $ps < 0.05$ , see Section  
201 D in the Supplementary Information for details).

202 Meanwhile, unvaccinated respondents (N = 10,386) exhibit negligible exclusionary  
203 attitudes towards vaccinated individuals (see Figure 2, right panel). Their unhappiness is  
204 largely independent of the target's vaccination status, with an average marginal component  
205 effect of only -2 percentage points (AMCE 95% CI [-4, 0],  $z = -1.81$ ,  $p = 0.07$ ; the AMCE  
206 difference between vaccinated and unvaccinated respondents is 15 percentage points 95%CI [13, 18],  $z$   
207 = 13.33,  $p < 0.001$ ). Country-level estimates of exclusionary attitudes exhibited by  
208 unvaccinated respondents are noisy due to the small sample sizes ( $90 < N < 1500$ ), ranging  
209 between -31 and 10 percentage points. Indeed, unvaccinated individuals in Malaysia, Italy, and Russia  
210 even exhibit significant exclusionary reactions towards other unvaccinated individuals ( $p$ s <  
211 0.01), highlighting how anti-free rider sentiments may take priority over sentiments related to  
212 ingroup favoritism<sup>8</sup>.

213  
214  
215 To help assess the substantive size of these effects, it is helpful to compare them to  
216 exclusionary attitudes towards a group battling high levels of discrimination in many Western  
217 countries: Immigrants from the Middle East<sup>3</sup>. Exclusionary attitudes towards the unvaccinated  
218 among vaccinated people (13 percentage points) is two and a half times larger than exclusionary  
219 attitudes towards Middle Eastern immigrants (5 percentage points, 95%CI [5, 6],  $\chi^2(1,$   
220  $N=54,054) = 23.83$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). We do not suggest that the characteristics of these groups are  
221 comparable but this finding nonetheless suggests that the substantive size of the exclusionary  
222 reactions facing the unvaccinated is high. Figures E.1 and E.2 juxtapose country-level estimates  
223 of exclusionary attitudes towards the two groups. Unvaccinated targets face significantly more  
224 exclusionary reactions than immigrants in 11 out of 21 countries, while immigrants do not face  
225 significantly more exclusionary reactions in any of the countries. Notably, exclusionary

226 attitudes towards immigrants between the vaccinated and unvaccinated are substantively  
227 similar and not significantly different from 0 (N = 64,440, AMCE difference 1% point,  
228 95%CI[-1, 3],  $z = 0.88$ ,  $p = 0.38$ ) implying that asymmetry in the domain of vaccination cannot  
229 be easily explained by omitted variables or design effects (Figure E.3). Nor do we find evidence  
230 that unvaccinated immigrants from the Middle East face disproportionate exclusionary  
231 attitudes compared to unvaccinated natives (N = 64,440, AMCE difference 1% point, 95%CI[0,  
232 1],  $z = 1.1$ ,  $p = 0.27$ , see also Figure E.4).

233

#### 234 *Stereotypes and exclusionary attitudes*

235 Next, we ask if exclusionary attitudes merely reflect a heightened risk of infection or also  
236 activate more fundamental stereotypes. As displayed in Extended Data Figure 3.A, we find  
237 large experimental effects of vaccination status among vaccinated respondents on fear of  
238 infection (N = 54,054, 38 percentage points, 95% CI: [37, 40],  $z = 65.99$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and  
239 perceptions of untrustworthiness (13 percentage points, 95% CI: [12, 14],  $z = 27.36$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).  
240 However, we also find an effect on incompetence (14 percentage points, 95% CI: [13, 15],  $z =$   
241  $29.00$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), suggesting that stereotypes of the unvaccinated extend beyond the domain  
242 of free-riding. As unvaccinated respondents (N = 10,386) exhibit insubstantial exclusionary  
243 reactions, it is not surprising that they also do not judge vaccinated respondents as  
244 untrustworthy (0 percentage points, 95% CI: [-2, 2],  $z = 0.2$ ,  $p = 0.84$ ) or as incompetent (0  
245 percentage points, 95% CI: [-2, 2],  $z = 0.37$ ,  $p = 0.71$ ) either. If anything, they fear getting  
246 infected with corona by vaccinated people slightly *less* than by unvaccinated people (-2  
247 percentage points, 95% CI: [-5, 0],  $z = -2.1$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). For country level estimates of negative  
248 stereotypes against vaccination outgroups, see SI Section C.

249 Our study also replicates a well-known finding from the impression formation literature:  
250 Impressions of trustworthiness have the largest impact on overall exclusionary attitudes<sup>29</sup>.  
251 Judging from a linear regression with respondent fixed-effects, exclusionary attitudes are more  
252 closely associated with impressions of (un)trustworthiness ( $\beta = 0.24$ , 95%CI [0.23,0.25]) than  
253 with impressions of (in)competence ( $\beta = 0.17$ , 95%CI [0.16,0.18], Wald-test for equal effects:  
254  $\chi^2(1, N=64,440) = 62.6$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), or even infection concerns ( $\beta = 0.16$ , 95%CI [0.15,0.17],  
255 Waldtest for equal effects:  $\chi^2(1, N=64,440) = 112$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , see also Extended Data Figure  
256 3.B). While concerns about infection risks do shape exclusionary attitudes towards the  
257 unvaccinated, these findings suggest that negative stereotypes further enhance these attitudes.

258

259

#### 260 *Culture and exclusionary attitudes*

261 The results provide strong evidence that exclusionary attitudes against perceived free-riders  
262 in the domain of vaccinations emerge reliably across cultures, reflecting the deep-seated nature  
263 of the psychology of cooperation<sup>6</sup>. At the same time, it is clear that the strength of the observed  
264 exclusionary attitudes exhibits substantial cross-cultural variation (see SI Section O.1 for  
265 formal evidence). Figure 3 displays exclusionary attitudes towards the unvaccinated by  
266 vaccinated respondents against three pre-registered macro-indicators—COVID-19 deaths,  
267 vaccinations (both standardized to population size), and social trust—as well as an exploratory  
268 indicator, cultural tightness. Whereas COVID-19 deaths and vaccination rates indicate society-  
269 wide investments in the public good of suppressing the epidemic, social trust (i.e., the tendency  
270 to trust fellow citizens) and cultural tightness (i.e., the strength of social norms and the degree  
271 of sanctioning within societies,<sup>38</sup>) are indicators of the moral expectations of fellow citizens  
272 and the willingness to sanction violations of these expectations. Countries that managed to keep

273 the death toll of the coronavirus low show very strong exclusionary attitudes towards the  
274 unvaccinated at around 20 percentage points on average. In contrast, countries that struggled  
275 to mitigate the epidemic show much lower exclusionary attitudes. Spearman's rank order  
276 correlation between death and prejudice is  $\rho(21) = -0.62$ , 95%CI [-0.83, -0.26]. At the same  
277 time, the association of exclusionary attitudes with actual vaccination levels is inconclusive  
278  $\rho(21) = 0.38$ , 95%CI [-0.06, 0.70]. Although there is a tendency for highly vaccinated nations  
279 to display more exclusionary attitudes, and countries with lower compliance to display less,  
280 there is also considerable deviations from this trend, with outliers like Argentina (high  
281 vaccination, little prejudice) and South Africa (high prejudice, low vaccination). In the SI  
282 Section G, we furthermore analyse policy stringency that is a direct measure of how much  
283 national governments invested in suppressing infections. We find no reliable association  
284 between stringency and prejudice towards the unvaccinated ( $\rho(21) = 0.23$  95%CI [-0.22, 0.6],  
285 see Extended Data Figure 4).

286 Prior research has demonstrated that epidemic suppression hinges on citizens' normative  
287 and moral expectations such that countries with higher social trust<sup>39</sup> and a tighter culture<sup>40</sup>  
288 suppressed the epidemic toll more effectively. As observed in Figure 3, these cultural  
289 differences are also associated with higher prejudice towards the unvaccinated. Specifically,  
290 exclusionary attitudes are higher in countries with higher social trust (Spearman's  $\rho(21) = 0.57$ ,  
291 95%CI [0.19, 0.81]). In countries where large majorities believe that "most people can be  
292 trusted", the exclusionary reaction towards the unvaccinated is larger. Meanwhile, in countries  
293 where most believe that "you need to be very careful in dealing with people", exclusionary  
294 attitudes are lower. Similarly, exclusionary attitudes are higher in countries with a tighter  
295 culture, oriented towards strong norms and the sanctioning of norm violations ( $\rho(16) = 0.62$ ,  
296 95%CI [0.18, 0.85]). These latter associations suggest that cultures that place stronger moral

297 expectations on individuals not only more effectively produce the public good of epidemic  
298 control<sup>39;40</sup> but also constitute a fertile ground for exclusionary attitudes against the  
299 unvaccinated, as they may be perceived to free-ride on the collective effort<sup>8</sup>. In SI Section O.2,  
300 we provide robustness checks for these cross-cultural conclusions, addressing potential threats  
301 to the generalizability of data obtained via online surveys.

302

### 303 **Antipathy across six countries**

304 In Study 2, we focus on the affective component of prejudice. Specifically, we conducted a  
305 pre-registered, conceptual replication of Study 1 and, in the context of a conjoint experiment,  
306 asked participants to rate fictitious individuals that vary in terms of vaccination status (as well  
307 as other attributes) on a seven-point like-dislike scale.

308 Study 1 also showed that exclusionary attitudes are intertwined with a fear of infection.  
309 While fear of infection is a weaker correlate of exclusionary attitudes than trustworthiness  
310 impressions, the finding nonetheless raises the possibility that prejudice against the  
311 unvaccinated may be restricted to relationships characterized by physical interaction. The focus  
312 on pure antipathy in a neutral evaluation task allows us to examine this possibility.  
313 Furthermore, to gain perspective on the size of antipathy across vaccination groups, Study 2  
314 also changed the benchmark group from Middle Eastern migrants to a more diverse set of four  
315 groups, which are also frequent targets of prejudice: Drug addicts, ex-convicts, people with  
316 mental illnesses, and atheists<sup>41;45</sup>. These groups were chosen to offer some variance on how  
317 much perceived control people have in determining their group membership and how much of  
318 a threat they pose on members of society.

319 With the help of YouGov survey agency, Study 2 was fielded in six countries (Germany,  
320 India, Indonesia, Morocco, South Africa, United Kingdom) representing both Western affluent

321 and non-Western developing nations. We recruited about 500 respondents per country, quota  
322 sampled on age, gender and region, as well as education in Germany and the UK (see details  
323 in SI Section A). As before, each participant rated three pairs of target profiles (Study 2: 3,045  
324 respondents, 18,270 observations). All analyses, unless otherwise noted, were preregistered  
325 (see Data Availability Section for details).

326

327

328 Our data shows that the vaccinated feel antipathy towards the unvaccinated, even in a  
329 neutral evaluation task without any indication that participants would physically meet the  
330 fictitious targets (see Figure 4). Across all six countries, we find that vaccinated respondents  
331 (N = 15,966) dislike unvaccinated targets more than vaccinated targets, on average by 14  
332 percentage points (AMCE 95% CI [13, 15],  $z = 25.94$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Conversely, unvaccinated  
333 respondents (N = 2,304) on average do not dislike vaccinated targets significantly more than  
334 unvaccinated targets (AMCE = 1 percentage points, 95% CI [-1, 4],  $z = 1.01$ ,  $p = 0.31$ , although  
335 Germany is a significant outlier, AMCE = 8% points, 95% CI = [3, 13],  $z = 3.12$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ).  
336 We should also note that the substantive size of the prejudice expressed towards the  
337 unvaccinated remains high relative to the more diverse set of benchmarks. On average across  
338 the six countries, the unvaccinated are disliked as much as people who struggle with drug  
339 addiction (15 percentage points, 95%CI [13, 16], Wald-test for equal effects:  $\chi^2(1, N=15,966)$   
340  $= 0.51$ ,  $p = 0.47$ ), and significantly more so than people who have been in prison (10 percentage  
341 points, 95%CI [9, 11],  $\chi^2(1, N=15,966) = 18.4$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), who are atheists (7 percentage  
342 points, 95%CI [6, 8],  $\chi^2(1, N=15,966) = 67.5$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), or who suffer from mental illness (6  
343 percentage points, 95%CI [5, 7],  $\chi^2(1, N=15,966) = 87.9$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). For country level  
344 estimates of prejudice towards each of the four benchmarks, see SI Section I.

345 Study 2 included an additional test. The finding from Study 1 (i.e., widespread existence of  
346 exclusionary attitudes in personal relationships) may be less concerning, if members of the  
347 groups of vaccinated and unvaccinated are only weakly acquainted across group boundaries  
348 and if – consistent with intergroup contact theory – prejudice is high only among individuals  
349 with less intergroup contact<sup>42</sup>. Study 2 therefore measured how many relatives and friends  
350 respondents have who belong to the vaccination outgroup. Analyses demonstrate that while  
351 antipathy is indeed highest among people with no contact with the outgroups (N = 18,270,  
352 AMCE = 15% points, 95% CI = [13, 16], z = 20.36, p < 0.001), it is substantial across all  
353 contact levels (AMCEs = 5%–12% points, zs ≥ 2.4, ps < 0.05, see Extended Data Figure 5 and  
354 SI Section J).

355

### 356 **Restriction of rights in United States**

357 So far, the discriminatory attitudes we have investigated have only been demonstrated in  
358 the domain of private relationships. Study 3 therefore examines whether discriminatory  
359 attitudes extend into the domain of publicly-recognized rights. As the recognition of such rights  
360 differs across cultures, Study 3 was conducted in United States, a country with historical  
361 recognition of fundamental rights and freedoms<sup>43</sup>. Study 3 is identical to Study 2, except that  
362 the study also included five new outcomes in addition to the measure of antipathy and that  
363 answers were obtained on binary scales. Specifically, respondents were asked to evaluate the  
364 target's freedom of movement (“This person should be allowed to sit next to me in public  
365 transportation”), freedom of residence (“This person should be allowed to move into my  
366 neighborhood”), freedom of speech (“This person should be allowed to express their political  
367 views on social media freely, without fear of censorship”), access to citizenship (“This person  
368 should receive US citizenship, if they are eligible and apply for it”), access to unemployment

369 benefits (“This person should receive unemployment benefits, if they are eligible and apply for  
370 it”). We collected data via YouGov from 1,448 US Americans quota sampled on age, gender,  
371 region, education and race. Each respondent evaluated five pairs of targets yielding a final  
372 sample size of 14,480 observations. All analyses, unless otherwise noted, were preregistered  
373 (see Data Availability Section for details). The survey also included the methodological studies  
374 discussed in relation to Study 1, and reported in detail in SI Sections **K-M**.

375

376

377 The results are displayed in Figure **5** and demonstrate that exclusionary attitudes are not  
378 restricted to the domain of private relationships. Vaccinated Americans not only feel greater  
379 antipathy towards unvaccinated Americans by 16 percentage points (95%CI [14, 19],  $z = 13.09$ ,  
380  $p < 0.001$ ), they are also 28 percentage points less likely to respect their freedom of movement  
381 (95%CI [25, 31],  $z = 19.4$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), 10 percentage points less likely to respect their freedom  
382 of residence (95%CI [8, 12],  $z = 9.1$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), 8 percentage points less likely to support their  
383 application for citizenship (95%CI [6, 10],  $z = 7.98$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ), and 7 percentage points less  
384 likely both to respect their freedom of speech and to support their applications for welfare  
385 benefits (95%CIs [5, 9],  $z = 7.23$  and  $7.44$ , respectively,  $ps < 0.001$ ). Vaccinated respondents  
386 express significantly higher exclusionary attitudes towards the unvaccinated than against  
387 atheists on all six outcomes, than against mentally ill on five outcomes, and than against targets  
388 who have been in prison or struggle with drug addiction on three outcomes. Conversely, they  
389 do not express significantly higher exclusionary attitudes towards any of the benchmark groups  
390 on any of the outcomes than against the unvaccinated (see details on all Wald-tests in SI Section  
391 **I**).

392 Study 3 results also indicate that unvaccinated Americans also harbor some negative  
393 sentiment towards the vaccinated (4 percentage points, 95%CI [1, 7]) but unvaccinated  
394 Americans are neither more nor less likely to restrict their rights or freedoms. Finally, additional  
395 analyses (see SI Section N) indicate that vaccinated Americans' antipathy towards the  
396 unvaccinated is predictive of their support for restricting the rights of the unvaccinated  
397 (Spearman's rank order correlations  $0.35 < \rho_s(1448) < 0.44$ ).

398

### 399 **Discussion**

400 Research on political polarization warns that if socio-political disagreement – even if based  
401 on legitimate grievances – permeates interactions between citizens, it can contribute to the  
402 entrenchment of conflict<sup>21</sup>. In this study, we have documented that individuals vaccinated  
403 against COVID-19 express negative attitudes against unvaccinated individuals in the form of  
404 antipathy, stereotypes, support for exclusion from family relationships and support for removal  
405 of political rights. In total, these four forms of discriminatory attitudes are consistent with the  
406 observation of prejudice according to standard definitions in social psychology. We examined  
407 and obtained evidence in support of all four reactions in United States. In the other countries,  
408 we only examined some but not all forms of discriminatory attitudes and found evidence in  
409 support of the specific negative reactions examined. The only exceptions were Hungary and  
410 Romania, where we did not find evidence in support of discriminatory attitudes. Furthermore,  
411 we find that discriminatory attitudes towards the unvaccinated is as high or higher than  
412 discriminatory attitudes directed towards other common and diverse targets of prejudice  
413 including immigrants, drug-addicts and ex-convicts. At the same time, the results demonstrate  
414 that prejudice is mostly one-sided. Only in United States and Germany do we find that the

415 unvaccinated feel some antipathy towards the vaccinated but even here we do not find statistical  
416 evidence in favor of negative stereotyping or exclusionary attitudes.

417 The finding that vaccinated individuals are prejudiced against the unvaccinated but that there  
418 is no evidence for the reverse is consistent with work on the psychology of cooperation<sup>6;7</sup> and  
419 prior work on vaccinations: The cue that someone refuses to take up a vaccine activates  
420 psychological mechanisms designed to deter perceived free-riders among the vaccinated<sup>8;9</sup>.  
421 Consistent with the deep-seated nature of anti-free-rider sentiments, the observation of  
422 substantial and culturally discriminatory attitudes including support for denial of fundamental  
423 rights suggests that negative reactions are easily triggered in the context of perceived public  
424 goods. At the same time, the results also reveal that some cultures are especially prone to react  
425 with prejudice. Consistent with an anti-free-rider perspective, vaccinated individuals in  
426 cultures with stronger cooperative norms react more negatively against the unvaccinated. Such  
427 norms are more reliably associated with cross-cultural differences in discriminatory attitudes  
428 than are actual country-level differences in government efforts to produce epidemic control.  
429 What seems to trigger discriminatory attitudes towards the unvaccinated is less governments'  
430 efforts to reduce deaths from COVID-19 and more how such efforts resonate with larger  
431 cultural norms and perceived obligations.

432 In this regard, it is relevant to note that the decision to refuse vaccination against COVID-  
433 19 may reflect many factors beyond a moral failure to appreciate collective goals. A recent  
434 review of almost one hundred empirical studies identified eighteen robust correlates of  
435 COVID-19 vaccine hesitancy in high-income countries<sup>44</sup>. Even if negative stereotypes are  
436 statistically true, they are unlikely to adequately capture the full motivations of every  
437 individual. For example, an unvaccinated person may have medical conditions<sup>45</sup>, immunity  
438 from prior infection<sup>46</sup>, a history of mental health issues that may intensify fear of vaccinations<sup>47</sup>,

439 negative past experiences with health authorities (especially as a minority)<sup>48</sup>, concerns due to  
440 country-specific public health scandals<sup>49</sup>, or ethical considerations about vaccine equity<sup>50</sup>.

441 While moralistic communication of collective responsibilities may be an effective strategy  
442 to increase vaccination uptake<sup>8</sup>, such strategies may have unintended negative consequences in  
443 the form of eliciting prejudice<sup>51</sup>, especially in cultures with strong cooperative norms. Research  
444 on prejudice towards minority groups warns that experiences of prejudice and discrimination  
445 may have negative long-term effects, hurting well-being<sup>52</sup>, eroding identification with majority  
446 society<sup>53</sup>, and breeding mistrust of the state, including health authorities<sup>54</sup>. If the consequences  
447 of prejudice towards the unvaccinated resemble the consequences of prejudice against minority  
448 groups, they may exacerbate the mistrust and alienation that led to vaccine refusal in the first  
449 place<sup>13;20</sup>.

450 In the short run, prejudice towards the unvaccinated may complicate pandemic  
451 management. In the long run, it may mean that societies leave the pandemic more divided than  
452 they entered it. Finally, our findings also offer a lesson for global challenges beyond the current  
453 pandemic. Large social crises – for example, the climate crisis – are often characterized by  
454 collective action dilemmas due to the need for substantial behavior change among the general  
455 public<sup>55</sup>. To effectively manage such crises, the authorities should seek to avoid fueling deep  
456 animosity between citizens. Indeed, as moral condemnation is often easily and spontaneously  
457 activated among the general public during a crisis<sup>11</sup>, the authorities and politicians should  
458 consider tempering social animosities as an important part of their mandate, especially when  
459 societal conflict becomes more entrenched.

460

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624

## 625 **Methods**

### 626 **Study 1**

#### 627 *Data and generalizability*

628 We collected data between December 3, 2021 and January 28, 2022 from 21 countries:  
629 Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, India,  
630 Indonesia, Italy, Malaysia, Mexico, Morocco, Romania, Russia, South Africa, Spain, the  
631 United Kingdom, and the United States. Data was collected through online panels by Ipsos in  
632 China, and by YouGov in all other countries. All participants provided informed consent and  
633 were reimbursed according to their standing agreements with the data provider. All studies  
634 (Studies 1-3) were exempt from formal ethical review by Danish law. As per section 14(2) of  
635 the Act on Research Ethics Review of Health Research Projects, “notification of questionnaire  
636 surveys ... to the system of research ethics committee system is only required if the project  
637 involves human biological material.” The studies fully comply with Aarhus University’s Code  
638 of Conduct and with the ethical standards set by the Danish Code of Conduct for Research  
639 Integrity.

640 We sought to recruit 500 adult respondents from each country, quota sampling on age,  
641 gender, and region of residence, and – conditional on feasibility – also education (in Australia,

642 Brazil, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, Russia, Spain, UK, and US) and race (in the  
643 US). See Extended Data Table 1 for demographic details. Quotas are always set to mimic the  
644 national population, except in Indonesia, Morocco, and Malaysia, where due to feasibility  
645 issues, they are set to the demographic characteristics of the online population and, in India,  
646 where they are set to the demographic characteristics of the national urban population.  
647 Respondents who failed a simple bot test were screened out at the beginning of the survey. For  
648 additional demographic information, as well as more details on the quotas set, see Section A in  
649 the OA. Questionnaires were translated to the official language of the country by professional  
650 translators employed by a translation agency (see deviations from this rule in SI Section B).  
651 Each translation was independently quality checked by another translator at the agency, and a  
652 native speaker recruited by the researchers.

653 Our samples cover a diverse set of cultures from all inhabited continents of the world. That  
654 said, our sample intentionally excludes the poorest countries where COVID-19 vaccines were  
655 not yet widely available to the public and where, accordingly, we would not expect vaccination  
656 status to lead to prejudice. Furthermore, despite the quotas set, our samples are not fully  
657 nationally representative as they exclude parts of society who have no internet access, or face  
658 other systemic disadvantages (e.g., are illiterate or do not speak the official language of the  
659 country). Prior research thus concludes that for results from cross-national data collected via  
660 YouGov’s online panels in low- and middle-income countries “it is better to think of [them] as  
661 representative of the online population.”<sup>56</sup> At the same time, during a pandemic, online surveys  
662 constitute a safe and efficient data collection method that allows voices from diverse cultures  
663 to be heard. Consistent with this, the World Health Organization refers to the use of online  
664 surveys as “the standard approach” for behavioral insights during the pandemic<sup>57</sup>. Our main

665 survey vendor, YouGov, aided Imperial College London to capture global behavioral dynamics  
666 during the pandemic<sup>58</sup>.

667 Prior research suggests that cross-cultural differences can be reliably studied using online  
668 surveys<sup>59;60;61</sup> and that studies using experimental designs (as we do) are particularly robust  
669 across a variety of sampling methods<sup>62;63</sup>. Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge and  
670 address limitations to generalizability of online surveys. The key threat in this regard is whether  
671 differences between online and national populations may endanger the robustness of the  
672 crosscultural conclusions. To examine the consequences of this threat to inference, we report  
673 multiple robustness checks of the data and analyses. First, SI Section **A** compares the most  
674 relevant objective benchmark, actual vaccinations against COVID-19 in the adult national  
675 population, against those observed in the surveys, finding high correspondence. Second, SI  
676 Section **D** directly examines treatment heterogeneity in two of the key indicators associated  
677 with internet access, education and income, and finds very little treatment heterogeneity, even  
678 in low- and middle-income countries (see Extended Data Figure 6. Third, SI Section **O.2**  
679 directly quantifies the potential threat to inference and examines the robustness of the cross-  
680 cultural conclusions to potential differences in prejudice between online and offline  
681 populations. It finds that the cross-cultural conclusions are robust to even the extreme  
682 assumption that offline population hold *zero* prejudice against the unvaccinated (see Extended  
683 Data Figure 7). Fourth, SI Section **O.2** also reports a stress test, which examines the  
684 consequences of simultaneous violations of our two conjectures that (a) our samples represent  
685 the online populations and (b) that the represented and non-represented populations show  
686 similar prejudice. This test finds that the conclusion of cross-culturally pervasive prejudice  
687 would hold even if both of our conjectures were wrong. Overall, both prior work and extensive  
688 robustness analyses strongly suggest that our conclusions hold as stated.

689

690 *Experimental design*

691 Our design is a subtle, conjoint experimental implementation of Bogardus<sup>31</sup> classic social  
692 distance scale. We presented participants with brief descriptions of a series of fictitious  
693 individuals and asked them to imagine that these are people whom one of their close relatives  
694 intends to marry. One of the six attributes describing these target individuals has been their  
695 COVID-19 vaccination status, randomly varying between “fully vaccinated” and  
696 “unvaccinated.” Importantly, this is a minimalist manipulation of vaccination status, simply  
697 labeling target individuals with their group membership and thus offering no reason or  
698 justification for their choice.

699 We were interested whether participants would have higher exclusionary attitudes against  
700 unvaccinated individuals marrying into their families. To benchmark the size of this  
701 hypothesised prejudice, another attribute has been labeled “family background” and  
702 distinguished between people “born and raised in [the respondent’s country]” and people who  
703 “immigrated from the Middle East.” Middle Eastern immigrants serve as an excellent  
704 benchmark as widespread prejudice against them has been widely documented<sup>3,1</sup>. The other four  
705 attributes (age, occupation, hobbies, and personality) were included to increase ecological  
706 validity and to reduce experimenter demand and social desirability. All in all, we collected data  
707 from 10,740 individuals.

708 Extended Data Table 2 displays the six attributes and their levels. Each target profile was  
709 sampled completely at random from the  $2 \times 2 \times 6 \times 6 \times 6 \times 5 = 4,320$  unique combinations of

---

<sup>1</sup> That said, this does not mean that all countries in our sample must be prejudiced against Middle Eastern immigrants. While it has been important for us that none of our samples come from the Middle East (as it would render the attribute meaningless), factors like a shared religious identity may temper prejudice against Middle Easterners. To minimize this latter effect, we deliberately avoided using the term “Muslim”.

710 attribute levels. Following best practices in the literature<sup>33</sup>, we presented two targets at a time,  
711 side by side. Each respondent rated six random targets independently across three trials,  
712 yielding a total sample size of 64,440 observations. We also randomized between respondents  
713 the order in which the attributes appeared.

714

#### 715 *Measures*

716 Respondents rated each target profile independently by indicating their agreement or  
717 disagreement with a series of four statements on a simple yes/no scale. Specifically, we  
718 measured respondents' *exclusionary attitudes* with the statement, "I would be unhappy if this  
719 person married one of my close relatives"; *fear of infection* with the statement, "I would be  
720 afraid that this person infected me or my family with COVID-19"; perceptions of *intelligence*  
721 with "I think this person is unintelligent"; and *trustworthiness* with "I think this person is  
722 untrustworthy."

723 We also collected background information on all respondents. Most importantly, prior to  
724 the treatment, we asked whether respondents themselves were vaccinated or not. We label all  
725 respondents who received at least one vaccine as "vaccinated," and all other respondents,  
726 including those who refused to answer the question, as "unvaccinated." We also rely on  
727 demographic data shared by the survey provider, which we dichotomized into male and female  
728 respondents, older and younger respondents (by splitting at the sample median in each country),  
729 respondents with and without a completed higher (tertiary) education, and finally, poor  
730 respondents with a gross household income below 70% of the national median and not poor  
731 respondents.

732 Finally, our analyses rely on a series of country-level predictors. We measure pandemic  
733 severity with the cumulative number of confirmed COVID-19 *deaths* per 100K people in the

734 total population on the first day of data collection in the country as measured by Johns Hopkins  
735 University. We measure the *vaccination rate* of the country with the total number of people  
736 who received at least one vaccine dose per 100 people in the total population on the first day  
737 of data collection in the country as measured by Our World in Data. We measure *social trust*  
738 with the proportion of respondents who said “most people can be trusted” (versus “you need to  
739 be very careful in dealing with people”) in the latest World Values Survey data available for  
740 the country. Finally, we use cultural tightness-looseness scores from<sup>38</sup> as a (post-hoc) predictor  
741 of prejudice against the unvaccinated. Note that tightness scores are available for 16 out of our  
742 21 countries, thus Denmark, France, Morocco, Romania and South Africa are omitted from  
743 these analyses.

744

#### 745 *Modeling*

746 Following standard practices in the literature on conjoint experiments<sup>64</sup>, we analyze our  
747 data with OLS regression models regressing one-by-one the four outcomes on the six  
748 categorical attributes. The models include post-stratification weights. We cluster standard  
749 errors on respondents. Our four hypotheses are evaluated on the average marginal component  
750 effect (AMCE) of vaccination attribute (scaled to indicate outgroups) on the four outcomes.  
751 AMCEs can be interpreted as the percentage point change in the proportion of respondents  
752 reporting exclusionary attitudes, perceived untrustworthiness, unintelligence, or fear of  
753 infection, *caused* by changing a target’s vaccination status from ingroup to outgroup. All  
754 significance tests reported in the manuscript – unless otherwise noted – are two-sided.

755 To estimate country-level effects, we rerun these models in each of the 21 countries  
756 separately. To estimate heterogeneities in prejudice between vaccinated and unvaccinated  
757 respondents, as well as between demographic groups, we rerun models on split samples. To

758 estimate country-level relationships between exclusionary attitudes and macro-level indicators,  
759 we rely on descriptive plots and Spearman's rank order correlations.

760 Our identification strategy rests on the random assignment of vaccination status to target  
761 individuals<sup>64</sup>. We report the standard diagnostic tests for conjoint experiments in SI Section  
762 O.6. We find little reason for concern, although we acknowledge that participants speeding  
763 through the experiment dilute the observed experimental effects (see Figure O.21) and that  
764 there are some carry-over effects for exclusionary attitudes but not the other three outcomes  
765 (see Figure O.24). We also note that insofar as some of our respondents falsely claim to be  
766 vaccinated, our estimates of prejudice towards the unvaccinated are likely to be too  
767 conservative.

768 Finally, in SI Section O, we report robustness tests. All our conclusions replicate when our  
769 regressions are implemented in a Bayesian multilevel framework, when we drop post-  
770 stratification weights, and when we exclude respondents claiming no prior opportunity to get  
771 vaccinated.

772

## 773 **Study 2**

774 Study 2 sought to conceptually replicate and extend the results of Study 1. First, it relies on  
775 an alternative, purely affective measure of prejudice, which cannot be confounded by concerns  
776 of infection risk. Second, it uses an alternative set of benchmark groups to get additional  
777 perspective on the substantive size of the prejudice faced by the unvaccinated. Third, it tests  
778 whether antipathy against vaccination outgroups is lower among people who have more contact  
779 with members of the outgroup. Finally, it conceptually replicates our findings in a period after  
780 the omicron wave has receded and when concerns about the pandemic were less outspoken.

781

782 *Data and design*

783 Our data was collected in May, 2022 from six countries: Germany, India, Indonesia,  
784 Morocco, South Africa, and the UK. As before, our data provider, YouGov, quota sampled  
785 minimum 500 respondents per country from online panels. All participants provided informed  
786 consent and were reimbursed according to their standing agreements with the data provider.  
787 The study was exempt from formal ethical review (see above under Study 1).

788 The design of Study 2 closely mirrors the conjoint experimental design described above for  
789 Study 1. For the sake of brevity, we therefore focus on deviations here. First, we omitted the  
790 framing of the relationship between respondent and target as a prospective close family  
791 member. Instead, we simply presented target individuals to respondents, whom they were asked  
792 to evaluate on a standard like-dislike scale. Second, we replaced the family background  
793 attribute with a new one called personal information. Under this inconspicuous label, we  
794 included references to membership in one of four groups, which are well documented for facing  
795 (various levels of) prejudice: drug addicts, the mentally ill, convicts and atheists. As a neutral  
796 comparison, the attribute also had a control condition – “no additional information”. These four  
797 groups intentionally vary in the extent membership is conditional on personal choice versus  
798 luck, and whether they pose a danger on others. For the detailed description of all attributes  
799 (including two minor changes on background attributes), see SI Section B. Finally, beyond  
800 personal vaccination status, we also measure the personal experience of contact with  
801 vaccination outgroups and model the antipathy towards outgroups conditional on this variable.  
802 As before, the target profiles are sampled completely at random from the  $2 \times 5 \times 6 \times 5 \times 6$   
803  $\times 5 = 9,000$  unique combinations of attribute levels (see details in Extended Data Table 3. Each  
804 respondent evaluated three pairs of targets. This yields a final sample size is 18,270

805 observations from 3,045 individuals. All hypotheses, materials and analyses were pre-  
806 registered at [osf.io/a7hsu](https://osf.io/a7hsu).

807

### 808 *Measures*

809 To measure contact with vaccination outgroup members we asked, pre-treatment, how  
810 many relatives and friends do [respondents] have who are [not] vaccinated against COVID-19?  
811 The response options were: None at all, 1-2, 3-5, 6-10, More than 10. The question always  
812 referred to the outgroup, based on a measure and categorization of personal vaccination status  
813 identical to the one used in Study 1.

814 General impressions of the targets were measured on a standard seven-point Likert scale  
815 from strongly dislike to strongly like. Respondents were prompted for each target to indicate,  
816 how much do [they] like or dislike person [A-F].

817

### 818 *Modeling*

819 We followed the same modeling strategy as in Study 1. We recoded the continuous  
820 dependent variables to the 0-1 range, with higher values indicating more dislike. To investigate  
821 if respondents with more contact with outgroups express lower antipathy towards them, we  
822 preregistered an interaction model, estimating antipathy conditional on contact levels, treated  
823 as a categorical variable with no contact as the reference category.

824

### 825 **Study 3**

826 The primary ambition of Study 3 was 1) to extend previous results relying on a wider range  
827 of outcome measures tapping into various forms of prejudice. Besides, it also included two  
828 additional experiments, relying on alternative paradigms for measuring prejudice and

829 generosity across groups. Accordingly, 2) we tested whether people are less generous with  
830 unvaccinated others in an economic game both with and without monetary incentives<sup>8:9:18</sup>. 3)  
831 We also measure prejudice using Bogardus' family context, both with a standard direct  
832 question and employing a forced response technique<sup>65</sup>. Relying on these data, 4) we can  
833 investigate if social desirability biases the propensity to admit prejudice towards vaccination  
834 outgroups. Finally, 5) we collect data to understand if social interactions as a context for  
835 studying negative attitudes across vaccination outgroups are less vulnerable to criticism  
836 regarding ecological validity than standard economic games. All hypotheses, materials and  
837 analyses were pre-registered at [osf.io/ypc6a](https://osf.io/ypc6a).

838

#### 839 *Data and design*

840 We collected data from 1,448 adults living in the USA in May, 2022 (simultaneously with  
841 Study 2). As before, respondents were recruited from YouGov's online panel using quota  
842 sampling on gender, age, region, education, and race. All participants provided informed  
843 consent and were reimbursed according to their standing agreements with the data provider.  
844 The study was exempt from formal ethical review (see above under Study 1).

845 The conjoint experimental design was identical to that of Study 2, except each participants  
846 rated five pairs of target profiles. This yielded a final sample size of 14,480 observations in the  
847 conjoint experiment. The study also included two additional experiments. First, replicating  
848 Henkel et al.<sup>18</sup>, respondents participated in a Dictator Game, where an allocator can give some  
849 of their 100 points endowment to another player, the recipient. All participants played in the  
850 role of the allocator, and were randomly matched with another respondent in the survey (post  
851 hoc), about whom they only knew whether they are vaccinated or unvaccinated against  
852 COVID19. We used the strategy method and elicited an allocation for both types of partners

853 (in a random order). We experimentally manipulated between subjects, whether participants  
854 played for a monetary incentive. Specifically, we informed a random half of the participants  
855 that the points they divide in the game are worth money at a rate of 100 points = 250 YouGov  
856 points. We calibrated this to correspond to roughly \$0.20, an incentive equal<sup>8;9</sup> or higher<sup>18</sup> than  
857 those used in prior research.

858 Second, we also measured whether respondents agreed or disagreed with the statement “I  
859 would be unhappy if a person [not] vaccinated against COVID-19 married one of my close  
860 relatives.” The statement always referred to vaccination outgroups. Importantly, we  
861 manipulated between participants whether the question was asked directly, or embedded in a  
862 forced response design, which uses a randomization device to mask the responses of individual  
863 respondents, while retaining the ability to estimate the sample level agreement. Specifically,  
864 using a thirdparty random number generator, respondents “drew” an integer between 1 and 6.  
865 If they got 1 or 6, they were “forced” to respond “agree” or “disagree”, respectively. If they got  
866 anything in between, they answered freely, according to their true preference. This method is  
867 designed to remove social desirability bias from sensitive survey questions<sup>65</sup>.

868

#### 869 *Measures*

870 In the conjoint experiment, participants evaluated six statements for each target, indicating  
871 if they 1) like; if they support their applications for 2) citizenship and 3) unemployment  
872 benefits; and if they respect their 4) freedom of expression, 5) freedom of residence, and 6)  
873 freedom of movement.

874 Following a brief explanation of the rules of the dictator game (dubbed an “allocation task”),  
875 participants were asked, “How many points would [they] give to this vaccinated/unvaccinated

876 person?”. We calculate the difference in points allocated to vaccination outgroups versus  
877 ingroups. Higher scores indicate more ingroup favoritism.

878 In the third experiment, we calculated the proportion of participants who indicated that they  
879 would be unhappy if someone from the vaccination outgroup would marry into their family.  
880 This is a simple proportion of “yes” answers to the direct question, but in the forced response  
881 condition we must correct the counts to account for the fact that a third of all respondents are  
882 forced to respond one way or another. Accordingly, we subtract 1/6 of the total sample size  
883 both from the agree and the disagree responses. We test whether the proportion of prejudiced  
884 respondents is statistically significant from 0 and whether prejudice is higher or lower in the  
885 forced response condition, compared to the direct question condition.

886 For the measure on the best context to study discriminatory attitudes against vaccination  
887 outgroups, we operationalize ecological validity as the frequency with which people encounter  
888 situations similar to the one described in the study. Specifically, participants answer how often  
889 or rarely they encounter six situations, three of which describe social interactions (e.g. “I get  
890 upset when I think about interacting with all the people [not] vaccinated against COVID-19.”)  
891 and three describing monetary transactions (e.g. “I consider donating money to individuals  
892 [not] vaccinated against COVID-19.”).

893

#### 894 *Modeling*

895 For the conjoint experiment, we follow the very same analysis strategy as described for  
896 Study 1. For the Dictator Game, we conduct simple t-tests to estimate if participants show  
897 significantly more generous towards their in-group members, and if the size of this in-group  
898 favoritism is affected by the incentives offered. For Bogardus’ measure of social distance, we

899 estimate uncertainty of the estimates both with standard confidence intervals, but also perform  
900 a chi-squared test, to see if social desirability biases estimates compared to the direct question.  
901 Finally, the measures of ecological validity, again are compared with t-tests.

902

### 903 **Data availability**

904 All pre-registrations, data, materials, and computer code necessary to reproduce or replicate  
905 our analyses are available at <https://osf.io/7hszd>.

906

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938

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948

949 **Author contributions**

950 A.B., F.J. & M.B.P. designed the experiments; A.B. & M.B.P. conducted the experiments; A.B.  
951 analyzed data with inputs from F.J. & M.B.P.; A.B. and M.B.P. wrote the paper; All authors  
952 approved the final manuscript.

953

954 **Competing interests**

955 The authors declare no competing interests.

956

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959 ([michael@ps.au.dk](mailto:michael@ps.au.dk)).

960 **Figure 1: World map highlighting the countries included in Study 1.** Countries are colored  
961 by the share of vaccinated citizens in the population on the first day of data collection (2021  
962 December–2022 January).  
963

964 **Figure 2: The average level of exclusionary attitudes in family relationships towards**  
965 **vaccination outgroups** (i.e., towards the unvaccinated for vaccinated respondents and towards  
966 the vaccinated for unvaccinated respondents. Total N = 64,440.). Exclusionary attitudes reflect  
967 being unhappy if a close relative married a person from the vaccination outgroup versus  
968 ingroup, with more positive coefficients indicating more exclusionary attitudes towards the  
969 outgroup relative to the ingroup. Purple and orange points denote country-level average  
970 marginal component effect estimates (Ns > 3,000) for vaccinated and unvaccinated  
971 respondents, respectively. Black points denote the pooled sample and include an estimate for  
972 exclusionary attitudes towards immigrants from the Middle East too. Error bars denote 90 and  
973 95% confidence intervals. For more details, see Study 1 - Modeling under the Methods section.  
974

975 **Figure 3: The relationship between country-level indicators and cross-national levels of**  
976 **exclusionary attitudes among the vaccinated towards the unvaccinated.** The country-level  
977 indicators are country-level deaths from COVID-19; the national proportion of people  
978 expressing trust towards fellow citizens; the national proportion vaccinated against COVID-  
979 19; and cultural tightness scores. Labeled dots denote countries, straight black lines denotes  
980 best fitting regression lines, and gray curves denote loess curves. Spearman's rankorder  
981 correlations across the four facets: deaths  $\rho(21) = -0.62$ , 95%CI [-0.83, -0.26]; social trust  $\rho(21)$   
982 = 0.57, 95%CI [0.19, 0.81]; vaccination  $\rho(21) = 0.38$ , 95%CI [-0.06, 0.70]; tightness  $\rho(16) =$   
983 0.62, 95%CI [0.18, 0.85]. Total N = 64,440.  
984

985 **Figure 4: The average level of antipathy towards vaccination outgroups** (i.e., towards the  
986 unvaccinated for vaccinated respondents and towards the vaccinated for unvaccinated  
987 respondents. Total N = 18,270). Antipathy reflects disliking a person from the vaccination  
988 outgroup versus the ingroup, with more positive coefficients indicating higher relative  
989 antipathy for the outgroup. Purple and orange points denote country-level average marginal  
990 component effect estimates (Ns > 3000) for vaccinated and unvaccinated respondents,  
991 respectively. Black points denote the pooled sample and include estimates for antipathy  
992 towards various other common targets of prejudice. Error bars denote 90 and 95% confidence  
993 intervals. For more details, see Study 2 - Modeling under the Methods section.  
994

995 **Figure 5: Affective and attitudinal prejudice against vaccination outgroups in the USA**  
996 **(i.e., towards the unvaccinated for vaccinated respondents and towards the vaccinated**  
997 **for unvaccinated respondents. N = 14,480).** Prejudice reflects relative antipathy towards and  
998 support for restricting the rights and freedoms of the outgroup relative to the ingroup. More  
999 positive coefficients indicate higher prejudice. Purple and orange points denote average  
1000 marginal component effects among vaccinated and unvaccinated respondents, respectively.  
1001 Error bars denote 90 and 95% confidence intervals. For more details, see Study 3 - Modeling  
1002 under the Methods section.

1003

1004 **Extended data**

1005 **Extended Data Figure 1: Participants think about social interactions substantially more**  
1006 **than about monetary transactions with vaccination outgroups.** Dots denote means,  
1007 errorbars denote 95% confidence intervals. N = 1,448. See more details in SI Section **K**.

1008

1009

1010 **Extended Data Figure 2: Proportion indicating unhappiness if a vaccination outgroup**  
1011 **member married into their family.** The plot contrasts a standard direct question (in red) to a  
1012 question implemented with the forced response technique (in blue). Both methods indicate  
1013 identical conclusions. Errorbars denote 95% confidence intervals. N = 1,448. See more details  
1014 in SI Section **L**.

1015

1016

1017 **Extended Data Figure 3: The role of the three proximate outcomes: fear of infection,**  
1018 **untrustworthiness, and incompetence.** Panel A displays average marginal component effects  
1019 of target vaccination status on each of the three outcomes splitting on respondent vaccination  
1020 status ( $N_{\text{vaccinated}} = 54,054$  and  $N_{\text{unvaccinated}} = 10,386$ ). Panel B displays the marginal regression  
1021 coefficients from regressing prejudice on the three proximate variables simultaneously, while  
1022 including respondent fixed effects. Errorbars denote 90% and 95% confidence intervals. See  
1023 more details in SI Section **C**.

1024

1025

1026 **Extended Data Figure 4: Relationship between prejudice against the unvaccinated and**  
1027 **policy stringency.** Estimates of exclusionary attitudes (based on average marginal component  
1028 effects). Blue line denotes best fitting linear regression line, and gray lines denotes a loess  
1029 curve. (Total N = 64,440 observations in 21 countries). Policy stringency is based on the Oxford  
1030 COVID-19 Government Response Tracker by Hale et al (2020). See more details in SI Section  
1031 **G**.

1032

1033

1034 **Extended Data Figure 5: Prejudice towards vaccination outgroups conditional on**  
1035 **outgroup contact.** The left panel shows average marginal component effects and demonstrates  
1036 that prejudice is highest among respondents with no contact at all, and smallest among those  
1037 with most contacts. The right panel displays marginal means to offer more nuance. Errorbars  
1038 denote 95% confidence intervals. Total N = 18,270. See details in SI Section **J**.

1039

1040 **Extended Data Table 1: Study 1 – Sample demographics by country**

1041 Notes: N refers to the number of observations (not respondents). **Higher ed.** refers to the  
1042 proportion of respondents who have completed higher education. **Poor** is defined as  
1043 respondents indicating a gross household income less than 75% of the median. As many  
1044 respondents refused to reveal their incomes, we included the share of missing data on this  
1045 variable separately.

1046

1047 **Extended Data Figure 6: Heterogeneities in exclusionary attitudes by education and**  
1048 **income in each country.** Average marginal component effects (AMCEs) for exclusionary  
1049 attitudes against the unvaccinated by country across lower and higher educated respondents  
1050 (left panel), and poor and not poor respondents (right panel). Estimates are based on Bayesian  
1051 multilevel regression models. Error bars denote 90 and 95% credible intervals. Total N =  
1052 64,440. See more details in SI Section D.

1053  
1054

1055 **Extended Data Figure 7: Simulations show that even if no offline citizen shows any**  
1056 **exclusionary attitudes our main conclusions remain unchanged.** Original average  
1057 marginal component effect estimates of exclusionary attitudes against the unvaccinated  
1058 (orange dots) and simulations estimating the same under maximal bias from non-online  
1059 populations (purple dots). Errorbars display 90% and 95% confidence intervals. Total N =  
1060 54,054. See more details in SI Section O.2.

1061  
1062

1063 **Extended Data Table 2:** Study 1 – Attributes and levels in the conjoint experiment

1064

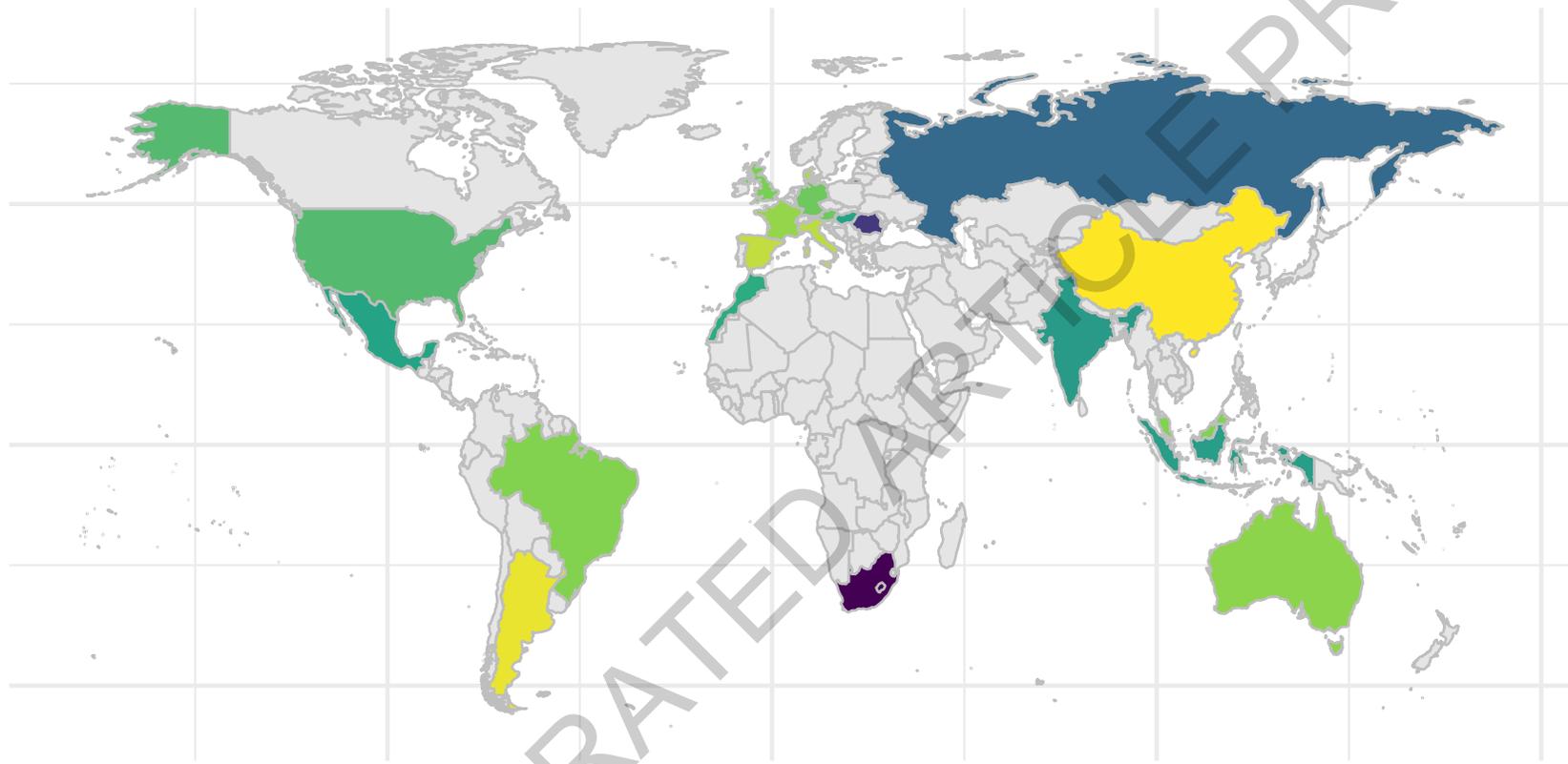
1065 Note: Numbers in parentheses denote the number of levels. {...} was replaced with the country  
1066 of the respondent.

1067  
1068

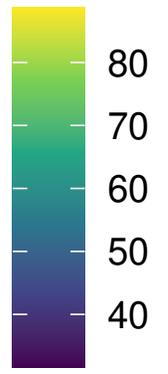
1069 **Extended Data Table 3:** Studies 2 & 3 – Attributes and levels in the conjoint experiment

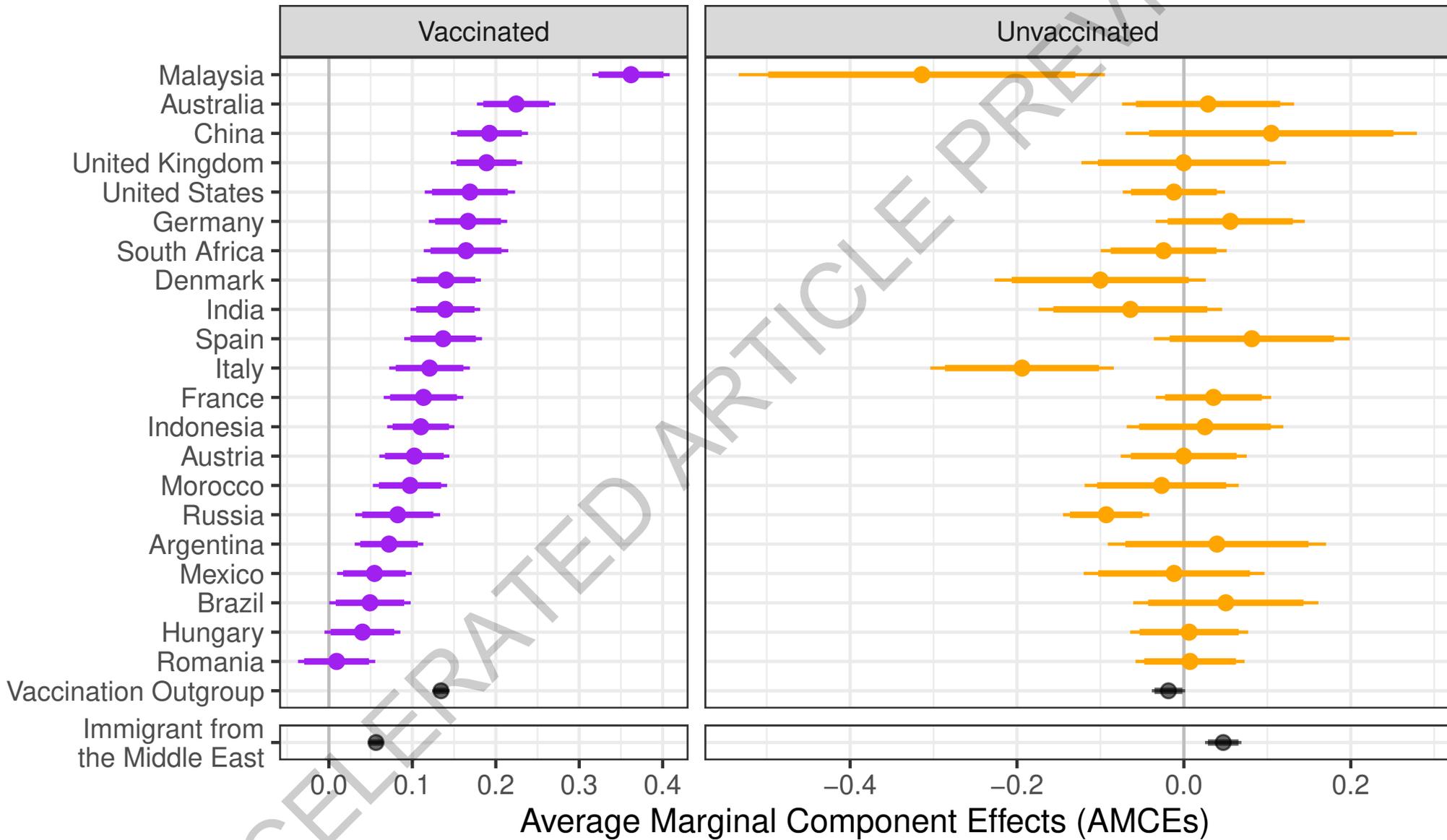
1070

1071 Note: Numbers in parentheses denote the number of levels.

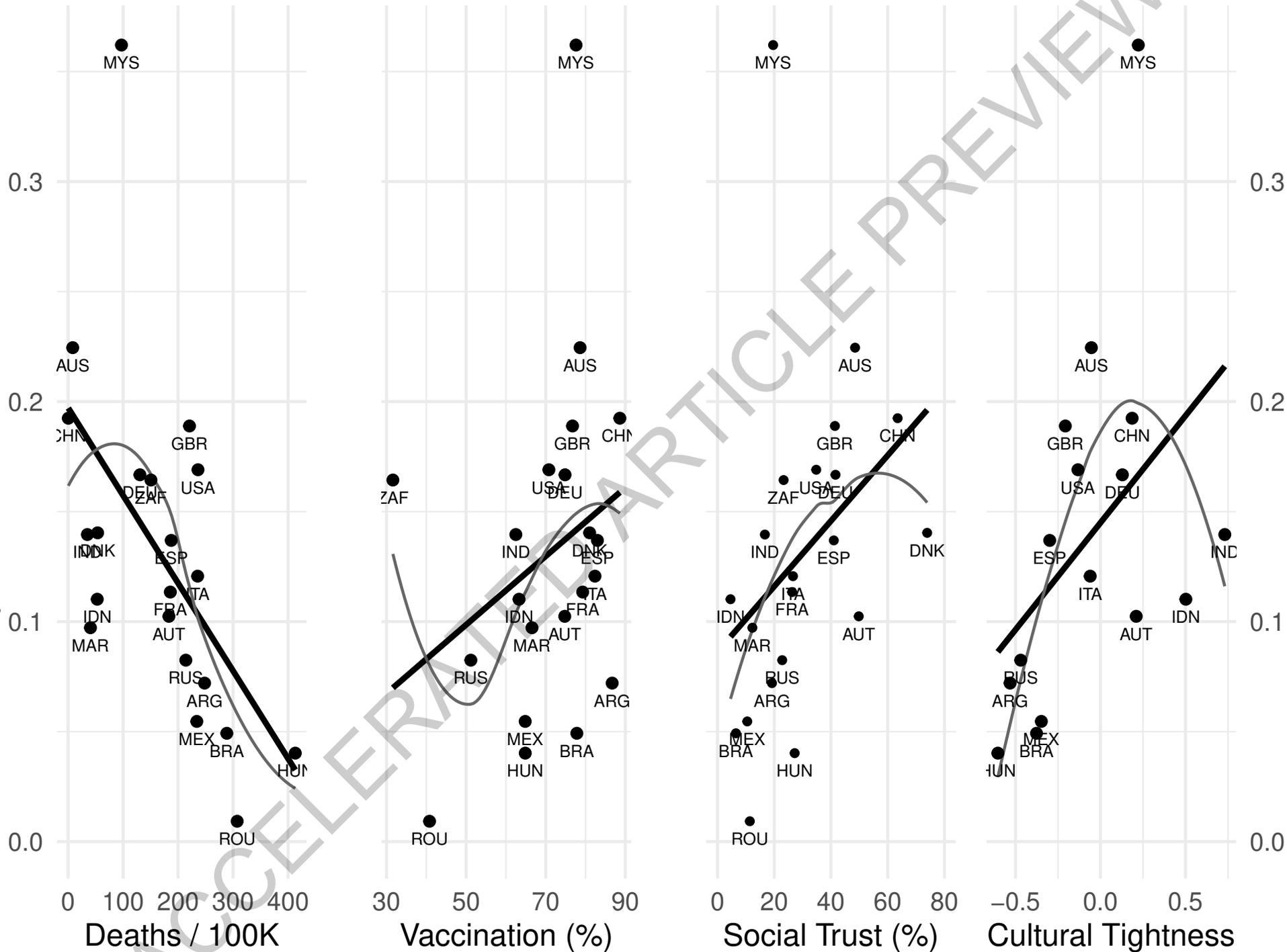


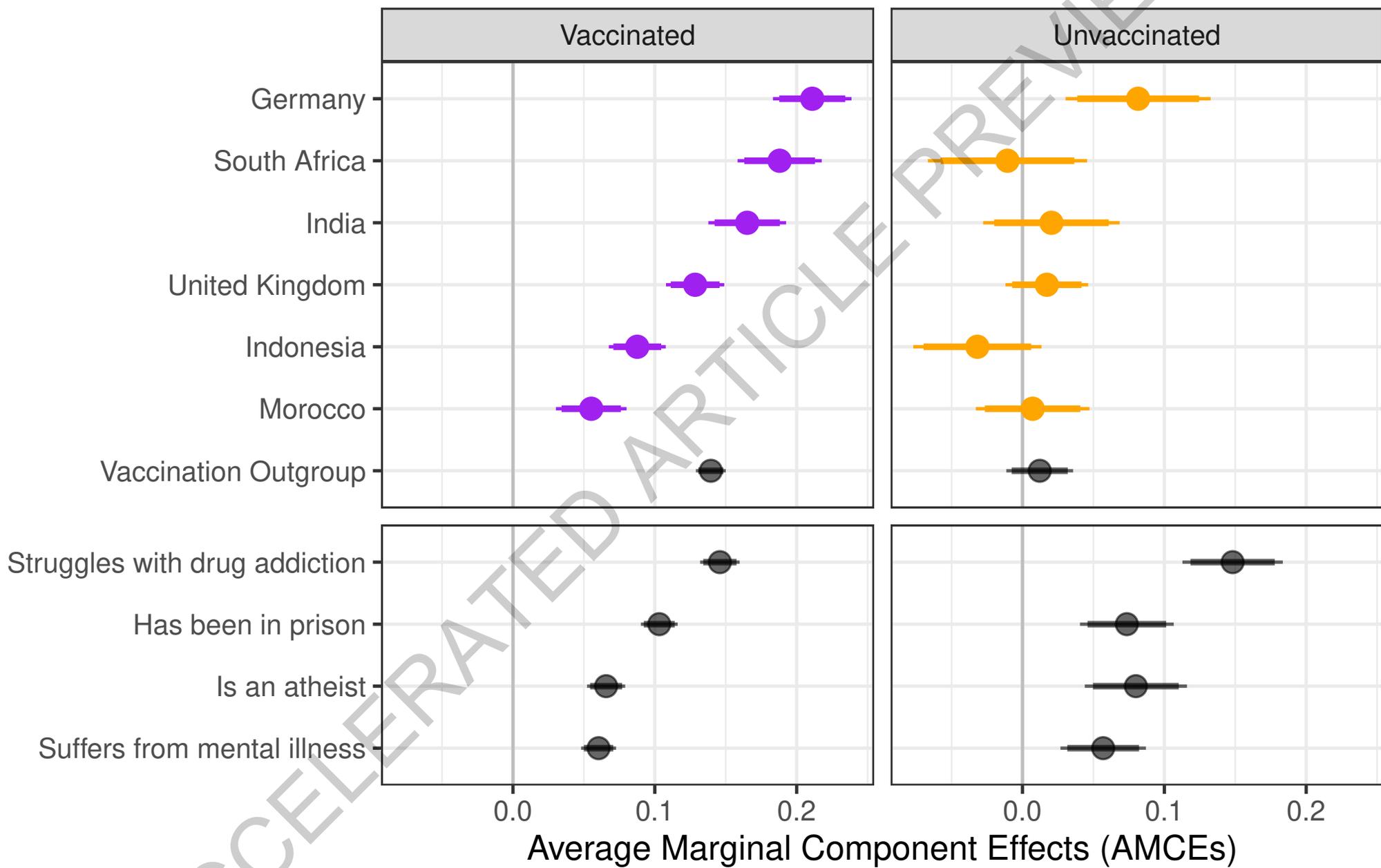
COVID-19  
Vaccinations

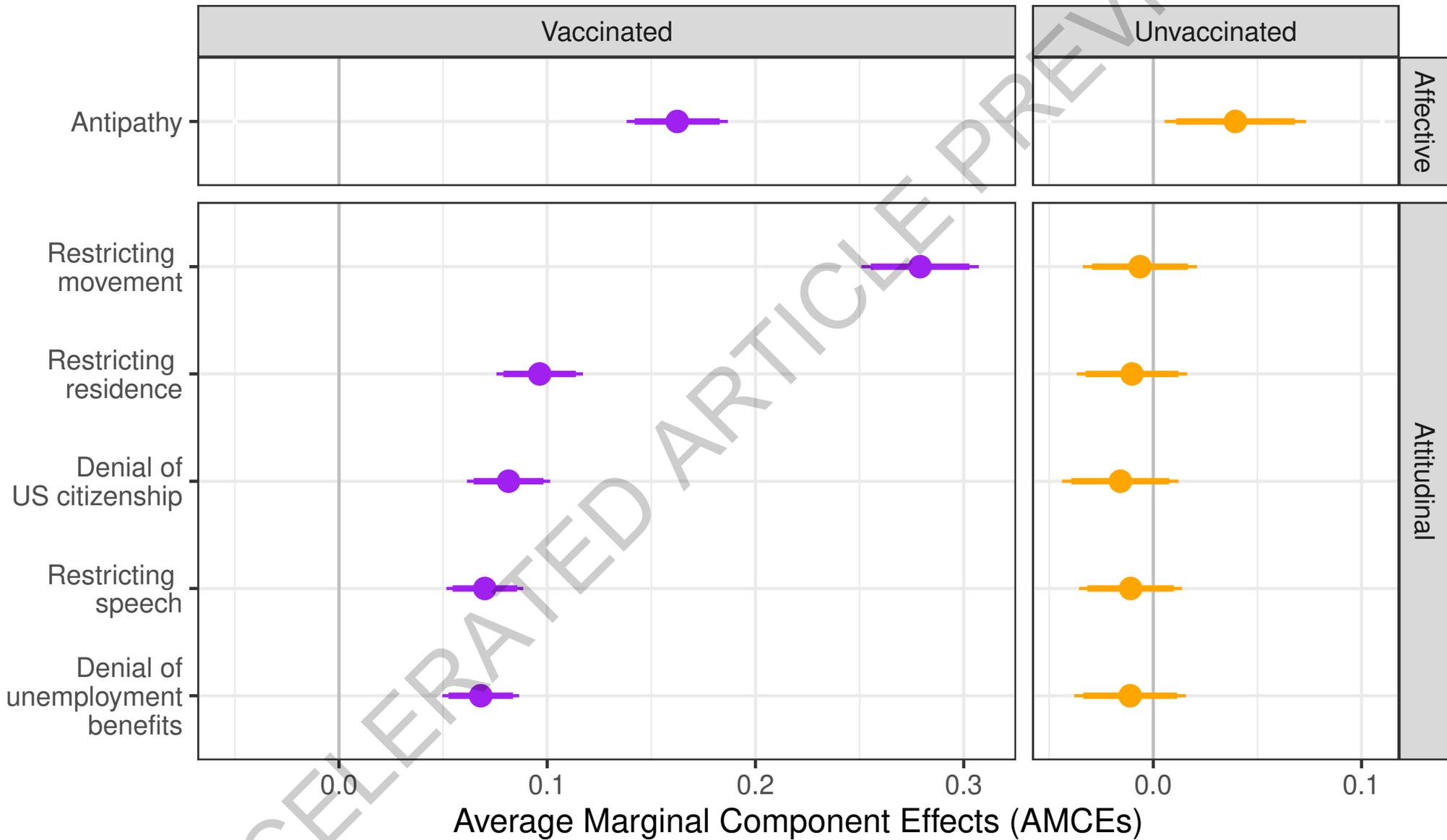


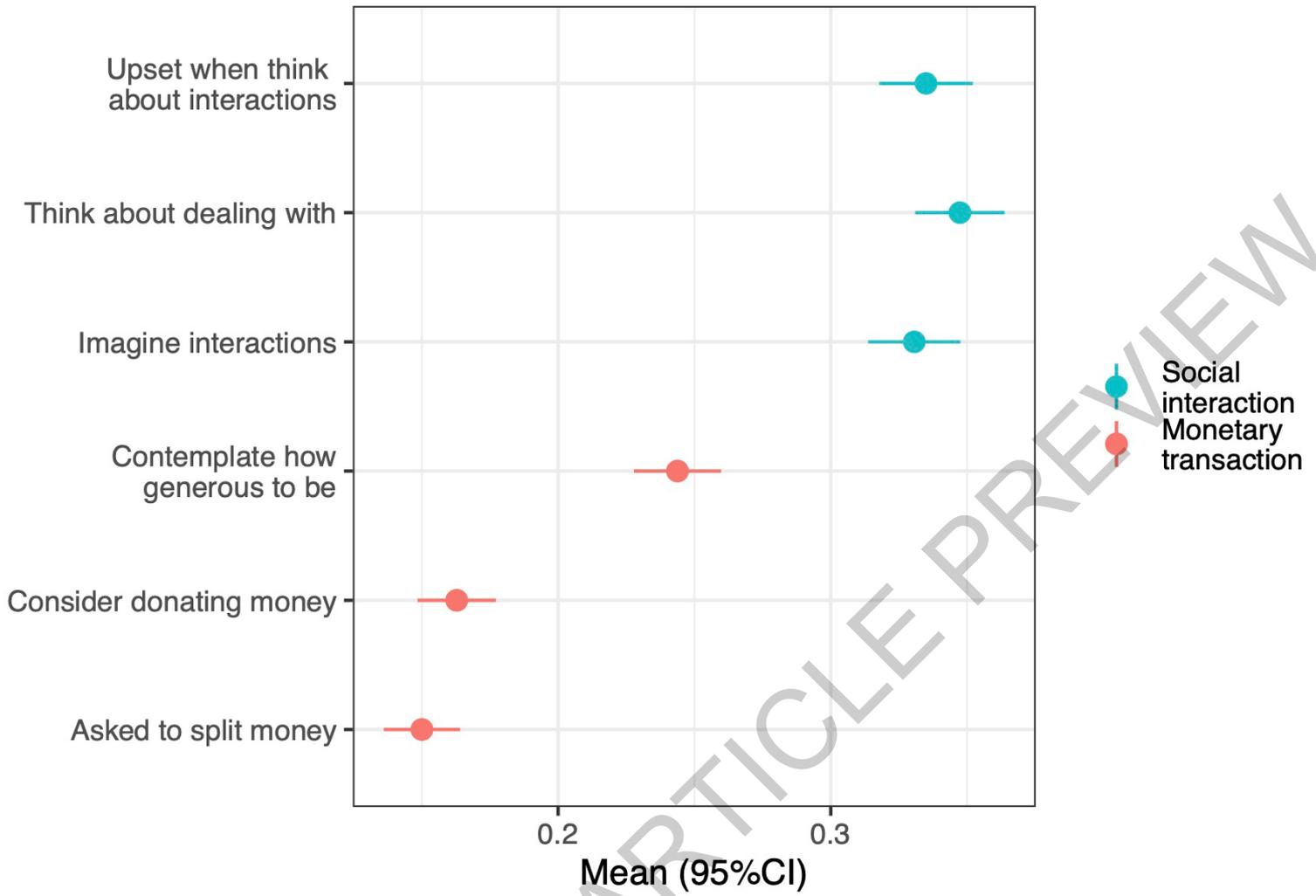


Exclusionary Attitudes towards the Unvaccinated

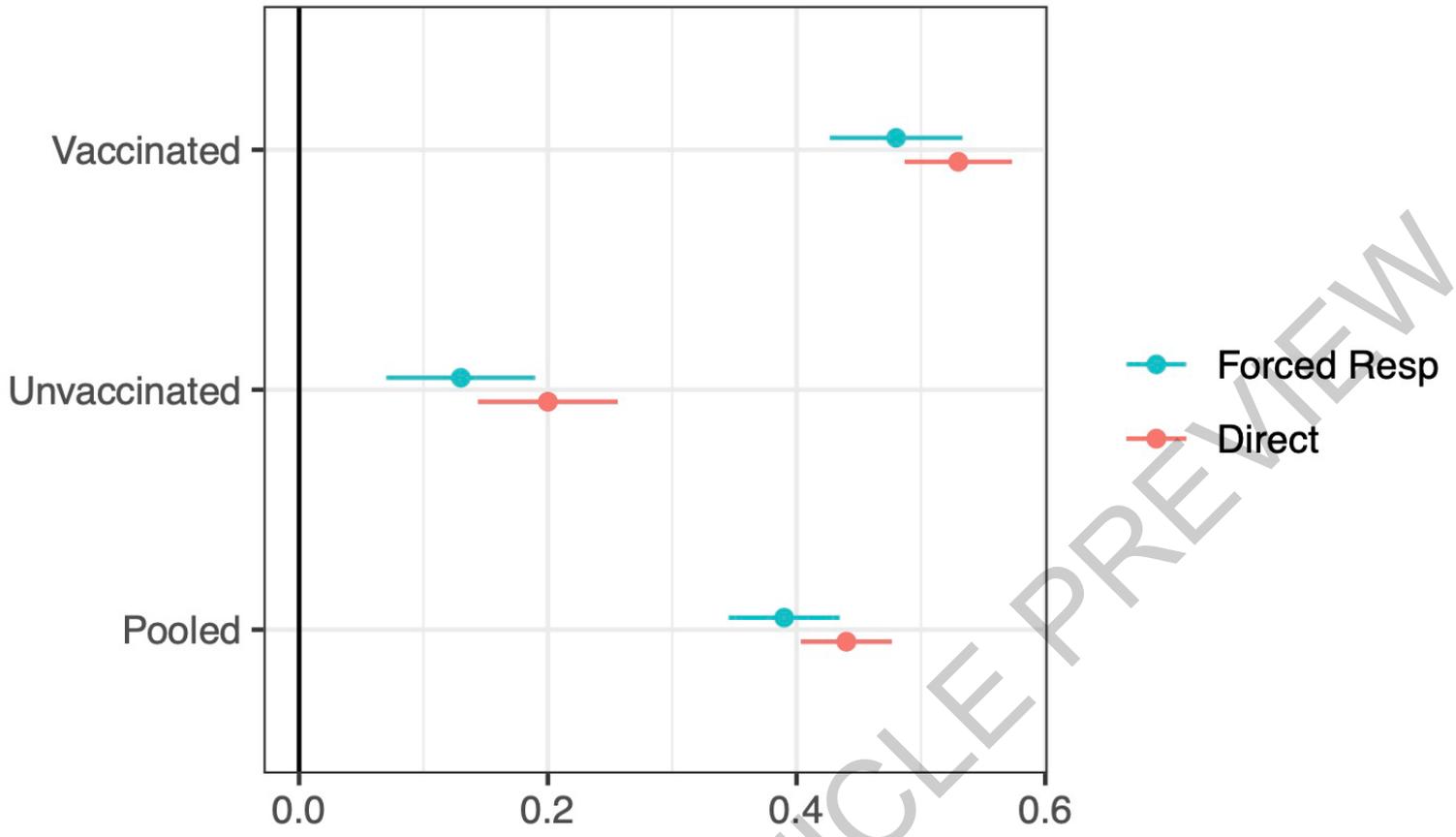






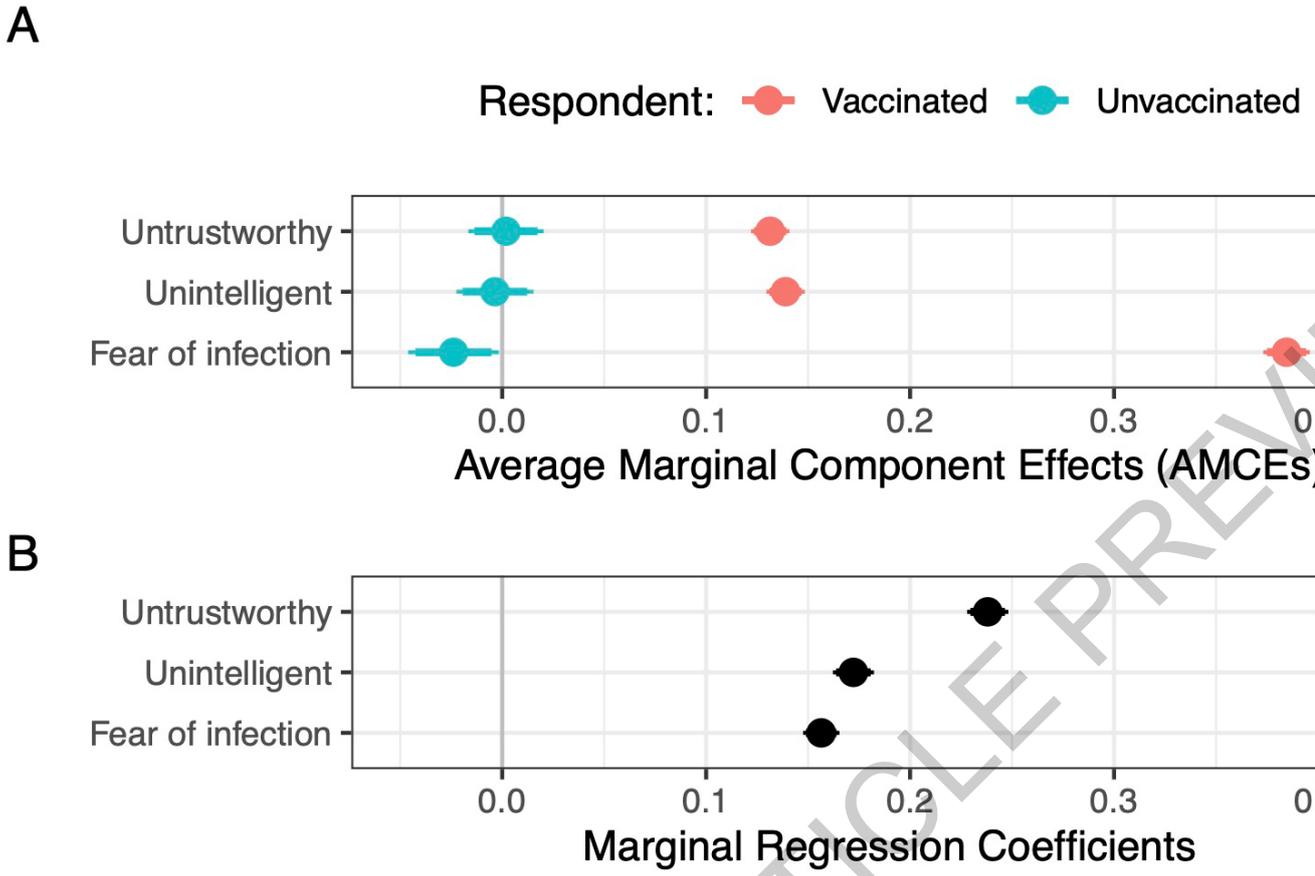


Extended Data Fig. 1

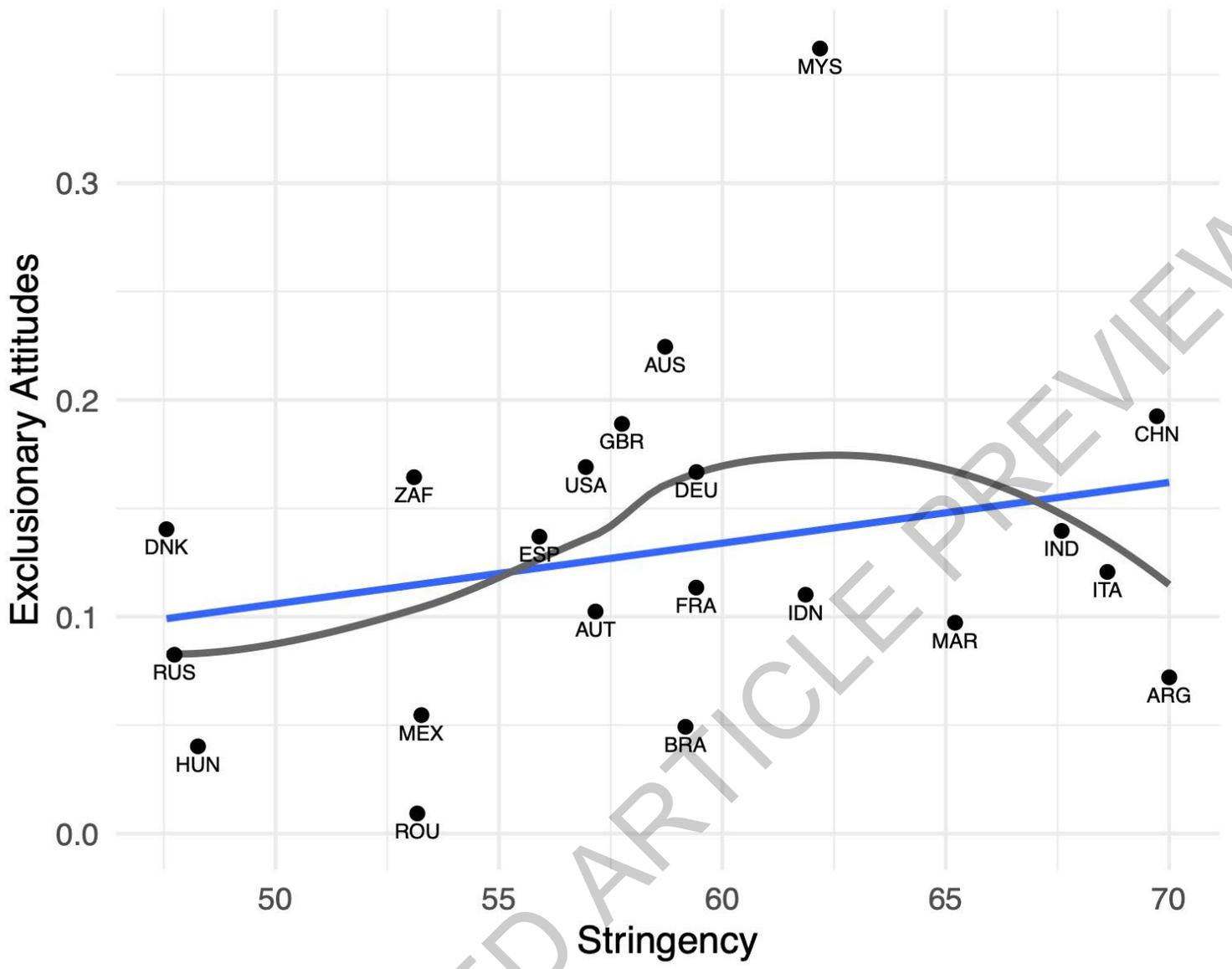


Extended Data Fig. 2

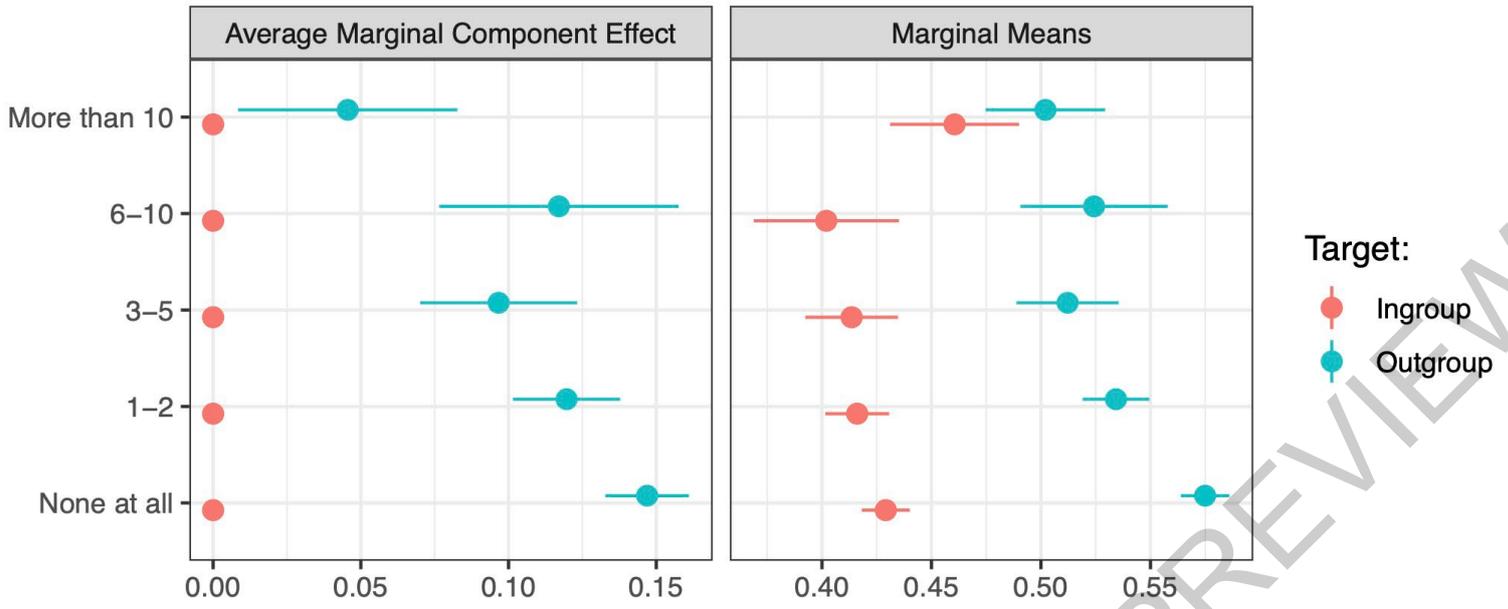
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Extended Data Fig. 3

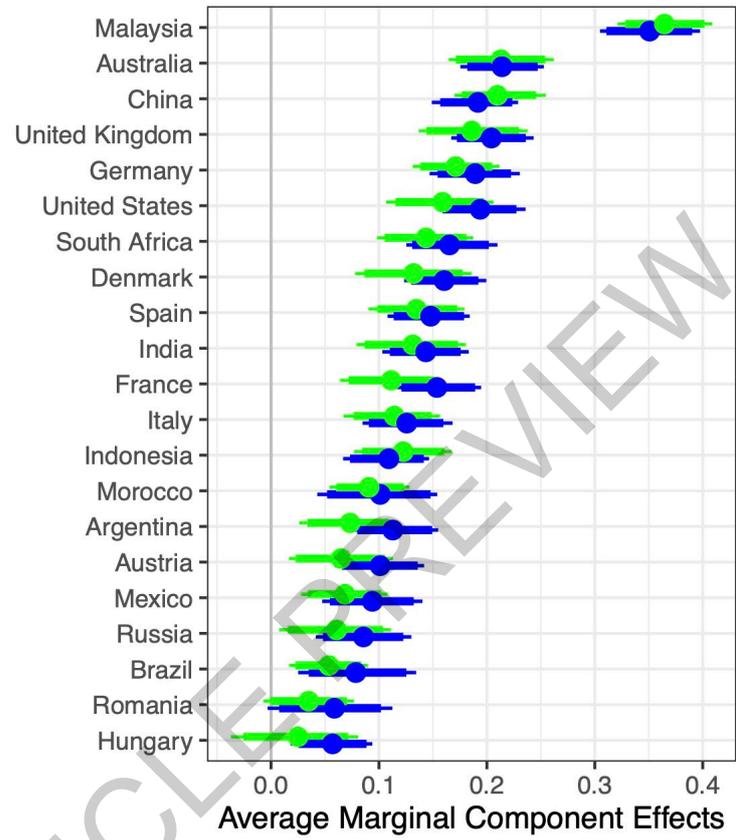
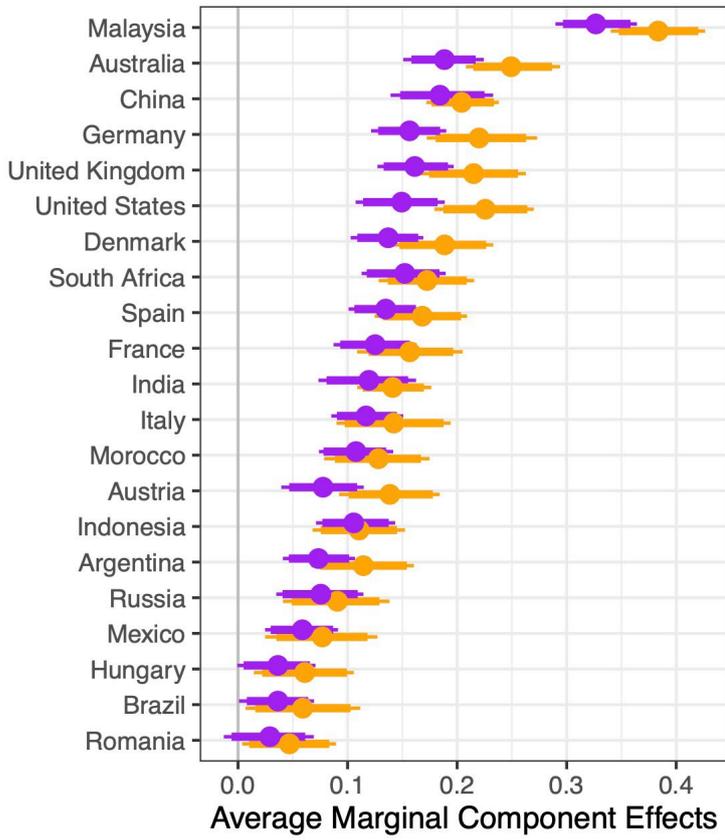


Extended Data Fig. 4



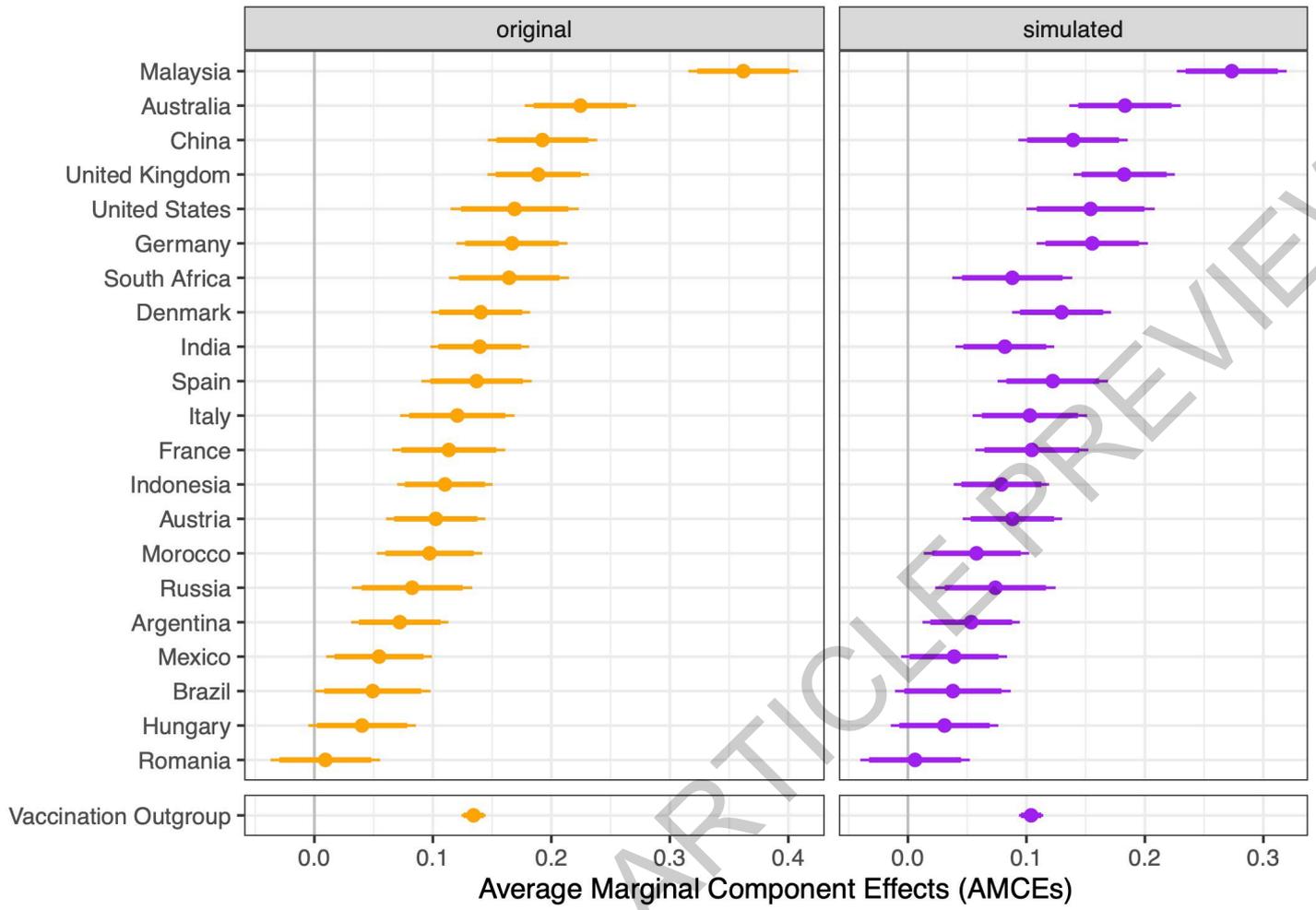
Extended Data Fig. 5

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Extended Data Fig. 6

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**Extended Data Fig. 7**

Country	N.obs	Median Age	Women	Higher Ed.	Income-Poor	Income-NA
Argentina	3090	38-42	0.48	0.19	0.41	0.28
Australia	3042	43-47	0.51	0.37	0.32	0.18
Austria	3054	48-52	0.52	0.34	0.33	0.22
Brazil	3036	38-42	0.52	0.21	0.77	0.15
China	3006	25-34	0.44	0.78	0.52	0.04
Denmark	3036	48-52	0.51	0.27	0.18	0.22
France	3054	48-52	0.52	0.31	0.44	0.12
Germany	3054	48-52	0.51	0.21	0.52	0.15
Hungary	3054	43-47	0.53	0.29	0.20	0.07
India	3174	33-37	0.50	0.78	0.22	0.28
Indonesia	3048	28-32	0.46	0.40	0.43	0.05
Italy	3042	48-52	0.52	0.16	0.42	0.22
Malaysia	3078	28-32	0.58	0.42	0.46	0.17
Mexico	3042	38-42	0.52	0.21	0.58	0.18
Morocco	3114	23-27	0.36	0.28	0.70	0.24
Romania	3054	43-47	0.52	0.47	0.71	0.18
Russia	3252	43-47	0.56	0.26	0.43	0.11
South Africa	3042	33-37	0.51	0.43	0.47	0.07
Spain	3036	48-52	0.51	0.40	0.38	0.15
United Kingdom	3108	48-52	0.52	0.33	0.27	0.21
United States	3024	48-52	0.52	0.35	0.38	0.14

Extended Data Table 1

<b>Attributes</b>	<b>Levels</b>
Vaccination against COVID-19 (2)	Fully Vaccinated, Unvaccinated
Family Background (2)	Born and raised in {...}, Immigrated from the Middle East
Age (6)	21, 27, 33, 39, 45, 51
Occupation (6)	Lawyer, High school teacher, Construction inspector, Factory worker, Web developer, Retail salesperson
Hobbies (6)	Movies and TV series, Running and hiking, Reading books, Traveling, Cooking and gastronomy, Music and concerts
Personality (5)	Extrovert and sociable, Has a vivid imagination, Thorough and meticulous, Kind and considerate, Good at staying cool under stress

**Extended Data Table 2**

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Attributes	Levels
Vaccination against COVID-19 (2)	Fully Vaccinated, Unvaccinated
Personal Information (5)	No additional information, Struggles with drug addiction, Suffers from mental illness, Is an atheist, Has been in prison
Age (6)	27, 33, 39, 45, 51, 57
Occupation (5)	Administrator, Construction inspector, Factory worker, Web developer, Retail salesperson
Hobbies (6)	Movies and TV series, Running and hiking, Reading books, Traveling, Cooking and gastronomy, Music and concerts
Personality (5)	Extrovert and sociable, Has a vivid imagination, Thorough and meticulous, Kind and considerate, Good at staying cool under stress

Extended Data Table 3

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## Reporting Summary

Nature Portfolio wishes to improve the reproducibility of the work that we publish. This form provides structure for consistency and transparency in reporting. For further information on Nature Portfolio policies, see our [Editorial Policies](#) and the [Editorial Policy Checklist](#).

### Statistics

For all statistical analyses, confirm that the following items are present in the figure legend, table legend, main text, or Methods section.

n/a Confirmed

- The exact sample size ( $n$ ) for each experimental group/condition, given as a discrete number and unit of measurement
- A statement on whether measurements were taken from distinct samples or whether the same sample was measured repeatedly
- The statistical test(s) used AND whether they are one- or two-sided  
*Only common tests should be described solely by name; describe more complex techniques in the Methods section.*
- A description of all covariates tested
- A description of any assumptions or corrections, such as tests of normality and adjustment for multiple comparisons
- A full description of the statistical parameters including central tendency (e.g. means) or other basic estimates (e.g. regression coefficient) AND variation (e.g. standard deviation) or associated estimates of uncertainty (e.g. confidence intervals)
- For null hypothesis testing, the test statistic (e.g.  $F$ ,  $t$ ,  $r$ ) with confidence intervals, effect sizes, degrees of freedom and  $P$  value noted  
*Give  $P$  values as exact values whenever suitable.*
- For Bayesian analysis, information on the choice of priors and Markov chain Monte Carlo settings
- For hierarchical and complex designs, identification of the appropriate level for tests and full reporting of outcomes
- Estimates of effect sizes (e.g. Cohen's  $d$ , Pearson's  $r$ ), indicating how they were calculated

*Our web collection on [statistics for biologists](#) contains articles on many of the points above.*

### Software and code

Policy information about [availability of computer code](#)

**Data collection** Data was collected by YouGov survey agency with their in house platform in all cases, except for Chinese data in S1, which was collected by Ipsos.

**Data analysis**

```
R version 4.2.1 (2022-06-23)
Platform: x86_64-apple-darwin17.0 (64-bit)
Running under: macOS Monterey 12.6.1

Matrix products: default
LAPACK: /Library/Frameworks/R.framework/Versions/4.2/Resources/lib/libRlapack.dylib

locale:
[1] en_US.UTF-8/en_US.UTF-8/en_US.UTF-8/C/en_US.UTF-8/en_US.UTF-8

attached base packages:
[1] stats graphics grDevices utils datasets methods
[7] base

other attached packages:
[1] psych_2.2.9 TOSTER_0.4.2 Hmisc_4.7-1
[4] Formula_1.2-4 survival_3.3-1 lattice_0.20-45
[7] tidybayes_3.0.2 matrixStats_0.62.0 DescTools_0.99.47
[10] viridis_0.6.2 viridisLite_0.4.1 here_1.0.1
[13] cregg_0.4.0 patchwork_1.1.2 car_3.1-1
[16] carData_3.0-5 ggforce_0.4.1 labelled_2.10.0
```

```
[19] haven_2.5.1   forcats_0.5.2   stringr_1.4.1
[22] dplyr_1.0.10  purrr_0.3.5    readr_2.1.3
[25] tidyr_1.2.1   tibble_3.1.8   ggplot2_3.3.6
[28] tidyverse_1.3.2 rio_0.5.29
```

For manuscripts utilizing custom algorithms or software that are central to the research but not yet described in published literature, software must be made available to editors and reviewers. We strongly encourage code deposition in a community repository (e.g. GitHub). See the Nature Portfolio [guidelines for submitting code & software](#) for further information.

## Data

Policy information about [availability of data](#)

All manuscripts must include a [data availability statement](#). This statement should provide the following information, where applicable:

- Accession codes, unique identifiers, or web links for publicly available datasets
- A description of any restrictions on data availability
- For clinical datasets or third party data, please ensure that the statement adheres to our [policy](#)

All pre-registrations, data, materials, and computer code necessary to reproduce or replicate our analyses are available at <https://osf.io/7hszd>.

## Field-specific reporting

Please select the one below that is the best fit for your research. If you are not sure, read the appropriate sections before making your selection.

Life sciences       Behavioural & social sciences       Ecological, evolutionary & environmental sciences

For a reference copy of the document with all sections, see [nature.com/documents/nr-reporting-summary-flat.pdf](https://nature.com/documents/nr-reporting-summary-flat.pdf)

## Life sciences study design

All studies must disclose on these points even when the disclosure is negative.

Sample size	<i>Describe how sample size was determined, detailing any statistical methods used to predetermine sample size OR if no sample-size calculation was performed, describe how sample sizes were chosen and provide a rationale for why these sample sizes are sufficient.</i>
Data exclusions	<i>Describe any data exclusions. If no data were excluded from the analyses, state so OR if data were excluded, describe the exclusions and the rationale behind them, indicating whether exclusion criteria were pre-established.</i>
Replication	<i>Describe the measures taken to verify the reproducibility of the experimental findings. If all attempts at replication were successful, confirm this OR if there are any findings that were not replicated or cannot be reproduced, note this and describe why.</i>
Randomization	<i>Describe how samples/organisms/participants were allocated into experimental groups. If allocation was not random, describe how covariates were controlled OR if this is not relevant to your study, explain why.</i>
Blinding	<i>Describe whether the investigators were blinded to group allocation during data collection and/or analysis. If blinding was not possible, describe why OR explain why blinding was not relevant to your study.</i>

## Behavioural & social sciences study design

All studies must disclose on these points even when the disclosure is negative.

Study description	Quantitative conjoint experiments implemented in online surveys.
Research sample	Participants were recruited from large online panels maintained by YouGov (for 20/21 countries) and Ipsos (in China) in S1. In S2 and S3, all data was from YouGov. We recruited at least 500 adult respondents from each country. In our pre-registration, we report a detailed power analysis. It demonstrates that 500 respondents (3,000 observations) per country yields 80% power to detect a main effect of 5 percentage points, and 95% power to detect an effect of 6 points. We judged 5 percentage point as the minimal effect size of interest. Studies 2-3 followed same strategy, although S3 was deliberately overpowered. The data collection used quota sampling on age, gender, and region of residence to ensure representativeness on these variables, and – conditional on feasibility – also education (in Australia, Brazil, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, Russia, Spain, UK, and US) and race (in the US). Quotas were always set to mimic the national population, except in Indonesia, Morocco, and Malaysia, where due to feasibility issues, they are set to the demographic characteristics of the online population and, in India, where they are set to the demographic characteristics of the national urban population. We provide detailed demographic information in Extended Data Table 1 for S1 and Supplementary Section A for S2 and S3.
Sampling strategy	The survey providers employed quota to ensure that the sample composition is "representative" of the wider population. Specifically, the data collection used quota sampling on age, gender, and region of residence, and – conditional on feasibility – also education (in Australia, Brazil, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, Russia, Spain, UK, and US) and race (in the US). Quotas were always set to mimic the national population, except in Indonesia, Morocco, and Malaysia, where due to feasibility issues, they are set to the demographic characteristics of the online population and, in India, where they are set to the demographic characteristics of the

national urban population. We recruited at least 500 adult respondents from each country. In our pre-registration, we report a detailed power analysis. It demonstrates that 500 respondents (3,000 observations) per country yields 80% power to detect a main effect of 5 percentage points, and 95% power to detect an effect of 6 points. We judged 5 percentage point as the minimal effect size of interest. Studies 2-3 followed same strategy, although S3 was deliberately overpowered.

Data collection	The surveys were administered by third party companies, YouGov and Ipsos. As such, data was collected exclusively through double blind online surveys.
Timing	We collected data between December 3, 2021 and January 28, 2022 for Study 1. Studies 2-3 were collected simultaneously in May 2022.
Data exclusions	No data was excluded from the analyses, but only participants who passed a simple screener (weeding out bots) were allowed to participate in the experiment.
Non-participation	Study specific response rates were not shared by the survey providers (YouGov and Ipsos).
Randomization	The target profiles which participants rated in our experiment were generated completely at random. However, all participants read and responded to all questions.

## Ecological, evolutionary & environmental sciences study design

All studies must disclose on these points even when the disclosure is negative.

Study description	<i>Briefly describe the study. For quantitative data include treatment factors and interactions, design structure (e.g. factorial, nested, hierarchical), nature and number of experimental units and replicates.</i>
Research sample	<i>Describe the research sample (e.g. a group of tagged <i>Passer domesticus</i>, all <i>Stenocereus thurberi</i> within Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument), and provide a rationale for the sample choice. When relevant, describe the organism taxa, source, sex, age range and any manipulations. State what population the sample is meant to represent when applicable. For studies involving existing datasets, describe the data and its source.</i>
Sampling strategy	<i>Note the sampling procedure. Describe the statistical methods that were used to predetermine sample size OR if no sample-size calculation was performed, describe how sample sizes were chosen and provide a rationale for why these sample sizes are sufficient.</i>
Data collection	<i>Describe the data collection procedure, including who recorded the data and how.</i>
Timing and spatial scale	<i>Indicate the start and stop dates of data collection, noting the frequency and periodicity of sampling and providing a rationale for these choices. If there is a gap between collection periods, state the dates for each sample cohort. Specify the spatial scale from which the data are taken</i>
Data exclusions	<i>If no data were excluded from the analyses, state so OR if data were excluded, describe the exclusions and the rationale behind them, indicating whether exclusion criteria were pre-established.</i>
Reproducibility	<i>Describe the measures taken to verify the reproducibility of experimental findings. For each experiment, note whether any attempts to repeat the experiment failed OR state that all attempts to repeat the experiment were successful.</i>
Randomization	<i>Describe how samples/organisms/participants were allocated into groups. If allocation was not random, describe how covariates were controlled. If this is not relevant to your study, explain why.</i>
Blinding	<i>Describe the extent of blinding used during data acquisition and analysis. If blinding was not possible, describe why OR explain why blinding was not relevant to your study.</i>
Did the study involve field work?	<input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No

## Field work, collection and transport

Field conditions	<i>Describe the study conditions for field work, providing relevant parameters (e.g. temperature, rainfall).</i>
Location	<i>State the location of the sampling or experiment, providing relevant parameters (e.g. latitude and longitude, elevation, water depth).</i>
Access & import/export	<i>Describe the efforts you have made to access habitats and to collect and import/export your samples in a responsible manner and in compliance with local, national and international laws, noting any permits that were obtained (give the name of the issuing authority, the date of issue, and any identifying information).</i>
Disturbance	<i>Describe any disturbance caused by the study and how it was minimized.</i>

## Reporting for specific materials, systems and methods

We require information from authors about some types of materials, experimental systems and methods used in many studies. Here, indicate whether each material, system or method listed is relevant to your study. If you are not sure if a list item applies to your research, read the appropriate section before selecting a response.

## Materials & experimental systems

n/a	Involved in the study
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Antibodies
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Eukaryotic cell lines
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Palaeontology and archaeology
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Animals and other organisms
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Human research participants
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Clinical data
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Dual use research of concern

## Methods

n/a	Involved in the study
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> ChIP-seq
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> Flow cytometry
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> MRI-based neuroimaging

## Antibodies

**Antibodies used**

**Validation**

## Eukaryotic cell lines

Policy information about [cell lines](#)

**Cell line source(s)**

**Authentication**

**Mycoplasma contamination**

**Commonly misidentified lines** (See [ICLAC](#) register)

## Palaeontology and Archaeology

**Specimen provenance**

**Specimen deposition**

**Dating methods**

Tick this box to confirm that the raw and calibrated dates are available in the paper or in Supplementary Information.

**Ethics oversight**

Note that full information on the approval of the study protocol must also be provided in the manuscript.

## Animals and other organisms

Policy information about [studies involving animals](#); [ARRIVE guidelines](#) recommended for reporting animal research

**Laboratory animals**

**Wild animals**

**Field-collected samples**

**Ethics oversight**

Note that full information on the approval of the study protocol must also be provided in the manuscript.

## Human research participants

Policy information about [studies involving human research participants](#)

Population characteristics	See above.
Recruitment	Third party survey companies, YouGov and Ipsos, recruited samples as described above on the sampling strategy. With samples recruited online, asymmetry in prejudice between online and offline populations could be a potential source of bias. That said, because the share of offline populations is small and declining in virtually all countries, and because we have no theoretical reasons to expect any such asymmetries in discriminatory attitudes we consider this bias to be minimal (see more details in SI Section O2). Insofar as some of our respondents falsely claim to be vaccinated, our estimates of prejudice towards the unvaccinated are likely to be too conservative.
Ethics oversight	This study fully complies with Aarhus University's Code of Conduct and with the ethical standards set by the Danish Code of Conduct for Research Integrity. As per section 14(2) of the Act on Research Ethics Review of Health Research Projects, "notification of questionnaire surveys ... to the system of research ethics committee system is only required if the project involves human biological material." All participants provided informed consent and were reimbursed according to their standing agreements with the data provider.

Note that full information on the approval of the study protocol must also be provided in the manuscript.

## Clinical data

Policy information about [clinical studies](#)

All manuscripts should comply with the ICMJE [guidelines for publication of clinical research](#) and a completed [CONSORT checklist](#) must be included with all submissions.

Clinical trial registration	<i>Provide the trial registration number from ClinicalTrials.gov or an equivalent agency.</i>
Study protocol	<i>Note where the full trial protocol can be accessed OR if not available, explain why.</i>
Data collection	<i>Describe the settings and locales of data collection, noting the time periods of recruitment and data collection.</i>
Outcomes	<i>Describe how you pre-defined primary and secondary outcome measures and how you assessed these measures.</i>

## Dual use research of concern

Policy information about [dual use research of concern](#)

### Hazards

Could the accidental, deliberate or reckless misuse of agents or technologies generated in the work, or the application of information presented in the manuscript, pose a threat to:

- | No                                  | Yes   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Public health              |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> National security          |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Crops and/or livestock     |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Ecosystems                 |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Any other significant area |

### Experiments of concern

Does the work involve any of these experiments of concern:

- | No                                  | Yes  |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Demonstrate how to render a vaccine ineffective                             |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Confer resistance to therapeutically useful antibiotics or antiviral agents |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Enhance the virulence of a pathogen or render a nonpathogen virulent        |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Increase transmissibility of a pathogen                                     |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Alter the host range of a pathogen  |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Enable evasion of diagnostic/detection modalities                           |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Enable the weaponization of a biological agent or toxin                     |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Any other potentially harmful combination of experiments and agents         |

## ChIP-seq

### Data deposition

- Confirm that both raw and final processed data have been deposited in a public database such as [GEO](#).
- Confirm that you have deposited or provided access to graph files (e.g. BED files) for the called peaks.

#### Data access links

May remain private before publication.

For "Initial submission" or "Revised version" documents, provide reviewer access links. For your "Final submission" document, provide a link to the deposited data.

#### Files in database submission

Provide a list of all files available in the database submission.

#### Genome browser session

(e.g. [UCSC](#))

Provide a link to an anonymized genome browser session for "Initial submission" and "Revised version" documents only, to enable peer review. Write "no longer applicable" for "Final submission" documents.

### Methodology

#### Replicates

Describe the experimental replicates, specifying number, type and replicate agreement.

#### Sequencing depth

Describe the sequencing depth for each experiment, providing the total number of reads, uniquely mapped reads, length of reads and whether they were paired- or single-end.

#### Antibodies

Describe the antibodies used for the ChIP-seq experiments; as applicable, provide supplier name, catalog number, clone name, and lot number.

#### Peak calling parameters

Specify the command line program and parameters used for read mapping and peak calling, including the ChIP, control and index files used.

#### Data quality

Describe the methods used to ensure data quality in full detail, including how many peaks are at FDR 5% and above 5-fold enrichment.

#### Software

Describe the software used to collect and analyze the ChIP-seq data. For custom code that has been deposited into a community repository, provide accession details.

## Flow Cytometry

### Plots

Confirm that:

- The axis labels state the marker and fluorochrome used (e.g. CD4-FITC).
- The axis scales are clearly visible. Include numbers along axes only for bottom left plot of group (a 'group' is an analysis of identical markers).
- All plots are contour plots with outliers or pseudocolor plots.
- A numerical value for number of cells or percentage (with statistics) is provided.

### Methodology

#### Sample preparation

Describe the sample preparation, detailing the biological source of the cells and any tissue processing steps used.

#### Instrument

Identify the instrument used for data collection, specifying make and model number.

#### Software

Describe the software used to collect and analyze the flow cytometry data. For custom code that has been deposited into a community repository, provide accession details.

#### Cell population abundance

Describe the abundance of the relevant cell populations within post-sort fractions, providing details on the purity of the samples and how it was determined.

#### Gating strategy

Describe the gating strategy used for all relevant experiments, specifying the preliminary FSC/SSC gates of the starting cell population, indicating where boundaries between "positive" and "negative" staining cell populations are defined.

- Tick this box to confirm that a figure exemplifying the gating strategy is provided in the Supplementary Information.

## Magnetic resonance imaging

### Experimental design

#### Design type

Indicate task or resting state; event-related or block design.

Design specifications

Specify the number of blocks, trials or experimental units per session and/or subject, and specify the length of each trial or block (if trials are blocked) and interval between trials.

Behavioral performance measures

State number and/or type of variables recorded (e.g. correct button press, response time) and what statistics were used to establish that the subjects were performing the task as expected (e.g. mean, range, and/or standard deviation across subjects).

## Acquisition

Imaging type(s)

Specify: functional, structural, diffusion, perfusion.

Field strength

Specify in Tesla

Sequence &amp; imaging parameters

Specify the pulse sequence type (gradient echo, spin echo, etc.), imaging type (EPI, spiral, etc.), field of view, matrix size, slice thickness, orientation and TE/TR/flip angle.

Area of acquisition

State whether a whole brain scan was used OR define the area of acquisition, describing how the region was determined.

Diffusion MRI

 Used Not used

## Preprocessing

Preprocessing software

Provide detail on software version and revision number and on specific parameters (model/functions, brain extraction, segmentation, smoothing kernel size, etc.).

Normalization

If data were normalized/standardized, describe the approach(es): specify linear or non-linear and define image types used for transformation OR indicate that data were not normalized and explain rationale for lack of normalization.

Normalization template

Describe the template used for normalization/transformation, specifying subject space or group standardized space (e.g. original Talairach, MNI305, ICBM152) OR indicate that the data were not normalized.

Noise and artifact removal

Describe your procedure(s) for artifact and structured noise removal, specifying motion parameters, tissue signals and physiological signals (heart rate, respiration).

Volume censoring

Define your software and/or method and criteria for volume censoring, and state the extent of such censoring.

## Statistical modeling & inference

Model type and settings

Specify type (mass univariate, multivariate, RSA, predictive, etc.) and describe essential details of the model at the first and second levels (e.g. fixed, random or mixed effects; drift or auto-correlation).

Effect(s) tested

Define precise effect in terms of the task or stimulus conditions instead of psychological concepts and indicate whether ANOVA or factorial designs were used.

Specify type of analysis:  Whole brain  ROI-based  BothStatistic type for inference  
(See [Eklund et al. 2016](#))

Specify voxel-wise or cluster-wise and report all relevant parameters for cluster-wise methods.

Correction

Describe the type of correction and how it is obtained for multiple comparisons (e.g. FWE, FDR, permutation or Monte Carlo).

## Models & analysis

n/a | Involved in the study

  Functional and/or effective connectivity  Graph analysis  Multivariate modeling or predictive analysis

Functional and/or effective connectivity

Report the measures of dependence used and the model details (e.g. Pearson correlation, partial correlation, mutual information).

Graph analysis

Report the dependent variable and connectivity measure, specifying weighted graph or binarized graph, subject- or group-level, and the global and/or node summaries used (e.g. clustering coefficient, efficiency, etc.).

Multivariate modeling and predictive analysis

Specify independent variables, features extraction and dimension reduction, model, training and evaluation metrics.